TWO SETS OF MID-TUDOR CHURCHWARDENS’ ACCOUNTS: YOXALL AND LICHFIELD ST MICHAEL

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Churchwardens’ accounts have become one of the foundational sources for local, social, and religious histories between the 15th and 18th centuries, with scholars reconstructing from them the annual round of community life and the impact on ordinary people of dramatic events such as the Reformation and the English Civil Wars, or of long-term changes such as the rise and fall of ‘Merry England’.[[1]](#endnote-1) Staffordshire, however, has only six sets of pre-Elizabethan churchwardens’ accounts: those of Walsall, 1462–1531;[[2]](#endnote-2) Adbaston, 1478–88;[[3]](#endnote-3) Wolverhampton, 1520–1634;[[4]](#endnote-4) St Mary’s, Stafford, 1528–9 (a few entries only);[[5]](#endnote-5) Yoxall, 1541–55;[[6]](#endnote-6) and St Michael’s, Lichfield, 1554–7.[[7]](#endnote-7) Only those of Walsall, Adbaston, and Stafford have previously been fully published. This is a much poorer survival rate than for many other counties: Somerset has 16 sets of churchwardens’ accounts from before 1558, Suffolk 14, and Oxfordshire 12;[[8]](#endnote-8) other scholars have previously noted the much poorer survival rate of churchwardens’ accounts the further north one goes.[[9]](#endnote-9) That scarcity for Staffordshire justifies the transcription below of the accounts for Yoxall, 1541–55, and Lichfield St Michael, 1554–7.

The Yoxall accounts come from the collection of a Lichfield firm of solicitors, Hinckley, Birch, and Exham, and were initially deposited in the William Salt Library, Stafford, in 1961.[[10]](#endnote-10) The whole collection, as pertaining to a Lichfield firm, was transferred to the Lichfield Record Office in 1993 but, on the closure of that office in 2018, it was transferred back to Stafford to the Staffordshire Record Office. Thomas Hinckley was admitted as steward of the rectory manor of Yoxall by the lord of the manor, Thomas Leigh, in 1806, and Hinckley and then the firm of Hinckley and Birch remained stewards of the manor for the rest of the 19th century,[[11]](#endnote-11) and it is probably that connection which explains the presence of these accounts, and one subsequent volume (of summary accounts only) covering the period 1586–1617,[[12]](#endnote-12) in the collection. Nonetheless, these churchwardens’ accounts are an outlier in the collection, as the earliest manorial document is a court roll from 1664.[[13]](#endnote-13)

The Yoxall accounts have been noticed and occasionally used by earlier historians, most notably in Denis Stuart’s social history of Tudor and Stuart Yoxall, and in the more recent *Victoria County History* volume on the Needwood Forest area, including Yoxall parish, and in the Records of Early English Drama volume for Staffordshire, but they have not been extensively studied.[[14]](#endnote-14)

The accounts for Yoxall, 1541–55, reproduced below, are written on five paper sheets, each folded in half, making a total of 20 pages. The leaves are of three different sizes: pp. 1–2 and 19–20 are formed by one sheet, 430 mm high by 310 mm wide, with pp. 3–4 and 9–10 written on another sheet of similar size; pp. 11–2 and 17–18 are formed by one sheet, 420 mm high by 290 mm wide, with pp. 13–16 written across another sheet of the same size; while pp. 5–8 are formed by a smaller sheet, 290 mm high by 310 mm wide. There could have been one or more gatherings of paper between pp. 18 and 19, which would also explain why the eight payments at the head of p. 19 appear as orphans, unrelated to the accounts on the preceding page (for 1548–9) or those that follow on p. 19 which are for 1554–5; these eight payments probably relate to 1549–50 with the remainder of the accounts from that year entered on a preceding folded sheet which is now lost. The accounts were conserved in 1962 and bound together to form a slim volume with green covers.[[15]](#endnote-15) The accounts are partially worn (though now conserved), leaving a number of entries only partially legible. Receipts and payments are usually listed separately. Each account is dated by regnal year, though a note at the end of the accounts for 34 Henry VIII (1542–3) suggests that the accounting year ended in May, at which point two new wardens were elected for the parish.[[16]](#endnote-16) Although the wardens held office for one year, there was significant continuity, with wardens frequently re-elected for a further term. Richard Cossall and Thomas Hodgkinson served for two years, 1541–2 and 1542–3, whilst Thomas Hygges and William Utting jointly served for four years, 1543–4 to 1546–7,[[17]](#endnote-17) and then Utting served for a further two years, 1547–8 and 1548–9. It is known that Hugh Hargreave and Robert Towers were wardens in May 1553, either at the end of the 1552–3 accounting year or the beginning or the 1553–4 one,[[18]](#endnote-18) and Hugh Hargreave was again, or more likely still, warden in 1554–5.

The surviving Yoxall accounts cover nine accounting years, 1541–2 (payments only), 1542–3, 1543–4 (partial receipts only), 1544–5, 1546–7, 1547–8, 1548–9, 1549–50 (a fragment of eight payments only), and 1554–5. There are no accounts at all, therefore, for the years 1545–6, 1550–1, 1551–2, 1552–3, 1553–4, 1555–6, and subsequent years. The accounting year 1548–9 concludes at the foot of p. 18, leaving p. 19 to commence mid-way through the payments of a different accounting year. Since the accounts for 1554–5 begin part-way down p. 19, the temptation is to ascribe these orphaned payments to the previous year, 1553–4, except for the fact that the last payment in this section is for ‘expenses at lychefeld for carying the church goodes before the lorde Ferrers’; as Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, was created Viscount Hereford in February 1550,[[19]](#endnote-19) these payments cannot relate to an accounting year later than 1549–50, unless the warden forgot Ferrers’ promotion or this payment was not accounted for until three years later. Neither is likely, and the probability is that the eight payments at the top of p. 19 are from the year 1549–50. That, and the fact that the remainder of this page is used for accounts from 1554–5, suggest that no accounts were returned for the years 1550–1 to 1553–4. A sense of accounting problems in the parish is reinforced by the disarray of those for 1554–5, which begin with the standard separation of receipts and payments, but on the final page they repeatedly switch between the two in the manner of a day book rather than summary accounts for the year. As Ronald Hutton has previously noted, churchwardens’ accounts tend to become disordered and fragmentary at times of tension or turmoil.[[20]](#endnote-20)

The first five years of accounts are those of both churchwardens in the parish, the last three extant complete sets being those of only one churchwarden, William Utting for 1547–8 and 1548–9, and Hugh Hargreave for 1554–5. The presence of accounts from only one churchwarden after the start of Edward’s reign is interesting. It may suggest that one churchwarden refused to act or return accounts, though that suggestion is rendered less likely since both churchwardens, Hugh Hargreave and Robert Towers, made the required return of church goods in May 1553 at the very end of Edward VI’s reign.[[21]](#endnote-21) More probably, the change represents a variation in accounting practice. In some parishes each warden returned his own separate account. If that were the case in Yoxall from 1547, it would make these last three years’ receipts and payments incomplete. However, comparison of the receipts and payments before and after 1547 argues against this. Although the sums gathered in and paid out varied considerably from year to year, particularly because the purchase of new bells in the 1540s was such a major expense, the receipts of the two wardens in 1542–3 (£3 1*s*. 8*d*.) and 1544–5 (£3 0*s*. 7*d*.) were very similar to those accounted for by Utting alone in 1548–9 (£3 16*s*. ½*d*.). It would seem, therefore, that the accounts after 1547 represent the total income and expenditure of the wardens, albeit accounted for by only one of them each year.

The second set of pre-Elizabethan churchwardens accounts reproduced below are for St Michael’s, Lichfield, for the years 1554–5 and 1556–7. They are the earliest extant churchwardens’ accounts from St Michael’s from any of the three surviving sets. Those for 1554–5 are from a series of 25 accounts extending with many gaps down to 1731–2 preserved among the cause papers of the Lichfield consistory court. They were presented as evidence in suit in the late 1780s against the out hamlets (such as Burntwood, Fisherwick, Hammwerwich, and Streethay) for non-payment of church rates. That was probably in the dean of Lichfield’s peculiar court (in the jurisdiction of which St Michael’s parish lay) but at some point they were transferred to the archives of the bishop’s consistory. From there excerpts were printed by Marjorie Anderson in the 1960s, but the accounts were subsequently mislaid, only to resurface as the Lichfield consistory court papers were catalogued in 2020.[[22]](#endnote-22) Some of the later accounts and other papers from this collection, but not the accounts for 1554–5, were used for the Victoria County History volume on Lichfield published in 1990.[[23]](#endnote-23) The accounts for 1556–7 come from a different series which extended to 1732 that was used by Thomas Harwood in his early nineteenth-century history of Lichfield.[[24]](#endnote-24) They have since disappeared so only Harwood’s partial transcription and printed description survive. A third set, commencing in 1650, remained with the parish records and was deposited in the Lichfield Record Office; they were recently transferred to the record office in Stafford.[[25]](#endnote-25)

The accounts for 1554–5 are written in two columns on a single membrane of parchment and are undated, the heading being incomplete, but they can be dated by a combination of internal evidence and comparison with the accounts for 1556–7, in which the accounting year ended ‘at the purificasion of our lady’ (Candlemas, 2 February). A payment for ringing when Philip of Spain came to England, which was in July 1554, and the reasonable assumption that this set of accounts also began and ended at Candlemas (the first payment is for Maundy Thursday) show that they should be dated to February 1554 – February 1555.[[26]](#endnote-26) Harwood said nothing about the physical form of the 1556–7 accounts and extracted only what he called ‘curious minutes’. Of the receipts, Harwood itemised seven, amounting to £2 15*s*. 6*d*., 76% of the total receipts of £3 13*s*. He also mentioned ‘Numerous entries’ of sums received for lights at funerals ranging from 1*d*. to 6*d*., but gave no further details. Harwood also copied 23 payments, amounting to £1 10*s*. 2*d*., 40% of the total payments that year (£3 14*s*. 6*d*.). The 1556–7 accounts are also printed below, despite omissions and likely transcription errors.

