



Records of Early English Drama

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BRISTOL

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EDITED BY MARK C. PILKINTON

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

LUCY BLANDFORD PILKINTON

A.B., M.A., PH.D.

27 FEBRUARY 1943 – 19 JANUARY 1994



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# Records of Early English Drama

The aim of *Records of Early English Drama* (REED) is to find, transcribe, and publish external evidence of dramatic, ceremonial, and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642. The executive editor would be grateful for comments on and corrections to the present volume and for having any relevant additional material drawn to her attention.

ALEXANDRA F. JOHNSTON University of Toronto DIRECTOR

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No sooner had I successfully defended my PhD dissertation at the University of Bristol than my tutor, Glynne Wickham, told me of an impending project to locate, transcribe, and publish all extant records of early English drama before 1642. It is a great personal honour and privilege, so many years later, to serve as research editor of the REED *Bristol* volume and to see it in print. I would be remiss not to acknowledge the city of Bristol itself, which has played such an important role in my adult life, and also Glynne and Hesel Wickham, who have been involved with my life directly and positively since I first arrived in Bristol in the autumn of 1972.

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I am very pleased to acknowledge formal permission from the following libraries and repositories to publish extracts from documents in their possession: the Trustees of the Berkeley Castle muniments, the Bristol Record Office, the Bristol Reference Library, the British Library, the Cardiff County Library, the Controller of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the Governors of Dulwich College, the Gloucester Library, the Gloucester Record Office, the Hereford and Worcester Record Office, Lambeth Palace Library, the Somerset Record Office, and the Worcester Diocesan Registry. Thanks also to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto which provided the reproduction of the Braun and Hogenberg map of Bristol.

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# Historical Background

PATRICK CARTER

When the Tudor traveller and antiquary John Leland visited Bristol around 1545, he encountered physical evidence of the city's prosperity and power: 'The Castle and moste parte of the towne by northe stondithe apon a grownd metely eminent betwyxt the ryvers of Avon and Fraw, alias Frome. There rysethe an hill of an notable highte in respecte of the plote of the towne selfe from the Fromebridge on so goythe vp alonge onto seint Austins, alias the Trinitie the Cathedrall church and there endithe ... There be in sum partes of the towne doble waulles a token that the towne hath bene augmentyd.'<sup>1</sup> Some gates from the old inner walls of the town still existed. The centre of the city lay bounded on the south and east by the Avon and on the west by the Frome, with the cathedral and its green to the west and the castle lying to the east of the inner city. North from Bristol roads ran to Gloucester and south Wales, while the route to London went past the castle to the east. South of the Avon across a 'greate bridge of 4 stone arches'<sup>2</sup> lay the ancient parishes of St Thomas and Temple and farther south the suburb of Redcliffe, with its splendid parish church. Temple parish originally constituted a peculiar under the jurisdiction of the order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. From the southern suburb roads branched out to Wells and Bath.<sup>3</sup>

In the early sixteenth century the town's population stood at around 10,000, rising to 12,000 by the end of the century and reaching approximately 15,000 by 1640. Bristol's wealth and economic importance made it the chief provincial town of England after London during the later Middle Ages. By the 1520s it had ceded that title to Norwich, yet remained the third town of the realm in terms of both population and assessed wealth.<sup>4</sup> In 1611 the historian John Speed paid Bristol the highest compliment when he declared that, in mercantile matters at least, the town was 'a second London.'<sup>5</sup> This competition with London was one of the enduring themes of Bristol's history, whether over control of the wine trade or in dominance in Atlantic exploration. The assertion of Bristol's primacy among provincial towns and her parity with London is most clearly visible in the development of a mythological history of the town's origins. The remarkable Robert Ricart, late fifteenth-century town official and chronicler, related Bristol's ancient foundation by the Trojan Brennius who 'set it vpon a litell hill,' in like manner as his countryman Brutus had established her rival London. In borrowing from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ricart inaugurated a tradition of urban historical writing which exercised a major influence over Bristol and its ruling corporation.<sup>6</sup>

Historians of late medieval and early modern English towns have relied upon evidence of

depopulation, contemporary complaints of the decline of trade, and the reluctance of men to accept civic office to develop a thesis of urban decline in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The sorry tale of Coventry, brought low by changes in the cloth market, has provided the model for the English urban experience.<sup>7</sup> Yet the fortunes of English towns varied enormously and the surviving jeremiads relating economic woes and begging tax relief from the Crown need to be analysed with care. Bristol offers ample evidence of such decline. In 1486 the citizens of Bristol presented the visiting Henry VII with pageants highlighting the town's recent decay and begging him to help restore their prosperity. Around 1530 Bristol's leaders asked to be relieved from paying prisage (the import duty on wine), and for permission to accept gifts of land the income from which could be used to pay the annual fee farm to the Crown (a burden from which many towns sought to escape). A decade later Bristol was among the three dozen towns named as depopulated and decayed in a parliamentary statute designed to give corporations powers to promote redevelopment and the removal of derelict buildings.<sup>8</sup> Such evidence must be treated with caution, however, particularly in Bristol's case. While (as we shall see) trade levels did fluctuate, many of these petitions were actually part of a broader attempt on the part of corporations (including Bristol's) to increase their powers and escape royal fiscal burdens. Depopulation was often more indicative of reduced demographic pressures than of economic decline, while the celebrated rebuilding statutes may not always have reflected accurately the chronology of decay.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the breadth of Bristol's commercial economy ensured that it did not share the miserable fate of its colleague Coventry.

The earliest extant charters granting privileges to the town of Bristol date from the late twelfth century and in 1373 Edward III recognized Bristol's growing economic and political importance by elevating the town to the status of a county, with a mayor, council, and sheriff independent of Gloucestershire.<sup>10</sup> The next major legal change came in December 1499, when Henry VII confirmed the town's privileges. The royal charter of 1499 also introduced several innovations, adding a second sheriff to share the duties of the first and creating the office of chamberlain to oversee the corporation's finances. In addition, the 1499 charter called for the selection of six aldermen from the ranks of the council (one being the recorder) to assist the mayor in governing the town.<sup>11</sup> Henry VII's charter was confirmed by his Tudor successors in 1510 and 1547 and again in 1581 when the bench of aldermen doubled in strength to twelve.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the early modern era Bristol returned two members to parliament: the recorder (the corporation's counsel) was generally joined at Westminster by a prominent local merchant.<sup>13</sup> The chief occasion in the civic calendar was the election of the mayor from among the aldermen on 15 September, followed by his installation a fortnight later at Michaelmas amid lavish pomp and ceremony.<sup>14</sup> The centre of Bristol's government was the fourteenth-century Guildhall, partially replaced in 1551 by the Council House, or Tolsey, a monument to the growing power of the corporation and the prosperity of the mercantile elite which dominated the town's government.<sup>15</sup>

Even armed with its royal charters, the corporation needed to be ever vigilant in asserting its privileges in the face of challenges from other authorities. The strongest local threat emanated from St Augustine's Abbey; during the 1490s the corporation claimed that the abbot's rights to hold a manorial court and conduct a view of frankpledge violated Bristol's liberties. There

was also concern with the abuse of sanctuary and resistance to town officers who attempted to apprehend fugitives. The dispute dragged on for five years (1491–6); in the end the intervention of Cardinal Morton and the lord chief justice secured only a partial resolution. Similar conflicts arose involving the Temple liberty and they also passed to arbitration.<sup>16</sup> The corporation also vigorously resisted any attempt by external government authorities, particularly the Council in the Marches of Wales and the Court of Admiralty, to exercise jurisdiction over Bristol and its citizens. For example, in 1562 Bristol corporation procured a royal clarification that, since it formed a separate county (outside of Gloucestershire), the city's representatives were not required to heed summonses from the lord president to appear before the Council in the Marches at Ludlow. Likewise the corporation reacted swiftly in 1567 when Bristol citizens were summoned by the Court of Admiralty.<sup>17</sup> There was a certain irony, however, since these efforts to preserve autonomy and protect civic liberties coincided with efforts from the 1560s onwards to restrict control over civic government in Bristol, as elsewhere, by allowing the mayor and aldermen to take more decisions without reference to the common council (particularly setting the agendas for full meetings).<sup>18</sup>

The corporation of Bristol administered a large number of properties within the town as well as across the surrounding countryside, acquired both by bequest and (particularly after 1540) by purchase. Other estates were held in trust by the corporation, with their revenue employed for the upkeep of highways and public buildings, for loans to young tradesmen, or for poor relief.<sup>19</sup> Owing to the importance of trade and shipping to Bristol's economy, the corporation devoted considerable resources to the maintenance of quays and also worked to keep the Avon clear of wrecks which posed a danger to safe navigation. When Bristol's pride and prestige were at stake, as during the 1574 visit by Elizabeth I, the corporation spent lavishly both on the festivities themselves and on preparing the town for the queen's arrival, regilding the High Cross and four city gates and cleaning and levelling the streets (see p 86). Other obligations borne by the corporation were more onerous. As theirs was one of the chief ports for embarkation of soldiers and supplies both to Ireland and the Continent during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Bristol's mayor and aldermen struggled with unfavourable winds, escaping soldiers, and the incessant demands of the privy council for speedy action – all at a crippling cost to the city's coffers.<sup>20</sup>

Another of the chief responsibilities of the corporation was the relief of the poor, who posed a potential threat to order and social stability. The city invested the funds which it received from bequests to aid the poor and provide charity. The relief furnished fell into two broad categories: direct provision of food and fuel, and the establishment of almshouses. For example, in 1532 Robert Thorne left £300 to purchase corn and wood to be sold to the poor at cost by the authorities during periods of high prices. The corporation regularly sold butter to the poor below cost, while in 1621 the excess revenue accruing from old endowments was employed to provide coal for the city's poor. Anxious on the grounds of both morality and security to avoid encouraging idleness through indiscriminate charity, the city set the poor to work at various projects: in 1557 the corporation purchased a supply of spades to be used by the poor in civic improvements; in 1606 a pinmaker received a loan to train poor children; and at last in 1623 a workhouse was established (next to the prison) where the unemployed poor worked making

pins and nets.<sup>21</sup> By the late sixteenth century poor relief was funded chiefly through rates assessed and collected by overseers in each parish. Private bequests remained important, however, as in 1613 when Nicholas Woolfe, the owner of the Wine Street playhouse, left money to both poor prisoners and the poor of his parish. Woolfe also left money to several almshouses, which were the main institutions caring for the poor of late medieval and early modern Bristol (see p 196). By 1600 they numbered nine, including one operated by the Society of Merchant Venturers for poor and aged seamen.<sup>22</sup>

## Economic History

Situated several miles inland from the Severn estuary at the confluence of the Avon and Frome rivers, Bristol was already an important settlement by the early eleventh century, its political and economic status reflected by the presence of a mint during the reigns of Aethelred Unraed (c 1014–16) and Cnut (1016–35). Trade with Ireland flourished, most famously the traffic in slaves only halted in the mid-eleventh century by the intervention of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester.<sup>23</sup> The Norman Conquest brought temporary upheaval to Bristol; in 1067 her citizens successfully resisted an Anglo-Saxon force intent upon looting the town but Domesday Book (1086) testified to the town's prosperity as one of the wealthiest royal manors.<sup>24</sup> During the succeeding two centuries Bristol grew in economic importance. A prosperous cloth industry developed (albeit mainly for local consumption rather than export), while the town dominated the Irish trade. Bristol also became a distribution centre for foodstuffs and other commodities throughout the Severn valley, the Midlands, and the Welsh Marches.

The expansion of Bristol's port facilities during the 1240s reflected a steady growth in trade during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>25</sup> In addition to steady commerce with Ireland, Bristol's medieval prosperity derived mainly from its valuable wine trade with Gascony (a possession of the English Crown). Each autumn a fleet of Bristol vessels carried cloth (and occasionally coal, corn, and fish) to Bordeaux, returning laden with wine. A number of Gascon merchants resided in Bristol where they enjoyed special privileges, while Bordeaux was likewise home to a community of Bristol merchants and their agents.<sup>26</sup> Grain from Somerset and cloth from Ludlow and Coventry were purchased by English and Gascon merchants for shipment through the port of Bristol to Bordeaux, while merchants from Tewkesbury, Worcester, and elsewhere also made use of Bristol's facilities.<sup>27</sup> By the mid-fifteenth century some Bristol merchants began to seek opportunities further afield; in 1443, for example, a number were licensed to import saltfish from Iceland, while in 1457 Robert Sturmy of Bristol sought to open a direct English spice trade with the Levant but was ambushed and killed by the Genoese on his return voyage.<sup>28</sup> Owing to the importance of the Gascon wine trade, the English loss of Bordeaux in 1453 dealt Bristol's economy a serious blow. This reversal proved temporary, however, for by the 1480s a new wine trade with Spain had replaced that with Gascony and with the decline of the Italian trading interests at Southampton, Bristol was now firmly established as the chief provincial port of the realm. Even disasters like the loss of three large ships to Breton privateers in 1484, during the naval war which preceded Henry Tudor's victory over Richard III, inflicted little lasting damage to the town's mercantile economy. When Henry VII visited in 1486 and

heard the complaints of Bristol's merchants, he encouraged them 'to setton And make newe shippes And to exercise ther marchaundise as they wer wonte for todoon' (see p 14).<sup>29</sup> They responded enthusiastically, for by the opening of the sixteenth century Bristol dominated overseas trade with Ireland and Spain, as well as coastal trade along the Severn estuary and south Wales. More significantly for the future, in May 1497 the Genoese captain John Cabot sailed in *The Matthew* from Bristol on his first voyage of discovery to the New World, inaugurating Bristol's close connection to colonial trade and exploration which would ensure the town's economic importance for centuries to come.<sup>30</sup>

The prosperity of early modern Bristol depended in large measure upon overseas trade, particularly with Ireland, Spain, and France.<sup>31</sup> Sweet wines, fruit, and oil came from the Iberian peninsula, especially the north coast of Spain and Andalusia. Wine and woad (for dyeing) came from Bordeaux, where Bristol's mercantile community continued to enjoy close contacts even after the military disaster of 1453. In exchange for wine and other commodities, Bristol ships brought grain, cloth, and leather to the Biscay ports. During the course of the sixteenth century Bristol steadily lost much of its cloth export trade to London but new imports ensured Bristol's continued prosperity.<sup>32</sup> A major import trade in salt began from La Rochelle, for example, while an illegal but lucrative trade in foodstuffs and munitions was carried on with the western ports of France during the French Wars of Religion.<sup>33</sup> Bristol merchants continued to venture further afield as well, both by participating in the Baltic grain trade and by seeking a share of the Levant trade dominated by London interests. Thus in 1586 a Bristol ship laden with grain was seized en route from Danzig and taken to Flushing (Zeeland), while twice in 1597–8 the city corporation petitioned Lord Burghley requesting access to the luxury trade with the Levant in order to preserve the port's prosperity.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile the steady trade with Ireland continued, particularly in malt and other grain, and formed the foundation of Bristol's trade. In 1601–2 the three chief destinations for Bristol cargoes were Cork, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux, reflecting both the importance of the Irish and Biscay trades, as well as the damaging effects of war upon Anglo-Spanish commerce.<sup>35</sup>

The central events of economic life in early modern Bristol were its annual fairs, at which merchants from far and near gathered to arrange sales and settle accounts. As early as the thirteenth century the town boasted one of the six great English fairs; by the opening of the sixteenth century the fair ran for nine days from the feast of St James.<sup>36</sup> The mayor and aldermen often visited on St James' Day itself and a large number of merchants leased stalls. In 1529 a royal charter was granted for a second, winter fair to be held in the suburb of Redcliffe, south of the Avon. However, this Candlemas Fair, which began on 2 February, soon attracted the opposition of the Bristol corporation; the merchants and ship owners protested that it reduced the town's toll revenue since merchants did not cross the Avon into Bristol. By bypassing the centre of Bristol the new fair disrupted traditional trade and allegedly upset the rhythm of economic life by encouraging merchants to transact all their business in a few days (arguably the prime advantage of any fair).<sup>37</sup> After thirteen years the corporation scored a victory in defence of Bristol's economic interests by securing the end of the Redcliffe Candlemas Fair, which was replaced by a January fair held in Bristol itself for eight days from 25 January. Other fairs in Bristol included the Michaelmas Fair, started in 1221, and the St Lawrence Fair, 10–23 August.<sup>38</sup>

The Bristol fairs were important events, attracting merchants and visitors from the neighbouring counties, as well as from London and even further afield. In July 1604, for example, a royal proclamation prohibited Londoners from attending the St James Fair in plague-ravaged Bristol, lest they carry the infection back with them to the capital.<sup>39</sup>

The commercial life of early modern Bristol was dominated by the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, incorporated by royal letters patent in December 1552.<sup>40</sup> During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries control of overseas trade had rested with the town authorities, despite intermittent efforts (as in 1467 and 1500) to establish an independent body to administer trade and adjudicate commercial disputes. This the Society was designed to do, yet even a royal charter did not ensure the powers needed to fully enforce trade regulations, so in 1566 the merchant venturers sought to secure their privileges by obtaining confirmation of their 1552 charter from Elizabeth I. That same year the efforts of Bristol's members of parliament, both merchant venturers, procured an act of parliament to protect their monopoly of Bristol's foreign trade by excluding those involved in retail business (including mercers and grocers). The protection afforded by the 1566 statute proved fleeting, however, for the retail merchants waged a vigorous campaign and succeeded in repealing the statute in the succeeding parliament of 1571, amid much political controversy.<sup>41</sup> The loss of the 1566 act left the Merchant Venturers crippled, unable to enforce many of their privileges and lacking effective sanctions against interlopers in overseas trade. Over the succeeding three decades the Society's influence remained at a low ebb; many of its members transferred their allegiance to the Spanish Company of London, established in 1577.<sup>42</sup> This growing subordination to London mercantile interests eventually encouraged the revival of the dormant Merchant Venturers, culminating in an extraordinary meeting of the Society in May 1605. The Society's rebirth received the support of the common council and the Merchant Venturers soon took over the maintenance of Bristol's port facilities from the city authorities, in return for the revenue from keage and other charges levied upon vessels in port.<sup>43</sup> The overlap between the members of the Society and the bench of aldermen and the common council increased steadily; by the 1630s the economic and political dominance of the Merchant Venturers was greater than ever. In particular the support of the city ensured the renewal of the Society's charter by Charles I in 1639 in the face of hostile royal commissioners and London merchants, in a further effort to preserve Bristol's vital trading interests against outside encroachment.<sup>44</sup>

The principal objective of the Society of Merchant Venturers was to safeguard Bristol's overseas commerce (particularly against the powerful London companies) while preserving the monopoly enjoyed by the city's 'mere merchants' (ie, those not engaged in retail trade). At the same time the Society fulfilled a range of economic and charitable functions in Bristol. It maintained the quays and rented the cellars of its hall in King Street near the Broad Quay (the former chapel of St Clement – patron of navigation) to merchants for storage.<sup>45</sup> Although more cautious towards such schemes than some of its individual members, the Society played a minor role in encouraging exploration and colonization, notably in 1630 when it sponsored the voyage of Thomas James to find a northwest passage to the Orient, amid concerns that such a route might otherwise become a London monopoly.<sup>46</sup> The Merchant Venturers also supported both education and poor relief. As early as 1595 they were maintaining a free school for mariners'

children and the Society also operated an almshouse for aged sailors and their families, supported by a levy upon mariners' wages and merchants' goods. Finally, the Society regularly dispensed charity to individuals in need, like the wife of an Algiers captive who received £1 in 1622–3 to help care for her sick children. The Society of Merchant Venturers, like many of the larger medieval merchant guilds, combined economic regulation and protection of vested commercial interests with a range of charitable activities, particularly in education and poor relief.<sup>47</sup>

Bristol's major role in overseas trade (exemplified by the power of the Merchant Venturers) should not, however, obscure its importance as a regional economic centre. As it had during the later Middle Ages, the city continued to serve as an entrepôt for the west of England and for south Wales.<sup>48</sup> For example, grain from markets in Gloucestershire and Somerset passed through Bristol en route to Wales. During the 1540s the merchant Smyth shipped cloths from the north through Bristol to Spain and Gascony and imported iron and other commodities from Spain for distribution from Bristol throughout the surrounding area. This function as a centre for regional trade was reinforced by the strength of commercial farming around Bristol, with bacon and many other foodstuffs shipped through the city from neighbouring counties.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, nascent industries relied upon raw materials brought through Bristol's port, like the tin from Devon and Cornwall supplying local pewter manufacture. Industrial development was slow, although in the early seventeenth century a few merchants set up premises to refine sugar.<sup>50</sup> Bristol's importance as the hub of regional trade routes is reflected by the continued strength of import trades in a wide variety of goods (destined for distribution) at the same time as cloth exports began to decline. Even as Bristol's merchant community looked increasingly towards the Atlantic for its fortunes, the town retained close commercial ties to its hinterland and functioned as a trade centre for the west of England.

As well as their commercial contacts in other towns and overseas, Bristol's merchants enjoyed close ties to the surrounding counties and neighbouring gentry. As apprentices many had themselves originally come from Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, or even further afield. In addition to supplying luxury goods and purchasing surplus agricultural produce, they provided needed capital to local landowners, reflecting Bristol's importance as a regional financial centre.<sup>51</sup> Relations between gentry and merchants were strengthened when the latter in turn invested some of their accumulated wealth in land and secured for themselves grants of arms. Some, like the merchant and alderman Philip Mede, even forged marriage alliances with powerful local gentry families (like the Berkeleys). However, most continued to reside in Bristol, remaining urban gentry at least in the first generation.<sup>52</sup>

Notwithstanding the ability of Bristol's governing elite to avoid outside interference in the selection of members of parliament, the presence of figures from the court at Westminster and from the London merchant community always remained a factor in Bristol, although such ties are better recorded for the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries than from earlier times. The constablership of Bristol Castle provided one distinctive entry point for such influence, especially as held by Sir Edward Seymour, eventually the duke of Somerset, from the 1520s to his death in 1552, and then by William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, from 1552 to 1568.<sup>53</sup> The recordership of the city, held by Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s and by a long line of prominent

gentry thereafter, proved another such point of contact.<sup>54</sup> And when the wealthy London merchant taylor, Sir Thomas White (1492–1567), founder of St John's College, Oxford, and lord mayor of London in the first year of Mary Tudor's reign, came to design his famous rotating bequest to endow apprentices setting up businesses in twenty-four towns throughout the realm, he contracted with the mayor and corporation of Bristol to manage the scheme after his death.<sup>55</sup>

But as the question of the constableness of the castle symbolizes, Bristol's political relations with the Crown and parliament remained somewhat contentious on a number of issues throughout this period. Both the exactions by customs farmers on Bristol wine imports and the monopolies on trade and manufactures granted especially by James I bore down with particular force on the city's merchants, provoking frequent protests from Bristol's members of parliament. And while Bristol may well have used its contact with successive constables to its advantage, it also resented that form of external influence. After a long campaign to wrest control over that office from the Crown, Bristol's ruling elite finally succeeded in James' reign.<sup>56</sup> And Bristol also gained valuable concessions in supporting the Merchant Venturers in a number of ways. Not surprisingly, many Bristolians were reluctant to abandon the king's cause during the Civil War.

## Religious History

Religious observance in late medieval Bristol centred upon the town's eighteen parish churches and their many chantries. There were also at least eight chapels, including one on Bristol Bridge with a chaplain maintained by the corporation. All four orders of friars were represented within the town proper and Bristol boasted two other local foundations: St James' Priory (a cell of the Benedictines of Tewkesbury) and St Augustine's Abbey to the west of the town. The latter was founded in 1142, making it contemporary with the Temple Church (c.1145) and St Mary Redcliffe (recorded in 1158). St Peter's was even older, endowed in 1106.<sup>57</sup> Bristol was divided by the Avon between the diocese of Worcester to the north (fifteen parishes) and the diocese of Bath and Wells to the south (three parishes), a state of affairs which inevitably weakened the powers of outside ecclesiastical authorities in the town.

In line with London and other English towns, the parishes of early modern Bristol were largely funded by past endowments, a practice encouraged by the preaching of purgatory by local friars and made possible by the custom of burgage tenure, which enabled urban residents to alienate property by will, facilitating bequests to parishes. These 'dead' parishes (so-called as they were not dependent upon the offerings of the living) derived the bulk of their income from endowments of property: 75 per cent of total revenue at All Saints', and 95 per cent at St Ewen's in the early sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Yet this in no way implied that Bristol parishes themselves were moribund. While St Ewen's lost its south aisle to make way for expansion of the corporation's Tolsey, as recently as the 1470s St Stephen's had been entirely rebuilt, with the merchant and former mayor John Shipward alone paying for the new west tower and the great east window. As in building, so in worship Bristol parishes did not stagnate; witness the popularity of new devotions like the cult of the Holy Name, represented for example by the installation of a Jesus altar at All Saints'.<sup>59</sup> Parish officers including churchwardens were drawn from a wide section of the parish community, at least until the mid-sixteenth century. This broad participation in



parish institutions began to be restricted from about 1560 onwards, however. With the growth of closed or select vestries which chose new members and churchwardens from among their number by cooption, the need to maintain social order and ensure efficient parish administration began to displace the more popular parish community of the late Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup>

The wealth and piety of Bristol's merchants was reflected in the foundation of numerous chantries in town churches from the 1330s onwards.<sup>61</sup> These chantries provided regular masses for the souls of the benefactor and his family and other nominees, to reduce the pains of purgatory. From the mid-fifteenth century the most popular arrangement was the 'service,' in which the founder vested income in trustees who paid a priest to sing masses. In addition, most chantry priests also participated in the ordinary round of parish worship, assisting the incumbent and enhancing the liturgy.<sup>62</sup> Churchwardens and municipal officials were often charged by founders with ensuring that chantry priests fulfilled their duties and the mayor was *ex officio* patron of many chantries. In the twin chantries established by William Canynges at St Mary Redcliffe in 1446, the mayor (accompanied by the town clerk) joined the vicar and churchwardens in the annual audit of the foundation's accounts.<sup>63</sup> Like chantries, the numerous Bristol guilds (including the Kalendar Guild based at All Saints' and the Weavers' Guild of St Katherine) employed clergy who sang masses for the souls of departed members, whose names were inscribed on the guild's bead-roll.<sup>64</sup>

The corporation of Bristol also played an important part in religious and liturgical life; the mayor and aldermen occupied places of honour in festival and guild processions, which were themselves both representative of the social order and symbolic of civic authority. Bristol's leaders regularly attended sermons delivered by the town's friars, like the Whitsun sermon at St Mary Redcliffe. As well, the corporation gradually obtained the advowsons of Bristol parishes and oversaw many chantry foundations. Religious ritual was closely interwoven with civic government in Bristol as in other early modern towns.<sup>65</sup>

While Bristol's citizens participated enthusiastically in the riches of late medieval lay piety, the town also had a tradition of unorthodox belief and heresy. Fifteenth-century Bristol was infected with Lollardy, particularly among the town's weavers.<sup>66</sup> Commercial links with Coventry and the Forest of Dean (both hotbeds of Lollardy) facilitated the transmission of heresy, while the town's division between two dioceses made escape from ecclesiastical authorities easier. The influence of Bristol Lollards extended beyond the town itself. A number of Bristol natives were arrested elsewhere for heresy and the community supplied the largest contingent of armed men to Oldcastle's revolt (1414). Lollardy also enjoyed the support of some local clergy, who permitted preachers to denounce pilgrimages and images from the pulpits of Bristol churches; in 1448, for example, the authorities alleged that a Bristol chaplain had led many citizens into error. Efforts to root out heresy in Bristol enjoyed only partial success, for a Lollard community with close ties to Coventry survived into the early sixteenth century, offering fertile soil for the radical preachers of the 1530s.<sup>67</sup>

The first seeds of the Reformation at Bristol were planted in March 1533 with the arrival of the reformer Hugh Latimer. Initially accorded a warm welcome by the authorities, Latimer was even invited by the mayor to return to preach at Easter. The reformer's first visit raised the ire of many Bristol clergy, however, who sought to prevent his return to the town. When their

efforts failed, the conservatives adopted another strategy, importing notable preachers of their own to counteract Latimer's influence. These included the energetic William Hubbardine and the prestigious Edward Powell of Salisbury (a noted supporter of the cause of Katherine of Arragon). Thus throughout the spring of 1533 Bristol witnessed a battle of the pulpits between conservatives and reformers, familiar to the inhabitants of many Continental towns but unknown in England. Further controversy arose when the local Dominican prior John Hilsey, originally an opponent of Latimer, was converted to the cause of reform and sought himself to preach against Hubbardine. Having stirred up a religious controversy, the corporation sought to silence Hubbardine by means of a local commission of investigation. Despite efforts to stack the witnesses in Latimer's favour, however, the commissioners were critical of his behaviour; only the intervention of Thomas Cromwell ensured Hubbardine's imprisonment in the Tower and Latimer's exoneration. Cromwell was duly rewarded by the grateful mayor and aldermen with the recordership of Bristol. The Latimer-Hubbardine episode left Bristol polarized for some time; it is probably no accident that, as bishop of Worcester from 1535, Latimer refrained from visiting the town, fearful perhaps of upsetting a fragile religious peace.<sup>68</sup>

Following their experiences in 1533, the town corporation grew less tolerant of religious radicals, fearful in particular of the potential threat to social order which they posed. Such concerns were justified in 1539 when the Scottish preacher George Wishart attracted popular support particularly among Bristol apprentices and journeymen. Several anonymous letters circulated attacking conservative civic officers and clergy but, wary of prompting public disorder, at first the corporation was reluctant to act. However, feeling their hand strengthened by the increasingly conservative religious attitude of church and Crown signalled by the Act of Six Articles, the civic authorities soon struck to silence Wishart. The Scottish reformer was summoned before Archbishop Cranmer in the summer of 1539; in July he performed public penance for heresy in two Bristol churches, before leaving the town for good.<sup>69</sup>

Besides the stir created by preachers like Latimer and Wishart, the most significant impact of the Reformation upon Bristol itself was the creation of the diocese of Bristol and the town's consequent elevation to the status of city. As part of a royal scheme to erect a number of new bishoprics and reorganize the English church, the diocese of Gloucester (including the deanery of Bristol) was carved out of the ancient see of Worcester in September 1541. To their discomfort the citizens of Bristol now found themselves subject in ecclesiastical matters to their urban rival, which of course now enjoyed a status which they lacked. Determined to avoid inclusion in the new diocese of Gloucester and keen also to end the division of their town between two episcopal jurisdictions, the corporation of Bristol lobbied for a diocese of its own. These efforts soon bore fruit, for in June 1542 the see of Bristol was established, composed of the old deanery of Bristol, the three city parishes south of the Avon (formerly in Bath and Wells), and (rather illogically) the county of Dorset (now detached from Salisbury). The former abbey of St Augustine was appointed as the cathedral. The new diocese was poorly endowed, making it necessary to allow the first bishop, Paul Bush, to continue to hold his prebend at Salisbury in commendam with his bishopric. The city authorities rapidly came to dominate the cathedral and also the diocese itself; many of the prebendaries enjoyed close links with the urban elite. The creation of the diocese of Bristol in 1542 thus enhanced the power of the corporation

while consolidating the city's ecclesiastical authorities and ending the city's division between several jurisdictions.<sup>70</sup>

The dissolution of the religious houses and chantries in the 1530s and 1540s had a considerable impact on Bristol, in terms both financial and religious. Local chantry properties of considerable value were initially lost to the Crown. But by judicious planning and persistent attention to possibilities for other purchases, the corporation eventually succeeded in acquiring a number of important properties and managing them effectively thereafter. These included, in 1541, the Carmelite and Franciscan friaries and Gaunt's Hospital, including the manor of Hamp and other country estates;<sup>71</sup> in 1544, the former property of the Hospitallers of St John known as Temple Fee;<sup>72</sup> and in 1548, the Chapel on the Bridge along with the quit rents with which the Chapel had been endowed.<sup>73</sup> Taken together with the sale of some church plate and some loans, the city paid these purchases off in full by 1548. Along with the adoption of some very sound practices of management – especially steep and regular increases in entry fines on city property – and a continual expansion of trade, these resources helped place the city on a firm fiscal footing for some time to come.

In regard to the religious implications of this epoch, the most significant change came with the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, which followed by a few months the introduction of an English liturgy. As already noted, the chantries were an integral part of parish life and their loss seriously affected most parishes. These religious changes did not pass entirely unchallenged, however. The most popular and influential clerical opponent of Protestantism in Bristol was Roger Edgeworth, from 1525 prior of the elite lay and clerical Kalendar Guild, who attacked religious innovation while forcefully defending traditional doctrines like purgatory and the value of images to popular devotion in the face of the assaults of Latimer and his supporters.<sup>74</sup> Preaching in the late 1530s Edgeworth attempted to attribute Bristol's alleged economic decline to the spread of vernacular Scriptures: 'I haue knowen manye in this towne, that studienge diuinitie, hath kylled a marchaunt, and some of other occupations by theyr busy labours in the scriptures, hath shut vp the shoppe windowes....'<sup>75</sup> Even as the traditional religion of Bristol was swept away during the 1540s, as a prebendary of the new cathedral from 1542 Edgeworth remained a vocal critic of the 'New Learning.' Nor did he hesitate to comment on political and economic matters in Bristol, as when he criticized the establishment of the Society of Merchant Venturers: 'I pray God it may do well, but I perceiue a certaine mundanitie in it, a worldlye couetous caste to bring the gaines that was indifferent & comon to al the marchants of this cite into the handes of a fewe persones.'<sup>76</sup>

Ever since the Latimer-Hubbardine controversy of 1533, the civic authorities of Bristol sought to exercise some control over preaching within the city and prohibit unlicensed sermons. To this end, by the mid-1580s the corporation had established a stipendiary lectureship (soon increased to three), supported by levies upon the city parishes and initially held by canons of the cathedral. These efforts to promote preaching came at the expense of the parish clergy, however, since the corporation preferred to devote resources to its own nominees rather than the augmentation of impoverished urban livings.<sup>77</sup> On 16 March 1592/3 the corporation was castigated by the privy council for not doing enough to improve incumbents' stipends, although it paid £30 to each of three lecturers (raised to £40 by 1601). Of course it was necessary to pay

handsomely in order to attract suitably learned divines; in 1605 the corporation wrote to St John's College, Oxford, offering £50 per annum to a suitable candidate. This search secured the services of Edward Chetwynd, later dean of Bristol from 1617 until his death in 1639.<sup>78</sup> By acting outside Bristol's parochial structures the corporation (like its counterparts in other English towns) sought to promote the preaching of sound doctrine while enhancing the control exercised by lay authorities over Bristol's religious life. Chetwynd, Bristol's first 'imported' lecturer, was soon joined by another Oxford divine, the Wiltshire clergyman Thomas Thompson, who remained at Bristol for almost five years before leaving for a similar post at Montgomery in Wales. As well as preaching twice a week in Bristol churches Thompson and his colleagues were also kept busy 'by sermons de tempore vpon solemne feasts, or by exercises extraordinarie vpon publike occasions...'<sup>79</sup> The lecturers also provided private spiritual counsel to individuals. When he left Bristol Thompson spoke warmly of the support which he received from various prominent citizens and magistrates of Bristol; the Merchant Venturers also assisted with his removal costs to Wales.<sup>80</sup> The lecturers also enjoyed a measure of episcopal support. Bishop Wright (1623–32) successfully defended the corporation lectures as a 'godly show,' following the royal orders of 1629 intended to curb preaching.<sup>81</sup>

Even after the ecclesiastical settlement of 1559 many held the English church to be but 'half-reformed' and pressed for further changes to move England closer to the model of the Continental Protestant churches. Most of those (puritans) who subscribed to this view remained within the established church, which they hoped to see further reformed (particularly in matters of ceremony and later ecclesiastical order and discipline). The influence of this moderate puritanism was felt in Bristol as in other towns. Bristol merchants, for example, were among the crowds at Stourbridge Fair near Cambridge in the early seventeenth century who flocked to hear the puritan divine William Perkins preach against popular contempt for religion.<sup>82</sup> The same message was delivered in Bristol by the corporation lecturer, Thomas Thompson, who preached regularly against drunkenness and other immorality. Thompson urged the city magistrates to punish drunkards and suppress their 'schooles, I meane the secret Tauerns, and blind Alehouses set vppe without License.' Attacking the popular festivities associated with disorder and drinking, Thompson also decried 'these wicked Lords of misrule reigning throughout all our Cities and townes.'<sup>83</sup> A central plank of this puritan reformation of manners concerned proper observance of the sabbath, one of the subjects of a treatise published in 1577 by John Northbrooke, curate of St Mary Redcliffe from 1568 and a leading Bristol clergyman of the 1570s.<sup>84</sup> The leading puritan cleric of early Stuart Bristol was William Yeamans, vicar of St Philip's from 1604 until his death in 1632. From his pulpit Yeamans regularly denounced popular practices of 'blind devotion,' including bowing at the name of Jesus, and 'ignorant or rather customary walking and profaning [of] ye Sabbath.' Following his death Yeamans' mantle of leadership fell upon Matthew Hazzard, made lecturer at St Mary Redcliffe and appointed vicar of St Ewen's by the corporation in 1639.<sup>85</sup>

The puritan clergy of Bristol were supported and encouraged by a group of influential laymen and members of the city's ruling elite (as shown by Hazzard's appointment to St Ewen's). Godly merchants and their wives met regularly for prayer, fasting, and to hear sermons from 'ye best men, Repeating their notes to one another, whetting it on their hearts, and praying it

over.<sup>86</sup> Without doubt the most remarkable member of the godly community in Bristol was the widow of the grocer Anthony Kelly, who as a public example stubbornly refused to close her husband's shop at Christmas in condemnation of holy days; when she remarried Mrs Kelly chose the young Mr Hazzard. Eventually in 1640 Mrs Hazzard and four of her godly friends resolved to 'separate,' refusing to attend public worship (although her husband continued to conform and employed the Book of Common Prayer at St Ewen's). The reformation of manners advocated by puritan preachers and their lay supporters did not meet with universal approval, of course, and incited some popular hostility ('puritan' itself originated as a term of abuse). In 1564 a Bristol schoolmaster had been suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for defaming preachers; more seriously, an unruly crowd of sailors searching for puritans attacked one of Mrs Kelly's gatherings, claiming that it was 'a very strange and unheard of thing for People to meet in a Church with a Chimny in it.'<sup>87</sup> The dangers perceived by the authorities in conventicles and separatism were clearly demonstrated when the magistrates responded to the puritans' complaint by imprisoning some of the complainants themselves.

Relations between the bishops of Bristol and the city corporation were regularly marked by conflict and hostility, with each side viewing the powers and privileges of the other as a threat to its own. In 1568 a number of leading citizens and aldermen complained to the privy council about the doctrines preached by Bishop Richard Cheyney (1562–79), alleging that he upheld man's free will and impugned the reputations of Calvin and other reformers.<sup>88</sup> More often Bristol was simply neglected. Bishop Fletcher (1589–93) rarely visited his diocese and a ten-year vacancy in the see followed his translation to Worcester. After a period of freedom from direct episcopal oversight, the arrival of John Thornborough (1603–17) almost inevitably sparked renewed conflict. In October 1606 the common council decided to erect a gallery in the cathedral for the use of civic officials and their wives when hearing sermons; the dean and chapter acquiesced to their desire (even moving the pulpit to accommodate the corporation's wishes). Bishop Thornborough, however, declared angrily that the cathedral now resembled a playhouse and ordered the gallery's immediate removal. The corporation's (well-intentioned?) invitation to the bishop to sit in the gallery 'at [their] will and pleasure' merely added insult to injury, offending the bishop's ecclesiastical dignity.<sup>89</sup> In response to this episcopal rebuff, the mayor and aldermen boycotted cathedral services for some time, prompting Archbishop Abbot to enquire in his 1612 visitation why the town's leaders absented themselves from sermons. The primate sought to discover: 'Howe it commeth to passe that when as the maior and aldermen of this city weare wont (to the creditt of this place) to resorte [to] your cathedrall churche, and there to heare divine service, now they forbear the same, and whoe gave the cause of there forbearinge thereof, and whether there have byn any meanes made for the reconciliation of either corporation to the other againe.'<sup>90</sup> The corporation was again angered in 1620 when Bishop Searchfield (1619–22) appealed directly to the citizens of Bristol to remedy the poverty of city parishes and proposed a petition to parliament. The common council opposed the plan and resented episcopal interference in Bristol's business.<sup>91</sup> Even as the corporation's concern to preserve its autonomy and privileges came into conflict with Stuart bishops increasingly conscious of their episcopal status, harmonious relations were not entirely extinguished. Bishop Coke (1632–6) was warmly welcomed to his new see and wrote enthusiastically of

his initial reception: 'The clergy I find both able and painful, and the city loving and friendly.' Feted by the mayor and sheriffs (who made pointed comments about the behaviour of his predecessors, perhaps as a warning to their new bishop), Coke also preached in his cathedral, notably in the presence of the entire corporation.<sup>92</sup>

The harmony which greeted Coke proved deceptive for the heightened political and religious tensions of the 1630s existed within the walls of Bristol as elsewhere. For example, the mayoral election of 1633 had pitted a member of the Merchant Venturers and a distant relation of Archbishop Laud against an opponent of the Society whose wife was a friend of the radical puritan Mrs Hazzard. Economic and religious divisions unquestionably were linked in some cases; the Bristol chronicler and draper William Adams complained equally forcefully about the excessive power of the Merchant Venturers in city affairs and about an alleged clerical monopoly in Bristol.<sup>93</sup>

In a 1639 dream a Bristol widow foresaw a civil war and urged the king to grant liberty to puritans and take immediate action against papists.<sup>94</sup> Recognizing the economic benefits of peace and political stability (and the threat of religious division to both), the Bristol corporation pursued an even-handed policy on religion, appointing two noted antipuritan lecturers during the 1630s (Richard Standfast and Richard Towgood) while presenting the noted local puritan Matthew Hazzard to the corporation living of St Ewen's in the city. Hazzard did not hesitate to make his own views of events clear, as in September 1640 when, publicly praying for the king's victory over the Scots, he deliberately omitted the petition calling for punishment of the king's rebellious subjects. Hazzard's actions, although reported to the authorities, drew no punishment.<sup>95</sup> As political tensions reached the breaking-point in the winter of 1641–2 the civic leaders of Bristol doggedly pursued their efforts to avoid a complete breach between king and parliament. The common council drafted petitions to both sides, anxious like their colleagues in other towns to promote conciliation and avoid disaster. The corporation's optimism in seeking an accommodation continued even after the battle of Edgehill in October 1642, while perhaps more realistically hurried efforts were made at the same time to repair the city's defences.<sup>96</sup> The mayor and aldermen were mindful of the boast made to Charles' mother when she had visited Bristol in 1613: 'Bristoll a Citie of renowne hath neuer traitor beene/ To soueraigne Rule, or Regall Raigne ...'(see p 180).<sup>97</sup> It was a pledge which Bristol would struggle to uphold over the succeeding years of conflict and upheaval.

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# Drama, Music, and Ceremony

## Local Drama and Public Ceremony before the Reformation

For centuries one of the kingdom's pre-eminent cities and undisputed cultural, intellectual, and economic capital of the West of England, Bristol has a long and distinguished history of local drama and public ceremony. Pre-Reformation special ceremonial events in Bristol's civic year included the Michaelmas swearing-in of the mayor (29 September), the feasts of All Saints (1 November), All Souls (2 November), St Clement (23 November), St Katherine (24 November), and St Nicholas (6 December), four Advent Sunday sermons at the Dominican and Franciscan friaries leading up to Christmas, then Lady Day (25 March), St George's Day (23 April), Holy Week leading up to Easter Sunday, Monday, and the following Wednesday, Rogation Sunday, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi, the Nativity of St John Baptist (Midsummer on 24 June), and the feasts of Sts Peter and Paul (29 June), St James (25 July), and St Lawrence (10 August).

Public processional ceremony associated with celebratory days confirmed visibly the organization of the society. The Michaelmas swearing-in of the mayor brought together the old and the new and demonstrated the annual (and orderly) transition of government. As Skeeters points out, All Saints' 'signalled a very busy period of ceremonial activity' which included refreshments at the mayor's house and evensong at the parish churches. On All Souls', the following day, the mayor officially visited St Mary Redcliffe to audit the two chantries of William Canynges.<sup>98</sup> The popular celebration of St Clement, the patron saint of the Mariners, took place in St Clement's Chapel in St Bartholomew's Hospital and that of St Katherine, the patron saint of the Weavers, at Temple Church,<sup>99</sup> but they were often interrelated (since they were only two days apart) and, as Sacks points out, 'in symbolic form they integrated the weavers and mariners into the body politic of the city.'<sup>100</sup> These two festivals also visibly demonstrated the power and position of the Mariners and Weavers to the city proper.

The St Katherine's festival seems to have been especially complex; Ricart provides a detailed description of that day's ceremonial customs in 1478–9, when he describes how on St Katherine's Eve, the mayor, sheriff, and their brethren processed to St Katherine's Chapel within Temple Church where they attended evensong and then processed to St Katherine's Hall where they were worshipfully received by the wardens and brethren of the Hall who provided them with spiced cake and wine. The mayor and his brethren then returned to their own homes where they were later visited at their doors by the St Katherine's players for a performance of some

sort accompanied by drink and rewards to the players. On St Katherine's Day proper, the corporation officials gathered at Temple Church, processed about the town, and then returned to Temple Church to hear mass before returning to their own homes (see p 9).<sup>101</sup>

Ricart records that the mayor, sheriff, and brethren processed on St Nicholas' Eve, appropriately, to St Nicholas' Church to hear evensong. On St Nicholas' Day they heard mass with the boy bishop's 'sermon' and received his 'blessing.' After dinner the corporation officials assembled and played a game of dice while waiting for the bishop's blessing, an event Sacks believes unique to Bristol.<sup>102</sup> This was followed by bread and wine and later, the 'bishop's' evensong at St Nicholas' Church (see p 9).

On the four Sundays in Advent the mayor and his brethren visited the Dominican and Franciscan friaries to hear sermons. The period from St Nicholas' Day through Christmas itself seems to have been a quieter, solemn time. Indeed, Ricart asserts that it was the mayor's obligation to 'make open *proclamacon* for gode Rule & govrnaunce to be hadde and kepte *within* the saide Town duryng the holy dayes' (see p 10). Furthermore, the mayor and sheriff had the obligation during the Christmas period to prevent individuals from going about the town disguised, 'A *mommyng* with cloce visaged. Nor go aftir Curfewe rong at Seynt Nicholas withoute light in their handes' (see p 10).

Lady Day, while it could involve the mayor and his brethren in procession going to church for mass, also marked the beginning of the new year. The moveable feast of Easter, which could be as early as 22 March and as late as 25 April, obviously interrelated differently each year with the dated feasts. St George's Day always fell right between Lady Day and Midsummer and probably had processional and ceremonial value to the city since St George's Chapel, adjacent to the Guildhall, served as the official chapel of the corporation at this time. We know from both the Little Red Book (see pp 6–7) and Ricart's Calendar (see pp 9–10) that the city contributed to the celebration of the feast of St George in the mid-fifteenth century by paying for at least two torches.

The moveable feast of Corpus Christi could fall as early as 21 May or as late as Midsummer and was always closely related to St Peter's Day. The Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' accounts, the most complete guild records in this volume, record by 1506–7 extensive payments for the celebration of Corpus Christi, Midsummer, and St Mary Magdalene's Day, including bearing the pageant, hiring minstrels, a lute player, and a harper, and paying for torches, food, and drink. We also know that the parishes were involved in Corpus Christi processions but there is no direct evidence to link parish with craft guild activities on that day.

Midsummer, for obvious historical and climatic reasons, was a huge festival as it also coincided with the feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist and was just five days before St Peter's Day. A single antiquarian source related to St Nicholas' parish on May Day suggests that at least one Bristol parish also celebrated Robin Hood and the summer lord custom in May or June (see p 34 and endnote).

From the late fifteenth century until the accession of Elizabeth I the records confirm that some of the guilds owned pageants and bore them through the streets on important religious feast days, such as Corpus Christi, Midsummer, and St Peter's Day. However, there is no evidence to support the performance of guild-produced drama in Bristol on the feast of Corpus



Christi or any other holiday. The records show that the guilds probably had processions on both civic and liturgical feast days but they seem not to have been directly involved in plays of any sort in spite of the assumption, made by Alfred Harvey in 1906 and repeated by many scholars since, that miracle plays were performed in Bristol by the guilds on Corpus Christi Day.<sup>103</sup>

The Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' accounts refer early to pageants and pageant-bearing and largely relate to the processional and gustatory celebrations connected to the feast of Corpus Christi, Midsummer, St Peter's Day, and St Mary Magdalene's Day. The earliest entry shows that in 1496-7 the guild paid for minstrels and for torches and 'for beryng of the pagent' to celebrate Midsummer. The first reference to the celebration of Corpus Christi survives from their accounts for 1506-7, when the costs appear with those of Midsummer (Corpus Christi Day was on 3 June in 1507). The following year, 1508, when Corpus Christi Day was two days before Midsummer, Midsummer is not mentioned at all but in 1509 the guild separated the costs related to Corpus Christi from those of Midsummer two weeks and three days later; the pageant, with its large routinely replenished wax candle, had a bearer accompanied by seven boys carrying torches, all of whom were paid for their services in money and refreshment. The Midsummer costs that year include minstrels but interestingly do not include the pageant (see p 21). By 1510-11 the Wire drawers and Pinmakers added payments for St Peter's Day to Midsummer but the bearing of the pageant seems connected not with those days but with the birth of the prince and Corpus Christi (see p 22). The pageant was also a feature at special occasions, such as the birth of Mary Tudor (later Mary I) on 18 February 1515/16. The guild continued to join in the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi with its pageant through 1542-3 and references to bearing or carrying the pageant (but without specific mention of Corpus Christi) recur through 1546-7. Payments to set up the pageant, the use of an image, two bearers, and a large (heavy) stump suggest that the Wire drawers and Pinmakers had a three-dimensional pageant, at least after 1530, which was carried.

It should be noted that wheeled vehicles were not permitted in medieval Bristol for fear of crashing through to the extensive network of underground storage warehouses and sewers beneath the streets. As Jacobus Millerd says on his 1673 map of Bristol, 'There are no sincks y<sup>e</sup>t come from any houses into ye streets but all is conveyed vnder ground rendering ye Cittie exceeding sweet & delightsom They use no Carts there as in London but carry all uppon Sleds.'<sup>104</sup> Dallaway, based on William Worcestre's accounts, puts the number of vaults and cellars at 169 and points out that they were so extensive as to form a 'subterranean Bristol.'<sup>105</sup> Whatever pageants were in late medieval Bristol, they were certainly not wheeled vehicles.

The earliest surviving (and cryptic) Bakers' Minutes from 1498-9 include charges for torch-making related to St Clement's Day, for dinner at Midsummer, and for minstrels, whose services may or may not have been related to either of the two previously mentioned festivals. The next set of Bakers' Minutes, for 1526-7, show payments related to both Corpus Christi and Midsummer. In 1528-9 the Bakers paid for minstrels at Midsummer and in 1531-2 they paid five minstrels but do not mention the occasion of payment. Not until 1537-8 do the records indicate that the Bakers clearly paid for bearing a pageant on Corpus Christi Day, a tradition which continued through 1543-4, after which time references to the guild's pageant appear

only in its inventory for the next decade. In 1553–4, with a Catholic queen on the throne, the Bakers began to pay for the bearing of their pageant again while the Wire drawers and Pinmakers resumed doing so in 1555–6, with the pageant-bearing directly related to Corpus Christi clearly indicated once again in 1557–8. In 1558–9, the year of the accession of Elizabeth I, the Bakers' pageant appears only in the inventory where it remains for the next eighty-three years until the end of the period covered by this volume. From the references to the pageant in the extant guild records, the following picture emerges regarding the Bakers' device: the pageant was on occasion dressed with flowers (and possibly rushes and boughs). The pageant probably had both a case and an image (see pp 39–40). We know the Bakers' pageant had four vanes by 1543–4 (later described as silk in 1565–6), because they are included in an inventory which lists six old torches, a coffer, and a form; eventually an old table cloth is added in 1551–2 (although its relationship to the pageant is unknown). The coffer might have held the torches and the pageant staff, first mentioned in 1553–4, was probably used to fly the vanes. In 1625–6 the Bakers' Minutes still list 'one padgent & iiij flagges' but from 1626–7 on, the number of flags drops to three. Clearly one of the Bakers' silk flags simply wore out and was not replaced, so long had it been since the pageant had been used.

A singular entry in the 1609–10 Soapmakers' Minutes confirms that that guild also held a pageant in inventory. It had six large and small forms with it, two silk streamers, two 'stafes,' and a box. No earlier records survive from the Soapmakers to suggest when the guild acquired the pageant or when it might have been used. The preservation of pageants in both the Soapmakers' and Bakers' inventories into the seventeenth century suggests either that the pageants were used with no record of their use surviving or (and this is more likely) that the pageants were maintained in the event that it might become possible to bear them publicly in procession. After the accession of Elizabeth I the sole guild record related to pageant-bearing to survive is from 1582–3 when the Wire drawers and Pinmakers paid for a new staff for their pageant, painted the staff and mended the vanes, and then bore the pageant for a muster on Midsummer Day and for the watch on St Peter's Eve.

Evidence also exists for parish participation in the Corpus Christi liturgical procession. Perhaps the best extant example is the parish church of St Mary Redcliffe whose records before the Reformation document an extensive celebration of Corpus Christi. In 1509, for example, the costs on Corpus Christi Day involved a breakfast for all including five priests, five clerks, four subdeacons, and seven children of the chapel who received additional payments. Bearing costs included the cross, the cross staff, eight torches, two censers, two candlesticks, and the bell. Payments also were made to sixteen ringers, the bearer of the 'Ship,' two friars, and two helpers for bearing the shrine, and a bearer for St George's standard. In addition, there were payments for making the shrine and for the sexton's dinner during what must have been a long but festive occasion.<sup>106</sup>

From the waning years of the reign of Henry VIII through the death of Edward VI and then again with the accession of Elizabeth I, we see a cessation of the feast of Corpus Christi. The short reign of Mary I provided a brief respite for this festival clearly associated with Catholicism. Martha Skeeters asserts that 'Even as the Corpus Christi implied union of all the city's inhabitants, clergy and laity alike, the procession made clear the clergy's closer relationship to

the host and the laity's dependence upon the clergy.' She adds that the laity's relationship to the feast of Corpus Christi 'was mediated by the clergy.'<sup>107</sup> According to Haigh, when Elizabeth I 'restored Edwardian government' she also restored Edwardian religion and, in so doing, the fate of this 'Catholic' festival was sealed, never again to achieve the prominence and importance it held in English culture before the break with Rome.<sup>108</sup>

Other medieval parish-based activities included dancing, noted for a brief period in the St Ewen churchwardens' accounts. Receipts for 'dancing money' appear in St Ewen's parish in 1455-6, 1464-5, and 1467-8. Masters and Ralph define the parish's unique 'dancing money' as 'a special collection in money made on an occasion when dancing took place.'<sup>109</sup> These mid-fifteenth century Bristol records suggest that the money was at least initially in the hands of the persons who did the dancing since in 1464-5 the parish received 10s 1d from John Nancothan 'of old daunsyng mony. left yn his doghters handes' and in 1467-8 two men and two women turned over a total of 4s 11d in 'daunsyng mony.'<sup>110</sup> The records make no direct connection between dancing money and any particular festival or holiday although Audrey Douglas, in discussing processional dancing at other locations (especially Salisbury) says, 'The dancing day emerges as both a celebration sanctioned by the church - in some instances securely tied to the annual or liturgical round of the parish - and an event driven by the need to raise casual revenues to eke out parish income' and adds that 'the primary object of the dance was the systematic gathering of money.'<sup>111</sup>

References to bull-and bearbaiting in the Marsh find their way into the records over the 128-year period from 1452-5 through 1579-80. The earliest document related to animal baiting (and the singular one relating to bulls) survives from the Great Red Book from 1452-5 and specifies how butchers must deal with baited bulls. All other surviving records of animal baiting relate to bearwards and their bears performing before the mayor and aldermen.

### Local Drama and Public Ceremony after the Reformation

The Elizabethan Reformation would change forever the relationships between civic and ecclesiastical officials. Some of those ceremonies and holidays so closely allied with the medieval liturgical calendar (and thus the Church of Rome) would fall by the wayside forever or be replaced by other more purely secular civic functions. After 1558 other festive events of the year also dropped from the list of so-called 'Scarlett days' (the days on which the mayor and common council wore their scarlet robes). In addition to Corpus Christi these included the celebrations of St George, St Peter, St Lawrence, St Clement, St Katherine, and St Nicholas (and the boy bishop celebrations).<sup>112</sup> The Michaelmas swearing-in of the mayor and civic Christmas festivities continued to be important days of celebration in Bristol. A significant new celebration was added to the civic calendar with the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, that is, the Queen's Holiday or Accession Day on 17 November. Certainly by the 1570s the Queen's Holiday had become an important civic celebration with bonfires, trumpeters, and waits involved.

As a major trading centre Bristol continued to support trade fairs, the most notable of which were the St James Fair in July, and the St Paul (or Temple) Fair in January (see pp xvii-xviii, above) Little emphasizes the importance of the Bristol fairs, even to London, saying that 'London

wholesalers claimed in 1637 that they must go to Bristol, infection or no infection' to meet and to do business as it could be done nowhere else in the kingdom.<sup>113</sup> More than half a century apart, Harvey and Barker have assumed that entertainment was a part of these great trade fairs. According to Harvey 'Secular plays, such as they were, had long been acted in booths at St. James's fair,' and Barker adds that 'Jugglers, minstrels, puppeteers, strolling players and entertainers of all kinds flocked to the Fairs to reap their own harvest from the incomers.'<sup>114</sup> Before 1642, however, no evidence survives to connect local entertainment to the fairs directly. The virtually complete churchwardens' accounts of the parishes where the fairs were held, notably the St James Fair and the St Paul or Temple Fair, contain no references to performance or entertainment although both parish accounts contain much specific detail regarding the fairs, from income received through the rental of space or 'standings' (Harvey's 'booths') to payments to watchmen on the fair days. However, it is possible that the Bristol trade fairs encouraged entertainers; for example, the queen's players visited the city on twelve different occasions during St James tide and were paid in July and August.<sup>115</sup>

### SCHOOL DRAMA

There may have been a school in Bristol as early as the twelfth century (probably associated initially with the abbey of St Augustine) but the first likely link between schools and drama occurs in the early fifteenth century in connection with Robert Londe. His name first appears as a chaplain in the parish of St Peter<sup>116</sup> but he may also be linked to a c 1420 play fragment discovered by Cynthia Bland within a longer unrelated manuscript.<sup>117</sup> The connection of the play fragment to Robert Londe suggests a Bristol provenance. What at first appears to be a 'codicological conundrum,' Bland believes instead to be 'part of a hitherto unknown Middle English play based on the Bidding Prayer.'<sup>118</sup> Bland's discovery includes thirteen fragments, the first of which she identifies as a play fragment, which begins conventionally by calling on the people to pray for the church hierarchy. But the satiric content of the fragment makes it quickly obvious that the words were not uttered in the church; for instance, the speaker calls forth Christ's curse upon summoners, deans, rascals, and whores. The fragment ends with an 'Amen' and a 'stage direction' pointing to another (lost) part. Bland believes that the fragment is a Bidding Prayer play and points out that 'plays based on the Paternoster and on the Creed were performed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although the texts themselves have been lost.'<sup>119</sup> She connects the fragment to Robert Londe and his school in Bristol via Thomas Schort, who probably used Londe's materials to make the binding of his own 'teaching manual.' Bland asserts, 'The contents of MS 130 could only have come from a school, very likely from Robert Londe's school over the New Gate at Bristol.'<sup>120</sup>

But it is from the second half of the sixteenth century that unequivocal records survive to connect schools to plays and performance. Extant accounts in the Mayors' Audits and other sources indicate that successive schoolmasters and the students of the free school of St Bartholomew provided plays for the civic celebration of Christmas as well as orations for the annual festivities associated with both the Michaelmas swearing-in of the mayor and Accession Day.<sup>121</sup> They also contributed to celebrations for the infrequent but important royal entries of this period.

References to Christmas pageants and plays at the free school of St Bartholomew occur from 1569–70 through 1595–6. In 1569–70 the city paid Schoolmaster Turner 40s 'toward the payngting of his pageantes & charges of his playes at Christmas folowing at the commaundment of master mayor' (see pp 77–8). Similar additional payments to the schoolmasters related to plays at Christmas continue to connect the free school to civic-sponsored Christmas plays (see p 147 for the last such payment). There is no indication of how many plays were performed or what their subjects were. The records are also silent regarding the performers of these plays but it is probable that the students of the free school performed for the Christmas celebrations under the tutelage of schoolmasters Turner, Dunne, White, and Woodsonn. The payments to the schoolmasters for their plays, a fee which remains constant between 1569 and 1596, is very competitive with the 20s–40s payments received by professional itinerant troupes visiting Bristol during the same period.

Whatever the Christmas plays may have been, it is reasonable to assume that the students of the free school would have performed classical drama as part of their studies. Nicholas Orme points out that by the sixteenth century, 'The New Learning, with its revival of interest in the literature of Greece and Rome, caused a revolution in the school curriculum. The study of grammar began to be dominated again by the great classical authors: Horace, Livy, Terence and Virgil.'<sup>122</sup> The performance of Latin drama, rather than the reading of it, thus became part of the curriculum.

In addition, an August 1574 performance of unknown type, which is clearly related to Elizabeth's royal entry in the same month of that year, took place at the school door. The mayor and aldermen paid Schoolmaster Dunne £1 7s 6d 'toward his charges of his stage at the schole dore' (see p 88). The free school provided some form of entertainment for the queen's visit but it is also apparent that Schoolmaster Dunne greeted with envy the city's decision to hire Thomas Churchyard, a Londoner and 'stranger' to Bristol, to script and to direct the queen's elaborate royal entry. Evidently Dunne, who had provided civic entertainment in the past, felt that the commission for the most important civic entertainment in Bristol in a century should have been his. Churchyard refers to this situation in the last paragraph of *Churchyardes Chippes* when he indicates that the entertainment he wrote was not performed in toto: 'Som of these Speeches could not be spoken by means of a Scholemaister, who enuied that any stranger should set forth these shoes' (see p 109).<sup>123</sup>

Bristol also had a professional children's company (1615–24), licensed under the name 'The Youths of Her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol' and commonly known as the Children of Bristol. The Children of Bristol did not perform in Bristol under either their official or their common name but the references to Sir George Buc's players (1617–18) and the king's children (1620–1) could possibly refer to this company.<sup>124</sup>

### Touring Entertainers

While there is less evidence surviving for locally produced drama in Bristol than in York or Coventry, for example, the records of touring professional entertainers performing in sixteenth-century Bristol are both extensive and detailed. Since Bristol was at the hub of good roads and its economic and regional importance was established early, it would presumably have been a

mecca for such entertainers. There is, however, an absolute lack of evidence for medieval touring entertainers to the city, presumably because the Mayors' Audits do not survive before 1531. From the first record we do have, in 1531–2, of Lord Lisle's players, to the last reference in 1635–6 to an entertainer with a licence from the master of the revels, there are 138 notices of players representing fifty-six different companies named by their patrons and two named by location (see Patrons and Travelling Companies). Official payments range from a low of 5s to a high of £2 4s.