These accounts, especially those for Yoaxll, are a rich source for social history. The parish of Yoxall in east Staffordshire consisted of just two townships, one centred around Yoxall itself where most of the population lived during the 16th century, the other at Hoar Cross to the north. There were about 150 households in the parish during this period, suggesting a population of around 650. Mixed farming practices seemed to be the norm in Yoxall during the 16th century.[[27]](#endnote-27) The parish lay to the south-west of the large expanse of Needwood Forest and on a route north from Lichfield to Uttoxeter. The river Trent formed the southern boundary of the parish. The bridge that crossed the Trent from the neighbouring parish of King’s Bromley to the south, known as Yoxall bridge or Trent bridge, is referred to several times in these accounts, as its maintenance was a key responsibility of the churchwardens: lands had apparently been given to the parish for its upkeep. A close of meadow in the parish which belonged to the chantry priests of the New College in Lichfield cathedral close was charged with an annual payment of 2*s*. 2*d*. to Yoxall parish, including 20*d*. for the maintenance of the bridge. Following the dissolution of the chantries at the beginning of Edward VI’s reign the land was sold to London speculators. The annual charge for the bridge was supposed to be continued; it is not always possible to trace its receipt in the accounts, but the 20*d*. received of Mr Welles in 1554–5 ‘towarde ye rep[ar]acion off trent brygge’ might be the continuation of that rent charge.[[28]](#endnote-28) The church, which stood on the west bank of the river Swarbourn (a tributary of the Trent) was dedicated to St Swithin until the 1560s but by 1571 the current dedication of St Peter’s was being used.[[29]](#endnote-29)

St Michael’s was one of four churches in the city of Lichfield, along with St Chad’s at Stowe, St Mary’s, and the cathedral. The questions of whether the first three were parish churches, or merely chapels of ease in one parish in which the cathedral was the only parish church, and whether there were boundaries between the churches, were disputed. The population of the city was probably just under 2,000.[[30]](#endnote-30) St Michael’s church stood on the eastern edge of the city, with a large (seven-acre) churchyard, the main burial ground for the city. As these and later accounts show, the profits from the pasturage of the churchyard and from cropping its trees were the principal sources of revenue for the church, with no levy regularly imposed until the eighteenth century.[[31]](#endnote-31) St Michael’s had two churchwardens by 1463, who by an agreement of 1553 were to present their annual accounts to the bailiffs of the city, a practice which continued to at least the end of the century, though the 1554–5 accounts bear no trace of that procedure, and the 1556–7 ones were presented before not the bailiffs but another leading citizen, John Otley.[[32]](#endnote-32)

Both sets of accounts reveal the central importance of the church bells in the life of the community. Even in a normal year the bells demanded constant expenditure – repairs to bell wheels along with new ropes, oil, baldrics and the like. In addition, in 1546–7 Yoxall bought some new bells at a cost of over £46, a sum many times greater than the expenditure in a typical year. The new bells do not survive at Yoxall, although there is one pre-Reformation bell and the remaining five are the 17th century or later.[[33]](#endnote-33)

The Yoxall accounts reveal aspects of the festive cycle, with receipts at ‘the summer games’ in 1542. Summer games were by then a well-established feature in the parish, for in 1500 an ordinance was issued that forbade anyone from leaving the manor for the duration of the games. They may have taken place on the feast of St Swithin in July.[[34]](#endnote-34) Summer or May games were common in early Tudor England, held both as a communal celebration and as a means of raising funds for the parish.[[35]](#endnote-35) Probably associated with those games was the riding of a hobbyhorse, which was used to collect money, a figure of Robin Hood, morris dancing, and the services of a minstrel. The loss of Jane Mynors’s dish in 1542 suggests feasting was also involved. All these practices can be found in many other English communities in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. At St Mary’s, Stafford, the dancing of the hobbyhorse was a key part of fund-raising for the church.[[36]](#endnote-36) The Yoxall accounts also show the custom of ‘heaving’ at Easter, another widespread practice. At Hocktide (the second Monday and Tuesday after Easter) the men of the community would go out one day and capture any women they found, releasing them only for a fee (which was paid to church funds), and on the other day roles would be reversed; at Yoxall it was the young men and women who indulged in the practice (in some other communities it was the married women who went out).[[37]](#endnote-37) These practices all seem to have ended in 1547–8, victims of the Reformation and Protestant animus against such festive customs.

Perhaps the greatest significance of these accounts is the light they shed on the processes of religious change in mid-Tudor England. The Yoxall accounts are particularly valuable in that that they cover the short period of intense religious changes between the last years of Henry VIII’s reign, through the first years of the determined move to Protestantism under Edward VI, and then the reversal of many of those changes and the reconciliation with Rome under Mary. Those from Lichfield St Michael can only reveal the Marian part of those changes. Churchwardens, with their responsibility for the goods of the church, bore the brunt of many of the transformations demanded by the crown. Churches were forced to acquire newly approved texts such as service books and Erasmus’s *Paraphrases*, and also to take down and give up what reformers saw as the trappings of popery such as images and roods under Edward, and then restore them in the next reign. Their accounts, therefore, are one of the best sources for the impact of religious change on individual parishes. Behind the terse entries for payments in the churchwardens’ accounts, such as the 1*s*. 1*d*. paid ‘at ye takyng dou[n]ne ye Immages’ in Yoxall 1547–8 and then the 10*s*. 5*d*. ‘payd for the rode and the ymages and to the clerke for setting them vppe’ in 1554–5, or the 12*d*. ‘for paentyng the Roode’ at St Michael’s in the same year, lie a wealth of religious change and the reorientation of the religious lives of parishioners and both the material refashioning and the mental and spiritual re-imagining of the physical spaces of the church building.

Churchwardens’ accounts, indeed, have sometimes been used to expose resistance to some aspects of religious change. At Great St Mary’s in Cambridge, for example, churchwardens’ accounts reveal that the parishioners did not get rid of a number of devotional items banished from the Elizabethan church, including Mass vestments, pyx, and altar candlesticks, until 1568, and that they did not completely remove the rood loft until 1569–70. No doubt on top of any innate religious conservatism, the previous three decades of religious change and reversal had taught them to be cautious .[[38]](#endnote-38) The Yoxall accounts, however, do not reveal such foot-dragging. Rather, they show the responsiveness of the parish to change. Ordered to buy Erasmus’s *Paraphrases*, they did so within a few months of its publication; required to take down images in 1547–8, they complied and then obediently restored them when demanded a few years later under Mary. Indeed, Yoxall bought the *Book of Homilies* (called in the accounts ‘ye booke of ye com[m]union’) in 1548–9, when only 19 parishes out of a sample of 91 did so, making them more compliant than many other rural or provincial wardens.[[39]](#endnote-39)

The Yoxall accounts show the pace of change imposed by the crown in the 1540s and 1550s. Before the death of Henry VIII in 1547, there are few signs of the great religious changes he had brought to the church, beyond the purchase of ‘ij p[ro]cesseners in englysse’ in 1544–5. The use of English in some services apart, the accounts suggest the full panoply of the devotion of the Mass continued, as the law directed: new albs were made in 1544–5, and that same year the pyx and two crosses were mended and an altar cloth blessed, and in the last year of Henry’s reign (1546–7) one of the crosses was again mended, and a new corporas cloth given by Anne Holland was blessed. Also, in Henry’s last year the parish was still participating in an annual procession to Lichfield cathedral with the Pentecostal offerings or Chad farthings, a practice known at the cathedral since at least the 14th century.[[40]](#endnote-40) That year the wardens paid for two poles for bearing streamers to be carried to the cathedral. After the accession of Edward VI in 1547 all such payments ceased: those practices were no more. Also disappearing from the accounts after 1547 was the purchase of wax for candles and the making of torches and tapers. Before that year the parish had paid for 6 or 6½lbs of wax each year, to be made into tapers and the like at a typical cost the parish around 5*s*. a year; in 1544–5, for example, wax and tapers cost 5*s*. 2*d*., representing nearly 8 per cent of the wardens’ total expenditure. After 1547, with the ban in that year’s royal injunctions on lights in church (except for two on the altar), wax and tapers do not feature in parish expenditure. 1547 also saw the ending of the practice of paying for lights (to encourage prayers for the dead) at funerals, which hitherto had been a regular form of revenue. Indeed, the note under the second year of Edward VI (1548–9) that seven people had paid nothing for burial fees, might be taken to suggest that some of the more powerful in the village – for these were burials in church, reserved for the local elite, and included members of the Morres (or Marrys) and Welles families, two of the most significant in the parish – were taking advantage of religious change in order to evade paying their customary dues.[[41]](#endnote-41) The outcome of that attempt is not known, but by 1554–5 with the restoration of Roman Catholicism, the practice of having lights in church had been restored. While the Yoxall accounts for that year do not include any receipts for lights at funerals, those from St Michael’s do for both 1554–5 and 1556–7.

The accounts of both churches also show the speed with which many aspects of Catholic practice were restored under Mary. At Yoxall, rood and images were restored in 1554–5. More informative are the accounts of Lichfield St Michael. Easter 1554 was celebrated there with much of the traditional ritual and Holy Week liturgy, including the observation of Maundy Thursday and frankincense to cense the altar. A new, timber Easter Sepulchre was created (for the host and crucifix to lie in from Good Friday to Easter Day) at a cost of over £1, representing nearly two-fifths of the parish’s total expenditure that year. As Eamon Duffy has noted, the Easter Sepulchre was the crux of the Holy Week liturgy, expressing dramatically the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist – and that had been one of the key targets of Protestant reformers.[[42]](#endnote-42) Also in 1554–5 the high altar (presumably already restored) was decorated with hangings; the Rood was painted; new liturgical books, including a Mass book, were purchased; and a brass cross obtained. In addition to Easter, the ritual year of Corpus Christi (with procession), Christmas, and Candlemas, was celebrated. Not surprisingly, the surviving 1556–7 accounts Harwood printed show that the Marian Catholic liturgy continued, including payments for the observance of Maundy Thursday, incense, the pascal candle, and the Corpus Christi procession. St Michael’s was by no means unusual here: by the end of 1554 every parish in a sample of 134 with surviving churchwardens’ accounts had rebuilt the high altar and had at least begun the process of obtaining the required church plate and liturgical utensils, and most parishes continued further embellishments until Mary’s death.[[43]](#endnote-43)

In connection with the many religious changes introduced by the crown in the 1540s and 1550s, the over-riding impression given by the accounts is the compliance of the parish. In that respect the accounts probably say more about the machinery of the Tudor state for enforcement than about the inner religious beliefs of individuals. On personal conviction the evidence of will preambles examined by Stuart, admittedly a highly problematic source, suggested the absence of early Protestantism in Yoxall before the mid 1560s.[[44]](#endnote-44) The accounts, meanwhile, show the frequency of visitations, the means by which the crown, bishops, and other diocesan officials such as archdeacons enforced religious policy and outward obedience. Each year recorded in the accounts the Yoxall wardens made at least one trip to appear before the visitors. Each occasion cost money (ranging from 2*d*. to 4*s*. 4*d*.) in expenses and fees. In 1547–8 the wardens had to pay the costs of appearances before the king’s visitors at Burton and other visitations at Hanbury, Lichfield, and Uttoxeter; in 1549–50 there were appearances before visitors at Tamworth and Uttoxeter, and before royal commissioners for church goods (charged with surveying the parishes’ surplus plate and vestments, no longer needed for the reformed service) at Lichfield; in 1554–5 the wardens were responsible for appearances before commissioners at Uttoxeter and Cardinal Pole’s legatine visitation at Lichfield (the most expensive of all, as befitting an appearance before a papal legate). St Michael’s accounts are less informative here, saying nothing of commissioners or legatine visitors in 1554–5, suggesting the importance for historians of not relying on a single set of accounts. The Lichfield wardens may have accounted for those visits in the now lost return of 1555–6, or have omitted the expense altogether. Nevertheless, in 1556–7 their accounts show the expense of yet another visitation. By such means were the English ‘Reformations’ created in the parishes.