In the sixteenth century 127 named companies of players (by patron or location) can be broken down as follows: fourteen in the 1530s; eight in the 1540s; nine in the 1550s; twenty-seven in the 1560s; twenty-eight in the 1570s; seventeen in the 1580s; and twenty-six in the 1590s. It is clear that the love of theatre in the Elizabethan period extended into the provinces and into Bristol especially, where there was a rapid increase in visits by companies with patrons coinciding with the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and the parallel increased activity in the environs of the city of London. Indeed, it is the queen's men who came to Bristol more often than any other named company: five times in the 1580s and six times in the 1590s. Some of the best known London-based troupes of the time visited, including that of Edward Alleyn, who came to Bristol in August 1593. In a letter to his wife he makes it clear that his company, the admiral's men, had amalgamated at that time with Lord Strange's company. Shakespeare and Richard Burbage may also have visited Bristol in 1597 with their company, the lord chamberlain's men.

It is an unusual feature of the Bristol Mayors' Audits that six entries mention the title of a play or describe in some way the main character or theme. The titled plays are 'The Red Knight' (1575–6), 'Myngo' (1577–8), and 'The Court of Comfort' (1577–8). Descriptive notes on three other plays – which may in fact be titles – include 'what mischeif workith in the mynd of man,' 'the Queen of Ethiopia' (both in 1577–8), and 'quid pro quo' (1578–9). Unfortunately all six plays are lost.<sup>125</sup>

Entertainers who came to Bristol in the sixteenth century did not always perform. The first record of players being paid not to play, Lord Russell's players on St James' Eve, occurred in 1540–1 because 'the tyme was busy' (see p 51). Later, in 1579–80, the mayor, who 'had no leysure to se the game,' nevertheless commanded that Lord Derby's bearward be paid (see p 120). Again in 1585–6 the queen's players were paid not to play (see p 128).

Censorship, of course, did play a role in a Bristol that produced and nurtured John Northbrooke, who flourished in the 1570s, living and preaching in and around Bristol. Northbrooke condemned all drama except school drama (which taught good speech and morals), opposed all public commercial theatre, and saw the profession of acting as an idle one which led inevitably to sloth and mischief.<sup>126</sup> In his ironically quasi-dramatic dialogue between Age and Youth, when asked about plays, players, and playhouses by Youth, Age responds, 'I am persuaded that Satan hath not a more speedie way and fitter schoole to work and teach his desire, to bring men and women into his snare of concupiscence and filthie lustes of wicked whoredome, than those places and plays, and theatres are: And therefore necessarie that those places and Players shoulde be forbidden and dissolued and put down by authoritie, as the Brothell houses and Stewes are.'<sup>127</sup> In November 1585 the common council attempted to forbid players and unlawful games (a marginal note in a different hand indicates that the ordinance was later repealed; see p 287,

endnote to BRO: 04272 f 57). In the spring of 1586, however, the earl of Essex' players were paid for playing but by June of that same year the common council had again passed an ordinance which forbade plays in the Guildhall and 'vnlawfull games within the libertyes of this Cytie' (see p 128). Thus when the queen's players arrived in July they were paid 20s not to play. Players arrived and were once again paid to play, however, in 1587. Additional ordinances were passed in December 1595 and in February 1595/6 but were ignored by players and city alike at least until 1598 when performances in the Guildhall cease to be mentioned in the records.

In the seventeenth century only ten named companies of players (by patron) are known to have performed, visits which can be broken down as follows: two in the 1600s; three in the 1610s; three in the 1620s; two in the 1630s; and none in the 1640s.<sup>128</sup> The king's company came four times, the most often of any troupe: one visit of children players under James I, one visit under Charles Stuart as prince, and two visits under Charles I. Payments ranged from £1 to £2 4s.

Records for certain years have not survived, however, and some visits may have gone unrecorded. From 10 September 1600 until Christmas 1608 the chamberlain recorded no payments to players; this is unusual since there were five such payments in 1600 before 10 September (Mayors' Audits do not survive for 1601–3). Payments to players resumed in 1608–9 on a somewhat irregular, infrequent basis only to drop out of sight completely from Christmas 1621 until Midsummer 1629. The risk of contagion from strangers generated so much fear in Bristol that in 1613 the common council outlawed players at St James tide because 'of the infection of the plague at Aburgavenney and other places in Wales, and the daunger thereof nowe greatly feared in Bristol' (see p 176). Between 1629–30 and 1634–5 the expression 'not to play' seems to be replaced by 'to send them out of the city.' In 1629–30 unnamed players are thus dismissed and in 1630–1 the king's players are sent out of the city. In 1632–3 the mayor gave a company of players 20s to be rid of them and in 1633–4 £1 10s 'to ridd them out of Towne' (see p 237). In 1634–5 the mayor paid 'certeyne plaiers' two pounds because they should not play in the city (see p 239) and in the same year 'one Perry a plaiier' received two pounds not to use his skill in the city. In the 1630s, of the six recorded instances of players being paid not to play, four occur during the summer months (1630, 1631, 1635 twice) and two occur between March and June (1633, 1634). But players were not always sent away. They were still paid to perform seven times in the 1630s.

Therefore, bearing in mind that the Mayors' Audits are not available for early in the century, we have evidence that only twenty-eight performances were officially paid for after 1600, a noticeable falling-off from their heyday in the sixteenth century.

In addition to paying professional players, the city also rewarded touring bearwards and tumblers. Bearwards were paid yearly as early as 1518–19, with the last recorded payment in 1579–80 to Lord Derby's bearward. As noted above (p xxxiv) the mayor had no free time to see the event but nevertheless ordered that the bearward be paid. It is not clear if the performance took place in the mayor's absence or if the bearward was essentially paid not to play. Records have survived of thirty payments to bearwards with patrons (with fourteen patrons named) and four payments to unnamed companies of bearwards performing in Bristol, with the queen's bearwards performing most often (six times in the 1570s).

Bristol paid for tumblers five times between 1575–6 and 1635–6. In 1589–90 the queen's

players and an unnamed Turk tumbled before the mayor and aldermen. In 1620–1 a tumbler was paid £1 not to play while in 1635–6 a tumbler with a licence from the master of the revels evidently did, in fact, perform.

## Performance Spaces

Performances could occur almost anywhere in Bristol, in keeping with the traditional medieval sense of 'the place' being wherever one defines it. According to Ricart, town clerk from 1479–1508, the St Katherine's players performed outside the mayor's door (ie, the actual residence of the mayor) in the late fifteenth century to celebrate St Katherine's Day and there are other references to the mayor's door being a place for civic (if not dramatic) activity.<sup>129</sup> Ricart seems to distinguish the new mayor's house from the old mayor's house, which indicates that the mayor's door was indeed the door of the residence in which the mayor lived as a private citizen rather than a city-owned residence provided for him. The August 1574 performance related to Elizabeth's royal entry took place at the door of the free school of St Bartholomew on a purpose-built stage (as noted above, p xxxiii).

Direct references to performance spaces for entertainments related to the free school of St Bartholomew, in addition to the school door, are 'in' the school (1576–7, 1577–8) and 'at' the school (1589–90). The Christmas performances in both 1576 and 1577 occurred in the free school. The other Christmas entries do not mention location but they too probably occurred in the school proper. It is also clear from the surviving evidence that the free school of St Bartholomew could be used as a performance space for entertainment not produced or related directly to the schoolmaster and students. In 1589–90, for instance, the queen's men performed and an unnamed Turk tumbled before the mayor and aldermen there. It is very likely that the school's ample courtyard made a suitable place for such displays of gymnastic skill.<sup>130</sup> It is not known if 'in the school' also includes the courtyard but because the 1589–90 tumbling performances, which almost certainly occurred in the courtyard, are placed 'at' rather than 'in' the school, 'in the school' probably means indoors within rooms of the school.

Surrounded on three sides by water but well drained and used for grazing and containing a bowling green, the Marsh provided an ideal location for activities such as wrestling, fishings, drinkings, bull- and bearbaiting, and the vast mock sea and land battles provided for the entertainment of Elizabeth I in 1574 and Queen Anne in 1613.<sup>131</sup> College Green, situated between the cathedral and Gaunt's Chapel, provided yet another large open space for entertainments, such as a procession for Henry VII in 1485–6 (see pp 10–14). The streets and city gates themselves were commandeered for performances of pageants and orations by schoolboys when distinguished visitors arrived in the city, such as the visit of Elizabeth I in 1574.

## THE GUILDHALL

The Guildhall in Broad Street was the premier performance space in Bristol for professional players in the sixteenth century. Bristol's Guildhall dated from the fourteenth century. Part of its functions were subsumed by the construction of the original (and nearby) Council House,



or Tolsey (the Mayor's Court) in 1551, on the corner of Corn and Broad Streets. Miller's 1673 map includes an inset of both the Guildhall with its perpendicular west front and the (apparently smaller) Tolsey, which had been created through the purchase and occupation of the south aisle of St Ewen's Church. The present-day Bristol Guildhall is Victorian Gothic by R. S. Pope and dates from the 1840s.<sup>132</sup>

The first reference to the Guildhall as a performance space occurs in 1535–6 when the city paid 6s 8d 'to *serteyn boyes* *pat playyde* In the yeld hall be ffore *Master meyar & his brothers'* (see p 46). Between 1535–6 and 1597–8 a total of thirty-eight different companies of players are known to have played in the Guildhall at the command of the mayor and the aldermen. The Guildhall continued to be used for performances of plays until 1597–8 when the queen's players performed there. Audience disorder was clearly a factor in the city's desire to move performances out of the Guildhall. In 1575–6 ironwork on the Guildhall doors was mended, having been 'stretchid with the presse of people at the play of my lord Chamberleyns *Servauantes'* (see p 112). In 1577–8, after the earl of Leicester's players performed, the doors of the Guildhall again had to be repaired. In 1580–1 the audience broke two forms borrowed from the adjacent St George's Chapel to be used, presumably, as properties and/or set pieces by Lord Strange's players at the Guildhall or as additional seating for the audience.

It is unclear why the city chamberlain includes the location 'in the Guildhall' on some occasions but not on others. It is possible that for economy of time or space the location is omitted unintentionally, with virtually all performances recorded in the Mayors' Audits taking place in the Guildhall.

1597 is the last year when the Guildhall was unquestionably used by players although civic payments to players are recorded until the 1630s (with no location mentioned). A playhouse in Wine Street, owned by cutler Nicholas Woolfe, may have superseded the Guildhall as a performance space for entertainers in Bristol until its closure in or around 1625. It is unclear at this time what role the playhouse in Redcliffe Hill, purpose-built by Richard Barker, played in the history of dramatic activity in Bristol. What is clear is that Jacobean/Caroline Bristol is unusual in the provinces for its privately owned playhouses emulating the playhouses of London of the same era.

#### PRIVATE PLAYHOUSES

The city's interest in getting players out of the Guildhall may have been a factor in Nicholas Woolfe's decision to open a playhouse in Wine Street by 1604 and may also have prompted Richard Barker to build his playhouse in Redcliffe Hill somewhat later. With the opening of the playhouses in Wine Street and in Redcliffe Hill, the city had new performing facilities where both itinerant and resident troupes could perform and the Guildhall could once again regain its dignity and become solely 'the place of Iustice,' as it had been described in 1595–6 in the ordinances of the common council (see p 148). The surviving evidence suggests that the playhouse in Wine Street could have opened as early as 1604 and most probably closed in 1625. The playhouse in Redcliffe Hill is known only through its inclusion in the will of Sarah Barker in 1637–8 but must have been in operation before that date.

A cutler with no apparent theatre connections, Nicholas Woolfe owned the playhouse, an indication that it was a business opportunity as much as an artistic endeavour. The 1606 replication of Richard Cooke against Nicholas Woolfe suggests that the playhouse occupied space within a larger residential house, wherein itinerant and perhaps resident companies of players, 'certaine Comedyantes' (see p 164), lived and performed under the same roof. In the original bill of complaint, which dates to May of 1606, Cooke claimed that Woolfe rented the disputed rooms eighteen months earlier, which would indicate that 'Comedyantes' could have occupied Cooke's rooms as early as December 1604.

Woolfe also owned the White Hart and Lamb Inns and yet chose to house his playhouse within rooms of a third property rather than in one of his own innyards (assuming they had yards). Clearly the notion of the innyard as a performance space did not capture Woolfe's imagination. Indeed, the Cooke lawsuit, which states that performances took place within the playhouse, would be in keeping with the tradition in Bristol from at least the 1530s for most entertainers to play indoors at the Guildhall.

In addition to the playhouse, Woolfe owned or leased at least two other properties in Wine Street, one a small shop abutting Christ Church and a second larger residence in which he lived for a time. After Woolfe's death in 1614 the playhouse continued to operate and, in keeping with the intent of his will, annual profits totalling £3 6s 8d helped to support seven Bristol beneficiaries 'soe longe only as the same house shall continewe a playe house at that such players as doe resorte to the said Cittie or inhabite within the same doe vsually playe there and maye be permitted & suffered quietly to playe there' (see pp 196–7). The beneficiaries were the poor of Christ Church and St Peter's; the almshouses of St John's and St Michael's; the prisoners of the gaol of Newgate; the poor children of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital; and the Cutlers and Smiths.

Queen Elizabeth's Hospital received by far the largest annual bequest of 30s, as compared to others ranging from 5s (the almshouses) to 6s 8d (for each of the others). Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was founded in 1586 through a bequest by a prominent Bristolian, John Carr, at the location of Gaunt's Hospital on College Green; it was rebuilt in the eighteenth century and remains in operation to this day at another location on the west side of Brandon Hill.<sup>133</sup> From the antiquarian collection of Richard Smith, transcripts of records from Queen Elizabeth's Hospital confirm that the playhouse was in operation at least for the five-year period from 1614–19 since the Hospital received revenues from the operation of the playhouse in Wine Street during that time, in accordance with the Woolfe will. In addition, the playhouse income is included in an abstract of receipts and payments to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital from the estate of John Carr, as reported by Robert Fletcher.<sup>134</sup> This income of £7 10s amounts to 30s a year for five years. The playhouse is not related to Nicholas Woolfe in Fletcher's report but Joshua Jones refers directly to Nicholas Woolfe when he mentions payments to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital out of rent from the playhouse in Wine Street in his report the next year.<sup>135</sup> Sadly, no Hospital accounts contemporary with the Woolfe bequest survive.

Other documents offering new insights into the playhouse are the answer of Margaret Woolfe to Miles Woolfe's suit and the answer of Henry Yate (Nicholas Woolfe's friend and witness to his will) to Miles Woolfe's suit (both in 1618–19). In 1618–19 friends of Miles Woolfe, Nicholas' son and heir, sued his stepmother, Margaret Woolfe, on his behalf. (Nicholas had

died while Miles was a minor.) Margaret made it clear in her response to the accusations that the playhouse was Nicholas Woolfe's before he married her, that the White Hart was not the playhouse, and that Nicholas Woolfe's dwelling house was not in the playhouse. Margaret said that Nicholas, at the time of their marriage in 1605, owned 'onlie of one messuage or tenement in Bristoll wherein the said Nicholas dwelled at the tyme of his deathe, and of one house with thappurtenaunces in wynestreete within the saide cittie comonlie called the play house' (see p 212). The heavily damaged and incomplete answer of Henry Yate to Miles Woolfe's suit in the same year simply confirms the continued use of the stage in the playhouse at this time (see pp 213-14).

The Mayors' Audits refer directly to the playhouse in Wine Street very late but offer new possibilities regarding its years of operation. The first reference occurs in 1625-6 when the city of Bristol received the quit rent of 5s 'out of a tenement sometimes a play house.' The 'sometimes a play house' reference continues for six years until 1630-1, after which no further references to the playhouse, Woolfe, or his heirs appear. At face value the Mayors' Audits support a closing date for the playhouse between Michaelmas 1625 and Michaelmas 1626. 'Sometimes' consistently means 'formerly' during this period<sup>136</sup> and although it is not certain that Nicholas Meredith, chamberlain, meticulously recorded the change in function of the building the first year that the change occurred, the 1625-6 reference certainly indicates that the playhouse did not operate beyond that year. No other direct reference to the playhouse occurs in the Mayors' Audits but by working backwards from the 1625-6 entry, one can see that the first time the city received from Nicholas Woolfe a quit rent on this tenement in Wine Street was the year ending on Michaelmas 1604.<sup>137</sup> If this was indeed the case, then the Mayors' Audits confirm the evidence supported by the Cooke lawsuit that the tenement existed in Wine Street by 1604 and that the playhouse may have been operating by then. Nicholas Woolfe, who died in 1614, made the payments to the city according to the records until Michaelmas 1617 at which time the chamberlain belatedly acknowledged that the heirs (and not Woolfe himself) paid the rent. The city received the rent from the heirs until 1630-1.

From the Mayors' Audits it is tempting, but purely speculative, to push the opening date of the playhouse even earlier than the Cooke suit can confirm. If Nicholas Woolfe were solely behind the playhouse from its inception, then certainly the playhouse could have been in operation as early as September 1603, although one cannot assume that the playhouse opened the first year the city chamberlain received the quit rent from Woolfe for the property in Wine Street, since we know the playhouse in Wine Street was not purpose-built. It is also possible that the playhouse existed either before Woolfe was involved in it or before he paid the rent on it, thus allowing for an opening date even earlier than September 1603. The city's recorded payments to players contained in the Mayors' Audits are of little use in helping to date the opening of the playhouse because they never directly refer to it.

The St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts are the only extant source to confirm the implementation of the Woolfe bequest. While they offer no information on the establishment of the playhouse in Wine Street, they clearly raise interesting possibilities as to its closure. Nicholas Woolfe's gift is first referred to in 1614-15. The churchwardens recorded 5s received 'out of the play house in wynestreete' probably on Christmas 1615. In the same account they

note payment of the 5s annuity to 'the poore people of the almshouse of the guifte of Nicholas Woolfe' (see p 202). This pattern continues until 1619–20, during which time Woolfe's building clearly operated as a playhouse in accordance with the provisions of the will (see pp 202–15). After 1619–20 playhouse receipts and payments to the almshouse cease to appear and in 1623–4 a new pattern emerges. This receipt appears not at the bottom of the folio, like the earlier ones, but near the top and is listed, for the first time, under the Wine Street heading. Also, the churchwardens changed the label on the Woolfe bequest from an annuity to a quit rent. Interestingly, the payments side of the account for 1623–4 makes it clear that the 5s quit rent was in fact never received by the parish and was 'vtterlie lost' (see p 221).

The St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts clearly confirm a change in function of the playhouse in 1623–4 when the yearly rent or annuity the churchwardens assumed would come to the parish did not. It is not at all clear why they began that same year to record the payment in a different place and to label it differently, especially after a four-year cessation of recorded payments. It is perfectly logical, however, to move the entry to Wine Street and Woolfe's will describes the bequests both as annuities and as yearly rents. It is also not clear how the parish could accept rent from the playhouse 'the guift of Nicholas Wolfe' without at the same time recording the payment of that gift to the almshouse unless, of course, beginning in 1623–4 the payment of the Woolfe bequest to the almshouse was recorded in some other lost account. The churchwardens continued to receive the 5s rent from the playhouse 'there giuen by Nicholas Woulfe' (see p 229) through 1627–8, even though the Mayor's Audit indicated two years earlier that the building was no longer functioning as such.

Sarah Barker's will describes a second, purpose-built playhouse in Redcliffe Hill, south of the Avon, which was probably contemporary with Woolfe's playhouse in the centre of the city. Sarah Barker's husband, Richard, perhaps seeing the success of the playhouse in Wine Street, apparently built a playhouse from the ground up, which shows the diverse and competitive theatrical vitality in Bristol in the Jacobean/Caroline period.

In 1627–8, a decade before her death, 'the widowe Barker' paid rents to the city of £2 3s for six tenements in Redcliffe Hill south of the Avon.<sup>138</sup> In her will she gave five houses on the west side of Redcliffe Hill (which she had lately purchased from her son James) to her son Philip and she gave the purpose-built playhouse built by her husband (which included a residential chamber for unmarried daughter Eleanor Barker) to her son William. The Barker will thus takes into account all six Redcliffe Hill properties and strongly suggests that the Barker playhouse was in Redcliffe Hill. That playhouse should not be confused with Bristol's other playhouse in Wine Street. The evidence indicates that Bristol had two playhouses in operation, possibly simultaneously, in the early seventeenth century, a situation unique in the provinces.

### Minstrels, Waits, and Musicians

One of the earliest surviving records in this volume, the 1278–9 entry from the Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, refers to a 'a well-known song' or 'carmen famosum,' the first indication of the role that music and its performance played in the history of Bristol, although there is little reason, if any, to believe minstrels or waits were in any way involved in the composition of the infamous song.<sup>139</sup>

The first record of town minstrels occurs in the 1391–2 Little Red Book entry which refers to 'lez iiii Minstrels del ville' or 'the four minstrels of the town.' Ricart mentions a 1478–9 payment to the mayor's minstrels (see p 10) and by 1496–7 the Wire drawers and Pinmakers begin routine payments to minstrels for costs related to Midsummer. The first entry we have from the Bakers' Minutes, in 1498–9, includes a reference to the charges for minstrels, again probably related to Midsummer, the same year the Wire drawers and Pinmakers clearly state they hired three minstrels and paid for their wine. When the Wire drawers and Pinmakers hire minstrels in 1506–7, they also pay for a 'lewter' and Thomas White, harper. In the next year Thomas White is paid again, as well as 'a nother mynstrell,' which leads one to believe Thomas White was also considered a minstrel and thus becomes the earliest 'named' minstrel in Bristol history. In 1511–12 the Wire drawers and Pinmakers clearly pay for two minstrels and the next year these become 'oure mynstrells' (see pp 22–3). It is uncertain if the guilds maintained their own minstrels or hired the city minstrels (or itinerant minstrels) when they were needed to celebrate important days. The only apprenticeship indenture to mention a minstrel occurs in 1543–4 when Robert Norres became an apprentice to John Levette, minstrel and citizen of Bristol.

The first clear record to the Bristol 'waits' appears in a 1508–9 entry in the Household Book of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, at Thornbury and indicates there were four ('iiii le Waites de Bristo').<sup>140</sup> In 1518–19 the Great White Book gives the waits' wages as 29s 8d, which would be 7s 5d each if there were four of them at that time although here they are paid for three specific performances only. The city paid the rental of the waits' house in Tucker Street as early as the first extant Mayor's Audit of 1531–2 and continued to do so until 1582–3, although the location is not specified after 1557–8. Four waits are named in 1582–3: Thomas Brown, Henry Dittie, William Lawrence, and James Sargent. William Pitts' will (30 October 1592), contained in the Great Orphan Book (Bro: 04421(1)A), mentions one of the Bristol waits of the 1590s by name. Pitts bequeathed to his eldest son William 'my howse wherein I nowe dwell with all furnyture therevnto belonginge,' including 'the best courtlet which I bought of Lynzye the wayte player.' Although it is not known when Pitts purchased the coverlet from the wait, it is obviously before October 1592 and therefore some time before 1592 there was a Bristol wait named Lindsay (assuming Pitts bought the coverlet from a Bristol wait).<sup>141</sup>

The Bristol waits received new instruments in 1607–8 and a new sackbut was bought for them in 1610–11. The Mayors' Audits continue to show that Bristol supported four waits through 1618–19, when they were paid each quarter £1 6s 8d (or 6s 8d each). That year 'Iohnson ye waiteplaier' is mentioned by name because his son is paid 'for plaieng a parte on the shackbutt.' The following year, possibly because it was obvious that if they needed Johnson's son to play they really needed a fifth wait full-time, the city added another wait. The common council proceedings in 1618–19 state, 'It ys this daye agreed that there shalbe xxvj s. viij d. yerely geven to a fiveth man to playe with the Other fower musitions in the Cytie, on the Saggbutt to make vppe a fiveth parte' and the same year William Johnson gets a new apprentice, John Hunter, who might possibly be an apprentice to replace the person (Johnson's son?) who became the fifth Bristol wait.

The Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' account of 1626–7 records payment for 'wyne and musicke' and also, under a separate line, 'paid the waights for musicke,' presumably the city waits. Pay-

ments in the Mayors' Audits to the five city waits continue with great regularity though 1642; indeed, that is the last payment in this volume.

The Bristol waits seem to have had a virtual monopoly on music within the city – references to visiting or 'strange' musicians are very rare in the records, unlike some other towns and cities. The waits also travelled far and wide as is evidenced by their appearance as far north as Carlisle in 1613–14 and 1614–15 (although in the first instance they were paid 5s not to play).<sup>142</sup>

The first apprenticeship indenture which identifies a Bristol 'musician' occurs in 1566–7 when William Alowe was apprenticed to John Medecalf, musician. Nine other musicians are on record in this period as taking apprentices. However, all apprentices to musicians might not have been apprenticing to be musicians. Sometimes the indenture clearly states that an instrument is part of the payment for a successful apprenticeship period: in the 1601–2 Richard Hutt apprenticeship to Francis Highwood, Hutt was promised 'one Instrerment that he Can play best' at the end of his seven years. But Robert Wilson, who apprenticed to William Johnson in 1595–6 and was admitted to the liberties of the city in 1604–5 as a musician, received no such promise of an instrument in his original apprenticeship indenture. Of the musicians cited, William Johnson was clearly the most prominent.

Local trumpeters provided music for the swearing-in of the mayor by 1577–8 and trumpeters played consistently then up to 1599–1600. They also performed at the 1586–7 visit of the earls of Leicester and Warwick, the 1621–2 visit of the earl of Essex, and the proclaiming of King Charles in 1624–5. The city paid trumpeters (often numbered as four) to help celebrate the Queen's Holiday by 1590–1 (and consistently through 1600–1). The earliest apprenticeship indenture for a trumpeter appears in 1582–3 when Robert Aishely becomes the apprentice of Nicholas Holden, trumpeter. Holden also takes apprentices in 1582–3, 1588–9 (when he is revealed also to be a surgeon), and 1595–6. The only other trumpeter taking an apprentice is Francis Harburt in 1628–9. One trumpeter, Triggles by name, performed an important and poignant ceremony at the High Cross in 1603 related to the death of Elizabeth I and the subsequent accession of James I: 'ffirst Triggles the trumpeter sownded 4 times solemnely & mourefully, turning himselfe 4 seuerall wayes vppon the Crosse, for the death of her maiestie, and so for a while rested. Then began againe, sownding 4 times and 4 waies turning his face as before, but now ioyfully for the entrance of King Iames. After which the said sherife read the proclamation alowd and so concluded praying for his maiesties long and prosperous raigne, all our Councill stood with the maior before the Towlsey in scarlet gownes.' In 1604–5 Triggles would be named again, along with the waits, at the proclamation of King James, at which unnamed waits also received payment.

Trumpeters from other places also played in Bristol. Five 'strange' trumpeters who arrived 'in the Shippes that came from Cataya' sounded their instruments before the mayor, aldermen, and common council in 1577–8 and the king's trumpeters were paid to perform in 1614–15, 1617–18, and 1619–20.

A drummer was also paid for his part in the Michaelmas swearing-in of the mayor in 1577–8, 1578–9, and 1579–80, in which year the drummer and a boy were paid for three days' work for proclaiming the impending St Peter's Day Watch in the Marsh. In 1580–1 the records separate the drummer and fife player from the trumpeters, although they all remained involved

in the swearing-in ceremonies for the mayor. The first Bristol drummer known by name is 'Awdley the drumme player,' who is paid in both 1568–9 and 1569–70. As part of the civic welcome of the queen in 1574, the earl of Pembroke in 1585–6, and the earls of Leicester and Warwick in 1586–7, the city held ceremonial musters and hired three drummers. Another, named 'Lewes the drumet,' appears in the records when the corporation gave 12d towards his funeral expenses in the Lady Day quarter of 1597.

The Records demonstrate that musicians (minstrels, waits, drummers, trumpeters, fife-players) were an important part of the fabric of Bristol society before 1642 and further, especially through personal wills and inventories, we know that musical instruments were valued domestic possessions in homes in Bristol in the seventeenth century.

### Royal Visits

Before 1642 Bristol hosted numerous visits by royalty or members of the nobility from the 'Empress' (the never-crowned Queen Matilda) in 1139 to the earl of Essex in 1621.<sup>143</sup> The visits of reigning monarchs included John in 1210, Henry III in 1217 and 1256,<sup>144</sup> Edward I in 1282, Richard II in 1399, Henry VI in 1446,<sup>145</sup> Edward IV in 1461 and 1475, Henry VII in 1486, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in 1534,<sup>146</sup> Elizabeth I in 1574, and James I's queen, Anne of Denmark, in 1613. Evidence of dramatic or quasi-dramatic events exists for only four of these visits: Edward IV in 1461, Henry VII in 1486, Elizabeth I in 1574, and Queen Anne in 1613.

The earliest Bristol royal entry in the records occurs with the September 1461 visit of Edward IV when performances took place at Temple Gate and Temple Cross and involved William the Conqueror and St George on horseback fighting a dragon while a king and queen watched from a castle and a princess waited with a lamb; at the ultimate slaying of the dragon (a medieval symbol of evil) by St George, a choir of angels sang.

The first direct reference to the word 'pageant' in relation to a royal entry occurs a quarter of a century later in the 23–6 May 1486 First Provincial Progress of Henry VII. This entry suggests that a guild possibly produced at least one of the pageants, with the reference to the 'pageant made called the Shipwrightes pageant' clearly being a dumb show (ie, silent or mute), although it is not known if the Shipwrights themselves were in any way involved in the pageant. Of the other pageants, whose sponsorship is even less specific, one included 'great melodie and singing' and another 'maydyn Childern Richely besene'; on a fifth and final pageant 'An Olifaunte with A castell on his bakk Curiously wrought The Resurreccion of our lorde in the highest Tower of the same.' The scripted pageants related to the Henry VII entry are religiously oriented and remind the reader very much of the medieval drama of the period. They call on 'Crist therfor that on crosse diede/ Thoroughe the mediacion of holy seintes all' to save the king and to confound his enemies. These were still Catholic times, to be sure.

When Elizabeth I visited Bristol in 1574, the guilds were no longer involved in the presentation of performance pageants, dumb or otherwise; the performed text refers to Christians twice (but to Christ and the saints not at all) and never resorts to the kind of medieval boilerplate of the text used at the visit of Elizabeth's grandfather eighty-eight years – and a Reformation – earlier. The city spent almost £1,000 on the festivities related to this royal entry, which

involved three days of mock battles in the Marsh including a payment of £6 13s 4d to Thomas Churchyard 'for his travayle bothe in the ffortes and concernyng oracions' (see p 88) and of £1 7s 6d to Mr Dunne, the schoolmaster. The accounts make clear that Churchyard was the primary author of the scripted event; Bergeron points out that 'for the first time in this historical period we can be certain about the identity of the deviser of entertainment.'<sup>147</sup> Because of Churchyard's comment that some of his speeches 'could not be spoken' because of Schoolmaster Dunne's envy, we also know not only the author of the text, but the co-producer/director of the production.