Clergy receive scant notice in the accounts, even though other sources show that both Yoxall and Lichfield were awash with clerics. In the Yoxall accounts there is only one mention of the rector, Roger Stockley – as a former warden of All Souls College, Oxford, he may have been non-resident, though when he drew up his will in March 1556 he described himself as being ‘of Yokeshall’. Of the other clergy known to have served in the parish, as curate or chantry priest, only two, John Marbury and Harry Berdmore, are mentioned in the accounts. Richard Marres, priest, who died early in 1543; John Atkyns, a chantry priest who witnessed a will in the parish in 1544; Humphrey Smith, curate between 1536 and 1547, Thomas Mason, chantry priest from 1533 (or earlier) until 1548 but seemingly remaining in the parish (for he was a witness to wills in Yoxall in 1556 and 1564); and Ralph Parker, curate from 1552, are all unnoticed.[[45]](#endnote-45) St Michael’s accounts mention receipts from the prebendaries of the cathedral, but make no other mention of any of the many clergy who thronged around the city and cathedral. In part, the absence of the clergy is a product of the form of accounts produced by two leading layfolk of the parish each year. In addition, however, their absence reveals a truth about the nature of 16th-century communities, that it was the laity, or at least the local lay elite who, increasingly in the 1540s and 1550s under royal supervision, controlled the social, cultural, and religious lives of the English parish.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The texts of the Yoxall churchwardens’ accounts, 1541–55, and of Lichfield St Michael for 1554–5 are reproduced here by kind permission of the Staffordshire Archive Service. The text is rendered as written, orthography and spelling unaltered, except that abbreviations have been extended, the omitted letters enclosed within square brackets; and suspended letters (including ‘li’, ‘s’, and ‘d’ for pounds, shillings and pence) have been brought down to the line. Erased letters and words, usually caused by the scribes changing their mind part-way through a word, are rendered ~~thus~~; interlined words and phrases <thus>, and gaps in the manuscript caused by deterioration are indicated as [*text missing*]. Headings to identify the accounting years have been added in square brackets. Harwood’s transcription of entries from the 1556–7 accounts from St Michael are also reproduced as printed in 1806, even though his transcription was only partial, some entries were summarised rather than transcribed wholly, and it is likely that he made some transcription errors.

**Yoxall Churchwardens’ Accounts, 1541–55**

**Staffordshire Record Office, D. (W.)1851/1/13/20**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *p. 1* |  |
| [**1541–2**]  Rychard Cossall and Thomas Hogkyn[son]  Warde[n]s of Yoxall an[n]o xxxiij R[egi]s H[enrici] viij [1541–2] |  |
| Paymentes |  |
| Fyrst payd to Jhon ~~b~~ bryde plum[me]r for ye keyseyng [*text missing*] hunderth lede for fyre and warkemansh[i]pe [*text missing*]anne | x s |
| It[e]m for sawder to ye sawdering of <ye> gutt[e]r of northe syde of ye churche | ij s iiii d |
| It[e]m payd for di[midium][[46]](#endnote-46) hunderthe shyngull[[47]](#endnote-47) for ye same gutter | vj d |
| It[e]m payd for wark[ma]nshype of ye same [*text missing*] w[i]t[h] mo to luys harve | iij d |
| It[e]m payd for [*text missing*] hunderth [*text missing*]ll[[48]](#endnote-48) to ye same gutter | [*text missing*] |
| It[e]m payd for pap[er] | ob[[49]](#endnote-49) |
| It[e]m payd to master Salt for tymbar for ye same gutter and for sawyng | x d |
| It[e]m payd to Robyrt Wetton for beyryng cley to ye same gutter | ij d |
| It[e]m payd to marget Wyrrall for wessyng of ye churche cloths | ~~v s~~ viij d |
| It[e]m payd in exspenses for caryge of ye leede and at ye leyyng of the same | xx d |
| It[e]m expensses at ye visitacion at tamworth | ix d |
| It[e]m to John Kentt for makyng iij baldryckes for ye belles and me[n]dyng on[e] bell stooke | ix d |
| It[e]m for a ~~belrope~~ bel rowpe | vii d |
| It[e]m for a ponde and a halfe of wax | ix[[50]](#endnote-50) |
| It[e]m for making of iiij tap[er]s <and exspenses> | iiij d |
| It[e]m for a sacaryng bell[[51]](#endnote-51) | ij d |
| It[e]m to John glasyar of Alderwes[[52]](#endnote-52) for glass and glasyng | ij d |
| It[e]m payd to Thomas Wyan to pay ye Kynges taxe | viij d |
| It[e]m payd for v ponde of waxe and for making | iij s iiijd |
| It[e]m payd to John Lester for makyng the box key | ij d |
| S[um]ma | xxxvij s ix d[[53]](#endnote-53) |
| *p. 2* |  |
| It[e]m payd to John Kent for makyng of a balderyck for a bell | [*text missing*] |
| It[e]m ye exspensses at Vtceter[[54]](#endnote-54) at ye visitation | xiij d |
| It[e]m payd to John lester for makyn a gogyn[[55]](#endnote-55) for the yatepost at Russhemedow | iij d |
| It[e]m to margett W[*text missing*]all[[56]](#endnote-56) for wassyng of church clothys | [*text missing*] |
| It[e]m Rychard Frearson [*remainder of this and all the next line missing*] |  |
| [*text missing* *pon*]de of wax and makyng of iiij tap[er]s | xvj d |
| It[e]m in exspenses and offeryng w[i]t[h] ye crose at Lychfeld[[57]](#endnote-57) | vj s ij d |
| It[e]m to John Swenson for makyng ye Russhe medow yate | vj d |
| It[e]m payd for a bell Rope and a trysselrowpe[[58]](#endnote-58) | ix d |
| It[e]m payd to Robart Wetton for mendyng ye long buttes | iij d |
| It[e]m spende at Vtcett[e]r at ye visitacion | ij d |
| It[e]m to John Kent for makyn a balderycke for a bell | ij d |
| S[um]ma | xi s vij d |
| Summa to[tali]s soluc[ionem] hoc an[n]o[[59]](#endnote-59) | xlix s iiij d |
| *p. 3* |  |
| [**1542–3**]  Rychard coss[all][[60]](#endnote-60) Thomas hogkynson churchewardyns of Yoxall an[n]o xxxiiij R[egi]s H[enrici] viij [1542–3] |  |
| Fyrst receywed at ye summar game | xv s j d |
| It[e]m receywed of Nycolas Feccher for lyght at the beryyng of hys wyffe | vj d |
| It[e]m receywed of John Lester for yrune[[61]](#endnote-61) | xiij d |
| It[e]m of hobbyhorse money | vj s vj d |
| It[e]m of John Bette for rent | iiij s |
| It[e]m of Ryc[hard] Fleccher for rent | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m of Jone campden for rent | iij d |
| It[e]m of Wyllyam hygges for rent | j d ob |
| It[e]m of Margere Har[*text missing*][[62]](#endnote-62) |  |
| It[e]m pf John Bette for Rent | iiij s |
| It[e]m of chantre p[rie]se of lychffelde[[63]](#endnote-63) | ij s ij d |
| It[e]m of hugh hargrewe for Rent | iiij d |
| It[e]m of Ruthe Wyffe for rent | iiij d |
| It[e]m of Rychard Salt for rent | ij s |
| It[e]m of John berdemore for rent | xvj s ij d ob |
| It[e]m rec[eived] for leyng Mastres ffitzh[er]bert yn ye Churche | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m rec[ieved] of Thomas Wylson for a old yate | iiij d |
| ~~S[um]ma~~ | ~~lvj s iiij d~~[[64]](#endnote-64) |
| It[e]m rec[eived] of Emott Mynors for rent w[i]t[h] arrerages | xviij d |
| S[um]ma | lxj s vj d |
| S[um]ma to[tali]s recept[arum] p[ro] tribus an[orum][[65]](#endnote-65) | vij li xiiij s jd ob |
| S[um]ma to[tali]s recept[arum] cu]m] vj li ix s viij d rec[eptum] in pixide[[66]](#endnote-66) | xiiij li iij s ix d ob |
| *p. 4* |  |
| payd for ij pondes of wax and makyng | xij d |
| It[e]m payd to Jane Myn[er]se for dysshe lost at ye som[er]game | viij d |
| It[e]m payd for lyme for the chyrch wall | v d |
| It[e]m to Hary Tylar makyng of ye same | xij d |
| It[e]m payd for iiij pondes of waxe and for ye makyng of same | iij s |
| It[e]m payd at Vtceter at ij vicitations ye kyngs and bysshops | ij s |
| It[e]m payd to margett ~~Wy~~ Wyrrall for wassyng the church cl[othes] | [vj d][[67]](#endnote-67) |
| [*text missing*] for makyng the towne buttes | iiij d |
| It[e]m payd for waxe and ye makyng of iiij tap[er]s | x d |
| It[e]m payd to Robart towrs for a belrowpe | x d |
| It[e]m payd to Ryc[hard] Fleccher for Rent iij yeres | vj d |
| It[e]m payd for makyng ye careclowthe[[68]](#endnote-68) | iij d |
| S[um]ma soluc[ionem] hoc an[n]o[[69]](#endnote-69) | xj s vj d |
| S[um]ma tot[alis] soluc[ionem] p[ro] trib[us] an[n]is p[re]ci[den]tis[[70]](#endnote-70) | viij li xxj d ob |
| M[emoran]d[um] oppon ye accompt of Ric[hard] Cossall and Thom[a]s Hogekynson fynysshed xiiij die may an[n]o xxxvto R[egis] H[enrici] Octaui [1543] remayneth yn ye boxe w[i]t[h] xv s of hevyng money  Which is delyv[er]ed to Thom[a]s Higgs and Will[ia]m Vttyng nowe electyd wardens for ye yere to come. | vi li xviij s iiij d |
| *p. 5* |  |
| [**1543–4**]  Thomas hygges and Wyllyam Vttyng churchwardyns of Yoxall an[n]o R[eg]is H[enrici] viij xxxv [1543–4] |  |
| Receyptes |  |
| Fyrst receyved at bereyng of Wyll[iam] Wry[*text missing*] for lyght | vj d |
| It[e]m of homffrey turner at bereyng of hys ffather for lyght | vj d |
| It[e]m of Rychard m[ar]shall for Rent | xx d |
| It[e]m the bereyng of oldeacur Wyffe for lyght | vj d |
| It[e]m receyved at Est[er] the heywyng of yong men and meydens | v s |
| Ryc[hard] [*text missing*]lt[[71]](#endnote-71) for rent | ij s |
| John berdmore for Rent | xxj s ij d ob |
| John Bett for Rent | [*text missing*] |
| Hugh hargreve for Rent | iiij d |
| Issabell Ruthe for Rent | iiij d |
| Jone campden for Rent | iij d |
| Rychard Fleccher for Rent | iij s iiij d |
| John Hygges for Rent | v d |
| Hugh collyar for Rent | vj d |
|  |  |
| *p. 6 blank* |  |
| p. 7 |  |
| [**1544–5**]  Thomas hygges and Wyll[iam] Vttyng churche-wardyns of yoxall an[n]o R[egi]s H[enrici] viij xxxvj [1544–5] |  |
| Receytes |  |
| John Berdmore for Rent when Wyll[iam] hygges was warden | xvj s ij d ob |
| It[e]m ye hobyhorse money | v s vj d |
| It[e]m at ye beryall of Wyll[iam] hogkynson and hys wyffe[[72]](#endnote-72) | viij d |
| It[e]m at ye beryall of s[ir] hary berdmore[[73]](#endnote-73) | vj d |
| It[e]m receyved of yong men and yong wemen[[74]](#endnote-74) | v s viij d |
| It[e]m ye bereyng of margeri brooks | iiij d |
| It[e]m [*text missing*][[75]](#endnote-75) collyar for rent | vj d |
| It[e]m hugh hargrewe for rent | iiij d |
| It[e]m Ryc[hard] Fleccher for rent | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m ~~Iss~~ Issabell Ruthe for rent | iiij d |
| Jone Champden for Rent | iij d |
| Hugh ~~hen~~ onneyley for ye inclosyng of Synffeld reve ffor Rent | iiij d |
| It[e]m ye beryall of margeytt Sgaoulton for light | v d |
| John bett for Rent | viij s |
| John berdmore for Rent | xvj s ij d ob |
| Rychard Salt for rent | ij s |
| S[um]ma | iij li vij d[[76]](#endnote-76) |
| *p. 8 blank* |  |
| *p. 9* |  |
| [**1544–5**]  Thomas hygges and Wyll[iam] vttyng churchwardyns an[n]o R[egi]s H[enrici] viij xxxvj [1544–5] |  |
| Paymentes |  |
| Fyrst at Lychffeld ye offeryng | xij d |
| It[e]m in Exspenses at dynner | iiij s jd |
| John byrde ye plum[m]ar for iij days warke | ij s |
| It[e]m hys s[er]ver | viij d |
| It[e]m for costes of ye caryge of lede to ~~lyff~~ Lychffeld and to ~~rychard~~ Rychard seryngar for ye caryge home and cowd not have it | x d |
| John bryde for x pondes of Sawder | iij s vij d |
| It[e]m for lede nels | iiij d |
| It[e]m to Wyll[iam] cowp[er] for mendyng of ye flattrowse[[77]](#endnote-77) | iiij d |
| The [*text missing*] mendyng pyxte | ij d |
| The vicitation at vtcetter | xj d |
| John Kentt for mendyng ye trent bryge | ij d |
| Hugh Shypton for ansswereryng a vicitation at vtcetter | ij d |
| The costes at lychffelde when we delyv[er]yd ye money yt was <geydered> for deffense of ffeyth[[78]](#endnote-78) | xij d |
| Jamys Wotton for tymbar for the trent bryge | iiij s iiij d |
| for sawyng ye same tymbar | xvij d |
| Wyll[iam] cowp[err for iij days warke of ye same tymbar | xviij d |
| Thomas carter ij days | viij d |
| For ye costes ye same tyme | xij d |
| John Kent for mendyng the bell whels and ropys | ij d |
| It[e]m ij p[ro]cesseners in englysse[[79]](#endnote-79) | vj d |
| It[e]m iij quartars of russelles[[80]](#endnote-80) for ye canopyne and ye rope | xviij d |
| It[e]m the subside to hugh marres for church landes[[81]](#endnote-81) | ij d |
| It[e]m the lampe corde | ij d |
| *p. 10* |  |
| Paymentes the yere afforesaid |  |
| It[e]m a belrowpe | viij d |
| It[e]m for makyng of ij racheytes for ohylder | iij d |
| It[e]m payd to ye cronner[[82]](#endnote-82) at Stafford | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m in Exspenses at ye medow lane | xij d |
| It[e]m for halowyng of an auter clothe | ij d |
| It[e]m for vj pondes of new waxe | iij s iij d |
| It[e]m for makyng of it and olde waxe in torchetes and tap[er]s | xj d |
| gev a tyncker for scowryng of the lampe and for mendyng of it | vjj d |
| The vicitation at vtcet[er] | xij d |
| It[e]m payd to the man that warned the ledeweynis | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m in Exspenses in goyng fforth wyth the ledeweynis | vj s viij d |
| It[e]m a tyncker for mendyng bothe the crosses[[83]](#endnote-83) | iiij d |
| It[e]m payd to the man that makyth the Saltpeter at burton for yese of carydge of wode | iiij s |
| It[e]m to margett ~~Wry~~ Wyrrall for wahssyng of the churchclothys | viij d |
| It[e]m payd ffor xiiij yardes of cloth to make ij aulbes and di[midium] yard of black sey[[84]](#endnote-84) and makyng[[85]](#endnote-85) | ix s x d |
| It[e]m to Ryc[hard] Fleccher for Rent | ij d |
| It[e]m alowed John berdmore for Repracions | xxij d |
| Ryc[hard] Frearson ffor scowryng ye kanopyne and ffor the oyle | vjj d |
| It[e]m makyng a lock and a Key | iiij d |
| S[um]ma | iij li v s vij d[[86]](#endnote-86) |
| *p. 11* |  |
| [**1546–7**]  Thomas hygges and Wyll[iam] vttyng church wardyns off Yoxall an[n]o R[egi]s H[enrici] viij xxxviij [1546–7] |  |
| Receytes |  |
| Fyrst Receyved of John lester | xxvj s viij d |
| It[e]m of hugh onneyley | xix s viij d |
| It[e]m off Nycolas Fleccher for bereyng hys wyffe in ye church | ij s |
| It[e]m of Will[iam] au[er]yll | xij d |
| It[e]m Receyved of Ryc[hard] cosshall | v li xiij s iiij d |
| It[e]m of Wyll[iam] ~~Sh~~ Schacullton to ye byyng of ye belles | ij s |
| It[e]m Recewed of Edmod bardyll of lychffeld at thre paymentes | xx li |
| It[e]m of John berdmore for Rent | viij s |
| It[e]m of Edward harwell for ij oxen in ye meddo | vij d |
| It[e]m receyved of John harden ye mynstrell toward ye payment of ye belles | viij d |
| It[e]m ffor lyghtes at ye beryall of Wyll[iam] au[er]yll | vj d |
| It[em] Recewed of Robart Fleccher toward ye belles | v s |
| It[em] of ye colege prese of lychfeld for Rent | ij s ij d |
| It[em] Receywed for a bellweyle | xx d |
| It[em] for goyng w[i]t[h] ye hobbyhorse | xiij s iiij d |
| It[em] of Master Rychard Welles for lyght | viij d |
| It[em] of Nycolas Fleccher for bereyng of hys syst[er] in ye churche and for lyght | ij s iiij d |
| It[em] at bereyng of Wyll[iam] banckes for lyght | iiij d |
| It[em] at ye bereyng of Wyll[iam] hatton for lyght | iiij d |
| It[em] Receyved of ye yong men and medens at Ester for heywyng money | ix s |
| It[em] ye bereying of Jone Kynn[er]sley for lyght[[87]](#endnote-87) | iiij d |
| John bett for Rent | viij s |
| Thomas lowott for Rent | v d |
| *p. 12* |  |
| Receytes |  |
| John berdmore for Rent | viij s ij d ob |
| Hugh collyar for Rent | vj d |
| Jone campden for Rent | iij d |
| Hugh hargreve for Rent | iiij d |
| Rychard Fleccher for Rent | iij s iiij d |
| The beryall of John cowper for lyght | iiij d |