For Queen Anne's stay in Bristol in 1613, a similar (but shorter) event occurred with the high point undoubtedly being the vast *naumachia* (mock sea battle) on the river on the afternoon of Monday, 7 June 1613, which Ricart describes as follows: 'there was a show made for pleasure on the River, by a shipp, sett on, & assaulted by two Turkishe Gallies, a scaffold ... for hir *Maiestie* to behould the same, and the takinge of the said shipp in fight by the said Gallies which her *Maiestie* beheld with great delight.' But the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605, occurring as it did in James I's third year on the throne, clearly remained painfully etched in Stuart memory and the common council took extraordinary action in May of 1613 to ensure the queen's security. They provided three captains with three companies of men to protect her and to enhance her sense of security the council ordered all ordnance 'to be shotte of after her *maiestye* ys gonne into her house' and that no one was 'to shoote in any wise vntill her highnes be in her Lodginge and all the horses placed in Stables' (see pp 175–6). No such obvious security precautions were taken for the 1574 visit of Elizabeth I even though it occurred at a time when Mary, queen of Scots, still lived, the Spanish Armada had yet to be defeated and, in the eyes of the Church of Rome, Elizabeth held the throne illegitimately.

## Conclusion

From nearly four centuries until the closing of the public theatres at the beginning of the Civil War in 1642, Bristol has surviving records which relate directly to performance involving drama, music, and public ceremony. Well before Bristol was granted status as an independent county in 1373, the town had already established complex infrastructures to support entertainment and related civic ritual. After Bristol officially became a city in 1542 an increase in the visits of travelling players seems to have ensued and continued for the rest of the century. By the time of James I's accession Bristol would have one and eventually two privately-owned playhouses. Always one of England's premier provincial cities in terms of trade, commerce, and quality of life, Bristol demonstrates by its records the extent of its interest and involvement in performance-related activity in the late medieval and early modern period.



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# The Documents

Elizabeth Ralph, *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office* (Bristol, 1971), ix, points out that 'Bristol has a long tradition of record keeping,' dating from 1381 when the first ordinances provided for record keeping and storage. But even before 1381 documents were preserved with the oldest one being a late twelfth-century charter. Before the Reformation, Bristol kept its records primarily in the Guildhall. St George's Chapel, which adjoined the Guildhall, became the principal storage place after the 1540s, but it is clear from the records that documents were also kept in other locations.

With the opening of the Record Office in 1924, a modern system of arranging the records was established and the notion of one place where all documents, ancient and modern, would be kept was entertained. During World War II, the records were moved to an obsolete railway tunnel which was converted into a strong-room. Unfortunately, the parish churches had not yet seen fit to transfer their ancient records to the Record Office. Bristol was heavily blitzed and, of the eighteen ancient parish churches, six were destroyed utterly and along with them many of their records. Thus when recreating the past through surviving accounts, it is well to keep in mind that those records which have survived did so serendipitously and that there are, in fact, huge gaps in our knowledge of pre-1642 Bristol due to the actions of German bombers in this century. In 1956 the Record Office moved into the new Council House in College Green, where it remained until 1992 when it moved into its present location in Smeaton Road.

The Bristol Reference Library, which originated in 1613, also houses records important to this volume, while in London, the British Library, Public Record Office, Lambeth Palace Library, and Dulwich College hold relevant documents. Other repositories holding documents important to this collection include Berkeley Castle, the Cardiff County Library, Gloucester Library, the Hereford and Worcester Record Office, and the Somerset Record Office.

The text of this collection follows a standard order within each year, which this section of description and discussion reflects, beginning with civic records and continuing with guild, ecclesiastical, legal, probate, royal entry, and miscellaneous records. Antiquarian documents are identified in the left margin of the text with A or AC.

## Civic Records

### MAYORS' AUDITS

The Mayors' Audits or Great Audit Books are extant from 1531 through 1785 and form the

bulk of the surviving records for Bristol. Probably established after 1499 with the creation of the office of chamberlain, the Mayors' Audits record all receipts and payments of the corporation. The accounting year for the Mayors' Audits runs from the day after Michaelmas (30 September) to Michaelmas (29 September). Thus 04026(1), for example, encompasses the period 30 September 1531 through 29 September 1533. The annual accounts were rendered within one month of the feast of St Luke the Evangelist (18 October) for the previous Michaelmas to Michaelmas accounting year.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04026(1-21); 1531-1644; English; paper; number and size of leaves variable; contemporary pagination; flourished initials and elaborate headings appear regularly; bound in vellum, volume 8 was at one time covered with parchment fragments of sheet music from a late 15th-century missal.

The dates, number of leaves, and measurements in the volumes are:

04026(1)	1531-3; 123 leaves; 320mm x 220mm
04026(2)	1534-6, 1539-41; 191 leaves; 315mm x 210mm
04026(3)	1541-4, 1545-6, 1550-1; 254 leaves (10 blank at the end); 310-370mm x 195-250mm
04026(4)	1547-8; 132 leaves; 330mm x 235mm
04026(5a)	1551-2, 1556-9; 168 leaves; 390mm x 250mm; repaired and rebound
04026(6)	1556-7; 40 leaves; 395mm x 280mm
04026(7)	1559-64; 212 leaves; 400mm x 280mm
04026(8)	1564-9; 171 leaves; 430mm x 280mm
04026(9)	1569-74; 168 leaves; 435mm x 280mm
04026(10)	1574-9; 162 leaves; 430mm x 285mm; repaired and rebound
04026(11)	1579-81, 1582-4, 1585-6; 178 leaves; 455mm x 295mm; repaired and rebound
04026(12)	1586-8, 1589-92; 154 leaves; 450mm x 300mm; repaired and rebound
04026(13)	1593-4, 1595-8; 134 leaves (12 blank at end); 435mm x 280mm
04026(14)	1598-1601; 1603-4; 125 leaves (6 blank at end); 440mm x 290mm
04026(15)	1604-9; 161 leaves (8 blank at end); 425mm x 280mm
04026(16)	1609-11, 1612-13; 112 leaves (12 blank at end); 435mm x 270mm
04026(17)	1614-19; 195 leaves (9 blank at end); 435mm x 270mm
04026(18)	1619-22, 1623-4; 182 leaves (24 blank at end); 430mm x 280mm
04026(19)	1624-9; 186 leaves (14 blank at end); 410mm x 260mm
04026(20)	1629-31, 1632-6; 228 leaves (20 blank at end); 430mm x 275mm
04026(21)	1639-44; 170 leaves; 405mm x 275mm

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04027; 1552-3; English; paper; 50 leaves; 380-400mm x 270-280mm; modern pencil pagination; covered with parchment fragments of 3 sheets of music from a 14th-century antiphony retained within a newer vellum binding. This is, in fact, part of a volume entitled: 'Lord Lisle's etc. Lands Audit.' It is not clear how it came to be separated from the other Mayors' Audits.

#### ORDINANCES OF THE COMMON COUNCIL

The two volumes of Ordinances are continuations of ordinances which appear in the Little Red

Book beginning in 1344 and continuing therein until the mid-fifteenth century. The ordinances then appear in the Great Red Book until 1485. A gap exists between this last entry in 1485 and the beginning of the volumes below in 1505. Both these sets of ordinances contain virtually identical prohibitions against performing in the Guildhall, with the version printed in the Records being the more final and complete version. There is a third Ordinance volume in this series, 04273(2), but it contains no information relevant for the Records text.

The first of these volumes, 04272, has been published by Maureen Stanford (ed), *The Ordinances of Bristol, 1506–1598*, Bristol Record Society, vol 41 (Gloucester, 1990).

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04272; 1505–1667; Latin and English; parchment (paper flyleaves); ii + 75 + vi; 353mm x 220mm; contemporary foliation; some flourished initials, carchwords; good condition, some faded inks; white leather bound, title on spine: 'Ordinances of the Common Council.'

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04273(1); 1505–1674; Latin and English; paper; ii + 120 + vi; 320mm x 200mm; some contemporary foliation, modern pencil foliation after f 66; some flourished initials; excellent condition; white leather bound, title on spine: 'Ordinances.'

#### COMMON COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04264(2); 1608–27; English, some Latin; paper; ii + 154 + viii; 420mm x 280mm; 18th- or 19th-century foliation; no decoration; good condition with some repairs of damage; white leather binding.

#### GREAT RED BOOK

The Great Red Book supplements the Little Red Book and contains copies of deeds, wills, ordinances, safe conducts, and licences to trade from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Although the book as a whole is not in strictly chronological order, the section of early ordinances is so organized as to allow a two-year date range to be assigned to the excerpt printed on p 7. The Great Red Book has been edited and printed by E. W. W. Veale (ed), *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, vols 2, 4, 8, 16, 18 (Bristol, 1931–53).

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04719; 14th–16th century; English, Anglo-Norman, and Latin; paper with some parchment; 344 leaves; 385mm x 290mm (290mm x 190mm); older ink pagination; some decorated initials; very good condition; rebound with possibly original tooled, blind-stamped leather cover incorporated, title on spine: 'BRISTOL CORPORATION GREAT RED BOOK.'

#### LITTLE RED BOOK

Ralph, *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office* (p 2), says the Little Red Book was 'compiled at the instigation of William de Colford, Recorder of Bristol, who "caused the ordinances, customs and liberties ... to be recorded and entered in this book together with certain laws, other memoranda and divers necessary things to be inviolably kept in perpetual remembrance", 1344–

1574. It contains a contemporary copy of the "Lex Mercatoria" and the Laws of Oleron. The Little Red Book became the official memoranda book of the mayor and commonalty.' The Little Red Book has been published by Francis B. Bickley (ed), *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 2 vols (Bristol, 1900).

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04718; 1344–1574; English, Latin, and French; paper with vellum fly-leaves; 230 leaves (4 blanks and index at end); 290mm x 220mm; contemporary foliation in roman numerals (first 11 leaves only numbered in arabic); original red leather binding over board, probably dates from the late 15th century.

### GREAT WHITE BOOK

Ralph, *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office* (p 3), says the Great White Book was 'begun for the entry of the dispute between the Abbot of St. Augustine's and the Corporation but contains enrolments of charters, deeds, etc., and forms yet another supplement to the Little Red Book, 1496–1587.'

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04721; 1491–1608; Latin and English; paper, with a late 15th-century watermark; 533 leaves (357 blanks); 350mm x 240mm; foliation contemporary with 1580s entries; board binding covered with vellum, repaired extensively in 1903 at the British Museum when it may have been rebound.

### APPRENTICESHIP INDENTURES

The earliest Bristol Apprentice Book has been edited and published in D. Hollis (ed), *Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book 1532–1565*, Pt 1: 1532–1542, Bristol Record Society, vol 14 (Bristol, 1949); Elizabeth Ralph and Nora M. Hardwick (eds), Pt 2: 1542–1552, Bristol Record Society, vol 33 (Bristol, 1980); and Elizabeth Ralph (ed), Pt 3: 1552–1565, Bristol Record Society, vol 43 (Bristol, 1992).

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04352(1); October 1532–September 1566; Latin; paper; ii + 775 + iii; 320mm x 215mm (280mm x 165mm); 20th-century pagination; emboldened headings in mayoral years, initial letter very slightly elaborated, masters' names in left-hand margin; first page consists of a small, almost illegible fragment only, margins damaged, some pages bound in wrong order between pp 184 and 197; 20th-century binding incorporates parts of the old decorative binding of brown sheepskin, title: 'APPRENTICES I 1532-1565,' stored in 20th-century cloth slipcase with same title.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04352(2); October 1566–23 March 1592/3; Latin; paper; 238 leaves; 300mm x 200mm (260mm x 150mm); modern pencil pagination; emboldened headings in mayoral years, masters' names in left-hand margin; good condition; modern cloth binding, title: 'Apprentices 1566–1592,' former leather spine with same title bound in back of volume.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04352(3); 28 March 1593–5 October 1609; Latin; paper; 300 leaves;

340mm x 220mm (290mm x 170mm, some 340mm x 170mm); modern pencil pagination (pp 287–300 blank); masters' names in left-hand margin; good condition; modern cloth binding, title on spine: 'Apprentices 1593–1609,' former leather spine with same title bound in back of volume.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04352(4); 3 October 1609–24 March 1624/5; Latin; paper; 362 leaves; 350mm x 220mm (310mm x 170mm); 17th- or 18th-century ink foliation; emboldened headings in mayoral years, initial letter slightly elaborated, masters' names in left-hand margin; good condition; older binding, title: 'Apprentices 1609 to 1625,' front cover loose.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04352(5)a; 28 March 1626–9 July 1636; Latin; paper; 345 leaves (f 345 precedes f 344); 330mm x 215mm (300mm x 165mm); 17th- or 18th-century ink foliation; emboldened headings in mayoral years, initial letter elaborated, masters' names in left-hand margin; good condition; repaired and resewn in original style in 1931, incorporating original leather in new binding, title: 'Apprentices | 1626 | TO | JULY 1636,' stored with BRO: 04532(5)b in 20th-century slipcase entitled: 'APPRENTICES | 1626 TO 1640.'

#### RICART'S CALENDAR

Robert Ricart was elected town clerk in 1479 and served probably until 1508. Successive town clerks continued the Calendar until 1698. The Calendar is a collection of information regarding the history of Bristol combined with national historical facts as well as laws and customs of the community.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04720(1)a; 1479–1698; English, Latin, and French; paper, with each quire bound in parchment; 332 leaves; 210mm x 285mm; contemporary ink foliation; gold, red, and blue illuminated initial letters, headings and marginalia in red and blue ink, coloured drawings of kings from Arthur through James I, religious depictions, an historiated illumination of the swearing-in of the mayor in 1479, and a 1479 city map; ancient leather binding.

#### ADAMS' CHRONICLE OF BRISTOL

This chronicle survives in two manuscript recensions, described below. Most of the substantive variations in the 1625 recension either provide further details for, or clarify material in, the 1623 version; in some instances the 1625 version is more succinct. The 1625 recension appears in the Records, while notes on the 1623 version appear in the Endnotes, because these revisions suggest that the 1625 version is a more finished text. Both versions contain references to events in the 1630s and 1640s, which suggests that both continued to be used, presumably by the author. One of the additions in the 1625 version is a preface explaining the author's motives in writing his Chronicle, in which Adams states, 'Many are the causes that <sup>f</sup>in<sup>r</sup>cyted me to write [to write] this booke, before I resolved to take the paines: ffirst at a time of two yeares leisure I had read much and kept some privat notes theteof; then considering that much reading littell availeth in a commonwealth, without participating of some records thereof vnto posteritie.' It is thus possible that the 1623 version represents those notes or an early draft based

upon them and that Adams continued to use it to record initial impressions in draft form, which were then worked over for transferral to the fair version begun in 1625.

Both versions were in antiquarian hands before passing into the possession of the Record Office and the Reference Library, respectively, but an early-eighteenth-century note suggests that BRO: 13748(4) may have remained in the Adams family for a time. The 1623 version has been edited by Francis F. Fox, *Adams's Chronicle of Bristol*, transcribed by E. Salisbury (Bristol, 1910), but Fox was apparently unaware of the existence of the 1625 recension. The 1623 version is also the version which was known to William Tyson, editor of *The Bristol Memorialist* in 1823.

The work is unequally divided into two sections: the first section is a short general chronicle of the history of Britain drawn from printed sources such as Thomas Lanquet's *Epitome of Chronicles* (stc:15217–15221; he is named in the 1625 recension) and David Powell (named in the 1623 version; the work referred to may be stc: 20109, Powell's edition of an abridgement of Geoffrey of Monmouth). But the larger section is an annal of Bristol's history, arranged by mayoralty and beginning in 1216. Ricart's Calendar is probably a source for the early years but beginning at some point in the later sixteenth century Adams is likely recounting events which he himself witnessed.

Bristol, Bristol Reference Library, 25486; 1623–48 (covers dates from the beginning of the world to 1648); English; paper; vii + 190 + vii (two pp 50 and 51); 190mm x 140mm; contemporary pagination; p 261 illuminated E for Elizabeth (announcing her death), printed and glued in, and p 262 illuminated I for James; excellent condition; leather bound, title on spine: 'Adams's | Chronicle | of | Bristol | 1623.'

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 13748(4); 1625–44 (covers dates from the beginning of the world to 1644); English; paper; 400 leaves; 215mm x 170mm; no foliation; some nouns, especially names, in display script; generally good condition (first 4 pp have portions torn off, last 2 pp almost completely torn out); leather binding with gold leaf stamped decoration front and back, front cover detached and missing, the decorative brass clasps still on the back cover, no title.

## ANTIQUARIAN COLLECTIONS

### *Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book* (AC)

Extracts from this now lost source come from an antiquarian collection described as follows by Latimer in his own hand in 1895 in an introduction to the collection:

The five volumes forming this collection were ... compiled by Mr Richard Smith, a celebrated Bristol surgeon during the first forty years of the nineteenth century, and a devoted admirer of the British stage from youth to old age.

It appears to have been Mr Smith's intention to publish a series of articles on 'The Stage in Bristol' in the *Bristol Mirror*, of which he was long one of the proprietors, and some notes made for this purpose will be found at the beginning of this volume. Owing probably to growing infirmities this project was abandoned; and the entire compilation was presented to the Bristol Library Society either by Mr Smith himself, or, soon after his death, by his widow.

The first volume relates to entertainment before 1642 and contains Smith's transcription of now lost accounts of money being paid to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital during the period 1614–19 out of income from the playhouse in Wine Street, in compliance with Nicholas Woolfe's will. That transcription is on an unnumbered sheet inserted after p 4, here designated pp [4a–4b].

Richard Smith was born 28 June 1772. He was elected surgeon at the Bristol Royal Infirmary in 1796 and became senior surgeon in 1812, a post he held until his sudden death on 14 January 1843.

Bristol, Bristol Reference Library, B7976, SR 26; paper; v + 210 + xiii; leaves of varying size (largest 325mm x 200mm); irregular foliation and pagination, with the numbering out of sequence and beginning over; late 19th- or early 20th-century claret binding, title on spine: 'Bristol Theatre to 1764.'

## Guild Records

Of the more than fifty guilds known to have prospered in Bristol before 1642, from Apothecaries to Wire drawers, only three – the Bakers, Soapmakers, and Wire drawers and Pinmakers – contain information relevant to this volume. Five other Bristol guilds have also left records, none of which has proved relevant: the Feltmakers and Haberdashers; Merchants; Merchant Tailors; Tailors; and Whittawers. The fascinating and rather complete Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts provide the reader with a glimpse of the nature and range of guild activity in Bristol.

### BAKERS' MINUTES

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 08155(1); 1498–1732; English, some Latin; paper; 278 leaves; 350mm x 260mm; modern pencil pagination; no decoration; excellent condition; leather bound.

### SOAPMAKERS' MINUTES

Harold Evans Matthews (ed), *Proceedings, Minutes and Enrolments of the Company of Soapmakers 1562–1642* (Bristol, 1940), contains the most complete published version of the Soapmakers' records.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04370; 1562–1642; English; paper; 208 + v; 298mm x 200mm; contemporary foliation to f 160 (ff 161–290 unfoliated); no decoration; good condition; bound in natural vellum, title on spine: 'THE | COMPANY | OF | SOAP | MAKERS | 1572 | TO | 1642,' with the word 'Worrall' written by hand.

### WIREDRAWERS' AND PINMAKERS' ACCOUNTS

Bristol, Bristol Reference Library, 5029; 1496–1580; English; paper; 239 leaves; 280mm x 205mm; modern pencil pagination; original black leather binding with green spine straps.

Bristol, Bristol Reference Library, 5030; 1582–1783; English; paper; iii + 852 + ii; 280mm x 205mm; modern pencil pagination (pp 636–735 blank); initial words are frequently larger and heavier than the

other words in the entries; original leather binding, bound in 1753 by Mr Giles Malpas, pinmaker, Bristol (accounts for 1587 bound upside down at the end). The volume contains the 1628, 1640, and 1651–1720 apprentice rolls.

### Ecclesiastical Records

Skeeters points out in *Community and Clergy* that before 1534, Bristol had 'divided and distant ecclesiastical authorities' (p 35) because, while most of the city was in the diocese of Worcester, the parishes south of the Avon (St Thomas, Temple, and St Mary Redcliffe) were in the diocese of Bath and Wells. When suffragan bishops were created in 1534, Bristol received one and indeed Bristol was considered as a site for a new see in 1539 (p 123). When the new diocese of Gloucester was established in September 1541 Bristol was a part of it but on the following 4th of June 1542, the king established the separate diocese of Bristol.

#### REGISTER OF BISHOP GODFREY GIFFARD

This entry from the diocese of Hereford and Worcester is included because it relates to events leading to the composition of a notorious song about William de Lay, executed at Bristol Castle and later buried in the parish of St Philip and St James in Bristol.

Worcester, Hereford and Worcester Record Office, County Hall branch, x716.093 BA 2648/1(i); 1268–1301; Latin; parchment and paper; iv + 952 + v; leaves vary in size from 280mm x 184mm to 293mm x 182mm; 2 series of older paginations, one roman, one arabic (followed here); occasional enlarged initial letters and headings, slight flourishes, margins contain scattered drawings, including religious figures (nuns and bishops), animals (deer and dogs), and other objects (stars, hands, a shield); fairly good condition (occasional loose documents pinned in); parchment binding with wooden boards with 2 metal fasteners, title on spine: 'REGISTRUM GOTHEFREDI GIFFARD 1268–1301.'

#### BISHOP'S COURT DEPOSITION BOOK

This deposition book from the diocese of Bath and Wells contains an account of a quarrel between two residents of Wells in the course of which bearwards in Bristol were mentioned.

Taunton, Somerset Record Office, D/D/Cd 36; 1604–6; English and Latin; paper; approximately 250 leaves; 310mm x 200mm (average text area 280mm x 140mm); unnumbered; volume of sewn paper booklets; edges deteriorated; original parchment cover with leather latching strips, title on spine: 'DEPOSITIONES; INSTANTES.'

#### PARISH RECORDS

Although six of the parish churches were destroyed during World War II, some of their records survived. Such is the case for the Temple churchwardens' accounts, and antiquarian collections such as Hockaday's (for St Mary le Port) and Atchley's (St Nicholas), which provide valuable



information for this volume. Those parishes whose extant records have yielded nothing relevant for this collection are All Saints, St Augustine-the-Less, St Leonard, St Michael-on-the-Mount-Without, St Peter, St Philip and St James, St Stephen, and St Werburgh.

#### *Christ Church Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/XCh/ChW/1a; 1531–99; English; paper and parchment; ii + 351 + ii; 310mm x 215mm; modern foliation; undecorated, but the parchment interleaves contain red and blue illuminated and flourished initials; very good condition; originally bound separately, year by year, in disused parchment which had formerly been parts of illuminated MSS (legal, ecclesiastical, and biblical works in Latin and French), newly bound November 1874 by William B. Peck, churchwarden, renovated and rebound in brown leather at the British Museum in 1902 at a cost of £10 7s 6d, title on spine: 'Christ Church | Bristol | Churchwardens | Accounts. | 1531–1599.'

#### *St Ewen Church Book*

These accounts have been published in Betty R. Masters and Elizabeth Ralph (eds), *The Church Book of St. Ewen's, Bristol 1454–1584*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Records Section, vol 6 (Bristol, 1967).

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StE/ChW/1; 1454–1584; Latin and English; paper with parchment end-leaves at front; i + 163; 290mm x 210mm; modern foliation; good condition; original leather and oak boards.

#### *St James Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StJ/ChW/1(a); 1566–1623; English; paper; 214 + i; 380mm x 280mm (single column with occasional double columns); contemporary foliation; extensive use of red ink (especially sums of money and the words 'payd' and 'Item') and many illuminated initials; overall poor condition with many years in bits and pieces or destroyed completely (eg, 1610–15), improper repair with postage-stamp-like stickers; board binding with leather spine.

#### *St John Baptist Churchwardens' Rent Rolls*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StJB/ChW/2(a); 1469–1581; English and Latin; parchment; 97 leaves; 306mm x 220mm; modern (1917) foliation; no decoration; excellent condition; leather binding with wooden boards and broken leather clasp.

#### *St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StJB/ChW/3(a); 1605/6–1634/5; English; parchment; 34 leaves (in 4 gatherings); 420mm x 320mm; no foliation; some decorated initial letters and elaborated headings; good condition with a little staining on edges of last 14 leaves; contemporary parchment cover with the gatherings (which are individually stitched with lincn thread) attached to cover by parchment thongs, no title on cover.

*St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StMR/ChW/1(c); 1600–20; English; paper; ii + 285 + iii; 320mm x 180mm; contemporary pagination; no decoration; excellent condition; leather suede binding appears contemporary with records, title on spine: 'No. 3 | 1600 to 1620.'

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StMR/ChW/1(d); 1620–60; English; paper; i + 570 + i; 350mm x 220mm; contemporary pagination; no decoration; good condition; contemporary leather suede binding, title on spine: 'No. 4 | 1620 to 1660.'

*St Thomas Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StT/ChW/46; 1613–14; English; paper; 8 leaves; 405mm x 155mm; unnumbered; paper bound.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, P/StT/ChW/66; 4 May 1633–15 October 1634; English; paper; 18 leaves (4 loose inserts); 410mm x 150mm; original ink foliation; good condition; emboldened headings; paper cover.

*Temple Churchwardens' Accounts*

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, Temple Records Ca 6(1); 1606; English; paper; 14 leaves; 205mm x 155mm (195mm x 130mm); original ink foliation; good condition; stitched paper cover.

## ANTIQUARIAN RECORDS

*St Mary le Port Churchwardens' Accounts (AC)*

The original churchwardens' accounts for St Mary le Port from which antiquarian Frank Step Hockaday made his transcript were destroyed along with the church itself in the 1940 air raid which destroyed much of Bristol's historic centre. Hockaday worked for sixteen years before his death in 1924 on diocesan records then held in the Gloucester Public Library. The Hockaday Abstracts (vols 425–53), as they have become known, include transcripts of records, some of them since lost, relating to Bristol parishes and religious houses, including All Saints (vol 432), Christ Church (vol 434), St Augustine-the-Less and St Ewen (vol 437), St James (vol 438), St John Baptist (vol 439), St Lawrence and St Leonard (vol 440), St Mark's (Gaunt's) Hospital (vol 441), St Mary le Port (vol 442), St Mary Redcliffe (vol 443), St Michael (vol 444), St Nicholas (vols 445–6), St Peter (vol 447), St Philip and St James (later Jacob) (vol 448), St Stephen (vols 449–50), St Thomas (vol 451), St Werburgh (vol 452), and Temple (vol 453).

Gloucester, Gloucester Library, Hockaday Abstracts, vol 442; c 1908–24; English; paper; 483 leaves; 240mm x 195mm (churchwardens' accounts); inconsistent ink or pencil pagination (churchwardens' accounts paginated 1–18); good condition; 1930s blue cloth binding, title on spine: 'HOCKADAY ABSTRACTS | BRISTOL ST. MARY LE PORT | 442.'

*St Nicholas Churchwardens' Accounts (A)*

The parish records of St Nicholas were lost during the bombing of Bristol in World War II. Fortunately, some transcripts from the lost parish records of St Nicholas were published by two local historians in the nineteenth century.

Cuthbert Atchley examined both the Vestry Book and the Churchwardens' Accounts for St Nicholas. He described the Vestry book, covering a period from 1385 to 1880, as 'made up of leaves of vellum, 30 cms. by 20 cms., and covered by what appears to be the original leather binding. It contains inventories, wills, memoranda of benefactions, rents, and vestry agreements or resolutions.'<sup>148</sup> The Churchwardens' Accounts, running from 1520 to 1604, included accounts for the crypt (1523, 1531, and 1548), the chantry of Robert Spicer (1489–92), and the chapel of St John the Evangelist on the Avon, within the parish boundaries.<sup>149</sup>

E.G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, 'On the Mediaeval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol,' *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society* 6 (1906–10), 35–67.

John Taylor, 'St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 31 (1875), 372–6.

*St Nicholas Vestry Book (A)*

E.G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, 'Mediaeval Parish-Clerks in Bristol,' *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* 5 (1905), 107–16.

**Legal Records**

## MANDATE CONCERNING A DROWNING

London, Public Record Office, C 66/70; 1256–7; Latin; parchment; 22 membranes, sewn together with original sewing; 750mm x 330mm; written in reverse order mb 22 to mb 1, both sides top to bottom; no decoration.

## SHERIFF OF BRISTOL VS MAYOR OF BRISTOL ET AL

These documents are part of a very early Star Chamber case in which William Dale, one of Bristol's sheriffs, sued the mayor and corporation over personal financial demands of his civic office. Because some of the disputed expenses are entertainment related, the case is important in forming a picture of civic ceremony in Bristol at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Full discussions of the individual documents and their place in the suit are in the Endnotes (pp 274–5).

London, Public Record Office, STAC 2/6; 1518; English; paper and parchment; 19th-century ink pagination; worn 19th-century cloth binding on boards with leather corners and spine, title on spine:

'STAR | CHAMBER | PROCEEDINGS | Hen. viii. | 6.' Numbered as ff 78–85v and bound with other documents from the sixth year of Henry viii's reign. Relevant documents include:

sheets [5–6]; undated; English; 2 paper sheets formerly sewn seriatim, now mounted on paper guard and bound as ff 82–3; 395mm x 279mm (340mm x 240mm); written on one side only. Paper copy of Dale's bill of complaint (parchment original (f 78) now illegible).

sheet [3]; undated; English; parchment; single membrane now mounted on paper guard and bound as f 80; 377mm x 200mm (370mm x 165mm); irregular tear, 30mm x 85mm, at lower right; some text obscured by rubbing of ink. 'Cedule' to bill listing sheriff's charges according to Dale.

sheets [7–8]; undated; English; paper; bifolium now mounted on paper guard and bound as ff 84–5; 287mm x 193mm (205mm x 165mm). Revised list of sheriff's charges, with corrections from mayor's party.

sheet [4]; undated; English; paper; single sheet, now mounted on paper guard and bound as f 81; 410mm x 277mm (165mm x 245mm); irregular tear, 50mm x 40mm, at top right corner, slit, 25mm x 10mm, at centre, another slit, running up from foot of sheet, does not affect text area. Dale's responses to the mayoral correcting of his charges.

#### ANALYSIS OF EXPENSES OF THE SHERIFFS OF BRISTOL

London, Public Record Office, E 101/560/14; 1518–19; English; paper; 6 sheet attached serially to form one continuous roll, the width of each sheet is 285mm, height of [1] is 225mm, [2] is 95mm, [3] is 335mm, [4] is 350mm, [5] is 380mm, [6] is 405mm; unnumbered; sheet [1] slightly torn at the top, sheet [6] badly torn in the bottom right corner; sheets written on one side only.

#### REPLICATION OF RICHARD COOKE AGAINST NICHOLAS WOOLFE

London, Public Record Office, REQ 2/296/80; 7 July 1606; English; parchment; single membrane; 550mm x 420mm; sewn (in 1956) as mb 2 with 3 others dated 9 May–19 June 1606 in the same lawsuit.

#### PATENT TO JOHN DANIEL TO FORM A COMPANY OF PLAYERS

John Daniel, brother of the poet and playwright Samuel Daniel, was a musician in the service of Prince Charles in 1615 when he obtained this patent. His name remains connected to the 'Children of Bristol' through 1624 (see pp 295–6, endnotes to PRO: SP 14/81 and PRO: SP 14/97).

London, Public Record Office, C 66/2075; 1614–16; Latin and English; parchment; 35 membranes attached serially plus 1 cover; 650mm x 257mm; numbered in ink.