| Hugh on[n]eyley for Rent <for ye severall of sinsell Reve> | iiij d |
| Per S[um]ma Rec[eptarum] | xxxj li xj s iij d ob |
| *p. 13* |  |
| Paiementes |  |
| Thomas hygges and Wyll[iam] vttyng church wardyns off Yoxall An[n]o R[egi]s H[enrici] viij xxxviij [1546–7] |  |
| Paymentes |  |
| Fyrst at lychffeld the offering | xj d |
| It[e]m the clerke | j d |
| It[e]m the at Dynner[[88]](#endnote-88) | iiij s viij d |
| John hardyn the mynstrell | ij d |
| It[e]m the morres Da[u]nsse of lychffelld | iiij d |
| It[e]m ffor beryng ij stremer polles to lychffeld[[89]](#endnote-89) | ij d |
| Wyll[iam] Crysterson of Rydware[[90]](#endnote-90) for a strem[er] pole | vij d |
| Robart Wetton ffor grauellyng ye Ende of the hallebryge[[91]](#endnote-91) | iiij d |
| It[e]m ffor ye ffyrst paymente ffor ye belles | xx li |
| It[e]m for the bellfframe w[i]t[h] wheyles clap[er]s and Irunstuffe | xxx s |
| It[e]m ffor ij weyneropes to whey ye belles | ij s iiij d |
| It[e]m ye <costes> ffor ye belles when they where bowght fyrst at burton Derby lychffeld and bramley abbates | vj s vij d |
| The last payment at lychffeld for ye belles | xix li |
| It[e]m payd to Edward Gryffyn ffor ij wyckes warke | iiij s |
| It[e]m to Wyll[iam] cowper <and hys son[n]e> ffor ij wyckes warke and on[e] day at ye makyng of the bell fframe | vj s vij d |
| It[e]m to margeytt harwell ffor me[*text missing*][[92]](#endnote-92) and drynke to Edward Gryffyn ij wyckes w[i]t[h] other costes | v s iiij d |
| It[e]m John hyll on[e] day warke | ii[*text missing*] |
| It[e]m the costes at the Reryng of [*text missing*] belles | iiij[*text missing*] |
| It[e]m ye caryge of ye belles to lychffeld | [*text missing*] |
| It[e]m Wyll[iam] ~~co~~ cowp[er] for on[e] day warke and mendyng of ye medow yate | xj d |
| It[e]m payd at burton at ye weyyng of ye belles by ye handes of Ryc[hard] Salt | viij s iij d |
| *p. 14* |  |
| Paymentes |  |
| It[e]m payd to Wyll[iam] oldacur for iij days wark at ye belles | xvj d |
| It[e]m hys serwand iij days warke | xij d |
| It[e]m for ther mete and drynke and ffor bred and ale a[t] ye reryng of ye ffyrste bell | iij s j d |
| Wyll[iam] cowper ffor hewyng and sawyng of ij peses of tymbar yt hengytth ye fyrste bell and for on[e] day warke | xiij d |
| Ryc[hard] Frearson for makyng of Irun[n]e stuffe for ye belles | ~~xx d~~ ij s j d |
| It[e]m ye makyng of iij bawldryckes for ye belles | vj d |
| It[em] a locke for ye stepulle dore | viij d |
| It[em] payde to mastres pott for on[e] ponde of waxe and for makyng of v tapers for ye lampe | x d |
| It[em] John wevre for a new Rope to mak ij bell Ropes | x d |
| It[em] a hop of Irun[n]e for a bell | j d |
| It[em] for helpe vpe and done brede and ale | v d |
| It[em] for v pondes of waxe and makyn of old and new waxe and ye costes | iiij s iij d |
| It[em] ye visitacion at Tamworth | xx d |
| It[em] to Ryc[hard] Frearson for mendyng of a crose | iij d |
| It[em] for ij pondes of Iren to mend ye thyrd bell clap[er] | iij d |
| It[em] ffor halowyng of a corp[er]s clothe[[93]](#endnote-93) ye w[hi]c[h] Anne hollond gaffe | iiij d |
| It[em] a baldryck of a bell | ij d |
| It[em] to ye constable <for> subsyde | ~~ij d~~ ij s |
| It[em] to Ryc[hard] Fleccher for Rent | ij d |
| It[em] to margeytt wyrrall for wayssyng ye churche clothys | viij d |
| It[em] for ij bell ropes | xij d |
| p[er] S[um]ma solut[ionem] | xliij li xviij s viij d |
| *p. 15* |  |
| [**1547–8**]  Wyll[iam] vttyng church warden The Receytes ye fyrst yere of Edward the vj [1547–8] |  |
| Fyrst receyved of ye churche Wardens of barto[n][[94]](#endnote-94) for ij bell brasses | iiij s |
| It[em] of ye college prestes of lychffelde | ij s ij d |
| It[em] Receyved for iij peysses of Sylver lackyng of ij ounces | iiijs vj d |
| It[em] of Master Docter Dakyns[[95]](#endnote-95) to ye Reypracions of the churche | iij s iiij d |
| John berdmore ffor Rent | xvj s ij d ob |
| John bette for Rent | viij s |
| Hugh collyar for Rent | vj d |
| Jone campden for Rent | iij d |
| Hugh hargrewe for Rent | iiij d |
| John Sharles for Rent | iij s iiij d |
| Rychard marshall for Rent | xx d |
| It[em] for a chales[[96]](#endnote-96) | lviij s |
| P[er] S[um]ma Recept[arum] | cij s iij d ob |
| *p. 16* |  |
| The paymentes ye ffryst yere of Edward ye Syxte [1547–48] |  |
| Fyrst ye offeryng at lychffeld | xj d |
| It[em] ye clerk | j d |
| It[em] ye costs at Dynner | iiij s ij d |
| It[em] to Robyn hode marresda[u]nce[[97]](#endnote-97) and John harden | xij d |
| It[em] ffor halffe a hyde of whyteledder for baldryckes | xiij d |
| It[em] ij bell Ropes | xij d |
| It[em] to ye constable for bey kun[n] money[[98]](#endnote-98) | xij d |
| It[em] payed to mastrys mynars for tymber for ye tent bryge to make planckes | xxij d |
| Ryc[hard] Stryngar for makyng a Sawpyte | ij d |
| John hetthe for Sawyng of ye same tymbar | ij s x d |
| Rychard marshall for ye caryge of ij lodes of ye same tymber | vj d |
| Wyll[iam] cowp[er] for iij days warke at ye trente bryge | xviij d |
| It[em] in brede and ale at ye leying of the planckes | iiij d |
| It[em] ye Kynges vicitation <and ye iniunccions> at burtton[[99]](#endnote-99) | iij s |
| It[em] iij lockes ffor ye cofer iij keys iiij stawbels[[100]](#endnote-100) ij hasps | xvij d |
| It[em] for makyng a letterne | iij d |
| Rychard Frearson for a bonde of [*text missing*]nne for ye letter | iiij d |
| It[em] for a bawldrycke for a bell | ij d |
| It[em] ye vicitation at vtceter | viij d |
| It[em] Rychard Frearson for tentyng[[101]](#endnote-101) ye clocke | iij s iiij d |
| It[em] ij bellrops | xiiij d |
| It[em] ye costes at ye takyng dou[n]ne ye Immages[[102]](#endnote-102) | xiij d |
| It[em] ye vicitation at hanbery | viij d |
| It[em] ye wicitation at Vtceter | xvj d |
| It[e]m ye vicitation at lychffeld | ijs vijd |
| It[e]m to margett Wyrrall for wassyng the churche clothys | vj d |
| S[um]ma solut[ionem] | xxxij s xj d |
| *p. 17* |  |
| [**1548–9**]  Wyll[iam] Vttyng churchwarden The Receytes ye Secun[n]de yere of Kyng Edward ye Syxte [1548–9] |  |
|  |  |
| Fyrst of Edmode bardell for laste payment of ye belles | xlv s |
| It[em] for ye lyttelbell claper | xij d |
| It[em] of ye kynges bayly for ye colege of lychffeld[[103]](#endnote-103) | vj d |
| Hugh collyar for Rent | vj d |
| Thomas lowote for Rent | v d |
| Jone campden for Rent | iij d |
| John Sharles for Rent | iij s iiij d |
| It[em] for Irun[n]e Rynges and puter chandelers | xviij d |
| John berdmore for Rent | xv s ij d ob |
| Hugh hargrewe | iiij d |
| John bett for Rent | viij s |
| per S[um]m rec[eptarum] | iij li xvj s ob |
| The bureyngs in ye churche vn payd  Robart campden Homffrey welles  Jamys marres Dorowthe Welles  Jeys marres George Welles  Roger marres |  |
| S[um]ma to[ta]lis Recept[arum] p[ro] thys trib[us] annis | xl li ix s vij d |
| M[emoran]d[um] in surplus | l s v d |
| *p. 18* |  |
| Wyll[iam] Vttyng churchwarden  Paymentes  The Secunde yere of Kyng Edward ye vj [1548–49] |  |
| Fyrst payd ffor meate and drynke and at ye mendyng of ye hee ways | xvj d |
| It[em] to the Sumn[n]er[[104]](#endnote-104) for ye book of prayer ffor prynces of scoteland[[105]](#endnote-105) | vj d |
| It[em] for makyng ij bawldryckes and a buckule for ye belles | v d |
| It[em] ij belropes | xviij d |
| It[em] to Edward harwell for tymbar to make Reyles at ye trent bryge | x d |
| John Kent and hys son[n]e ij days wark | xx d |
| Edward harwell for Sawderyng ye gutters of ye church | x d |
| It[em] for a new gowgyn for a bell | vj d |
| It[em] to John Kentt and a nother to helpe hym <at ye mendyng of ye belles> | x d |
| The costes at lychffeld beffore ye commyssenners cons[er]nyng ye church goods[[106]](#endnote-106) | ~~iij d~~ iij s |
| The takyng dou[n]ne of ij belles | ij s vj d |
| It[em] for makyng of ye church wale | ij d |
| It[em] ye vicitation at Vttceter | xv d |
| It[em] ye turnyg of ye broke | viij d |
| It[em] ye paraphrase of Erasmus[[107]](#endnote-107) | v s iiij d |
| It[em] ye booke of ye com[m]union[[108]](#endnote-108) | v s |
| It[em] ye <ij yeres> Rent of ~~sharles~~ <churche> closse | iiij d |
| S[um]ma Solut[ionem] | xxvj s viij d |
| S[um]ma to[ta]lis solut[ionem] p[ro] thys trib[us] annis[[109]](#endnote-109) | xlvj li xviij s iij d |
| M[emoran]d[um][[110]](#endnote-110) Et sic in solut[ionem] plus qua[m] in recept[orum][[111]](#endnote-111) | vj li viij s vij d ob |
| Inde rem[anent] in pixide ad vltim[um] co[m]pitu[m][[112]](#endnote-112) | iij li xvij s xj d |
| It[em] in man[ibus] Rob[er]t marres de arr[eragiis] suys ad vltim[um] co[m]pitu[m][[113]](#endnote-113) | iij s iiij d |
| *p. 19* |  |
| [**1549–50?**][[114]](#endnote-114)  It[em] payd for naylys | vj d |
| It[em] spend at lychefeld p[re]sentyng ye chur[ch] goodes | iij s |
| It[em] at ye visitacio[n] at Uttoxat[er] | ij s j d |
| It[em] at ye visitacio[n] at Tamworth | ij s viij d |
| It[em] to payd to S[ir] John marburye[[115]](#endnote-115) for Wrytyng the regester boke[[116]](#endnote-116) | viij d |
| It[em] payd to John Stath[a]m for syngyng bokes bought at lychefeld[[117]](#endnote-117) | viij d |
| It[em] payd for brede and wynne for the churche | xxij d |
| It[em] expenses at lychefeld for carying the church goodes before the lorde Ferrers[[118]](#endnote-118) | xxij d |
| S[um]ma solut[ionem] | l s ix d |
| [**1554–5**]  Recepto[r]es anno p[ri]mo marie reginie et anno iido pheleppe et marie [1554–5] |  |
| In primis rec[eived] of berdmore for ij yeres rents | xxxij s v d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of Robart salt to one hal[[119]](#endnote-119) the yeres rent of bettes howse | iiij s |
| It[em] rec[eived] of John Charles | iij s iiij d |
| It[em] rece[ived] of Ryc[hard] M[ar]shall | xx d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of Wyll[iam] browne for lache medo | vj d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of the p[ar]son of hanburyes bequest[[120]](#endnote-120) | iij s iiij d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of M[aste]r Welles towarde ye rep[ar]acion off trent brygge | xx d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of Robart Salt for the same | xij d |
| It[em] rec[eived] of yong Mastres mare for the same | vj d |
| Payme[n]ts anno p[ri]mo et ijdo |  |
| It[em] in p[ri]mis payd for bell ropes | vij s |
| It[em] to geselying for saying tymber for trent brygge | iiij s |
| It[em] to John Kent and Ryc[hard] cowp[er] for Worke | x d |
| It[em] to Ryc[hard] cowp[er] a nother tyme | vj d |
| It[em] for mendyng the belles | vj d |
| It[em] to Robart Johnson for pavying the church flowre | xij d |
| It[em] for Wytlyme and a skynne of parchement for a Tabur[[121]](#endnote-121) | x d |
| It[em] to s[ir] John Marburye for wrytyng the regest[er] boke | iiij d |
| It[em] for shyngle nayles | iiij d |
| It[em] to Ryc[hard] Frereson hath rec[eived] for viij yeres for kepying of the[[122]](#endnote-122) | iiij marke[[123]](#endnote-123) |
| It[em] for makyng of the belle clap[er] and yron to hit | xiij d |
| It[em] at visitacion at alton | xxiiij d |
| It[em] for the bokett for holy Wat[er] | vj d |
| *p. 20* |  |
| It[em] payd for the rode and the ymages and to the clerke for setting them vppe | x s x d |
| It[em] payd for lyghtes | iij s ij d |
| It[em] for the cardynals Visitacio[n] at lychefeld[[124]](#endnote-124) | iiij s iiij d |
| It[em] at Vttoxat[er] before com[m]issio[n]s | xx d [*sic*] ij d |
| Receytes |  |
| It[em] receyved of marschall | xx d |
| It[em] receyved of lovot | xx d |
| It[em] of m[istres]s Jone Camdyn | vj d |
| It[em] receyved of hugh collear | xviij d |
| It[em] received of charlys | ij s |
| Paymentes |  |
| It[em] tymbre that they hadde of me Hugh Harregreve[[125]](#endnote-125) to trent brygge  <it is to moche> | xvj s |
| It[em] cowp[er] and John [*text missing*]tt[[126]](#endnote-126) hadde for mendyng of the breeke of the broke and the medoe yate and tymbre to ye same | ij s |
| It[em] owyng to M[aste]r Welles for cc shynguls | ~~xviij d~~ iij s |
| Recytes |  |
| It[em] of ~~sh~~ Charles | iij s iiij d |
| Payd |  |
| It[em] payd to Thom[a]s collear for Wrytyng | iiij d |
| It[em] to newbrowe[[127]](#endnote-127) | iiij d |
| Receytes |  |
| It[em] I have receyved of the same tymbre that we hadde to trent brygge | ix s |
| Paydde |  |
| It[em] payde to alport for ij belle ropes | ij s ij d |
| Rec[eived] |  |
| Impri[mi]s of M[aste]r Parson[[128]](#endnote-128) for Auerelles Leas[[129]](#endnote-129) for iiij years rentt | viij s |
| Peyd |  |
| Impri[mi]s to M[aste]r P[ar]son for a boke | vj s |
| It[em] for lyme | xvij d |
| Rec[eived] |  |
| It[em] of M[ist]ris Camden | vj d |
| S[um]ma rec[eptarum] | x li xvij s viiij d |
| S[um]ma tot[alis] solu[tionem]n | ~~viij li xiij s ij d~~ ix li xviij s |

**Churchwardens’ Accounts of Lichfield St Michael, 1554**–**7**

**Staffordshire Record Office, B/C/5/exhibits/1**

**and**

**Thomas Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 522**–**3**

[**1554-5**][[130]](#endnote-130)

The Accounte of Thomas Crist[e]rson and Will[ia[m Frereson churche wardens of Sent Michell fro the fest of [*blank*]

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *col. 1* |  |
| Reyceyttes |  |
| In pr[i]m[i]s in the box | j d |
| It[e]m of Richerd Harpar and John price for ij dedd ashys | xx d |
| It[e]m for the croppes of the Asshys | xxj s iiij d |
| It[e]m of breybendars[[131]](#endnote-131) for towelles at ester | iiij d |
| It[e]m Reyceyvid for xiij Kye[[132]](#endnote-132) of the first Gras in the churche yarde | xix s vj d |
| It[e]m Rec[eived] for xix Kye and a hayffe[[133]](#endnote-133) at the Second Gras | xix s vj d |
| It[e]m of mr Feknam[[134]](#endnote-134) for the iij Gras | viij d |
| It[e]m of Thom[a]s Hyll[[135]](#endnote-135) for the guest of the father[[136]](#endnote-136) | iij s iiii d |
| It[e]m of will[ia]m Frereson for a Seyt Rome[[137]](#endnote-137) | iiij d |
| It[e]m of Henry Syrell like man[ne]r | iiij d |
| It[e]m of will[ia]m Druery lyke man[ne]r | iiij d |
| It[e]m of Thom[a]s Foster lyke man[ne]r | iiij d |
| It[e]m Receyvyd for beryalls lights and for mynnyng Days[[138]](#endnote-138) as hit dothe apeyre by a byll of percelles | xij s |
| Summa | iiij li vij s j d |
| paymetes for reparacions and other emplymentes of the churche |  |
| In pr[i]m[i]s for bred and Ale on sheyrethursday[[139]](#endnote-139) | iij d |
| It[e]m for a clapper | iij d |
| It[e]m for charcole and frankyncence | ij d |
| It[e]m for casting moldewarp[[140]](#endnote-140) hyllokes | iiij d |
| It[e]m dychyng and heyegyng the churche yarde | xij d |
| It[e]m to iij workeme[n] for croppyng and kyddyng[[141]](#endnote-141) v days | vij s vi d |
| It[e]m kyd bondes | vij d |
| It[e]m ij li of wax made in tapers w[i]t[h] the olde stuff | xx d |
| It[e]m for v li of wax makyng for the seypulker the pashall and the Judas lyght[[142]](#endnote-142) | iiij s |
| It[e]m for a masse boke and a precessioner to John Barben | ij s |
| It[e]m paid for mendyng a Gabbe[[143]](#endnote-143) in the churche yeard a stryng and a paschall pyn[[144]](#endnote-144) | iij d |
| It[e]m for Raylles and the reylyng by twyge tuys crofte and the churche yarde | viij d |
| It[e]m for bayryng of the Crosse and the channypeyrs[[145]](#endnote-145) on corpos cristy day[[146]](#endnote-146) | iiij d |
| It[e]m payd for pynyng of the Kye at the ferst Gras | iij d |
| It[e]m paid for a plate and mendyng of the tryne Gate | iij d |
| It[e]m paide to the clerke | iiij s viij d |
| It[e]m for Ryngyng when the prynce of Spane come in to yngland[[147]](#endnote-147) | vj d |
| It[e]m Halffe a yerd of bukeram[[148]](#endnote-148) to hang the hye Alter | iiij d |
| It[e]m for pynnyng of the Kye at the last Gras | ij d |
| It[e]m to Richerd Harper p[ro] Thom[a]s Foster for mendyng the belles whelles | viij d |
| *col. 2* |  |
| It[e]m to will[ia]m elkyns for workemanship at the churche yate Grate | xvj d |
| It[e]m to will[ia]m lee for mendyng churche yerde hedge | ij d |
| It[e]m to Thom[a]s Smyth for paentyng the Roode | xij d |
| It[e]m to the Same Thomas for Glasyng the wyndows abowt the churche | iij s iiij d |
| It[e]m to the clerke for his wages | iiij s |
| It[e]m for fachyng A porteas[[149]](#endnote-149) | iiij d |
| It[e]m for a lanturne | xij d |
| It[e]m payde for tymber at the Grate of the churche yarde and workemanship of the Same | ij s iiij d |
| It[e]m for the Seypulker to John Waller | xviij s |
| It[e]m to Thom[s]s Clerke Smyth for iiij plottes for the Same | iiij d |
| It[e]m Naylles for the Same | ij d |
| It[e]m for caryage of the seid <Seypulker> ~~tymber~~ to the place and for bred and Ale | x d |
| It[e]m to will[ia]m Hollecrofte for workema[n]ship and Settyng vp of the Same | vj d |
| It[e]m to will[ia]m Elkyns and his man for mendyng the Seycond bell frame | viij d |
| It[e]m to Recherd Harper for neyles and to Hoppys for the seid frame | iiij d |
| It[e]m to the same for a goochyn[[150]](#endnote-150) for the tryne gate | ij d |
| It[e]m for washyng of the churche clothys | ij d |
| It[e]m for castyng snowe of the churche and making cleyne the Grate at the churche yaete | vj d |
| It[e]m for mendyng the hedge of the seid churche yarde by mr fecknam | ij d |
| It[e]m to mr bardell for a brason crosse | vj s viij d |
| It[e]m for makyng tapers w[i]t[h] the wolde stuff | iiij d ob |
| It[e]m lyke man[ne]r | iij d |
| It[e]m payde for wax and makyng the tapers | xiiij d |
| It[e]m for ij li of wax made in tapers | ij s ij d |
| It[e]m for ij li of tawllow candulles at cristom[a]s | v d |
| It[e]m payd for the Holly candull on candulm[a]s Day | xij d |
| It[e]m mendyng of the tapurs w[i]t[h] the owlde stuffe | iiij d |
| It[e]m lyke man[ne]r | iij d ob |
| It[e]m to Smythe for mendyng the Glasse wyndows | ij d |
| It[e]m parcheme[n]t to make the counte boke | iiij d |
| It[e]m wryttyng of the Same | xij d |
| It[e]m for bred and Ale to the seyde counte | xvij d |
| Sum[m]a totalis | iij li xviij s viij d |
| Vt quo rem[anent] in pixid[e][[151]](#endnote-151) | viij s v d |
| [**1556–7**][[152]](#endnote-152)  the thyrde and fourte yeres of the raygnes of our Sovraign Lord and Lady Philipp and Mary, by the grace of God, Kynge and Quene of England, andc. [1556–7] for one holle yere endyd at the purificasion of our lady last past,[[153]](#endnote-153) made before Master Ottellyes[[154]](#endnote-154) of the sayd Cytye, and others |  |
| Recevyd, for the buryall of Alis Puleson | iij s iiij d |
| Recevyd, of Thomas Wylkynson for a shete rowme[[155]](#endnote-155) in the Churche | iiij d |
| Recevyd, of the Prebendaryes at Eyster | iiij d |
| Recevyd, in Eyster Wycke gather with the Wax Cake | xj s |
| Recevyd, for the fyrste grasse of the Churche yarde | xxiij s |
| Recevyd, of the Clerke for Charyte money | xij d |
| Recevyd, for the later grasse of the Churcheyarde | xv s vj d |
| Numerous entries of sums from one penny to six-pence for lights at funerals[[156]](#endnote-156) |  |
| Summa recep[torum] | iiij l[i] xiij s |
| Payd, for bredde and ale on Shawe thursday | iij d |
| Payd, for charcolle and ffrankensens | iij d |
| Payd, to the Clerke (his quarter’s wages) | ij s ij d |
| Payd, for pavynge of a grave | iiij d |
| Payd, for spredyne of mole hyllocks in the Churche yarde | viij d |
| Payd, for the tapers | x d |
| Payd, for vij lb[[157]](#endnote-157) of wax that made the pascall, and a great taper wode[[158]](#endnote-158) light | viij s |
| Payd, for making of the same | vij d |
| Payd, for a tynne botell | x d |
| Payd, for wax and makyng the wode light | xj d |
| Payd, for mendynge a bell whele and stuffe for hit | iij s vij d |
| Payd, for carryenge of the Cross and canapeys, and to the Clerk on Corpus Christi daye | vj d |
| Payd, for iij quateris of wax and makynge of hytt, with the old stuffe | xiij d |
| Payd, for wrytynge of the Vysitac[i]on bill | iiij d |
| Payd, for pynnynge of ij bye[[159]](#endnote-159) | ij d |
| Payd, to the Gayle[[160]](#endnote-160) | ij s ij d |
| Payd, for ij pounds of wax and a halfe, and makynge of hyt withe old stuffe | ij s xj d ob |
| Payd, for a horse loade of lyme | vj d |
| Payd, for iiij lb of tallowe Candyll | xv d ob |
| Payd, for v yarde of Wyer | vij d |
| Payd, for a gyrdyll[[161]](#endnote-161) | ij d |
| Payd, for the holly Candylls | x d |
| Payd, for a pownde of wax and makynge of hitt | xiiij d |
| Summa resolu[tionis][[162]](#endnote-162) | iij l[i] xiiij s vj d |