#### LETTER CONFIRMING DANIEL'S PATENT TO FORM A COMPANY OF PLAYERS

London, Public Record Office, SP 14/97; April 1618; English; paper; single sheet, folded; 295mm x

413mm, folding to 295mm x 205mm; (text on first 80mm of page only with the rest blank); names and key words in italic script; address side reads: 'Aprill 1618 | Copie of *Lettre* in the behalf | of Iohn Daniell to bringe | vp youthes in qualitie of | plaingne of Enterludes.' This copy has been bound as f 310 with other documents in a volume of State Papers Domestic from the reign of James I.

#### MILES WOOLFE'S SUIT

The surviving documents in this case are preserved in a complete manuscript now in the Public Record Office. Miles Woolfe was the son and principal heir of Nicholas Woolfe. Others involved in the suit were Joseph Rattle and Henry Yate, executors of Nicholas Woolfe's estate; Margaret Woolfe, Miles' stepmother; and Thomas and John Latch, Miles' guardians during his minority. For the details of the suit, see the endnotes to the three documents described below.

##### *Answer of Joseph Rattle to Miles Woolfe's Suit*

London, Public Record Office, C 3/328/28; 28 May 1619; English; parchment; single membrane; 370mm x 620mm; very wrinkled and crumpled; sewn at upper left corner as mb 3 with 8 other documents in the same lawsuit dated April–October 1619; numbered serially on dorse; dorse reads: '8 die Iunii | manus Iohn | Cox gen: vnus | Com. scriv(.)'

##### *Answer of Margaret Woolfe to Miles Woolfe's Suit*

London, Public Record Office, C 3/328/28; 2 June 1619; English; parchment; single membrane; 555mm x 700mm; very wrinkled and crumpled with the lower left quarter missing; sewn at upper left corner as mb 6 with 8 other documents in the same lawsuit dated April–October 1619; numbered serially on each dorse and endorsed.

##### *Answer of Henry Yate to Miles Woolfe's Suit*

London, Public Record Office, C 3/328/28; 2 October 1619; English; parchment; single membrane; 730mm x 790mm; heavily damaged with a huge section on left side missing and dark stains and heavy crumpling on right side; sewn as mb 9 at upper left corner with 8 other documents dated April–October 1619; numbered serially on each dorse and endorsed.

#### SOMERSET QUARTER SESSIONS ROLL

This roll contains the account of a theft committed by a Somerset man en route to Bristol 'to ioyne in Consort' there with a local musician at Christmas.

Taunton, Somerset Record Office, Q/SR 42, pt 1; 1622; English and some Latin; paper; 122 leaves; average 310mm x 205mm (text area variable); modern foliation (in addition to foliation, each case bears a circled 'item' number, and some leaves also have additional numbers from an earlier numbering system with both the item numbers and earlier foliation proceeding back to front in the volume); flattened,

repaired, attached to paper guards, and bound with stab-stitch binding between cloth-covered boards front and back, without spine. This volume contains the first half of a sessions roll, the contents of which were removed from their file string c 1905 and bound.

## Probate Records

### WILL OF JOHN BOUNT

According to New College Hall Books, Bount was admitted to New College, Oxford, in 1387, became a fellow in 1389, and left in 1395. He had the BA by 1391.<sup>150</sup> A student of Winchester College before attending New College, Bount was also probably a barrister of the Middle Temple: he describes a junior barrister there as 'my beloved colleague' ('socio meo dilecto') and makes a bequest to an officer of the Middle Temple for his great goodness to the testator.<sup>151</sup>

London, Public Record Office, PROB 11/2A; 1401–13; Latin; parchment; ii + 224 + ii; 365mm x 265mm (300mm x 215mm); modern ink and stamp foliation (stamped foliation followed here); no decoration; some repair (21 irregular gatherings mounted on stubs); modern buff-coloured cloth binding, title on 3 pastedowns on spine: 'MARCHE | 2 | 1 | 2A.'

### WILL OF WILLIAM JACY

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, will William JACY 1598; 4 June 1597 (probated 26 May 1598); English (will) and Latin (probate); paper; single sheet; 300mm x 200–210mm (210mm x 160mm); good condition; no decoration.

### WILL OF JOHN FOWENS

John Fowens was a sheriff of Bristol in 1601–2, and was a successful merchant and member of the Spanish Company in 1605. As late as October of 1608, less than a year before his death the following August, he was one of those who protested the new imposition on sweet wine. A John Fowens, probably his son, became a merchant venturer, too, in 1622 and was part owner of the ships, *The Charles* and *The Saint George*, in 1629.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 04421(3)a; 1595–1633; English; paper; 318 leaves; 420mm x 270mm (360mm x 215mm); original ink foliation upper right corner (rewritten to the left probably in 17th century due to wearing away of numbers); good condition; initial letter of each will emboldened and slightly decorated; original vellum binding, title on spine: 'Register | Book | of | Wills | [rule] | No. 3.' This volume, known as the *Great Orphan Book*, contains enrolled wills, including that of John Fowens (28 March 1609) on f 79.

### WILL OF NICHOLAS WOOLFE

Nicholas Woolfe was a wealthy Bristol cutler who owned shops and houses in Wine Street and

elsewhere in the city, including the playhouse in Wine Street and the White Hart Inn in Broad Street. He was married three times, to Alice, Joyce (mother of Miles), and Margaret, who survived him upon his death in 1614. Woolfe had one sister, Alice Woolfe Payne, and brothers Roger, William, and Leonard. Roger's son, Isaak, and William's son, John, appear in the early seventeenth-century Christ Church Easter Book list, indicating that they lived with Nicholas Woolfe and his wife at that time, perhaps because their fathers had died and/or they were serving apprenticeships under their uncle.

London, Public Record Office, PROB 10/314; 1614; English; paper; 3 sheets, attached at top; 390mm x 303mm, folded into a rectangle measuring 303mm x 70mm; numbered 1-2 contemporary with ms, third sheet unnumbered; writing on rectos only; slight tear at the top of each sheet; labelled: 'PROB 10 July, H-Y, f [3v] reads: 'Will N. Wolfe, July 1614.' In a box with 13 other bundles (varying from 2 to 12 wills per bundle).

#### WILL OF THOMAS PRINCE

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, will Thomas PRINCE 1634; 12 November 1634 (probated 4 December 1634); English with Latin probate; paper; 2 leaves attached by a parchment strip; 400mm x 310mm (360mm x 260mm); no foliation; fairly good condition, first leaf torn away from its attachment, piece torn from top of both leaves; decorative initial, first line emboldened; endorsed: 'Christchurch. Testamentum Thomas Prince 1634 4 December.'

#### WILL OF SARAH BARKER

Sarah Barker was very likely the wife of Richard Barker, a prominent merchant and member of the Spanish Company until his death in 1614. At her death in 1637, Sarah Barker owned six houses in Redcliffe Hill, one of which was a purpose-built playhouse.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, will Sarah BARKER 1637; 31 May 1637 (probated 25 August 1637); English (will) and Latin (probate); paper; 2 sheets attached with parchment tag; 410mm x 340mm; contemporary ink pagination; good condition; initial letter enlarged and slightly decorated; small seal.

#### INVENTORY OF WILLIAM ATKINS, JOINER

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1613/2; appraised 24 April 1613, exhibited 26 April 1613; English; paper; single sheet; 700mm x 155mm (655mm x 150mm) stitched across at 375mm from top.

#### INVENTORY OF GEORGE LANE

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1613/37; 1613, exhibited 2 October 1613; English; paper; 6 sheets; height varies from 450mm to 100mm x 155mm; modern pencil numbering; good condition but damaged along folds.

## INVENTORY OF THOMAS SAUNDERS, PINKER

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1613/51; appraised 10 October 1613, exhibited 2 December 1613; English; paper; single sheet; 390mm x 147mm (320mm x 135mm) with top indented 10mm.

## INVENTORY OF KATHERINE BOWCHER

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1614/1; appraised 16 May 1614; English; paper; 4 leaves; 410mm x 330mm with 2 leaves stitched at center folded to form 405mm x 115mm; unnumbered; stitched unbound booklet.

## INVENTORY OF JOHN WHITSON

John Whitson was a prominent citizen of Bristol, who 'left his estate for charitable purposes, which included the foundation of the Red Maids' school.'<sup>152</sup> For further biographical details see pp 294–5, endnote to BRO: 04026(17) p 28.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, 09458(1); exhibited in 1629 (with additions 16 May 1633); English; parchment; single sheet stitched and folded to make 13 sections; height varies from 710mm to 260mm (damaged last sheet) x 125mm; generally good condition (bottom torn away).

## INVENTORY OF NICHOLAS MEREDITH, MERCHANT

Nicholas Meredith, merchant, was appointed chamberlain of Bristol in 1613 and held office for thirty-three years. His complete inventory has been published in D.M. Livock (ed), *City Chamberlains' Accounts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Bristol Record Society, vol 24 (Bristol, 1966), 172–8.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1639/68; English; paper; 5 leaves; 310mm x 410mm, folded to 310mm x 205mm with an extra sheet 310mm x 200mm stitched in at back; unnumbered; unbound booklet.

## INVENTORY OF FRANCIS DERRICKE

Francis Derricke, a merchant venturer, was part owner of the ships, *The Hope*, *The Little Charles*, and *The Fortune* in 1629.

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1640/18; appraised 7 May 1640; English; paper; single sheet; 320mm x 205mm.

## INVENTORY OF MORGAN WINSCOMBE, CLOTHWORKER

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1641/56; appraised 3 May 1641, exhibited 28 July 1641; English; paper; 2 leaves; 405mm x 310mm folded in half to 405mm x 155mm; unnumbered.



## INVENTORY OF RICHARD BRACE, PHYSICIAN

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1642/9; appraised 6 August 1642; English; paper; single sheet; 2380mm x 160mm, stitched 5 times at intervals 410mm to 390mm; unnumbered.

## INVENTORY OF STEVEN HUSSEY

Bristol, Bristol Record Office, inventory 1642/26; appraised 14 September 1642, exhibited 10 October 1642; English; paper; 2 leaves; 295mm x 400mm folded in half to 295mm x 200mm (285mm x 190mm); unnumbered.

## Royal Entry Records

These documents include the earliest accounts of the once-in-a-generation royal visits of Edward IV, Henry VII, Elizabeth I, and Queen Anne.

## EDWARD IV'S VISIT TO BRISTOL

The royal entry is included in a composite volume in many hands once attributed to Stowe (c 1560). The miscellaneous contents include religious and political poems, saints' lives, and chronicles of England.

London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms 306; late 15th c. to 1563; English; paper; 204 leaves; 285mm x 210mm; modern pencil foliation; highly decorated, with much rubrication; wooden binding with stamped leather binding cover (clasps gone), title on spine: '306 | Chronicle | of | the Brist. | ETC. | Lambeth | Library | ms. 306.'

## FIRST PROVINCIAL PROGRESS OF HENRY VII

The account of the progress is the fourth item in the first section of the composite manuscript, on ff 8v–21v. This section includes descriptions of ceremonies and celebrations from the first year of the reign of Henry VII, while the remaining sections contain seventy-nine miscellaneous items in French, Latin, and English. The complete text of the progress is available in C.E. McGee, 'A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1977).

London, British Library, Cotton Julius B. XI; 15th–17th century; Latin and English; vellum (ff 67–82) and paper; ii + 316 + iii; 280mm x 210mm; modern pencil foliation supersedes original foliation; modern binding, title on spine: 'Historical Tracts | Brit Mus. | Cotton | Ms | Julius B. XII.'

## ELIZABETH I'S VISIT TO BRISTOL

THE FIRSTE | parte of Churchyardes | *Chippes, contayning* | *twelue seuerall* | **Labours.** | *Devised and*

*published, only* | by Thomas Churchyard | Gentilman. | [three dots in triangular arrangement in parentheses] | Imprinted at London | in *Fleestreate neare* | unto **Saint Dunstones** | Church by Thomas | **Marshe**. | 1575. | Cum priuilegio. | [an elaborate border surrounds the title page with the cypher T.M. at the bottom]; black-letter, roman, and italic; ornamental block initial for first word of each of twelve pieces in book. *STC*: 5232.

#### A RELATION OF THE ... ENTERTAINEMENT, GIVEN TO THE HIGH, AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE, QUEENE ANNE

The author of the *Relation*, Robert Naile, is identified as an apprentice of Bristol – his impromptu excursus on the Turkish threat to Bristol's shipping (p 188, l.7–p 189, l.29) suggests he may have been apprenticed to the Merchant Venturers.

A | RELATION | OF THE ROYALL, | MAGNIFICENT, AND | sumptuous Entertainement, giuen to the | High, and Mighty Princesse, *Queene ANNE*, | at the renowned *Citie* of Bristoll, by the Mayor, | Sheriffes, and Aldermen thereof; in the | Moneth of *Iune* last past, 1613. | [Rulc.] | TOGETHER WITH, | The Oration, Gifts, Triumphes, Water- | Combats, and other Showes there made. | [ornament of an elaborate mask] | LONDON: | Printed for *John Budge*, and are to be solde at the great South- | doore of *Paules*, and at *Brittaines-Burse*. 1613.; roman and italic (for proper names). *STC*: 18347.

#### Miscellaneous Records

The documents described below record further evidence of entertainment and performances in Bristol before 1642, ranging from the founding of a chantry in St Augustine's Abbey in the fourteenth century to Philip Powell's Commonplace Book of 1628–32.

#### GRANT BY THOMAS, LORD BERKELEY, FOR THE FOUNDATION OF A CHANTRY IN ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

Gloucestershire, Berkeley Castle, Select Charter 521; 27 April 1348; Latin; parchment; single sheet; episcopal seal.

#### RICHARD EDWARDS' *THE PARADYSE OF DAYNTY DEUISES*

This miscellany has been edited and printed by Hyder Edward Rollins, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576–1606)* (Cambridge, 1927).

THE PARADYSE | of *daynty deuises*, | aptly furnished, with sundry pithie and learned inuentions: | deuised and written for the most part, by *M. Edwards*. | sometimes of her *Maiesties Chappel: the rest*, by | sundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor, | and woorshippe. | viz. | S. Barnarde. Iasper Heyvwood. | E. O. F. K. | L. Vaux. M. Beuve. | D. S. R. Hill. | M. Yloop, vvith others. | [oval printer's device depicting an angel with a blazing heart in right hand and a cross in the left, representing Religion, treading the devil underfoot] | IMPRINTED AT LON- | don by *Henry Disle*, dwelling in | **Paules Churchyard**, at the South west doore | of *Saint Paules Church*, and are there | to be solde. | 1576.; colophon on signature L4v:

*Imprinted at London by Henry Disle, dwelling at the | Southwest doore of S. Paules Church. | 1576.*; black-letter, roman, and italic; verso of the title-page bears the coat of arms of Lord Henry Compton to whom miscellany is dedicated. *STC*: 7516. The poem, authored by D.S[ande], appears on p 23 (sig C4) as item number 25 in the volume.

#### RICHARD FERRIS' VOYAGE TO BRISTOL BY ROWBOAT FROM LONDON

Richard Ferris (fl. 1590) was an adventurer and royal messenger attached to the household of Elizabeth I. Not a trained sailor, he nevertheless vowed to row in an open boat (with two friends, Andrew Hill and William Thomas) from London to Bristol. The voyage began on Midsummer Day at Tower Wharf and reached Bristol the following 3 August. The successful exploit greatly appealed to all the citizenry and Ferris became somewhat of a national hero as a result. He printed a prose account of the voyage and included with it a sonnet by James Sargent which described Ferris' arrival in Bristol.

The most dangerous | and memorable aduventure of | *Richard Ferris*, one of the fiue ordi- | narie Messengers of her Maiesties Chamber, | who departed from Tower Wharfe on Midsommer | day last past, with Andrew Hill and William Thomas, | who vnderooke in a small Wherry Boate, | to rowe by Sea to the Citie of Bristowe, | and are now safely returned. | *Wherein is particularly expressed their | perils sustained in the saide voyage, and the great | entertainment they had at seuerall places vpon | the coast of England, as they went, but espe- | cially at the said Citie of Bristow. | Published by the sayd Richard Ferris. |* [ornament of a fleur-de-lis] LONDON | Printed by **John Wolfe** for **Edward White**, and are to be sold | at his shop being at the litle north doore of Pauls at the | signe of the Gunne. 1590.; black-letter, roman, and italics. *STC*: 10834.

#### EDWARD ALLEYN'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE

Edward Alleyn, one of the premier actors of the era (rivalled only perhaps by Richard Burbage), created the great lead roles in Marlowe's best-known plays. A member of the lord admiral's men by 1589, he was also associated with Lord Strange's men and Philip Henslowe (whose step-daughter, Joan Woodward, became Alleyn's wife) and the Rose Theatre in Southwark. Alleyn built the Fortune in 1600 where he led the lord admiral's men. He founded Dulwich College in 1619 with part of the endowment for it coming from the freehold of the Fortune Theatre.

This holograph letter is bound as ff 13–13v in a volume with other letters, receipts, and patents for 1559–1662.

London, Dulwich College Library, ms 1; 1593; English; paper; single sheet; 300mm x 420mm which folds to 300mm x 210mm; no decoration; address side reads: 'This be delyvered | to mistress hinslo on of the [seal gone] | grounes of hir maister | chamber dwelling | on the banksid | right over against | the clink.'

#### MERRIE CONCEITED JESTS OF GEORGE PEELE

George Peele (c 1558–c 1597) was the noted dramatist and poet, Oxford scholar, and 'University

Wit' whose body of literary works consists of plays, pageants, and miscellaneous 'gratulatory' verse. He is described by the *DNB* (p 674) as 'one of the most prominent figures among Shakespeare's "predecessors" and earlier contemporaries.' The work was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1605, with the earliest known edition appearing in 1607.

MERRIE CON- | CEITED IESTS OF | George Peele Gentleman, some- | times a student in Oxford. | Wherein is shewed the course of his life how he | liued: a man very well knowne in the Citie of London and elsewhere. | Buy, read and iudge, | The price do not grudge: | It will do thee more pleasure, | Then twice so much treasure. | [printer's device of a pegasus rising above caduceus and cornucopia held by two hands emerging from clouds] | LONDON, | Printed by *Nicholas Okes* for *Francis Faulkner* and | *Henric Bell*, and are to be sold in his shop in new | Fish-street neere to East-cheape. | 1607.; black-letter and roman (for proper names); elaborated letters beginning letter to reader and first jest. *STC*: 19541.

#### LETTER FROM JOHN CHAMBERLAIN TO DUDLEY CARLETON

John Chamberlain (1553–1627) was an independently wealthy scholar and letter writer, described by the *DNB* as 'the Horace Walpole of his day.' He was close friends with the eminent men of his day, including Sir Dudley Carleton. By the time of this letter, Chamberlain, who rarely travelled, had visited Carleton in Venice in 1611 when Carleton was ambassador there. His letters are of great value today because they include 'many details concerning public occurrences not mentioned by graver historians' (*DNB*).

Dudley Carleton (1573–1632), became a highly successful diplomat during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Carleton, a member of parliament, eventually served as ambassador to Venice, having received his knighthood in September 1610 before arriving in Venice the following November. Returning to England in 1615, he was instrumental in bringing peace to Europe through his work with the treaty of Asti. He was eventually rewarded for his years of service by being made a member of the privy council; in May 1626 he became Lord Carleton of Imbercourt. He was a voluminous writer of letters; the *DNB* says 'few writers of English have surpassed him in the power of making his meaning obvious without effort and without unnecessary verbiage.'

London, Public Record Office, SP 14/74; 10 June 1613; English; paper; bifolium; 315mm x 420mm; bound as item 1 (ff 2–3) with other documents in modern red binding, title on spine: 'SP | 14 | State | Papers | Domestic | James | 1 | 74.'

#### LETTER FROM SIR GEORGE BUC TO LORD CHAMBERLAIN

Sir George Buc or Buck (d. 1623) was an historian, poet, and master of the revels. He was an official of the revels office by 1601, deputy master by 1603, and succeeded Tilney in 1610. He was involved, from that time until his retirement due to illness in 1622, in the licensing of plays for publication as well as approval for players and other performers to ply their trades.

London, Public Record Office, SP 14/81; 10 July 1615; English; paper; single sheet; 360mm x 225mm;

no decoration; excellent condition; mounted on paper guard and bound as p 14 with other documents in modern red leather, title on spine: 'State | Letters | Domestic. | James I | 81.'

#### PHILIP POWELL'S COMMONPLACE BOOK

The commonplace and memorandum book of Phillip Powell of Brecon contains autograph poetry by Powell, in Welsh (pp 34, 41–2) and English, some of it autobiographical; memoranda about family strife and his imprisonment in Newgate in 1633–6 (pp 45, 57, 63–4, pedigree on 69); English poetry (especially pp 36–46, 88–94, 138–53) by Sir Walter Raleigh, King James I, Edward Games of Newton (p 45), Sir Henry Williams (p 92), John Jones (pp 92–3), and John Gibbs of Neath (pp 152–3); commercial arithmetical tables; paschal tables; extracts on biblical, classical, and British history; Brecknockshire history; an armorial (pp 71–5); legal precedents; 'lute leasons,' a list of tunes, some Welsh (p 157); on Captain Thomas James and his voyage, 1631–5 (pp 77–8); and changes of bells (pp 55–7). On pp 13–15 is a compiler's contents list.

Cardiff, Cardiff County Library, ms 3.42; 1628–38 with references to earlier events; English; paper; 81 leaves; 295mm x190mm; paginated; decayed at edges with some text lost; original limp vellum wrapper. Inscribed as follows: 'Thomas Powell' and 'Richard Powell,' 17th century (p 2); owned by Theophilus Jones and bought at his sale by Thomas Lawrence (p 4).

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# Editorial Procedures

## Principles of Selection

Theatre historians – indeed, all historians – make choices and this section is about the choices made in the creation of this volume, which attempts to include all known documentary evidence of drama, music, and mimetic ceremony in Bristol before 1642. The REED research editor must first research the printed references and sources related to pre-1642 documents for a given geographical area before proceeding to locate the extant documents themselves. The word 'extant' is crucial, of course, because the records which survive for any locality do so for many reasons, such as historical chance; in some cases, to be sure, records may never have existed of events which would have been relevant to this volume. What the editor examines initially then – in the record offices, the church vaults, the reference libraries, and other repositories – is the written record of past events, records which are very often characterized by 'gaps' or 'missing pieces' caused by such diverse important historical events as the dissolution of the religious houses between 1536–9 and the action of German bombers over Bristol in 1940. It is extremely frustrating, for instance, that the Mayors' Audits, which form a considerable portion of this volume and on which the dating process for the volume is based, have not survived from before 1531 or for several key years in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Given that the overall body of records is incomplete, then it is of equal concern that the records which have survived are full of ambiguity and imprecision. A written record of an historical event oftentimes telescopes that event, just as our pocket calendars today telescope what we actually do on any given day. Events of a high importance (a royal entry), of a peculiar or unusual nature (damage to the Guildhall due to a rowdy audience), or of financial concern (an approved civic payment to a 'vendor') generally are likely to appear. Many events, however, which undoubtedly occurred but were of less significance, were not unusual, or involved no money changing hands, probably went unrecorded. All the plays performed in Bristol probably had titles, for instance, but definite titles survive for only three and possible titles survive for three more (and we are extremely grateful for that small favour). We therefore know less than 5 per cent of the titles of all the plays performed and it is not at all clear why the scribe chose to include these few. While the REED editor might wish that a scribe had been more specific or verbose, that is not the nature of the accounting; indeed, the extent of contraction used throughout the civic and parish records attests to the desire to document only what was deemed

absolutely necessary. Surviving records are thus largely a form of shorthand, a minimalist account representing larger, more complex goings-on.

Having located and read virtually all the relevant records known to him or her, the REED editor must then decide what to transcribe and what to pass over at each turn of the folio. The records which have survived are as chaotic as reality itself and the REED editor must attempt to bring order out of this chaos. Further distillation occurs during the complex and extended editorial process to create ultimately a volume that is as complete 'an interim report' (as Harold F. Brooks taught me all scholarly effort was) as it can possibly be.

This volume attempts to conform to the general REED guidelines in selecting passages for inclusion. There is no difficulty including events which are by their very nature clearly dramatic (a literary text, such as one 'spoken' at a royal entry) or theatrical (performance itself, such as a visit of an itinerant company of players). More murky and less understood activities, such as inter-parish Corpus Christi processions, guild sponsored pageant-bearing, and inner parish sepulchre watching demand some thought and decision making. Context is important, too, and so, as appropriate, an entire entry has been printed to place the relevant performance portion of that entry into its larger context.

Bristol enjoyed a rich history of both parish supported Corpus Christi processions and guild sponsored processional 'pageant-bearing' on the same day. While I have not found clear evidence to connect the two, it is enticing to presume a relationship between them. However, no evidence exists to support drama of any kind related to Corpus Christi. It is for this reason that the extensive surviving references to Corpus Christi liturgical celebrations in such records as the St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts and the All Saints Churchwardens' Accounts have been omitted from this volume. Guild pageant-bearing in Bristol could certainly be visually elaborate but was clearly more closely related to a parade with floats than to a play in performance. I have nevertheless included all references in the records which include the word 'pageant,' even when there is no reason to suppose that the pageant is dramatic in nature, in the hope that the *Bristol* volume will help us to learn more about the word 'pageant,' that is, what the 'pageant' was not as well as what it was. Indeed, the Bristol records indicate it is misleading to assume that the word 'pageant' is synonymous with the word 'play.'

The annual medieval Easter liturgical observation known as sepulchre watching is clearly outside the bounds of the REED project and therefore references to Easter sepulchres and sepulchre watching in parish churches have been excluded. An elaborate 1470 sepulchre constructed in the church of St Mary Redcliffe, the gift of the wealthy benefactor and frequent mayor of the city, William Canynges, possibly had dynamic qualities but despite the vivid nature of its description, the St Mary Redcliffe sepulchre was probably static.<sup>153</sup> Certainly no evidence of a relation between this sepulchre (or any sepulchre in Bristol) and liturgical drama has survived.

This volume excludes perambulations to mark parish boundaries and routine parish 'ringings' except when supplemental music is mentioned. Annual general account dinners, Advent civic 'drinkings,' and 'fishings' have been omitted, festive though they may have been. 'Wrestlings' have been included when they are part of an entry which includes minstrels, waits, and/or bearwards. Civic musters have been excluded due to their essentially martial nature, even though they inevitably involved the 'music' of fifes and drums.

Surnames can be problematic in fourteenth-century (or earlier) records when a name like 'le harper' may also refer to a profession. However, the surname Player, of a family associated with the parish of St Philip and St James from the sixteenth century onwards, is clearly only a surname; there is nothing to link them to drama in Bristol. Occupation titles also can be misleading. For example, the numerous references to 'showmen' relate not to half the population of Bristol being involved in 'show' business but rather to the many persons who made shoes and have thus been excluded.

References to 'singing men' have been excluded since they almost certainly provided choral music for the church (the equivalent of modern male church choirs) and, as such, occupy a place in the liturgical, not dramatic, history of Bristol. For the same reason I have excluded the cornet player hired by St John Baptist's parish from 1635 onwards because the records suggest liturgical accompaniment. I have included, however, the records of parishes hiring civic waits and musicians for what was probably an unusual or special event, perhaps outside the liturgy, such as an account dinner or at Christmas for carols. Generally, I have excluded references to musicians which are not related to their profession as performers, such as 'Lynzye the wayte player' selling a coverlet (see above, p xli).

The citizens of Bristol routinely celebrated the sovereign's birthday and other important events with elaborate bonfires. In the absence of clear references to related dramatic or musical activity, such bonfires have been excluded.

General REED policy excludes the enormous task of systematically searching all wills but when a printed source indicates something of interest, wills are included. Also when a person is named in the records, the will of that person has been searched, where possible (usually to no avail). This was done for the wills of the persons known to have been involved with Nicholas Woolfe late in his life when he owned the playhouse in Wine Street. Comprehensive systematic searches of royal accounts for records relating to royal visits in Bristol also have not been done.

## Dating

It is fortunate that most of the surviving records in Bristol refer to very particular dates. For the extensive Mayors' Audits it is generally possible to date events to a specific week within a specific quarter of a specific year, something relatively rare in civic accounting practice. In Bristol the Mayors' Audits form the bulk of the extant documents relating to civic entertainment and they contain a rather detailed and complex dating system. They are organized on a Michaelmas to Michaelmas fiscal year (30 September–29 September) which was divided into four quarters: the day after Michaelmas (30 September) to Christmas (25 December); the day after Christmas (26 December) to Lady Day (25 March); the day after Lady Day (26 March) to Midsummer (24 June); and the day after Midsummer (25 June) to Michaelmas (29 September). The records in this volume are therefore arranged according to this civic fiscal year; thus Edward Alleyn's 1 August 1593 letter to his wife appears under the year heading 1592–3. Bristol is unusual in its practice of referring to the quarters of the year by the ending feast rather than the beginning feast (in most communities, for example, the fourth quarter is called Midsummer from its commencement instead of Michaelmas for its conclusion).



Within each quarter, entries relate to specific Sunday to Saturday weeks, generally a very workable system which produces only the occasional long or short week problem at the beginning or end of the quarter, which is so noted in the Endnotes. Under this system of dating the margin of error should always be small, as in 1535–6, for example, when the weekly account was made up later than it should have been and an item that belonged to the following week was entered by mistake, or in 1543–4 when a payment made on 17 January was lumped in with the accounts for 20–6 January.

The chamberlains started to combine weeks late in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth they gave up weekly entries completely in favour of ones which go quarter by quarter. In these cases the editorial dating subhead indicates the inclusive dates for the chamberlain's recording of the payment, the event having occurred at some time previous to the account entry itself.

Most of the original documents are based on a calendar year that began on 25 March and some documents are dated by regnal year. In all cases I have converted the entries according to modern practice and indicated dates falling between 1 January and 25 March by a split year. Thus a date given as 20 January 1524/5 indicates 1525 by our present reckoning of a new year on 1 January but 1524 by the English ecclesiastical calendar, according to which the year changed on Lady Day, 25 March. Although the dating within the volume is based on the Michaelmas–Michaelmas accounting year of the Mayors' Audits, other groups had different accounting years and they are so noted in editorial subheadings. At both St Ewen's and Christ Church parishes, for instance, the churchwardens usually ran a March to March accounting year while at St Mary Redcliffe the accounting year was December to December (usually around St Nicholas' Day).

### Editorial Conventions

Each entry is preceded by a heading with the year, MS or book identification, and folio, page, or membrane number; antiquarian sources are noted in the left margin as Antiquarian Compilations (A) or Antiquarian Collections (AC). Where documents from different sources appear under the same year they follow the sequence established in the Documents section of the Introduction.

I have attempted to preserve the general layout of the manuscript originals, although the lincation of the original has not been retained in continuous prose passages. Right-hand marginalia have been set in the left margin of the text and accompanied by the symbol @. Raised dots have been moved down to the line and therefore appear as modern full stops (a period). Emendations and scribal errors are noted at the foot of the page. Larger issues and problems are discussed more extensively in the Endnotes or Documents section of the Introduction. Italics and other typefaces from early printed books have not been reproduced. Also the ligatures common in early printed books, especially in black letter type, have not been preserved.

The punctuation of the manuscripts has been retained. Virgules have been indicated as / and //. Braces have not been reproduced unless they are a significant feature of the layout. Diacritics used to distinguish 'y' from 'p' and 'u' from 'n' and line-fillers have been omitted.

The spelling and capitalization of the original manuscripts have been preserved. The 'þ' and 'ȝ' have been retained throughout as have the 'ff' for 'F' and the 'I' for modern 'J'. Ornamental or very large capitals in all manuscripts have been transcribed as regular capitals but noted. When it has been especially difficult to distinguish a capital from a lower-case letter, I have opted for lower case.

Abbreviated words have been expanded with italics to indicate letters supplied by the editor. The practice of individual scribes has been followed where it could be determined. When no consistent scribal practice could be observed, Latin abbreviations have been expanded according to standard classical orthography and English to modern British forms. Abbreviations in common use today (eg, 's,' 'd,' 'li,' 'etc,' '&c,' '&c,' and 'viz') and ones cumbersome to expand such as those typical of weights and measures ('ob' and 'lb') have been retained. 'XP' and 'xp' have been expanded as 'Christ' and *christ*. The sign ʒ has been expanded as the plural 'es,' 'is,' or 'ys' according to scribal practice, except where it follows an 'e,' when it becomes an 's.' In the Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts a wide variety of hands and of practice within hands made it impossible to establish clear scribal practice and so the expansion 'es' was used throughout these records. Otiose flourishes have been ignored.

English words in Latin passages have not been declined. Place names, personal names, and surnames have only been expanded to normal spelling where ascertainable. All superscript letters have been lowered except when they are used with numerals.

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# Notes

- 1 Bodleian Library: Tanner ms 464c, f 73v. The best recent history of early modern Bristol is Sacks, *Widening Gate*.
- 2 Bodleian Library: Tanner ms 464c, f 75v.
- 3 Lobel and Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol,' pp 1–21 and maps 1–3.
- 4 R.E. Glasscock, 'England circa 1334,' *A New Historical Geography of England*, H.C. Darby (ed) (Cambridge, 1973), 184; John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), 34; F.V. Emery, 'England circa 1600,' *New Historical Geography*, Darby (ed), p 295; W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England*, 3rd ed (London, 1984), 278.
- 5 John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London, 1611), src: 23041, f 47.
- 6 Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, p 10; Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp 179–80. For the importance of urban historical writing, see Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1640–1780: Urbane or Civic?' J.H. Pittock and A. Wear (eds), *Interpretation and Cultural History* (Basingstoke, 1991), 198–234.
- 7 Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979); and R.B. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser, 27 (1977), 1–22.
- 8 Vanes (ed), *Documents*, pp 28–30; *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1817), vol 3, pp 768–9, 32 Henry VIII, c.18.
- 9 A.R. Bridbury, 'English Provincial Towns in the Later Middle Ages,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser, 34 (1981), 1–24; Robert Tittler, "'For the Re-edification of Townes': The Rebuilding Statutes of Henry VIII," *Albion* 22.4 (1990), 591–605.
- 10 N.Dermott Harding (ed), *Bristol Charters 1155–1373*, Bristol Record Society, vol 1 (Bristol, 1930), 8–13 (1188), 118–41 (1373).
- 11 H.A. Cronne (ed), *Bristol Charters 1378–1499*, Bristol Record Society, vol 11 (Bristol, 1946), 163–88; Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p 163.
- 12 R.C. Latham (ed), *Bristol Charters 1509–1899*, Bristol Record Society, vol 12 (Bristol, 1947), 82, 111, 125–34.
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- Vaine playes, or Enterluds, with other idle pastimes &c. commonly used on the Sabbath day, are reprov'd by the Authoritie of the word of God and auncient writers* (London, 1577; *STC*: 18670). On Sabbatarianism, see Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988).
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- 108 See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford, 1993), 239, *passim*.
- 109 Masters and Ralph (eds), *The Church Book of St. Ewen's*, p 261.
- 110 Just as dancing money is unique to St Ewen's (but is certainly related to performance

- and entertainment), references to the Dance of Pauls appear only in the All Saints' records. This seems likely to have been a copy of the famous painting of the Dance of Death associated with St Paul's Cathedral in London. The churchwardens' first recorded payments relate to the 'dance of pauls' in 1448 with William Wytney's bequest of £18 to make it (BRO: P/AS/ChW/3 p 164). Further references to the 'dance of Pauls' indicate it was hung up, taken down, and folded up and was used on St James' Day and All Saints' Day. References to the All Saints' 'dance of Pauls' survive through 1520. See Atchley, 'On the Parish Records of the Church of All Saints, Bristol,' pp 221–74. Atchley inexplicably says Wytney paid £43 (p 235).
- 111 Audrey Douglas, "Owre Thanssyng Day": Parish Dance and Procession in Salisbury,' *Folk Music Journal, The Journal of Traditional Music and Dance* 6.5 (1994), 600–1.
- 112 See Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp 185–6.
- 113 Little, *The City and County of Bristol*, p 113.
- 114 See Harvey, *Bristol: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City*, p 246; and Barker, *Bristol at Play*, p 2. Barker was misled by reading 'shoemen' (ie, shoemakers) as 'showmen.'
- 115 Evidence from the Restoration period confirms theatrical activity at the Bristol fairs in the 1660s. On 23 July 1663 the master of the revels, Sir Henry Herbert, issued instructions to his messenger, Edward Thomas, to suppress at the fairs of Bristol all unlicensed 'musick, Cockfightings, maskings, prizes, Stage players, tumblers, vaulters, Dancers on the ropes, such as act, sett forth, shew, or present any play, shew, motion, feats of actiuity, or sights whatsoever' (BL: Add. ms 19, 256 f75). These instructions may be Restoration 'boilerplate' and may not accurately reflect the situation in Bristol even in 1663 but, taken at face value, they suggest that by the 1660s entertainment had become an important part of the Bristol fairs and the Crown therefore stepped in to control such activity. In addition a 1677 letter from Richard Blinman in Bristol to Increase Mather in New England also confirms theatrical activity at the St James Fair. Blinman writes, 'Cursed plays, by which ye nation is debauched, abound, which our city Experienced now at James's fayer' (Boston Public Library: ms AM. 1502, vol 1, no 74, also published in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser 4, vol 8 (Boston, 1868), 329–30). From these Restoration records it is easy to infer (but impossible to prove) that theatrical activity had been a part of the great fairs before 1642.
- 116 See Nicholas Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066–1548* (Exeter, 1976), 38–40.
- 117 See Cynthia Renee Bland, 'The Middle English Grammatical Texts in Oxford, Lincoln College ms Lat. 130,' PhD thesis (University of North Carolina, 1984). Lincoln College: ms Lat. 130 had remained hidden for four centuries in Lincoln College: ms Lat 129E, having been used as padding for the binding of that manuscript, a schoolmaster's compilation. Bland knows, by the colophon to ms 129, that Thomas Schort copied it over the New Gate in Bristol 8 May 1427 (pp 17–18), and Orme believes ms 129 to be representative of Richard Londe's teaching methods (*Education in the West of England*, 39).
- 118 Bland, 'Middle English Grammatical Texts,' p 212.



- 119 Bland, 'Middle English Grammatical Texts,' p 215.
- 120 Bland, 'Middle English Grammatical Texts,' p 21.
- 121 The free school of St Bartholomew was previously St Bartholomew's Hospital. It was established as a free school through a bequest by the eminent Bristol merchant, Robert Thorne, in 1532. See Roger Price, *Excavations at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol* (Bristol, 1979), 18.
- 122 Orme, *Education in the West*, p 26.
- 123 Churchyard received £6 13s 4d while Dunne received £1 7s 6d. The cause of the envy which Churchyard sensed could be related to funding as well as artistry.
- 124 See Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, vol 1, pp 187–8 and vol 2, pp 14–15.
- 125 See Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama 975–1700*, S. Schoenbaum (rev) (Philadelphia, 1964), 44–6.
- 126 The *DNB* entry for John Northbrooke credits his treatise on dicing, dancing, plays, or enterludes, as 'the earliest separate and systematic attack' upon dramatic performance in England.
- 127 Northbrooke, *A Treatise*, pp 59–60.
- 128 In my calculations, I count 1600 as the last year of the sixteenth century, with the seventeenth century beginning in 1601. These calculations would change if we go with the (incorrect but popular) method of placing the year 1600 in the seventeenth century.
- 129 In 1641, for example, a bonfire was set at both the High Cross and the mayor's door when news came of the king's safe return from Scotland. See BRO: 04026(21) p 163.
- 130 Excavations at the site indicate that such a courtyard existed at this time. See Price, *Excavations at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol*, pp 16–21.
- 131 The Marsh would become Queen's Square, begun in 1699, an early all-brick planned residential area which included by the late eighteenth century the Mansion House, the first official home of the mayor. Queen's Square was enhanced by a famous Rysbrach equestrian statue of King William III. At that time in England only Lincoln's Inn Square in London was larger (see Lobel and Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol,' p 23).
- 132 See Lobel and Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol,' p 26; Little, *The City and County of Bristol*, p 340; and Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p 12.
- 133 See Ralph, *Guide*, p 42.
- 134 Fletcher, *Report*, p 36.
- 135 Jones, *Further Report*, p 73.
- 136 See *OED*, 'Sometimes,' 2a and 2b.
- 137 BRO: 04026 (14) p 193; it is not included in the Records because it contains no direct reference or connection to the playhouse.
- 138 See Livock (ed), *City Chamberlain's Accounts*, p 158. Today Redcliffe Hill lies north of the Avon but south of the Floating Harbour, which was the former course of the Avon during the period covered by this volume.
- 139 Abigail Ann Young deals with the complexity and multiple meanings of the word 'minstrel' in 'Minstrels and Minstrelsy: Household Retainers or Instrumentalists?' in *REEDN* 20.1 (1995), 11–17.

- 140 See Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 397.
- 141 Wadley mentions Pitts' reference to 'Lynzye' in *The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills*, p 273.
- 142 See Douglas and Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, pp 78, 81.
- 143 See Seyer, *Memoirs*, vol 1, p 422, vol 2, p 271. For further information about royal visits see vol 1, p 531 and vol 2, pp 71, 161, and 185. Many of Seyer's sources have been lost.
- 144 Ricart, f 59, or see p 26 of Lucy Toulmin Smith's 1872 edition. 'The Itinerary of Henry III,' typed and bound in the PRO in 1923, indicates the dates were 12–16 November 1216.
- 145 Ricart, f 123v (Smith's edition, p 39) places the visit of Henry VI in 1447.
- 146 Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn intended to visit the city of Bristol but were prevented from doing so because of plague; the city fathers took gifts to them at the royal residence at Thornbury. See Ricart, f 142v and Seyers, *Memoirs*, vol 2, p 214.
- 147 David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642* (London, 1971), 26.
- 148 Atchley, 'Mediaeval Parish Records,' p 35.
- 149 Atchley, 'Mediaeval Parish Records,' p 53.
- 150 See A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol 1 (Oxford, 1957; rpt 1989), 236.
- 151 See F.W. Weaver (ed), *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383–1500)*, Somerset Record Society, vol 16 (1901), 11–14.
- 152 Ralph, *Guide*, p 44.
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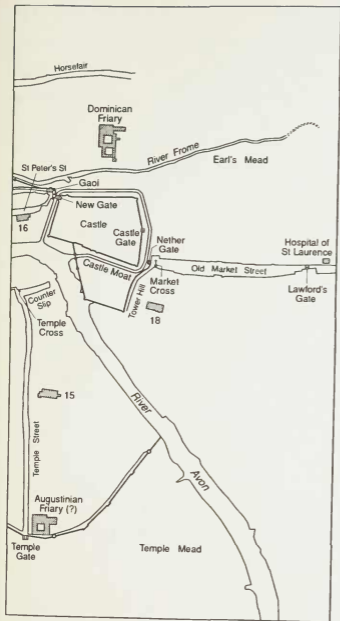
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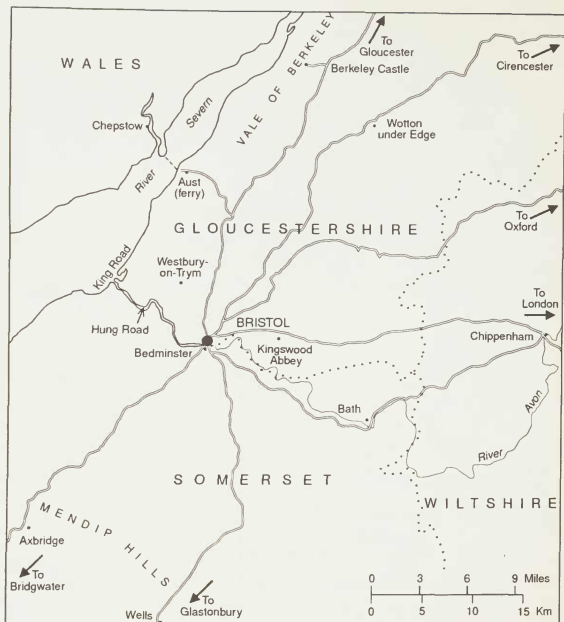








- 1 St Augustine-the-Less Church
- 2 St Michael's Church
- 3 St Stephen's Church
- 4 St Leonard's Church
- 5 St Lawrence's Church
- 6 St John Baptist's Church
- 7 St Werburgh's Church
- 8 St Ewen's Church
- 9 All Saints' Church
- 10 Christ Church
- 11 St Mary le Port Church
- 12 St Nicholas' Church
- 13 St Thomas' Church
- 14 St Mary Redcliffe Church
- 15 Temple Church
- 16 St Peter's Church
- 17 St James' Church (former Priory)
- 18 St Philip and St James Church



Map of Bristol and surrounding region with principal renaissance roads

RECORDS OF EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA

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# Symbols

BL	British Library	HWRO	Hereford and Worcester Record Office, County Hall Branch
BRL	Bristol Reference Library	PRO	Public Record Office
BRO	Bristol Record Office	SRO	Somerset Record Office
GL	Gloucester Library		

A	Antiquarian Compilation
AC	Antiquarian Collection
EETS	Early English Text Society
REED	Records of Early English Drama
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (comps), <i>Short-Title Catalogue ... 1475-1640</i>
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History of the Counties of England</i>
*	(after folio, page, membrane, or sheet number) see endnote
<...>	lost or illegible letters in the original
[ ]	cancellation in the original
(blank)	a blank in the original where writing would be expected
° °	matter in the original added in another hand
┌ ]	interlineation above the line
└ ]	interlineation below the line
^	caret mark in the original
...	ellipsis of original matter
	change of folio, membrane, sheet, or page in passages of continuous prose
⊙	right-hand marginale
†	marginale too long for the left-hand margin

# The Records

1255-6

*Mandate Concerning a Drowning* PRO: C 66/70

mb 6\* (16 July)

...

¶ Communia  
Bristollic

C Rex Iusticiariis suis proximo Itinerationis in Comitatu Gloucestrie & omnibus 5  
aliis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Cum nobis nuper existentibus  
apud Bristollicam Iohannes Kneyl Ludendo in aqua de Auene per infortunium  
fuerit submersus in presentia nostra & eius corpus sine visu coronatoris sepeliri  
fecerimus ac nobis plenarie constet quod illi qui dicto Ludo cum predicto  
Iohanne interfuerunt/ vel alii non sunt in aliquo culpabiles de morte eiusdem 10  
Iohannis. vobis mandamus quod villatam Bristollicam aut ipsos qui dicto Ludo  
cum predicto Iohanne interfuerunt aut alios occasione mortis ipsius Iohannis  
in nullo contrauenietis aut occasionetis. In cuius &c. Testimonio vt supra

...

1278-9

*Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard* HWRO: x716.093 BA 2648/1(i)

ff 93v-4\* (21 August)

...

C Processus excessuum decollacionis Bristollic 20

C Acta coram nobis Godefridus dei gracia Wygornie Episcopo in nostra ecclesia  
cathedrali xij<sup>o</sup> kalendas septembris anno gracie M<sup>o</sup> CC<sup>o</sup> Lxx<sup>o</sup> Nono. in negocio  
quod vertitur ex nostro officio/ contra Petrum d(.) La Mare Constabularium  
Castris Bristollicis/ & ceteros suos Complices/ super eo quod nuper in villa 25  
Bristollicae quedam enormia contra immunitatem ecclesiasticam/ enormiter  
perpetrarunt/ videlicet quod Ricardus de Waleden clericus/ prestito iuramento  
de veritate dicenda. fatetur quod Willelmum de Lay confugam ad ecclesiam  
apostolorum philippi & Iacobi Bristollicae in Cimiterio eiusdem ecclesie existentem

5m/ Communia: 9 minims in MS

13/ contrauenietis: 2 minims in MS

24/ immunitatem: minim missing in MS

- precepit extrahi. & ipse idem iniecit in eum manus ad extrahendum ipsum. quo facto fecit eum deferri in Castrum? & ibi retineri.
- ¶ Henricus de Essex laicus *similiter prestito iuramento: fatetur quod Willelmum predictum/ in Cimiterio prefato cepit per barbam/ & ipsum portauit in Castrum.* 5
- ¶ Nicholaus filius Neel laicus/ *iuratus/ dicit/ quod dictum Willelmum tenuit in dicto Cimiterio/ & extraxit quoddam ferrum de manu sua? & duxit eum violenter in Castrum.*
- ¶ Gilbertus la Gayte laicus/ *iuratus/ dicit/ quod predictum Willelmum cepit per brachium & traxit extra Cimiterium? & portauit eum in Castrum.* 10
- ¶ Robertus le Waleys laycus *iuratus/ dicit/ quod cepit eum fugientem ad Cimiterium/ & tenuit per pedes? dum reliqua pars corporis fuit in Cimiterio/ & dimisit per clamorem populi.*
- ¶ Adam le steor laicus/ *iuratus/ dicit/ quod tantum decollauit eum. & non plus fecit/ quia semper post/ & antea? fuit in Carcere/ eo quod fuit Custos Carceris. Et bene sciuit extractus a Cimiterio.* 15
- ¶ Ricardus le forester laicus/ *iuratus/ dicit quod venit ad mandatum superiorum suorum/ & quod presens erat/ vbi decollatus fuit. & quod sciuit eum extractum a Cimiterio. nec habuit gratam decollacionem.*
- ¶ Andreas le forester *iuratus/ dicit idem quod proximus iuratus. & addit quod stetit ibidem ad custodiendum/ tam decollatum quam decollatorem.* 20
- ¶ Thomas le forester/ *iuratus/ idem dicit quod duo alii/ & addit quod dedit consilium decollatori quod decollaret.*
- ¶ Iohannes le foreste *iuratus. idem dicit quod predictus Ricardus.*
- ¶ Henricus de Essex laicus *iuratus/ dicit quod ligauit manus suas in Carcere & ducit eum ad locum decollacionis & dedit Decollatori consilium vt decollaret? & quando fuit decollatus? portauit funus truncatum extra Castrum.* 25
- ¶ Iohannes la Gayte laycus *iuratus? dicit quod cum extractus esset a Cimiterio. obuiauit ei extra portam Castri. & duxit in castrum vna aliis. De decollacione. idem dicit quod predictus Ricardus le forester.!* 30
- ¶ Gilbertus la Gayte laicus *iuratus/ dicit idem/ quod Ricardus le fforester supradictus. Et addit quod portauit funus truncatum extra Castrum.*
- ¶ Robertus le Paumer *iuratus dicit/ quod duxit eum de Carcere ad locum decollacionis/ & fuit ibi presens. Item quando extractus fuit a Cimiterio. duxit eum in Castrum.* 35
- ¶ Petrus de la Mare Constabularius Castri Bristollie *iuratus. dicit quod non fuit presens in extraccione. sed ratam habuit eam. & precepit eum retineri. & hoc fecit propter salutem suam & sibi adherentium. & demum precepit quod decollaretur. & quod omnia fierent? sicut facta sunt.*
- ¶ Robertus Rector ecclesie beate marie Bristollie *iuratus pro se. & Ricardo fratre* 40

suo. dicit quod ignorat qui composuerunt carmen famosum. qui scripserunt. & qui detulerunt illud in publico. Dicit tamen quod audiuit miracula facta per dictum Willelmum de Lay. & quod frater suus illa recitauit.

...

f 95\* (23 August)

...

Godefridus &c. dilectis in christo filiis .. Archidiacono Gloucestrie & .. Decano ecclesie de Westburia salutem. gratiam. & benedictionem. Ad inquirendum in villa Bristollie si qui corpus Willelmi de Lay iuxta ecclesiam apostolorum philippi & Iacobi detestabiliter & temerarie venerantur vt sanctum' ipsum subisse martirium mendaciter asserentes/ qui ve de eo carmen aliquod componere vel compositum recitare/ aut deferre in publicum' presumpserunt. Et precipue de compositione cuiusdam famosi carminis scripti in quadam tabula uel affixi. & ad transgressores huiusmodi cohercendos. Insuper ad ecclesiam beate marie in foro/ & apostolorum philippi & Iacobi rectores/ & alios quoscumque puniendos/ qui in prefata villa Bristollie occasione Willelmi de Lay defuncti/ qualitercumque scandala suscitant & errores. Ad hec ad recipiendum Petrum de la Mare ac suos Complices congrue penitentes/ qui nuper contra ecclesiam quedam enormia notorie perpetrarunt/ prout vobis Archidiacone iniungimus viua voce. & ad clerum/ & populum/ si expedire videritis conuocand'/ eis que nostra iniungenda precepta' vobis ambobus coniunctim & diuisim committimus vices nostras' cum cohercionis legitima potestate. Data apud Wik' .x<sup>o</sup>. kalendas septembris.

...

1347–8

*Grant by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, for the Foundation of a Chantry in St Augustine's Abbey* Berkeley Castle: Select Charter 521  
single sheet\* (27 April)

...Ac volo & ordino quod predicus Willelmus capellanus & successores sui capellani in dicta cantaria residenciam faciant personalem & quod cotidie celebrent & ministrent iuxta ordinacionem meam prescriptam & subscriptam. ... Et quod caste & honeste viuant ad mercata neque tabernas nisi ex causis necessariis accedant nec de mercimoniis illicitis villo modo se intromittant Et quod Ludibria & spectacula illicita & congregaciones inhonestas omnino fugiant...

16/ ecclesiam: for ecclesiarum

24/ Wik': Wick Episcopi, a manor of the bishop of Worcester

## 1391–2

*Little Red Book* BRO: 04718f cxvii verso (14 December) (*Common Council ordinance as to officials' liveries*)

Pur ceo que lez Maire & Baillifs de Bristuyt deuaunt cez heoures de lour eyne 5  
 degre saunz assent de lez bons gentz de dite ville ount vestuz plusours persons  
 en comune lyuerey qad est vse de auncien temps as grauntz costagez & expencez  
 del ville suisdite Sur quei al comune consaill tenuz le loedy proschein apres le  
 fest del Concepcion nostre dame lan du regne nostre seignour le Roy Richard  
 second xv<sup>me</sup>/ est ordeignez et assentuz que desormez ne serrount plusours 10  
 del comune lyuerey hors pris lez deux personez southescriptez cestassauoir lez Maire,  
 Viscount deaux Baillifs Recordout, comune Clerkes, celuy que port le espee du  
 [(.)] Maire quatre sergeantz del Courte de la Maire, le Baillif herraud, comune  
 veieur lez iiij Minstrels del ville, lez deux waterbailifs et le Gaylour del  
 Gaiole<sup>1</sup> Et auxi le Clerk del Court de Tolseld & lez iiij sergeantz del Tolseld 15  
 durant le temps que le ferme est en le mayne del ville quelle lyuerez serra done  
 vn foith par an &/ nyent plus....

Nota

## 1403–4

*Will of John Bount* PRO: PROB 11/2A

f 61v (24 August; probated 6 February 1404/5)

...  
 In nomine sancte & indiuidue Trinitatis patris & filij & spiritus sancti Amen  
 vicesimo quarto die Augusti in festo sancti Bartholomei apostoli anno domini  
 Millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> quarto et regni vero regis henrici quarti post conquestum 25  
 quinto Ego Iohannes Bount filius & heres Iohannis Bount nuper Burgensis  
 ville Bristollie sane mentis & memoris mee regraciato altissimo in hunc  
 modum condo testamentum meum ... Item lego Iohanni Beoff<sup>7</sup> apprenticio  
 Curie & socio meo dilecto xl solidos Item lego eidem Iohanni noua statuta  
 mea & gladium meum phalleratum cum argento Item lego eidem Iohanni 30  
 chitheram meam magnam & quinternam meam cum facie Damiselle....  
 ...

## c 1450

*Little Red Book* BRO: 04718

f iii col 1\*

...  
 Soluciones Balliuorum Bristollie Annuatim Soluende Maiori  
 Vicecomiti, Recordatori & Alijs Officiarijs

In primis Maiori xij virgas Scarleti precii	viiij li.	40
Item pro ffurrura sua	x marce	
Item pro vino suo	v marce	



Item pro Ministrallis suis	v marce
Item pro Pensione sua	xx li.
Item in ffesto Sancti Georgij	ij torches
Summa	xlj li. vj s. viij d.

f [cxxxviiA]\*

5

Ⓒ Dis was þe old rule vsed yn þe behalf of } of Bristowe  
 þe journey men of þe craft of corvysers }

...

Item of euery journey man towards þe lyghtes of mydsomer & Seynt petre is nyghtes. for brede ale. mynstrells & oþer costes iij d.

10

...

1452-5

15

*Great Red Book* BRO: 04719

f 24

...

Item that no Boucher Slee no Bole in to tyme that he haue be baited in the Merssh iij courses vpon peyn of forfeiture of the hyde

20

...

1455-6

*St Ewen Church Book* BRO: P/StE/ChW/1

f 27\* (27 March-19 February) (Receipts)

25

...

Item of Rychard Bransby of þe daunsyng mony of his tyme & dauid Englund beyng procuratorz of þe churche ij s. iiij d.

...

30

1460-1

*Edward iv's Visit to Bristol* Lambeth Palace Library: MS 306

f 132\* (9 September)

The receyvyng of Kyng Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup> at Brystowe. ffirst atte the comyng ynne atte temple gate there stode Wylliam conquerour with iij lordis and these were his wordis

35

Well come Edwarde oure son of high degre  
 Many yeeris hast þou lakkyd owte of this londe

40

I am thy fore fader Wylliam of normandy  
To see thy Welefare here thugh goddys sond.

Over the same gate stondyng a greet Gyaunt delyueryng the keys  
 ¶ The Receuyng atte temple Crosse next folowyng Ther was seynt George on 5  
 horsbakke vppon a tent fyghtyng *with* a dragon And þe kyng & þe quene on  
 hygh in a castell/ And his doughter benethe *with* a lambe/ And atte the sleying  
 of the dragon ther was a greet melody of aunge<sup>1</sup>lys

...

*Ricart's Calendar* BRO: 04720(1)a  
f 123v\*

10

This noble prince kyng Edwarde the fourthe in the furst yere of his reigne  
came furst to Bristolle where he was ful honourably receyvid in as Worshipfull 15  
wise. as evir he Was in eny towne or Citee....

1464-5

*St Ewen Church Book* BRO: P/StE/ChW/1  
f 49v\* (29 March-26 March) (*Receipts*)

20

...

Item of iohn Nancothan of old daunsyng mony. left yn his  
doughters handes.

x s. j d.

Item of daunsyng mony our dedycacion day þis 3er

iiij s. x d.

...

25

1467-8

*St Ewen Church Book* BRO: P/StE/ChW/1  
f 58\* (27 February 1466/7-23 March 1467/8)

30

Resceytes of daunsyng mony

In *primis* of Margaret Nancothan

xx d.

Item of William Tayllour

xj d.

Item of Margaret Wolf

xv d.

Item of laurence Wolf

xiiij d. 35

...

f 59v

...

Other costes as suen

40

...

Item for þe summonyng of david furbor/ for þe daunsyng mony ij d.

...

## 1478-9

*Ricart's Calendar* BRO: 04720(1)a

ff 160v-1\* (15 September-14 September)

...

Seynt Kateryn

And on Seynt kateryns even in semblable wyse the saide Maire and Shiref  
and their Brethern to walke to Seynt kateryns Chapell within Temple Church  
there to hyre their evensong/ And from evensong to walk vnto the kateryn 10  
halle. there to be worshipfully Receiued of the wardeyns and Brethern of the  
same And in the halle there to haue their fires and their drynkynges with  
Spysid Cakebrede and sondry wynes the cuppes l merelly filled aboute the hous.  
And then to depart euery man home the Maire Shiref and the worshipfull 15  
men redy to receyue at their Dores Seynt kateryns players makyng them to  
drynk at their dores. and rewardyng theym for their playes. And on the morowe  
seynt kateryn day the Maire Shiref and their Brethern to be at the Temple  
Church. And fro thens to walke *with* the procession aboute the Towne. and  
retorne to the seide Temple church. there to hire masse & offre. And then  
euery man retray home. 20

® Seynt Nicholas

Item on Seynt Nicholas eve. yn Semblable wyse the Maire and Shiref and  
their Brethern to walke to seynt Nicholas Church. there to hire their evensong.  
And on the morowe to hire their masse. and offree. and hire the bisshops  
sermon and haue his blissyng/ And After dyner the seide Maire Shiref and  
their Brethern to Assemble at the mairez Counter/ there waytyng the 25  
Bisshoppes *commnyng*/ pleyeng the meane whiles at Dyce. the Towne Clerk to  
fynde theym Dyce and to haue 1 d. of every Raphill. And when the Bisshop  
is com thedir his Chapell there to synge And the Bisshop to geve them his  
blissyng/ And then he and all his Chapell to be serued there with brede and  
wyne. and so departe/ the Maire Shiref and their Brethern to hire the Bisshopes 30  
evesonge at seynt Nicholas chirch forseid./

...

f 161v\*

...

The paiementes by the Baillyfes of Bristowe yerly to be paide to the Maire  
Shiref Recorder and othir Officers Ayenst chrismas. All to be paide except.  
the pencions to be paide quarterly.

In primis to the Maire xij yerdes of Skarlet price

viiij li.

8/ And: *elaborated in MS*

21/ Item: *elaborated in MS*

36/ The paiementes: *elaborated in MS*

39/ In primis: *elaborated in MS*

Item for his ffurre	x marces	
Item for his wyne	v marces	
Item for his pencion	xx li.	
Item for his mynstralles	v marces	
Item At Seint Georges ffest	ij torches	5
	Summa xlj li. vj s. viij d.	

...

f 164\*

...

Item the Maire of Bristowe shal by vsage this quarter the next markett day byfore chrismas day or ellis on chrismas eve Do make open proclamacion for gode Rule & govirnaunce to be hadde and kepte *within* the saide Town duryng the holy dayes vndir this maner of fforme.

The Maire and Shiref Chargen and *commanden* on the kyng our souuerain lordis behalf. that no maner of *personne* of whate degree or Condicion that they be of. at no tyme this chrismas. goo A *mommyng* with cloce visaged. Nor go afir Curfewe rong at Seynt Nicholas withoute light in their handes/ That is to sey Skonce light. Lantern light Candel light. or Torche light/ And that they goo in no wyse with wepyn defenssibly Araied Wherbye the kynges peace may in eny maner wise be broken or hurt./ And that vpon peyn of Prysonment & makyng ffyne and Raunson to the kyng.

...

1480-1

A *St Nicholas Vestry Book* Archley: 'Mediaeval Parish-Clerks'  
p 112 (*Clerks' duties*)

...

[14] The Clerke and the suffrygann to Dresse vppe the Bysshopes Sete A-yeniste . Seynte Nicholas Daye vndyr payne of vj d. a-pece.

...