1. Seminal studies include David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989); Ronald Hutton, ‘The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations’, in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 114–38; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1994); Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Valerie Hitchman and Andrew Foster (eds), *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens’ Accounts c.1500–c.1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. G. P. Mander (ed.), ‘Churchwardens’ Accounts of All Saints’ Church, Walsall, 1462–1531’, in William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 3rd series, 1928 (1930), 175–267. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Philip Morgan (ed.), ‘Adbaston Churchwardens’ Accounts, 1478–1488’, in Philip Morgan and A. D. M. Phillips (eds), *Staffordshire Histories: Essays in Honour of Michael Greenslade* (Staffordshire Record Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 4th series, XIX, 1999), 83–96. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. The original book of accounts is still in private hands in the county, but a pencil transcript was made in the 1970s by Norman Tildesley of Willenhall and later deposited in the William Salt Library (225/81). What is apparently a copy of this transcript is in Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies, D-NWT/14. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. William Salt Library, Stafford, S. MS 366(1). For an edition see N. J. Tringham, ‘A Pre-Reformation Churchwardens’ Account for St. Mary’s Church, Stafford’, *Staffordshire Studies*, 15 (2003–4), 71–9. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Staffordshire Record Office [hereafter SRO], D. (W.) 1851/1/13/20. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Accounts for 1554–5 are SRO, B/C/5/exhibits/1. Rebecca Jackson and Nigel Tringham are thanked for their help in locating them. Excerpts from the accounts of 1556–7 were printed in Thomas Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 522–3. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Calculated from the listings in Hutton, *Merry England*, 263–93. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Hutton, ‘Local Impact’, 115. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Information kindly supplied by Dominic Farr of the William Salt Library. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. SRO, D. (W.) 1851/5/8; D. (W.) 1851/1/14/7. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. SRO, D. (W.) 1851/1/13/21. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. SRO, D. (W.) 1851/1/13/2. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Denis Stuart (ed.), *A Clod of Clay, a Prison for my Soule: A Social History of Yoxall in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Keele: University of Keele, 1990); Nigel J. Tringham, *A History of the County of Stafford. Volume X: Tutbury and Needwood Forest* (Victoria History of the Counties of England, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 281–316 (hereafter *VCH Staffs.*); Records of Early English Drama Online: Staffordshire, ed. J. A. B. Somerset [2017], https://ereed.library.utoronto.ca/collections/staff/ [accessed 27 September 2019]. Hutton, *Merry England*, makes brief use of the Yoxall accounts (p. 87). [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. A modern typed note on the flyleaf of SRO, D. (W.) 1851/1/13/20, dates the conservation. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. The second account book (SRO, D. (W.) 1851/1/13/21) reveals that between 1586 and 1593 the accounting year ran until the end of June or beginning of July; between 1594–8 it ended in the autumn (typically October or November); and that from 1607 it ran until April. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. The accounts for 1545–6 are missing but is likely that Hygges and Utting served for that year. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Walter Noble Landor, *Staffordshire Incumbents and Parochial Records (1530–1680)* (William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 3rd series, 1915), 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Hutton, ‘Local Impact’, 114. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Marjorie Anderson, ‘Some early Churchwardens’ Accounts of Lichfield St. Michael’s’, *Transactions of the Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 7 (1965–6), 11–20. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. M. W. Greenslade (ed.), *A History of the County of Stafford.* XIV (Victoria History of the County of Stafford, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 134–55. They are identified as L.J.R.O., B/C/5/Exhibits/Lichfield, St. Michael. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 522–32. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Lichfield St Michael, churchwardens’ accounts, 1650–1708, SRO, LD27/4/1. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Maundy Thursday 1554 was 22 March. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 15, 45. The multiplier used there is too high; the present editors have adopted Tom Arkell’s suggestion of a multiplier of approximately 4.3: Tom Arkell, ‘Multiplying Factors for Estimating Population Totals from the Hearth Tax’, *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), 51–7. It must be emphasised that all such totals are only estimates. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls … Edward VI* (6 vols, London: HMSO, 1921–9), III, 124–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. *VCH Staffs.* X, 299. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. *VCH Staffs.* XIV, 39, 134–55. There were said to be 400 households in the city in 1563; the claim in 1604 that there were 6,000 living in Lichfield is far too high: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 152; Albert Peel (ed.), ‘A Puritan Survey of the Church in Staffordshire in 1604’, *English Historical Review*, 36: 102 (1911), 338–53 at 350. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Anderson, ‘Early Churchwardens’ Accounts’, 12–14. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Harwood, *Lichfield*, 420–1, lists the bailiffs. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Charles Lynam, *The Church Bells of the County of Stafford* (priv. print., 1889), 38. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. *VCH Staffs.* X, 293. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Hutton, *Merry England*, 26–34. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Hutton, *Merry England*, 34; Douglas Johnson, ‘The Stafford Hobby Horse’, *Transactions of the Stafford Historical and Civic Society* (1974–76), 59–64. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Hutton, *Merry England*, 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Ian Atherton, ‘Bishops of Ely, 1559–1667’, in Peter Meadows (ed.), *Ely: Bishops and Diocese, 1109–2009* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 175–209 (at p. 180). [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Hutton, ‘Local Impact’, 124. Hutton’s sample did not include Yoxall. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. M. W. Greenslade (ed.), *A History of the County of Stafford*, III (Victoria History of the Counties of England, London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 150. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. For the position of the Morres/Marrys and Welles families at the pinnacle of Yoxall society, see *VCH Staffs.* X, 288, 298, 309, and Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 15, 24, 113–115. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 29–35. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Hutton, ‘Local Impact’, 129. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 55–60. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. For these men and their careers see Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357–9; Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 55; The National Archives, PROB 11/40/90, will of Roger Stokeley of Yoxall, clerk, 1556. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. i.e. half. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Possibly shingle. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Possibly ‘shyngull’ as in a previous entry. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. i.e. *obolus* or halfpenny. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Not stated whether shillings or pence, though the latter is most likely since in the following year 2lbs of wax cost 12*d*. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. A small bell rung at the elevation of the host during Mass. The parish had two in May 1553: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. i.e. the neighbouring parish of Alrewas. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. This line is added in a different hand and different ink. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. i.e. Uttoxeter. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. i.e. a gudgeon, ‘The ring or “eye” in the “heel” of a gate which turns on the hook or pintle in the gate-post’: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Wyrall as elsewhere in these accounts. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Several parishes in the diocese, including Alrewas and Longdon, maintained the tradition of carrying their processional cross with their Pentecostal offerings to the cathedral in Lichfield: J. Charles Cox (ed.), *Catalogue of the Muniments and Manuscript Books Pertaining to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield* (William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, VI (2), 1886), 93. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Probably a rope used when erecting a trestle, truss, or other framework, perhaps in connection with a bell frame: Carole Rawcliffe (ed.), *The Norwich Chamberlain’s Accounts 1539–40 to 1544–45* (Norfolk Record Society, 83, 2019), 397. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. The sum total of payments this year. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. No doubt Cossall. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. i.e. iron. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. Probably Harwell (as below). [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. The chantry priests of New College in the cathedral close at Lichfield: *VCH Staffs.* III, 166. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. This line is erased. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Sum total of receipts for three years. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. The sum total of receipts with £6 9*s*. 8*d*. received in a small box. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. Part of this entry is worn away; all that remains of the sum is the terminal ‘jd’. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. A care-cloth was a cloth ‘held over (or placed upon) the heads of the bride and bridegroom as they knelt during the marriage-service’: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. Sum total paid this year. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. Sum total of payments for the three preceding years. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. Possibly ‘salt’. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. William Hogkynson made his will on 30 October 1544; he had died by 10 November when an inventory of his goods was taken: Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 129. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. No Staffordshire cleric of this name is known, but he may possibly be identical with Hugh Berdmore, vicar or curate of Weston-upon-Trent in 1532–3: Ann J. Kettle (ed.), *A List of Families in the Archdeaconry of Stafford 1532–3* (Staffordshire Record Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 4th series, VIII, 1976), 57; Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 311–12. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. Possibly ‘heaving money’ as received the previous year also. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. Probably Hugh. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. This line is entered in a different ink. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. This term has not been identified, but since William Cowper was frequently paid for carpentry, it was probably some form of timber work, perhaps related to the bell framce. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. Probably the fourth payment of the subsidy of 1540, the deadline for which was 4 February 1544. The preamble of the act (32 Henry VIII c. 50) justified the grant because the king had brought his ‘subjectes out of all blyndnes and ignoraunce into the true and p[er]fecte knowledge of Almyghtye God, by his moste holye worde; [and] The abolysshing also of the Bishop of Rome and his usurped auctoritie’. The churchwardens’ accounts of Charlwood (Surrey) include a similar payment in 1545: ‘My expense to Cobham to deliver the money for the defence of the faith’, 10*d*. John Caley *et al*. (eds), *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols in 12, London: Record Commission, 1810–28), III, 812–24; *First Flowers: By a Literary Amateur* (London: Thorp and Burch, 1825), 217. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer’s English translation of the litany, which in June 1544 the bishops were ordered by the crown to enforce in every parish. The litany was a major part of processions, hence the commonly used name ‘processioner’: Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 51–2; J. E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens’ Accounts of St. Mary the Great Cambridge from 1504–1635* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Series, 35, 1905), 107. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. Russel was a strong twilled woollen cloth: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. The subsidy became an almost permanent feature of royal taxation in the 1540s, with subsidies being levied in 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1546, and 1547: Roger Schofield, *Taxation under the Early Tudors 1485–1547* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 220. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. Probably the coroner. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. In May 1553 the church had one latten cross: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 397. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. Say, a light, twilled woollen fabric resembling serge: *OED*. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. In May 1553 the church had three sets of priest’s vestments with albs, one of black say, one of red say, and one of white damask, and two sets of deacon’s vestments, one of silk and one of say: Landor, *Staffordshire Incumbents*, 397. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. This line added in different ink. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. Joan Kynnysley made her will on 6 March 1546/7; she had died by 24 May when an inventory of her goods was taken: Stuart (ed.), *Social History of Yoxall*, 129. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. Presumably intended for ‘then at Dynner’, [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. In his will made in 1513 and proved the following year, Richard Stokley, a chantry priest in London, left to the parish church in Yoxall (where he had been baptised) an antiphoner and £2 for ‘a fayre stremer of cloth of silk to be garnysshed with gold letters and scripture and frynged with silk’: Ida Darlington (ed.), *London Consistory Court Wills, 1492–1547* (London Record Society, 3, 1967), no. 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. Probably the William X’porson of Pipe Ridware who was charged with maintaining a bill without horse in the muster roll of 1539: W. Boyd (ed.), ‘Muster Roll, Staffordshire, A.D. 1539’, in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (William Salt Archaeological Society, new series, IV, 1901), 213–57 (at p. 230). [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. Hall bridge over the River Swarbourne lay in the centre of Yoxall village on the road to Barton-under-Needwood: *VCH Staffs.* X, 284, 294. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. Probably ‘mete’. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. Corporas (or corporal) cloth, a cloth on which the consecrated bread and wine are placed during the Mass, which is also used to cover them after the service: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. Presumably Barton-under-Needwood. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. John Dakyn (*c*.1506–58), who received the degrees of Bachelor of Civil Law (1524–5) and Doctor of Civil Law (1528–9) from Cambridge University. Apparently a former monk of St Mary’s, York, he was chancellor of Wells 1543, and in 1548 was preferred as rector of Kirkby Ravensworth, Yorkshire (North Riding) and prebendary of Bilton in York Minster. He was later (1551) archdeacon of the East Riding: *ACAD. A Cambridge Alumni Database*, <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/> [accessed 11 August 2019]; Joyce M. Horn and David M. Smith, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857: Volume 4, York Diocese* (London, 1975), 25. Although a Yorkshireman, he had links with the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield: The National Archives, C1/1260/4–5. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. A royal order for communion in both kinds for the laity which was part of *The Order of Communion* of Easter 1548, presumably required a larger communion cup, perhaps making smaller ones surplus to requirements: Francis Procter and Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Macmillan, 1902), 38. In 1553 Yoxall church had one chalice with a silver paten: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. The figure of Robin Hood had been adopted into May or summer festivities across England in the fifteenth century, but he was also popularly associated with Tutbury, eight miles to the north-east of Yoxall: J. C. Holt, *Robin Hood* (revised edition, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 148–51, 159, 167 [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. Possibly this payment is connected to the custom of the Wychnor flitch. ‘Bacon rent’ and ‘bacon silver’ were collected at Wychnor, just a couple of miles from Yoxall, in the 15th century: *VCH Staffs.* X, 277–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. In 1547 Edward VI ordered a general visitation of England, suspending the power of the bishops, archdeacons, and other clergy to visit the church; there were four commissioners for Midlands dioceses including Coventry and Lichfield. The royal injunctions of 1547 condemned practices such as pilgrimages, image worship, use of the rosary, parish processions, and the burning of lights in church (except two candles on the altar). Eamon Duffy called the injunctions ‘a significant shift in the direction of full-blown Protestantism’ and suggested that the royal visitation precipitated ‘the most sweeping changes in religion England had yet seen’. John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer* (2 vols, London: George Routledge, 1853), I, 209; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1992), 450–3; W. H. Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (3 vols, London: Longmans, Green, 1908–10), II, 103–30. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. i.e. staples (part of a lock). [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. i.e. tending to: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. The 1547 royal injunctions ordered that all images ‘abused with pilgrimage or offering of anything made therunto’ be taken down and destroyed: Frere and Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles*, II, 116. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. Following the dissolution of the chantries in Lichfield cathedral in 1548, the duty of paying the Yoxall churchwardens on account of the former chantry priests’ holding of a close of meadow in the parish passed to the king’s bailiff, though he paid only 6*d*. and not 2*s*. 2*d*. as previously. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. The summoner or apparitor was an official of the court, in this case no doubt of the Lichfield consistory court. [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
105. In May and July 1548 the privy council ordered that prayers be said on Sundays and holydays for victory and peace in Scotland, in response to the difficulties of the English campaign there, the so-called ‘Rough Wooing; designed to force the Scots to fulfil the Treaty of Greenwich of 1543 which provided for the marriage of Edward to Mary of Scotland. The form of prayers to be used in each parish, *A Prayer for Victorie and Peace* (London, 1548), was dated 10 May 1548: Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor, and Philip Williamson (eds), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation. Volume I: Special Prayers, Fats and Thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533–1688* (Church of England Record Society, 20, 2013), 29–31. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
106. Several royal commissioners enquiring into the goods and possessions of chantries, declared dissolved in 1547, were active in Staffordshire in 1548: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 402–4 [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
107. Desiderius Erasmus, *First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente* (London, 1548), which was published on 31 January 1547/8. Edward VI’s royal injunctions of 1547 ordered that, within twelve months of the end of the visitation, each parish had to provide a copy of Erasmus’ *Paraphrases* in English; parishes were also to acquire a copy of the bible in English within three months. Half the cost of these books was to be borne by the parishioners, and half by the incumbent. Frere and Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles*, II, 117–18. The absence of any mention of the purchase of a bible in these accounts perhaps suggests that while the Yoxall churchwardens paid for the Erasmus, the rector paid for the English bible. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
108. Probably Thomas Cranmer, *Certayne Sermons, or Homelies* (London, 1547). The 1547 royal injunctions decreed that one of these homilies should be read every Sunday: Frere and Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles*, II, 129. The description here in the accounts of them as a book of the communion is explained by the preface of the *Homelies* (sig. Aiiv) setting out that one should be read ‘euery Sondaye in the yere, at hygh Masse, when the people be moste gathered together’. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
109. Sum total paid these three years. [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
110. This word is added in the left-hand margin in different ink. [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
111. And so in payments above that in receipts [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
112. And there remains in the box from the last account. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
113. In the hands of Robert Morres of his arrears from the last account. [↑](#endnote-ref-113)
114. The payments at the head of p. 19 must belong to a different accounting year, probably 1549–50. [↑](#endnote-ref-114)
115. ‘John Marburye, curate of Yoxall’, witnessed the will of Katherine Dudley of Yoxall on 22 December 1551: H. Sydney Grazebook, ‘Junior Branches of the Family of Sutton, alias Dudley’, in William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* X (2) (1889), 93. [↑](#endnote-ref-115)
116. The earliest extant register for Yoxall parish begins in 1645, and the earliest surviving bishops’ transcripts for the parish begin in 1664: SRO, D. 730/1/1a and B/V/7/1/759/1. [↑](#endnote-ref-116)
117. Possibly these were metrical psalms: there were several editions of such psalms by Thomas Sternhold (added to by John Hopkins) and others published in 1549–50. Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 124–5. [↑](#endnote-ref-117)
118. Walter Devereux (*c*. 1489–1558), third Lord Ferrers of Chartley; in 1550 he was created Viscount Hereford: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [↑](#endnote-ref-118)
119. i.e. half. [↑](#endnote-ref-119)
120. The will of John Hurte or Harte, rector of Hanbury since 1536, was made 27 May 1552 and proved 24 July 1552. In it he gave 3*s*. 4*d*. towards the repair of Yoxall bridge, along with several other charitable bequests including money for the repair of Dove, Tutbury, and Wychnor bridges: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 115, 117; SRO, B/C/11, John Hurte (1552). [↑](#endnote-ref-120)
121. A kind of drum. [↑](#endnote-ref-121)
122. No text is missing at this point; the scribe did not complete the entry. [↑](#endnote-ref-122)
123. A mark was two-thirds of a pound (13s. 4d.) so 4 marks was £2 13*s*. 4*d*. [↑](#endnote-ref-123)
124. Cardinal Reginald Pole conducted a metropolitical visitation of England in 1556 as part of the programme of restoring England to Roman obedience. Among the devotional items that each parish was ordered to acquire were a holy-water stoup, sprinkler, and a vessel for carrying holy water, and a Rood and Rood loft, hence the payments recorded here for a bucket for holy water and for the Rood and images: Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 545–6. [↑](#endnote-ref-124)
125. Hewe Hargreve was recorded as churchwarden (with Robert Towers) in the Yoxall return of church goods of 14 May 1553 in the last year of Edward VI’s reign: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-125)
126. No doubt John Kent who appears elsewhere in these accounts for work including with Robert Cowper and on Trent Bridge. [↑](#endnote-ref-126)
127. Newborough, four miles north of Yoxall. [↑](#endnote-ref-127)
128. i.e. Roger Stockley, rector of Yoxall from 1540 until his death in 1558: Landor, *Staffs. Incumbents*, 357. [↑](#endnote-ref-128)
129. Averell Leys (or ‘Heyes’) was a field in Yoxall mentioned in a tithe case of 1586 and a sale of 1608: SRO, B/C/5/1586/6; William Salt Library, M. 479. [↑](#endnote-ref-129)
130. These accounts, SRO, B/C/5/exhibits/1, are for 1554-5, the date given by the payment for ringing for the arrival of the prince of Spain, which was in July 1554. They are wrongly dated in an endorsement at the front of the membrane in a twentieth-century archivist’s hand ‘Churchwardens Account: St Michael’s Lichf 1544–5 see Entry for ringing for the Prince of Spain’s Arrival’. [↑](#endnote-ref-130)
131. Probably the prebendaries of Lichfield Cathedral. [↑](#endnote-ref-131)
132. i.e. cows. [↑](#endnote-ref-132)
133. A heifer. [↑](#endnote-ref-133)
134. Possibly John Feckenham, innkeeper and member of the city corporation – sheriff in 1558 and bailiff in 1560 and 1580 – who died in 1585: Harwood, *Lichfield*, 370, 420–2. [↑](#endnote-ref-134)
135. Possibly the Thomas Hyll (probably a plumber), who was paid 4*d*. for pipes for the water conduit in 1552: Harwood, *Lichfield*, 390. [↑](#endnote-ref-135)
136. Possibly a payment for a celebration of a Mass of the Holy Ghost. [↑](#endnote-ref-136)
137. Seat room, i.e. the rental of a pew. [↑](#endnote-ref-137)
138. Days of remembrance or commemoration such as month’s mind or obits, from min, to remember or commemorate: Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (London, 1677); *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-138)
139. Sheer Thursday, another name for Maundy Thursday: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-139)
140. i.e. moles. [↑](#endnote-ref-140)
141. Kidding, binding up into ‘kids’, bundles or faggots: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-141)
142. The Judas light was a candle representing Judas Iscariot used in the Holy Wek liturgy: Thomas North, *A Chronicle of the Church of S. Martin in Leicester* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1866), 57–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-142)
143. i.e. a gap. [↑](#endnote-ref-143)
144. Pins were inserted into the paschal candle to represent the fice wounds of Christ. See Clive Burgess (ed.), *The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c1450-c1570* (London Record Scoiety, 34, 1999), 134. [↑](#endnote-ref-144)
145. Canopies. [↑](#endnote-ref-145)
146. Corpus Christi was 24 May in 1554. [↑](#endnote-ref-146)
147. Philip of Spain landed on the Isle of Wight on 19 July 1554 and arrived in Southampton the following day in preparation for his marriage to Mary I on 25 July in Winchester. Royall Tyler ( ed.), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere. Vol. 12, January*–*July 1554* (London: HMSO, 1949), 319–22. [↑](#endnote-ref-147)
148. Buckram, a linen cloth: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-148)
149. A portable breviary: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-149)
150. i.e. a gudgeon. [↑](#endnote-ref-150)
151. So that there remains in the small box. This entry is written across both columns at the foot of the account. [↑](#endnote-ref-151)
152. These accounts are here printed from the extracts in Thomas Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806), 522–3 [↑](#endnote-ref-152)
153. Candlemas, 2 February. [↑](#endnote-ref-153)
154. John Otteley or Otley, gentleman, the bishop’s steward and a leading citizen of Lichfield: SRO, LD30/10/1/17(i); William Salt Library, SD Pearson/1147; Harwood, *Lichfield*, 496; *VCH*, XIV, 112; The National Archives, E40/13437. [↑](#endnote-ref-154)
155. Seat room, i.e. the rental of a pew. [↑](#endnote-ref-155)
156. This entry is evidently Harwood’s summary of a section of the receipts. [↑](#endnote-ref-156)
157. So rendered by Harwood; it is likely that the clerk wrote ‘li’ (libras) for pounds as both weight and money. [↑](#endnote-ref-157)
158. Possibly Harwood’s transcription error for ‘wolde’, i.e. old. [↑](#endnote-ref-158)
159. No doubt a transcription error for ‘kye’. [↑](#endnote-ref-159)
160. Possibly a payment to the prisoners in the gaol in Lichfield, which stood behind the guildhall: *VCH*, XIV, 80. [↑](#endnote-ref-160)
161. A cord worn to bind an alb as part of a set of vestments: *Oxford English Dictionary*. [↑](#endnote-ref-161)
162. The total of payments. [↑](#endnote-ref-162)