1485-6

*First Provincial Progress of Henry VII* BL: Cotton Julius B. XII  
ff 18v-21\* (23-6 May)

...And on the Monday the king Removed to Bristow warde & lay at thabbey of kingeswoode And on tewsdays dynyd at Acton *with* Sir Robert poynez Shryef of gloucestershire. And iij milis oute of Bristow The maire The Shrifffes the Baliffes *with* ther brethern And great nomber of other Burgesez al on horsebake In whos names Treymayle Recorder of the same towne Right

comyngly welcomed the king the king but the mair of bristow bar no mase  
 nor the Shrif of that towne bar no Rodde vnto the tyme they came to a gate  
 of the subvrbs wher beginneth ther fraunches And on A causay wey *within*  
 that gate the *procession* of the frerez Receyued the king And the at the ende  
 of the causey wey the *procession* of the pariche chirches Receyued the king 5  
 And in thent<sup>e</sup> of the Towne gate ther was Ordeigned A pageaunt with great  
 melodie And singing the whiche cessed ther was a king had the speche as  
 hereafter ensueth

Moost dere Cosine of England & fraunce 10  
 king henry the vij Noble & victorious  
 Seint hider by the holsome puruiaunce  
 Of almyghty god moost *mercifull* & *gracious*  
 To Reforme thinges that be contrarious  
 vnto the Comen wele *with* A myghty hande 15  
 I am Right gladde ye be welcome to this lande l

Namely to this towne Whiche I Brennyus king  
 Whilom bildede *with* her wallez olde  
 And Called It Bristow In the begynnyng 20  
 ffor a memoriall that folke ne wolde  
 Oute of Remembraunce that Acte Race ne vnfolde  
 And welcome to your Subiectes her that *with* oon accorde  
 Thankking god highly for such A Soueraigne lorde

This Towne lefte I in great *prosperitie*  
 hauyng Riches [et] and welth many folde  
 The merchaunt the Artyficer eueryche In his degre  
 had great plentye both of Siluer & golde  
 And lifed In Ioye as they desire wolde 30  
 At my departing but I haue ben so longe Away  
 That Bristow Is fallen in to decaye

Irrecuperable *withoute* that A due Remedy  
 By you ther hertes hope & comfot in this distresse 35  
 prouede bee at your leyser conveyently  
 To your Navy & clothmaking wherby I gesse  
 The wele of this towne stondesth in Sikernesse

1/ the king the king: *dittography*4/ And the: *for* And then (?)18/ Brennyus: *corrected from* Bremmyus *by expunction*36/ prouede: *for* prouidede37/ To: *for* That (?)

maybe maynteigned as they haue bee  
In dayes hertofor in prosperitie

Now farwell dere Cosyn myleve I take  
At you that wele of Bountie bee 5  
To your saide subiectes for mariez sake  
That bereth you ther fidelitie  
In moost loving wise as graunte ye  
Some Remedye herin And he wille quite your mede  
That neuer vnrewarded levethe good dede. | 10

And from thens the king procedede In to the Towne And at the high crosse  
Ther was a pageaunt ful of maydyn Childern Richely besene And prudencia  
had the speche as ensueth 15

Moost noble prynce our souueraigne liege lorde  
To this poore towne of Bristow that is youre  
ye be hertely welcome god to Recorde  
And to your loving subiectes And Oratours  
That hertely pray [you] for your grace at al houres 20  
The good fame of your Renoume so fer dooth sprede  
That al your saide subiectes both loue you & drede

ffor in quiet wise And pesable  
your subiectes ye kepe from devisyon 25  
ye yef not credence to lightly  
Too feyned tales that make myght discencion  
And wher peas Reigneth Is al perfeccion  
It kepith subiectes as they shulde bee  
ffrom al stryves in quyete And vnytie 30

Crist therfor that on crosse diede  
Thoroughe the mediacion of holy seintes all  
Sauē your moost high noblesse And bee your guyde  
Confounde your enemyes make them to you thrawll 35  
And Strenketh with me prudence in especiall  
To withstonde thoo thinges that bee contrarious  
And to doo that may please god moost glorious

And from thens the kyng procedede ad portam Sancti Iohannis wher was. | 40  
A Nother pageaunt of many Mayden Childern Richely besene with girdelles  
bedes & ouchez wher Iusticia had the wordes that hereafter ensueth &c.

Welcome moost excellent high & victorious  
 Welcome delicate Rose of this mor brytaigne  
 ffrom al mysaventures and thing contrarious  
 Preserue by dyuyne power certeygne  
 And so hider sentt I will not fayne  
 Welcome king of Englande and of fraunce  
 To this youre oune towne god sende you Right good chaunce

5

I am Iusticia the kinde And nature  
 Of god that hath me made and ordeignede  
 Our Realmez and our euery creature  
 By me Iusticia Is sheding of Bloode Refreyning  
 And gilte punysshed Whan It is compleynede  
 I Iustice defende possessions  
 And Kepe people from oppressions.

10

15

This is welle considerde by your noble grace  
 ffor ye haue had alway an ye thervnto  
 Minisshing Iustice duly in euery place.  
 Thorough this Region wher ye Ride or goo.  
 Indifferently both to frende & foo.  
 God sende you therin good perseueraunce  
 As maybee to his grace most singular plesaunce

20

I haue oftyme Rede In bokes olde  
 That omnia parent virtuti / I  
 The whiche maketh me more bolde  
 To eschewe you this prossesse by & by  
 Praying almyghty god whiche Is on high  
 That from vertue to vertue ye may procede  
 And in all your Iourneys sende you Right good Spede

25

30

And then the king proceded towarde Thabbey of seint Austeyns And by The  
 way the Was a bakers wiff cast oute of A wyndow A great quantitie of whete  
 crying Welcome And good look And a litill furthermor ther was a pageant made  
 called the Shipwrightes pageaunt *with* praty conceytes pleyng In the same  
*With*oute any Speche And a litill further ther was a nother pageaunte of An  
 Olifaunte *with* A castell on his bakk Curiously wrought The Resurreccion of  
 our lorde in the highest Tower of the same *with* certeyne Imagerye smyting  
 bellis And al went by vices *marveolously* weledone And *within* Seint Austeins

40

19/ Minisshing: *for* Ministring (?)26/ omnia parent virtuti: *adapted from Sallust, Catalina 2.7*34/ *thc:* *for* there

Chirche Thabbot & his Couent Receyued the king with procession as accustomed  
 And on the morne when the king had dynede he Roode on pilgremage to  
 seint Annes In the wodde And on the thursday nexte folowing whiche was  
 Corpus christi day the king went In procession aboute the great grene ther  
 callede The Sentuary Whether came all the processions of the towne also. / 5  
 And the Bisshop of worcester prechide in the pulpit in the middes of the  
 forsaide grene In A great Audience of the meyre & the substance of al the  
 Burgesse of the towne & ther wiffes with muche other people of the Countrey  
 also And after Evensonge the king sent for the mayre & Shriffe & parte of the  
 best burges of the towne And demaunded theym the cause of ther pouertie 10  
 And they shewde his grace for the great losse of Shippes & goodes that they  
 had loost within v yeres The king comforted theym that they shulde setton l  
 And make newe shippes And to exercise ther marchaundise as they wer wonte  
 for todoon And his grace shulde so helpe theym by dyuers means like as he  
 shewde vnto theym That the meyre of the Towne towlde me They harde 15  
 not this hundred yeres of Noo king so good a comfort wherfor they thanked  
 almyghty god that hath sent theym soo good And graciouse a souueraigne  
 lorde And on the morne the king departede To london Warde

...

## 1496-7

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 5 (July-July; rendered c 29 September)

...

Here ffolowith the costes don

Att midsomer

Inprimis in Bred chese and Ale	ij s. ij d.	25
Item paied for beryng of the light And for drynk	xvij d.	
Item paied for the mynstrels	iiij s. ij d.	
Item paied for the hyre of the Torchis and the wast thereof	iiij s. ij d.	30
Item paied for beryng of the pagent	iiij d.	
Item paied for A wache man for the kynges wache	iiij d.	

## 1497-8

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 9 (July-July; rendered c 21 August)

hyr folowythe þe costes at mydsomur

In primvs to þe pagent berer	iiij d. ob.	
Item payde to þe mynstrells	v s.	40
Item payde for bred	xj d. ob.	
Item payde for all	xviiij d.	



<i>Item</i> payde for a dosyn sceekyns	xviiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payde for gees	ij s. & iiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payde for pygges	xviiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payde for wenyger and werges	iiij ob.	
<i>Item</i> payde for buttyr and garlek	ij d. ob.	5
<i>Item</i> payde for spyse	vj d. ob.	
<i>Item</i> payde for rowcsys	iiij ob.	
<i>Item</i> payde for a brest of well and a swlldyr of moton & a reke of motton	vj d.	
<i>Item</i> payde for iiij torche berres	viiij d.	10
<i>Item</i> payde for dresyng of þe dyner	xiiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payde for þe wast of þe torchys	xxj d.	
...		
<i>Item</i> payde mor for þe stomp of þe pagentt	xj d.	
...		15

## 1498-9

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 1\*

... and so the ij older mastyres to be att all chargys for that yer for sent Clement ys lytht for torchmakyng/ for the dyner att mydsomer// for the chargys of the mynstrelles with other pety Costes...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 11 (*July-July; rendered c 21 August*)

...

The costes don at mydsomer

<i>Item</i> payd fore bred	xiiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for alle	xvj d. ob.	30
<i>Item</i> payd for spycche & garleke	v d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for buttyr & ruscyse	iiij d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for makyng clen þe buttry	j d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for a quartre of werges	ob.	
<i>Item</i> payd for wod & colle	viiij d. ob.	35
<i>Item</i> payd for torche beres	xiiij d. ob.	
<i>Item</i> payd for drynke for them	ij d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for þe beryng of pagent	iiij d.	
<i>Item</i> to þe schamvls	xxij d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for chykyngs	xxiiij d.	40
<i>Item</i> payd for vij geese	iiij s. & vj d.	
<i>Item</i> payd for a pyge	vj d.	

Item payd for þe coke & þe broche torner	vij d.	
Item payd for þe waste of þe torchys at mydsomur	(....) iiij s.	
Item payd to thre mynstrells	v s. & x d. ob.	
Item payd for wyn to þe hyr of þe mynstrells	iiij d.	
Item payd for þe hyr of þe halle	iiij s. xiiij d.	5
...		

## 1499-1500

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 13 (*July-July; rendered c 21 August*)

10

## The costes don at medsomur

Item payd for beryng of þe pagent	iiij d.	
Item payd for drynke to þe pageng beter	j d.	
Item payd to þe bayllys man	ij d.	15
Item payd for rowschys	iiij d. ob.	
Item payd for iij gees	xviiij d.	
Item payd for ij gees	x d.	
Item payd for v rybys of bef	xxj d.	
Item payd for ij rekys of motton	iiij d.	20
Item payd for spyche	iiij d. ob.	
Item payd to þe hyryng of þe mynstrell	ij d.	
Item payd for j quarter of alom	iiij d.	
Item payd to aberer for [ij s] ij nyhtys	ij s. viiiij d.	
Item payd for another taberer for ij nyhtys	xxj d.	25
Item payd for bred	x d.	
Item payd for all	xvj d.	
Item payd for þe beryng of v torchys	xv d.	
Item payd for salltt and garleke	j d.	
Item [fo] payd for dresyng of þe dener	x d.	30
Item payd for the stamp of þe pagentt	x d.	
Item payd for the wast of the torchys	xviiij d.	
...		

## 1500-1

35

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029pp 15-16\* (*July-July; rendered c 21 August*) (*Payments*)

...		
Item for beryng of þe pagentt	iiij d.	
Item for apott of alle for þe berer	ob.	40
Item payd on to þe mynsterles at mydsomvr	iiij s. iiij d.	

Item payd for bred and alle <sup>a</sup> (& dresyng of þe mett <sup>l</sup> )	iiij s. & viij d.
Item payd for ij rekys of motton	iiij d.
Item payd for ij pesys of befe	vij d.
Item payd for ij pyges	xiiij d.
Item payd for ij geesche	xiiij d.
Item payd for ij other geesche	xij d.
Item payd for drynke for þe torche beres	j d.
Item payd for spyche and garleke	iiij d.
Item payd for þe watce of v torches	ij s. iiij d.
Item payd to þe beres of þe torches	xv d.
Item payd for hyr of þe hall	lx d.
Item for rusces and bowys	iiij d. ob.
Item for bred and Kakes for bothe nythtys	viij d.
Item for all for bothe nythtys	x d.
...	15

## 1501-2

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 19\* (July-July; rendered c 21 August)

	the pagent þe costes þer of	20
Item beryng of the pagent & for drynke	iiij d. ob.	
Item for bred and Cakes at mydsomer ny3th	vij d.	
Item for all the same ny3th	vj d.	
Item for ruschys and bowys	ij d.	
Item for candyllys	ij d. ob.	
Item for Cakys and bred At sent peturres ny3th	ix d.	
Item for all the same ny3th	viij d.	
Item for the wastyng of the torch	v d. ob.	
Item for beryng of the [torchch] torchysthys	xvj d. ob.	
...		
Item for A mynstrell	iiij s. j d.	
Item for the hyr of the halle	vj s. viij d.	
...		

## 1503-4

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

pp 22-3 (July-July; rendered c 21 August)

	her after folowyth the costes	40
Inprimis for beryng þe pajant & for drynke	iiij d. ob.	

Item at þe hyryng of owr mynstrelles to þer ernyst pens	ij d.
Item mor Reward þem	iiij d.
Item for Roschys & bowys	ij d. ob.
Item for vj torche berers	xviiij d.
Item for brede	xxiiij d. ob. l
Item for ij doson of Ale	ij s. ij d.
Item for Rybbys of beffe & costes of moton	ij s.
Item for iij pyggys	xvij d.
Item for vj gesse	iiij s.
Item for vj chykyngs	viiij d.
Item for spyce	vj d. ob.
Item for venegyrr & verges	iiij d.
Item for borvr	ij d.
Item for salte	ob.
Item for a hondyrd wod	iiij d.
Item for a lode collys	iiij d.
Item [for] <sup>1</sup> to <sup>1</sup> þe coke for hys labur	vj d.
Item to þe cokys man	ij d.
Item for garlec	j d.
Item <sup>1</sup> rewardd <sup>1</sup> to þe cokys [fo] to drynke	ij d.
Item to þe mynstrellys	iiij s.
Item for þe wastyn of owr torchys	iiij s. iiij d.
Item for Ale to þe cokys	j d. ob.
Item for þe hyre of owre havle	iiij s. vj d.
...	25

## 1504-5

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 27\* (July-July; rendered c 21 August)

	her foloyth the Koster	30
In <i>primis</i> for beryng the pajent & for drynke	iiij d. ob.	
Item to owr mynstrelles at mydsomer for boyth nytys	v s.	
Item for drynke boyth nytys to owr mynstrelles & torchberars	ij d.	
Item to the torchberars for boyth nytys labyr	xvij d. ob.	35
...		

p 28 (*Dinner costs*)

Item for rostyng to pygges at þe cokys	ij d.	40
--	-------	----

Item rewarde the mayde of the hows	j d.	
Item for wastyng of torchys the boyth nytes to the wex makar	iiij s.	
Item for Renewyng the stomp of þe pajent	iiiiij d.	
...		
Item for the hyr of owr havle	iiiiij s. iiiij d.	5

## 1505-6

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

pp 30-1\* (July-July; rendered c 21 August)

...		10
	This is the costys	
Item to hym that bare the pagent <sup>r</sup> & <sup>c</sup> for his drynkyne	iiiiij d. ob.	
Item to owre mynstralys	ij s. iiiij d.	
Item for drynkyne of þe mynstralys & torch bererys both þe ny3ttys	iiij d.	15
Item for bred	xij d.	
Item for Ale	ij s.	
Item for dressyng of owre met	viiij d.	
Item for tornyng of the broche	j d.	
Item to the mayd of the howse	j d.	20
Item to torch bererys for both þe ny3ttys	xvj d. ob.	
Item at the fryst hyryng of the mynstralys	iiij d.	
Item for bred & Ale at Nycolas weston is howse on seynt John ys evyne	xij d.	
Item for A stebe of befe	iiij d. ob.	25
Item for A scholder of motton to soper	iiij d.	
Item for bred	ij d.	
Item payd to the frederys for owr hall	iiiiij s. l	
...		
Item for waste of torches at mydsumyr	ij s. vj d.	30
Item for new makyng of the stovmpe for þe pagent	iiiiij d.	
...		

## 1506-7

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 33\* (July-July; rendered between 22 August and 28 September)

	Costys and paymentes	
	Corpus christi day And mydsomer	
In primis for beryng of the pagent	iiiiij d. ob.	40
...		

Item for hyryng of the mynstrelles at the <i>Tauerne</i>	ij d.	
Item to the lewter	ij s. x d.	
Item to Thomas White harper	xx d.	
Item for beryng of v torchis at mydsomer	xv d.	
Item paid to Iohn waxmaker for wast of iiij torchis renewyng of the pagent torche And A taper on mare mawdelens day		5
Item for bred and Ale	ij s. v d.	
Item for ij Croppis of moton	ij s. iiij d.	
Item for dressyng of mete	iiij d.	
Item for spice and sause	vj d.	10
Item for ffere for our hall	ij d.	
Item for drynkyng At mydsomer nyght to the Cildern	iiij s. [d.]	
...	ij d.	
		15

## 1507-8

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029  
pp 36-7\* (July-July; rendered c 29 September)

	Costys folowyng	20
In primis for beryng of the pachent at the at the procession for the kynges daughter & Corpus christi day	viiij d.	
Item for there drynkyng	ij d.	
Item to vij boys for beryng of torches	xxj d.	
Item for drynkyng	j d.	25
Item for wastyng of the stumpe & the torches	iiij s.	
Item for vj new stumpes of torches to Iohn Waxmaker	xiiij s.	
Item to Thomas White harper	xx d.	
Item to a nother mynstrell	iiij s. v d.	
Item for drynkyng when we hired them	ij d.	30
...		
	costes at our dyner & soper	
In primis for bred	xij d.	
Item for ale	ij s.	
Item for ij Ribbes of beff & ij Rakkes of moton	x d.	35
Item for garlek	j d.	
Item for vyneger	j d.	
Item for wafurs	ij d.	
Item for a quart of Romney	ij d. ob.	
Item for a shulder of moton & a Couple of Chekyns	vj d.	40

Item to walsalles wif for wodde & dressyng of oure dynar *with* spice x d. l  
 Item for halle hire xvj d.

...

## 1508-9

5

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 40\* (July-July; rendered c 29 September)

Costis ffolowyng  
 Corpus christi day

10

In primis for iij lli. di. of torche wax for the stumpe of our pagent xj d.  
 Item for the beryng of the same iiij d.  
 Item for drynke to the berer j d.  
 Item for beryng of torches to vij boys xxj d.  
 Item for drynke to them j d.

15

...

midsomer Costis

In primis to the mynstrelles iij s.  
 Item for drynkyng at the hyryng iiij d.

Costis at our dyner

20

In primis for bred xvj d.  
 Item for ale xxij d.  
 Item for dightyng of mete wode spice and sause xij d.  
 Item for beryng of the pagent when the fires were made  
 for the Kyngis daughter iiij d. 25  
 Item for beff and moton xj d.  
 Item for hall hyre ij s.

...

## 1509-10

30

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 43 (July-July; rendered between August 1510 and 21 April 1511)

Costes at midsomer *with* oure dyner

In primis for bred and ale sawse wood & dressyng of mete iiij s. 35  
 Item to mynstrelles *with* drynkyng v s. iiij d.  
 Item to the torche berers xix d.  
 Item for beryng of the pagent on corpus christi day iiij d. ob.

...

Item for Costes at oure halle on mydsomer nyght & sent  
 peturs nyght for bred Ale and Russhes ij s. 40

...

Item to the waxmaker	iiij s.	
Item for halle hire	iiij s.	
...		
Item spend at maister lays for oure dyner	ij s.	
...		
[Item for hall hyre	ij s.]	5

## 1510-11

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 45\* (July-July; rendered between August 1511 and 21 April 1512) 10

## Costes at Mydsomer

Item for bred	x d.	
Item for ale	ij s.	
Item for dressing & wodde	vj d.	15
Item to a woman & a man for dressing and turnyng	iiij d.	
Item for Spice vyneger & verges	v d.	
Item to the Coke for rostying of gese	iiij d.	
Item for a gese and a pigge	xij d.	
Item for Ribbes of beff & Costes of moton	xvij d.	20
Item for wast of torches & makyng of oure stumpe	iiij s. vj d. ob.	
Item at oure halle for bred and ale	ij s. ij d.	
Item for mydsomer Candelles	iiij d.	
Item for Russhes and bowes	ij d.	
Item to oure mynstrelles & at there hyryng in drynkyng	vj s.	25
Item to the torche berers	xix d. ob.	
Item for drynk to the torche berers & mynstrelles and mydsomer nyght & seant peturs nyght	ij d.	
Item for ij new torches weyng xxxix lli. j d. ob. qa. a lli.	v s. viij d. qa.	
Item for [h] beryng of oure pagent At the birthe of the prynce & corpus christi day	ix d.	30
...		

## 1511-12

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 48 (July-July; rendered between August and 28 September) 35

## Costes At [Mis] Midsomer

## With oure dyner

Item in primis paid for ij mynstrelles wages	vij s.	40
--	--------	----



Item for hiryng of the said mynstelles	ij d.	
Item for vij torche berars	xxj d.	
Item for a dossen ale	xiiij d.	
Item At dyner for Bredde	xviiij d.	
Item for ij geis	xvj d.	5
Item for Ribbes of beff and costes of Mutton	xviiij d.	
Item for Spice and vynegre	iiij d.	
Item for bowes and Russhes	iiij d.	
Item for beryng of the paiaunt	iiij d. ob.	
Item on mydsomer eve for candeles	j d. ob.	10
Item on Midsomer eve and Seynt peturs eve for bredde	viiij d.	
Item for both nyghtes for ale	xiiij d. ob.	
Item At dyner for bredd & salte	j d. ob.	
Item for wodde	vj d.	
Item for the Cokes wages	v d.	15
Item for Coles	j d.	
Item for bere	j d.	
Item for the hiryng of the torches	iiij s. iiij d.	
...		
Item for ij pigges At dyner	xij d.	20
Item for dryncke for the torche beres on mydsomer nytht & sent peters nyght	j d.	
...		

## 1512-13

25

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

pp 50-1\* (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1513 and 21 April 1514)  
(Payments)

...		
Item for mending of oure paggent	vj d.	30
Item for beryng of oure pagent on corpus christi day	iiij d.	
Item for Rushes and bowes to our hall	iiij d.	
Item for Candelles	j d. ob.	
Item at the hiryng of oure mynstrelles	iiij d. ob.	
Item for Ale A mongest the boyes on Midsomer nyght	ob.	35
Item for a gose and (. ) pigges to our dyner	xiiij d.	
Item for Ribbis of beff and motton	ij s.	
Item for bred and Ale with manchettes vpon mydsomer nyght	iiij s. xj d.	
Item for dressyng of the mete with wodde	viiij d.	

1/ mynstelles: for mynstrelles

Item for vyneger salt & suger with spice	v d.	
Item to the torche berers	xxj d.	
Item to the Waxmaker	iiij s. vj d. l	
Item for bred and Ale on seint petrus nyght	xiiij d.	
Item payd to the Mynstrelles	vj s.	5
Item for our hall hire	vj d.	
...		
Item for our hall hire	ij s.	
...		

10

## 1513-14

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 53 (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1514 and 21 April 1515)  
(Payments)

...		15
Item for beryng of the pagent & drinke	v d.	
Item for bowes & Russhes & floures And for Candelles [&] at mydsomer	iiij d. ob.	
Item for drynke to the mynstrelles ernyst and Costis at the Tauern	vj d.	20
Item for beryng of torches	xxij d.	
Item for drynke to the torcheberers	j d.	
Item payd to ij Mynstrelles	v s. viij d.	
Item payd for bred & Ale on Midsomer nyght	xiiij d.	
Item paid to the waxmake(.)	iiij s. ij d.	25
...		

## 1514-15

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 56 (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1515 and 21 April 1516) 30

## Costes and paymentes

In primis payd at the hyryng of the mynstrelles	iiij d.	
Item for bred and Ale on seint seint petrus and seint Iohns day	ij s.	
Item for Chese	iiij d. ob.	35
Item for bowes and Rushes	ij d.	
Item paid to our mynstrelles	v s. viij d.	
Item to them for fecchyng of our wyne	iiij d.	

19/ ernyst: underlined in MS

20/ Tauern: underlined in MS

34/ seint seint: distography

Item paid to the berars of torches	xviiij d. ob.
Item for bred and ale on <i>our</i> drynkyng day	xij d.
Item for Candell	ij d.
Item for makyng of the stompe of <i>our</i> pagent	viiij d.
Item for wast of torches	iiij s. 5
Item for beryng of <i>our</i> pagent on corpus christi day	ij d.
...	
Item for Rent of <i>our</i> halle	ij s.
...	

10

## 1515-16

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 58 (*July-July; rendered between 29 September 1516 and 21 April 1517*)

...	
Costes [ <sup>r</sup> &] paymentes	15
In primis for <i>our</i> new torches and old	ix s. vj d.
Item for beryng of <i>our</i> pagent at the birthe of the princes	iiij d.
Item for beryng of <i>our</i> pagent on corpus christi day <i>with</i> drinke	vj d.
Item for flowres & Russhes and Candelles	iiij d. ob.
...	20
Item for <i>our</i> Mynstrelles drynkyng at chosyng of them and for there drynke bothe nyghtes	v s. x d.
Item for drynkyng in seint mare strete	ij d.
Item for beryng of Torchis bothe nyghtes	ij s.
Item for brede and Ale on seint Ionnys nyght	xij d. 25
Item for bred and Ale on seint peturs nyght	xij d.
Item for bred and chese on <i>our</i> drynkyng day	xv d.
Item for waste of torches to the waxmaker	iiij s. iiij d.
Item for makyng of the stompe of <i>our</i> pagent	viiij d.
...	30
Item for rent of <i>our</i> halle	ij s.
...	

## 1518-19

*Great White Book* BRO: 04721f 48\* (*Mayor's preliminary estimates*)

35

The Yerely Chargis of the Shrifis  
of Bristowe./

...

40

171 the princes: *Princess Mary (later Mary I), born 18 February 1515/16*

ffees to the Mayor for his pencion	xx li.	} xlj li. vj s. viij d.	
xij <i>yards</i> of Scarlett	vijj li.		
his ffurre	vj li. xij s. iiij d.		
Wyne	lxvj s. viij d.		
Mynstrells	lxvj s. viij d.		
Item ij Torchis at Saynt Georgies ffeest			xl s.
...			

f 49\*

...			10
the waytes at Saynt Georges tyde	vj s. viij d.	} xxix s. viij d.	
at Mydsomer	xx s.		
at Mighelmas	iiij s.		
...			
The Charges of Midsomer wacche			xx li. 15
The torches & the Costes at saynt Georges ffeest by estymacion			iiij li.
...			
Wrastlyng at saynt laurence tyde	vj s. viij d.	} x s.	
peres and Wyne there	iiij s. vij d.		
Wrastlyng at saynt Iames tyde			vj s. viij d. 20
...			
To the Berwardes			iiij s. iiij d.
...			

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 61 (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1519 and 21 April 1520)  
(Payments)

...			
Item for þe beryng þe paiantte and for flowers and a pyne			vijj d.
Item for brede & ale on seynt Iohne ys ny3ghte			xijj d. 30
Item for brede & Ale & chese on seynt peter ys ny3ghte & day			ij s. vj d.
Item for wax candyls & talow candyls			iiij d.
Item for waste of torches for bothe neytes			v s.
Item to the torche berars			ij s.
Item to the menstrels wages and at þe heyring			vj s. x d. 35
Item to hyme that bare þe paiantte for drynke			ob.
Item for dryngke to þe torche berars bothe neytes			iiij d.
Item for roschys bowys & floers			ij d.
...			
Item the halle heyre			ij s. 40
...			

*Sheriff of Bristol v. Mayor of Bristol et al* PRO: STAC 2/6  
 sheets [5-6]\* (*Sheriff's bill of complaint*)

In moost humble wise shewith vnto your gracious lordship your daylly Orator  
 William dale on of the Shreves of the Towne of Bristoll That wher afore this  
 tyme the Mayer and Aldermen of the sayd Towne have been and yet be seaid/  
 as in the right of the *commynaltie* of the same Towne of and in landes and  
 tenementes apperteynyng to the Chambre of thesayd Towne amountyng and  
 extendyng to the yerely value of C and xl li. or there aboutes and of other  
 revenues and *profites* whiche thesayd Mayer and Aldermen in the right of  
 thesame *Commynaltie* yerly perceyve amountyng to great *sommes* of money.  
 for the mayntenance <sup>and</sup> vpholdyng [and] of the Mayrealte and payment  
 of the fees for other officers of thesame Towne as Recorder Towne Clerke  
 Swordberer Attourney and other/ So it is gracious lord that the Mayer and  
 Aldermen nowe of late have sett gretter charges exaccions and Imposicions  
 vpon the Shreves of thesaid Towne. then they be able to bere/ or of right  
 ought to be chargid *with* compellyng thesame Shreves yerely to bere and pay  
 towards the Charges of thesaid Mayer and his said officers great *sommes* of  
 money extending yerly to the *Somme* Clxxx li. That is to say to the Mayer  
 yerly towards his hous xx li. and viij li. for xij yardes of Skarlett vj li. xiiij s.  
 iiij d. for a furte/ for wyne iij li. vj s. viij d., for mynstrelles iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 and for ij torches xiiij s. iiij d., And for the *Commyssion* of the staple for the  
 Maytes Court xxij s. vj d. *Somma* xliij li. ij s. vj d. And the residue of thesaid  
*Somme* of Clxxx li. thesame Shreves ar inforsid and compellid by thesaid  
 Mayer and Aldermen to pay yerely to the officers of thesayd Towne by  
 particuler *Sommes* like as by a Cedule herunto annexid particularly dothe  
 appere/ over and above the *kinges* fee ferme of the same Towne [and over  
 and above] whiche amountith and extendith yerly to the *somme* of Clx li./  
 whiche the said Shreves for the tyme beyng pay and content vnto the *kinges*  
 highnes/ And for the payment of whiche fee ferme thesame Shreves have not  
 any thing to make levy and reyse thesame but only of the tolles of thesame  
 Towne and *profites* for stonyng in bothes in thesaid Towne at the tyme of  
 Seynt Iames feyre there/ whiche is but casuall and hath not at any yere  
 amountid to the *somme* of thesame fee ferme And over and besides thesaid  
 fee ferme thesaid Shreves pay yerly xiiij li. xvj s. viij d. for their *profres* in the  
*kinges* Eschequer and discharge of their accompte/ And also over and besides  
 that the same Shreves for the tyme beyng pay yerly xlv li. vnto their officers  
 in thesame Toun vnder theym and also be chargid *with* other great costes  
 and charges whiche thesame Shreves for the tyme beyng beere and susteyne  
 in keping and maynteynyng of their housholdes and other necessary charges  
 apperteynyng vnto their said offices/ So that thesame Shreves for the tyme  
 beyng/ albeit they were discharged of the *sommes* aforesaid payed vnto the

(...) valoris Cxl li.

Imposicions

180 li.

(...) 160 li.

(...) seith  
 extendith not  
 (...)myr the seid  
 fee ferme (...) li.  
 10 s. 9 d.

(...) li.

Mayer and the fees of thofficers conteynyd in the Cedula aforesayd | ar clerely  
 chargid of their owne propre goodes to the Somme of lx li. in redy money by  
 theym payd/ over and besides thesaid fee ferme and over and besides the  
 charges of their household and other necessary charges to theym apperteynyng  
 duryng the tyme of their said offices/ By whiche Intollerable charges exaccions  
 and vnresonable ymposicions the merchauntes of thesaid Towne [chosid]  
 chosyn and electid to thesaid offices of Shrevaltie by occasion of the premysses  
 have been so ympouerysshid and daylly be that after thesaid yere of Shrevaltie  
 determynd the more part of theym have not been able to exercise their feat  
 of merchandise in like wise as they did before. but have ever after livid in  
 pouertie and ruyn wherby the kinges Custumes there have not only been  
 mynysshid but also thenhabitauntes of thesame Towne beyng as Clothers  
 wevers diers tookers and other sundry craftesmen daylly lacke warke and  
 renne in Idlenes and the Towne by reason of the same brought into great  
 desolacion and about viij<sup>C</sup> householdes in thesame Towne desolate vacant and  
 decayed to the vtter decay and destruccion of thesaid Towne/ if remedy by  
 your gracious lordship in this behalf be not provided/ wher of trouthe the  
 Meyre and Aldermen foresaid have landes assigned to the Chambre of thesame  
 Towne as is aforesaid wherof the profites ar yerely taken in thesame Chambre  
 wherwith thesaid yerly fees in thesaid Cedula conteynyd of right ought to be  
 borne and payed and thesaid Shreves of payment therof to be dischargid/  
 And not withstandyng that your said Orator hath aduertised Iohn Edwardes  
 nowe Mayer of thesame Towne and other Aldermen of thesame Towne to hym  
 associat of the premysses and made humble peticion and sute vnto theym to  
 have reformation accordyngly yet they that to do have refused And the said  
 profites of thesaid landes in thesaid Chambre beyng to their owne vse without  
 eny cause resonable have hitherto kept and conuertid In consideracion wherof  
 it may please your gracious lordship by the kinges writt sub pena to call afore  
 your grace thesaid Mayer to answer to the premysses and to shewe why that  
 thesaid Mayer with thesaid issues and profites belongyng to the sayd Chambre  
 shuld not maynteyne his said office of Meyraltie/ And also bere and pay the  
 fees and charges of thofficers conteynyd in the Cedula aforesaid So that those  
 that nowe be Shreves and soche other as hereafter shalbe Shreves of thesame  
 Towne be no ferther chargid. but only with the kinges fee ferme and other  
 charges belongyng to thesaid office of Shrevaltie only/ And the Mayer and  
 euery other that hereafter shalbe mayer of thesayd Towne for the tyme beyng  
 to beere the charges of their Meyraltie/ And the foresaid officers vndre theym  
 also to be payed of the profites growyng and commyng to thesaid chambre of  
 the landes aforesaid accordyng to reason and good conscience/ And for the  
 wele and reformation of thesaid Towne and fynally to be orderyd in all the  
 premysses in soche wise as to your gracious lordship shalbe thought to stand  
 with the preseruacion and good contynuaunce vpholdyng and maynteynyng

(... ) of per  
prop<sup>r</sup> goodes

(... ) 16 C  
howses

of thesaid Towne right and good conscience/ And your sayd Orator shall  
 dayly pray to god for the [g] *preseruacion* of your gracious lordship./

sheet [3]\* (*Sheriff's charges according to Dale*)

5

Ⓒ *Item* to the waytes of the Towne at saynt George is tide }  
 vj s. viij d. at midsomer xx s. at mighelmas iij s. and iij } iij li. xvij s. viij d.  
 gownys conteynyng xij yardes at iiij s. the yard xlviij s. }

...

Ⓒ *Item* the wrestlyng at Seynt lawrance vj s. viij d. xx s. 10  
 And peeres *with* wyne xij s. iiij d.

Ⓒ *Item* the wrestlyng at Seynt lamys tide vj s. viij d.

Ⓒ *Item* to Berewardes x s.

Ⓒ *Item* to mynstrellis x s.

...

15

Ⓒ *Item* the charges of mydsomer watche to bothe the Sheriffes  
 by estymacion xx li.

...

*Item* for a ton of wyne at mydsomer (...) of the Towne iij li. xij. s. (...)

20

sheet [7d]\* (*Sheriff's revised estimates of his own expenses, as corrected by mayor*)

...

*Item* for the watche on mydsomer nyght by estimacyon xx li. ° that their  
 pleasure°

[*Item* for a Ton of wyne on mydsomer nyght for the craftis of the towne] ° this 25  
 is parcell of the seid xx li. ° [iij li. xij s. iij d.]

...

(*Sheriff's revised estimates of expenses incurred for others, as corrected by mayor*)

30

Costes paid by the Shreves vpon the meyr Recorder  
 and other officers of the town of Bristol and  
 other wayes/

*Item* to the mayer yetely for hys pension xx li. xij yardes  
 scarlett viij li. the ffurre vj li. xij s. iij d. wyne iij li. vj s.  
 viij d. mynstrelles iij li. vj s. viij d. ij Torches xij s. iij d. xlij li. 35

...

19f (...)<sup>1</sup>: large tear in MS, approximately 20mm of text missing

19f (...)<sup>2</sup>: text lost from rubbing of ink

sheet [8]\*

...

Item to the waytes of the towne in money xxix s. viij d.  
 and iij gownes conteynnyng xij yardes at <sup>^</sup> [iij s. iij d.\*<sup>1</sup>]  
 [iij s.] a yarde <sup>^</sup> [xl s.\*<sup>1</sup>] <sup>^</sup> [iij li. ix s. viij d.\*<sup>1</sup>] [iij li. xlij s. viij d.] 5

sheet [8d]\*

...

Item the wrastlyng at Seynt Laurence day vj s. viij d. } [xx s.] \*xiiij s.\* 10  
 and peers with wyne <sup>^</sup> [vj s. viij d.\*<sup>1</sup>] [xiiij s. iij d.]

Item the wrastlyng at Seynt Iamys tyde vj s. viij d.

Item to Berewardes [x s.] \*iij s. iij d.\*

...

Item to the Kyng and Quene is mynstrellis [x s.] \*vj s. viij d.\* 15

...

Item vj Torches at Seynt Georges [fest] tyde xx s. and drynkyng at the same  
 fest [v li.] <sup>^</sup> [iij li. vj s. viij d.\*<sup>1</sup>] <sup>^</sup> [vj li.] <sup>^</sup> [iij li. vj s. viij d.]

sheet [4] (*Sheriff's comments on mayor's reductions*) 20

...

Item for Saynt George is fest. thesame Shreves cannot do it with lesse cost and  
 somme of money then vj li. without the mayer and his brethern will take  
 vpon theym the ordynauce of thesame fest/ whiche thesame Shreves will be  
 well content to be discharged therof/ 25

...

Item for the costes <sup>^</sup> [at<sup>1</sup>] [and] the wrestlyng at Seynt lawrence can no lesse be  
 spent then xx s.

Item the mayer and Bredern must order the fees of the Berewardes. for the  
 Shreves can do nothyng therin/ 30

...

*Analysis of Expenses of the Sheriffs of Bristol* PRO: E 101/560/14

sheet [3]\* 35

...

The costes paid by the Shreves to the Mayer and his officers

In primis to the Mayer yerly for his pension xx li.  
 for xij yardes scarlett viij li. the furre vj li. xiiij s. iij d.  
 for wyne iij li. vj s. viij d. for mynstrelles iij li. vj s.  
 viij d. for ij torches xiiij s. iij d. for the Commyssion  
 of the staple Courte xxij s. vj d. for ij Scabardes xxx s. } xliiij li. xij s. vj d. 40  
 Somma



whiche in consciens ought to be dischargid./

...

sheets [5-6]\*

5

Item to the iij waytes of the Towne at Seynt George  
is tide vj s. viij d. at midsomer for their waytyng vpon  
the Mayer xx s. at Mighelmas iij s. and iij gownys  
conteynnyng xij yardes at iiij s. the yard xlvij s.  
whiche the Chambre ought to pay./

} iij li. xvij s. viij d.

10

...

Item for vj torches at Seynt Georges xx s. and drynkyng  
at the same fest v li.  
for the whiche the chambre ought to pay./

vj li.

15

Item for the wrestlyng at Seynt lawrence afore the Mayer  
vj s. viij d. and for perys and wyne ther xij s. iiij d. Som<sup>ma</sup>  
whiche may be lefte/or else the Meyer ought to pay therfore./ †

xx s.

Item for the wrestlyng at Seynt Iamys tyde before the Mayer  
Item for Bere betynges before the Mayer  
whiche may be lefte./

vj s. viij d. 20

x s.

Item to the kynges and queenes Mynstrelles

x s.

...

Item for the Charges of Midsomer wacche of bothe  
the Shreves by estymacion

25

xx li.

Item for a ton of wyne that tyme to the Craftes of  
the Towne

iiij li. xij s. iiij d.

...

30

### 1519-20

*Great White Book* BRO: 04721

ff 55-5v\*

...

... The said Wylliam Dale then beyng before the Cardenall abouenamed. and 35  
other lordes of the kynges moost honourable Counsaill in the Sterre. Chambre  
at westminster in the presence of Maister ffitz Iames then beyng the kynges  
attorney. <sup>†</sup>Mr Robert Thorne oon of the aldremen whiche Robert in the  
same sute fynysshed his days in london. <sup>†</sup>Maister kemys then beyng Stewart  
of Bristowe forsaied. then beyng there personally present many evyll disposed 40

persons of thaffinytie of the fornamed Wyllyam Dale Confedratours *with* hym. to sett division in the said Towne and to menteign hym in his symple Opynyon and sedicious purpose. was commaunded vpon payne of Imprisoement in the flete. that he in all spede and tyme conveyent. shuld repaire and ride to Bristowe abouesaid. and in the Comen Counsaill house there. shuld submytt hymself vnto the Maior aldremen and Comen Counsaill of the said Towne. accordyng to the gode and auncient Ordre pollitique. Rule and laudable Customs there vsed. By virtue of whiche Commaundement the same wyllyam Dale. I Came into the said Comon Counsaill house the iiii<sup>th</sup> Day of Octobre In the xj<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reign of the kynges moost noble grace. then beyng present Iohn willyams late Mayor of the forseid Towne Thaldremen and Comen Counsaill of the same. and then and there in right obedyent maner *with* watery terez Submytted hymself to the due Ordre .& establisshementes which then and there were made in the presence of the same wyllyam Dale. for to contynue foreuer. *without* any further Sute vexacion or troble in suche Causes herafter to be moved. affirmed or commented. whiche Ordynancez & establisshementes imedyatly folowyth. That is to say.

*Memorandum* that the iiii<sup>th</sup> Day of Octobre in the xj<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reign of our souereign lord kyng henry the viii<sup>th</sup>. Iohn wyllyams then beyng <sup>late</sup> Maior of the Towne of Bristowe Thaldremen Shrifts and Comen Counsaill of the same Towne assembled togethers in their Counsaill house at the yeldhall there. by their althere assentes consentes and agrementes. and by the Commaundement of the moost Reuerend ffathere in God my lord Cardynall archebisshop of yorke and Chauncelor of Englund in moderacion of the Charges before this tyme yerely susteyned and borne by the Shrifts of the said Towne. haue Ordeyned and established. by thauctoritie of the kynges Charter to theym grauntid and confirmed. thise Odynances & establisshementes herafter folowyng. That is to witt.

...

f 56v\* (4 October) (Chancellor's settlement: sheriff's estimated costs)

...	
Item to be spent yerely at saynt Georges ffest	xl s.
...	
Item to the .ij. Scabbardes of the Maire	xxx s.
Item in the Cost of Midsomer Wacche yerely	xx li.
...	

Item to the waittes for their wgis yerely xxix s. viij d.

...

ff 57-7v (*Chancellor's settlement: chamberlain's expenses*)

...

The yerely Charges to be borne and paid by the Chambrelayn of Bristowe. I ffor the Which the same Chambrelayn by the Consent of the Mayor and his Brethern doth reteign in his handes the lx li. which he [j] before vsed to pay vnto the Shrifs of the same Towne./

...

Item for wrestlyng at saynt laurence with peres & wyne x s.

Item for wrestlyng at saynt Iames tyde in the Marsshe vj s. viij d.

...

Item payd yerely to the Berewardes iiij s. iiij d.

Item for Six Tapres to brenne yerely at the Tols } iiij s. 15

In the tyme of Midsomer wache }

...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 65\* (*July-July; rendered between 29 September 1520 and 21 April 1521*) 20  
(*Payments*)

...

Item for ale to þe paiante berar ob.

Item for fflowers to dresse þe paiante ij d.

Item to hyme that bare þe paiante iiij d. 25

...

mysdomvr costes

The fyrste ny3ghte for flowers & roschys iiij d.

The Second ny3ghte for flowers & roschys iiij d.

for talow candelles ij d. ob. 30

for The heyer of viij torchys The wyche weyed v<sup>xx</sup> ll. iiij iiij s. viij d.

for beryng of þe torchys xxij d. ob.

for drynke for the lades j d.

for brede and ale þe fyrste ny3ghte xij d.

for brede and ale þe Secon ny3ghte xij d. 35

for chesse iiij d.

for heyer of ij mynstrylles iiij s. xj d.

for dryngke at the heyer of them iiij d.

for the halle heyer ij s.

...

40

c 1519-20

*Great White Book* BRO: 04721

f 58\*

lyveres

The lyveres to be geven yerely by the Shrifffes  
of Bristowe to all maner Officers at Christmas at herafter followithe

5

...

Item to the iiij waytes euery of them iiij brode yardes  
euery yard price

iiij s. iiiij d.

...

10

1520-1

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p [68A] (*July-July; rendered between 29 September 1521 and 21 April 1522*)  
(*Payments*)

15

...

Item on corpus cryty day for beryng owr paiant

v d.

Item for waste of torchys

v s.

Item for beryng of þe torchys in þe wache bethe nyttes

xx d.

Item for ij mynstrelles in þe wache

[iiij s. viij] d. v s. 20

Item for dryngke to þe lades þat bere torchys

iiij d. ob.

Item at therryn of the mynstrylles

j d.

Item for bred

xiiij d.

Item (.ij) gawlons of dowbyll ale

[xviij d.] xx d.

Item for chese

viiij d. 25

Item for candelles

iiij d.

Item for rossys &amp; bowys

iiij d.

...

seynt petvrs ny3ght

Item for bred

vj d. 30

Item for (.ij) ale vj gavons

x d.

Item for halle heyre

ij s.

...

A *St Nicholas Churchwardens' Accounts* Atchley: 'Mediæval Parish Records' 35  
p 67\* (*Costs on May Day*)

...

...Mynstrelles ... mete and drynke for the King and the qweyn & all there  
company....

...

40

- A *St Nicholas Churchwardens' Accounts* Taylor: 'St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol'  
p 373

... Paid for hanging of the church at Seint Nycholas tyde, and for mete and drynke, xii d.; paid to the mynstrells, xii d....

5

## 1521-2

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 72 (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1522 and 21 April 1523)  
(Payments)

10

...

Item payd for corpvss christi day for baryn of owre  
pajegnt & flowrys

vj d.

Item payt for wast of owre torhys for ij nyttys

v s. ij d.

Item payd for owre stomt makyn on corpvss christi day

iiij d.

15

Item payd to the torhhys beres ij nyttys

xviiij d.

Item payd to owre mynstrellys for goyn the wah

v s. iiij d.

Item payd for all to mak the torh bererys dryng

ij d.

Item payd for bred for ij nyttys & on owre dryngyn day

xviiij d.

Item payd for xviiij gallynes of dobell all

iiij s.

20

Item payd for schys

viiij d.

...

Item payd for hall heyre

ij s.

...

25

## 1522-3

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 75 (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1523 and 21 April 1524)  
(Payments)

...

Item payd on corpvss christi day to ber the paient & flvrys

vj d.

Item payd for wast of vj torchis ij nyttys

vj s.

Item payd for beryn of the torchis ij nyttys

xx d.

Item payd to owre mynstrellys to yn the wah

v s.

Item payd to schosyn of owre mynstrellys

ij d.

35

Item payd for the torh bererys dryng ij nytys

ij d.

Item payd for bred ij nyttys & cakys on owre dryngyn day

xx d.

Item payd for all ij nyttys & owre dryngyn day

xx d.

Item payd for schesse on owre dryngyn day

x d. ob.

Item payd for Rvossys & flvrys for owre halle iij d. ob.  
 Item payd for owre Hall heyre att the yere ij s.

## 1523-4

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 80\* (July-July; rendered between 29 September 1524 and 21 April 1525)

## Paymentes

In primis paid for the beryng of the pagant	vj d.	10
Item for dryncke to hym that bere hym	j d.	
Item paid for bred & ale vppon saynt Iohn ys ny3tht	xiiij d.	
Item paid for bred & ale vppon saynt petyr ys ny3tht	xiiij d.	
Item paid vppon owr drynkyn daye for bred & ale	xiiij d.	
Item for a Chese	iiij d.	15
Item for a j li. of Candylls	j d.	
Item to the mynstrell	iiiij s. iiij d.	
Item for the hyere of the mynstrell	iiij d.	
Item paid to the berer of the torchis	xxj d.	
Item for there drynkyn ij ny3thtys	ij d.	20
Item for the waste of vij torchis	vj s. vj d.	
Item for the renewyng of the torche of the pagant	xj d. ob.	
Item for the hyere of the hall	ij s.	

...

25

## 1524-5

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 84 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

...

## paymentes

In primis for the beryng of the pagant	vj d.	30
Item for dryncke to hym that bere it	j d.	
Item for brede & Ale vppon seynt Iohn is nyght	xij d.	
Item for brede & ale on seynt petir ys nyght	xij d.	
Item ffor brede & Ale on oure drynkyn day	xij d.	35
Item ffor A chese	iiij d.	
Item for Rushis and Candelles	ij d.	
Item to the mynstrell	iiiij s. iiij d.	
Item for the hyere of the mynstrell	ij d.	

Collation with BRL: 5029 p 78: 10 In primis] Item 11 that bere hym] omitted  
 12, 13 paid, ys] omitted 14 Item ... ale] Item for bred & ale vppon owr drynkyn  
 daye 19 paid, the<sup>2</sup>] omitted

Item paid to the barare of the torchis	xxj d.
Item for ther drynckyn ij nyghttis	ij d.
Item for the waste of vij torchis	vij s. v d.
Item for the hyre of the hall	ij s.
...	5

## 1525-6

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 87 (July-July; rendered 2 November) (Payments)

...	10
Item paid for beryng of owr pagant & fflowyrs	vj d.
Item for drynck to the berer of the pagant	j d.
Item for yre worke to sett vppe the pagant	iiij d.
Item to a Sargant to sett the torchis at saynt Iamys	ij d.
Item for takyng owt of a loke of the Coffe to put owr torchis in	iiij d. 15
Item for bred & Ale vppon saynt Iohn ys ny3tht	xij d.
Item for bred & Ale on owre drynkyng daye	xij d.
Item for Chese the same daye	iiiiij d.
Item for Russhis & Candylls	ij d.
Item for the hyer of the mynstrell	ij d. 20
Item for the hyer of owr mynstrelles ij ny3thtys	v s. iiiij d.
Item for wast of vij torchis	vij s.
Item to the berers of the torchis	xxj d.
Item for ther drynkyng ij ny3thtys	ij d.
Item for the hyer of [owr] the hall	ij s. 25
...	

A *St Nicholas Churchwardens' Accounts* Taylor: 'St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol'  
p 374

...two pair of hosyn for Robin Hood and Lytyll John, vi s., and for lynyng of the same viii d.	30
...	

## 1526-7

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 56\* (Rendered 10 April 1528) (Payments)

...	35
Item paid for corpus christi daye & for owr costys at midsomer for all the charges of the same tyme & with the rent of owr hall the whiche ys viij s. summa	40
...	xlviij s. vij d.
...	

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 89 (July-July; rendered 2 November) (Payments)

...	
Item for ij li. di. of waxe to the pagant Torche	vij d. ob.
Item for drynke for the pagant berer	j d. 5
Item for bred & Ale vppon Saynt Iohn ny3tht	ix d.
Item for bred & Ale vppon saynt petyr ny3tht	ix d.
Item vppon owre drynkyn day in bred & Ale	xiiij d.
Item for a Chese	v d.
Item for Russhys & bowys	j d. ob. 10
Item for beryng of vj torchis	xviiij d.
Item for drynke for them bothe ny3thtys	ij d.
Item for A mynstrell ij nyghtys	iiij s. iiij d.
Item in drynke to the hyryng of the mynstrelles	ij d.
Item paid to the mynstrell for the hyer the next yere	ij d. 15
Item for the waste of the torchis	vij s. vj d.
Item for beryng of the pagant & flowers	vj d.
Item for the hyer of the hall	ij s.
...	

20

## 1527-8

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 57\* (30 September-10 August) (Receipts)

...	
Item þe recetes at mydsomer was	xxxv s. 25
...	

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 92 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

...		30
	paymettes on corpus christi day	
Item payd to hyme þat bare þe paiantt		v d.
for ys drynken		j d.
	medsvmvr costes	
Item payd on seynt Ionys ny3tt for bred and alle		xviiij d. 35
a chesse		viiij d.
for roschys		ij d.
for waste of torchys		v s. ix d.
for seynt petvr ny3gtt & day bred & ale		xxiiij d.





Item the mendyng of the image	ij d.
Item the baryng of the paiantt	viiij d.
Item for drynke to hyme þat bare the paiant	ij d.
Item for [bowys] 'candelles' <sup>1</sup> & rosches to the halle	iiij d.
Item þe mayer sergant to feche þe pyners	iiij d. 5
for brede & ale bothe neyttes	iiij s.
for heyer of vij torchys	vij s.
for beryng of thes vij torchys	xxj d.
for the mensterelles heyre	iiij s. ij d.
for brede & ale on seynt petvrs day	viiij d. 10
for a chese	viiij d.
...	
for þe halle heyer	iiij s.
...	

15

## 1531-2

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(1)p 3\* (*Rental receipts*)

...

Tockers streatte 20

...

A tenementt late mr Cannynge's which the waites holdith xiiij s. iiij d.

...

p 61 (21-7 January) (*Payments*) 25

...

Item paid to the lorde lilsilles players at master maires commaundementt x s.

...

(5-10 February) 30

Item paid to the duke of Suffolkes berward at master mairys  
commawndementt iij s. iiij d.

...

35

p 75 (14-20 April)

Item paid at master maires commaundementt to the Lorde of  
westemarlandes berward by sides that was geder iij s. vj d.

...

40

p 89 (7-13 July)

...

Item more paid to the duke of Richemondes berward at *master mairys*  
*commaundementt*

v s.

5

p 91 (21-7 July)

...

Item more paid to Iohn depe And to his *seruauntt* for  
mending of the pale yn the marshe at the wrestlyng  
place A daye .di. Amounteth

xvij d. 10

Item paid for iiij lery pipis to dresshe the same

ij s.

Item paid for C .di. bordde nailys

vij d. ob.

Item paid for spikes and cawfoot naylys

iiij d.

Item more delyuerd to dresse the said wrastlyng place  
iiij peaces of the store tymbre

nil 15

Item paid to the wrastlers in the marshe apon sayntt  
Iamys Night

vj s. viij d.

...

p 92 (4-10 August)

20

...

Item paid to the wrestlers at sayntt Laurens

vj s. viij d.

Item more for bredde

j d.

Item more paid for ij gallons of white wyne

xx d.

Item more for ij gallons of clarett wyne

xx d. 25

Item more for ij gallons &amp; Apotell of secke

ij s. j d.

Item paid for peers

ij s. iiij d.

Item paid for A man &amp; A horsse to bryng it to sayntt Laurens

iiij d.

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

30

p 65 (Rendered 5 November)

...

Item payd for v mynstrells

xxx s.

...

35

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 102\* (July-July; rendered 2 November)

Mydsomer costes &amp; seynt petyrs

40

...

Item paid for the beryng of the payentt

viij d.

Item paid for hys Drynkyng	ij d.	
Item payd for brede and Ale for both nyghtes	iiij s.	
Item payd for the hyre of vj torchys	vj s.	
Item payd for the beryng of the vj torches for bothe nyghtes	xviiij d.	
Item payd far the hyryng of our mynstrell	iiij s. ij d.	5
Item paid at the hyryng to make hyme drynk	iiij d.	
Item paid att our drynkyng day for brede & Ale	xiiij d.	
Item paid for brede And Ale apon seynt Iohn ys nyght at mydsomer	xiiij d.	
Item payd for brede & Ale apon seynt petyrs nyght	xiiij d.	10
Item payd for cheese	viiij d.	
...		
Item payd for the Torchis beras drynk for bothe nyhtes	ij d.	
Item payd for candels & Russhys to the hall	iiij d.	
Item payd ffor the hyryng of the hall	iiij s.	15
...		

## 1532-3

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(1)p 131 (*Rental receipts*)

20

...

Tuckars Streatte

...

vacat

A tenementte late Mr Cannynge's which the wayttes holdith

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

25

p 179\* (8-14 December) (*Payments*)

...

Item payde to Mast<sup>r</sup> pacy thatt he paid to my Lady princes players

vj s. viij d. 30

paid to the dwke of Rychemondes players when they playyd be fore Master Mayer And his brethern An Angelett

vij s. vj d.

...

p 184 (26 January-1 February)

35

...

Item Paide to the playars thatt Came from London

vj s. viij d.

...

p 185 (2-8 February)

...

paid to the Lorde lyelles playars

vj s. viij d.

...

5

p 199 (27 April-3 May)

...

paid At the comaundmentte of master mayere ffor beyttyng  
of the bereys in the marsshe. on holy Roode daye

v s.

...

10

p 213 (25-8 June)

...

payde to the Erle of darby ys playars

x s.

...

15

p 218 (27 July-2 August)

...

paid by the commaundmentt of Master Maire to my lorde  
markes bereward

ij s. viij d. 20

...

p 220 (3-9 August)

...

paid for ij Galoundes of claret wyne and ij Galoundes off white  
wyne and ij Galoundes of seck for the Wrastyllyng att seynt  
laureaunce viij d. per galound amounteth

25

paid for pereis

iiij s.

paid for breed

ij s.

paid to the Wrastyllars

j d.

paid for a horsse þat caryd þe wyne &amp; for hym þat caryd hit

vj s. viij d. 30

iiij d.

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029

p 106 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

35

Mydsomer costes &amp; seynt peteres

Item payd for beryng off the pagant

viij d.

Item payd for drynke for the berer

ij d.

Item payd for brede &amp; alle on seynt Ihonys nyzt &amp; seynt petyrs

iij s.

Item payd for brede &amp; ale on the drynkyng day

xvj d. 40

Item payd for chese	viiij d.	
Item payd for candylles Rowsschys & bowys	iiij d.	
Item payd at the heyte off the mynstrell	iiij d.	
Item payd for the mynstrell waygys	iiij s. ij d.	
Item payd for the heyte off vj torchys	vj s.	5
Item payd for the beryng off them	xviiij d.	
Item payd for drynke for the torche bereres bothe nyttes	ij d.	
Item payd for the heyte off the howle	iiij s.	
...		

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Rent Rolls** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/2(a)  
f 23\* (25 December-24 December) (Payments)

...		10
Item gevyn to my lord dawbney syngares	viiij d.	
...		15

**1533-4**

**Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029  
p 111 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

		20
Mydsomer costes & seynt petyrs		
Item paid for bering of the pageant	viiij d.	
Item paid for drynke that bere the pageant	ij d.	
Item paid for bredd and ale for seynt Iohnis nyght And seynt peters nyght	iiij s.	25
Item paid more for brede And ale on the drynkyng day	xvj d.	
Item payd for chese	viiij d.	
Item paid for candelles Ruschys & bowys	iiij d.	
Item paid Att the hyere off the mynstrelles	iiij d.	
Item payd ffor the mynstrelles wages	iiij s. iiij d.	30
Item paid ffor the hyre of vj torches	vj s.	
Item paid ffor the beryng of them	xviiij d.	
Item payd for drynk for the torche berers for bothe nyghtes	ij d.	
Item payd for the hyre of the howse	iiij s.	
...		35

**1534-5**

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(2)  
p 3\* (Rental receipts)

...		40
Tuckers Streatte		
...		

nihil

A tenementt late Mr Canynges *which* the wayttes holdith xiiij s. iiij d.

...

p 48 (13-19 December) (Payments)

...

paid to the dewke of Richemondes berewardes by Master Meyor iiij s. iiij d.

...

p 67 (30 May-5 June)

...

paide to the kynges players by Master mears comaundement x s.

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 115 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

Mydsomer cosstes and seynt peters

Item for beryng off the pagant viij d.

Item for drynke to hym þat bere þe pagant ij d.

Item payd for brede and alle on seynt jonys nythe and seynt peters iiij s. 20

Item payd for brede and alle on the drynkyng day xvj d.

Item payd for a chese viij d.

Item payd for candylles Russhys & bowys ij d.

Item payd for the hyre off the mynstrell iiij d.

Item payd for the mynstrelles waygys v s. 25

Item payd for hyre off vj torchys v s.

Item payd for the beryng off the torchys xvij d.

Item payd for drynke to the torche berers ij d.

Item payd for the hyre off the hawle iiij s.

...

30

1535-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(2)

p 143\* (Rental receipts)

...

Tuckers Streatte

...

35

nihil

A tenementt late Mr Cannynge *which* the wayttes holdith xiiij s. iiij d.

...

## p 119 (13-19 February) (Payments)

...

Item paid to <i>serteyn boyes þat playyde</i> In the yeld hall be ffore <i>Master meyar &amp; his brothers</i>	vj s. viij d.	
<i>paid to my lord lyelles players</i>	vj s. viij d.	5

...

## p 135 (23-9 July)

...

Item Payd to the wrastyllers on saynt Iamys daye In the marshe	vj s. viij d.	10
Payd to the [Erle] dewke of Richemon is berrewerdes & to the markes dorset his bereward	vj s. viij d.	

...

## p 136 (6-12 August)

...

<i>paid by Master meyors comaundmentt to the taburrer on seynt lawrans daye</i>	viij d.	
Paid for v gallondes of cleret wyne & ij gallondes secke ffor the wrastyllyng at seynt laurans	v s. iiij d.	20
Paid ffor a pott of pears to the same	ij s.	
<i>paid ffor brede</i>	j d.	
<i>paid to the wrastillers</i>	vj s. viij d.	
<i>paid for Caryng of the wyne &amp; pears</i>	iiij d.	25

...

## p 137\* (3-9 September)

...

Item Payd to the kynges playars	x s.	30
---------------------------------	------	----

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

## p 122 (July-July; rendered 2 November)

...

medsvmor costes & seynt petvrs		
for bereyng of þe paiantte	viij d.	
for dryngke to hyme þat bare the paiantt	ij d.	
for roscheys bowys & candelles	iiij d.	40
for bred and alle bothe nyztes	iiij s.	
for bred & ale on seynt petvrs day	xvj d.	



for chesse	vij d.	
for ij mynstrelles	vij s. iiij d.	
for drynke at þe heyre of them	iiij d.	
for heyer of torchys	vj s.	
for beryng of the torchys bothe ny3ttes	xviiij d.	5
for drynke to them þat bare them bothe ny3tes	ij d.	
...		
for the all hyere	ij s.	
...		

## 1536-7

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 126 (*July-July; rendered 2 November*)

	Mydsomer costes & seint petres	15
Item paid for the bering of the paiant	viiij d.	
Item paid for the drynkyng of the berer	ij d.	
Item paid for brede And Ale on seynt Iohnis nyght & seynt peters	iiij s.	
Item paid for brede And Ale Att owr drynkyng day	xvj d.	
Item paid ffor chese	viiij d.	20
Item paid for candyls Russches & bowys	iiij d.	
Item paid Att the hyryng of the mynstrelles	iiij d.	
Item paid to the mynstrell for his wages	iiij s. j d.	
Item paid for the hyre of v[j] torches	v[j] s.	
Item paid to them that bere the torches for bothe nyghtes	xv{iiij} d.	25
Item paid for the drynkyng of the torche berers for bothe nyghtes	ij d.	
Item paid for the hire of the hall	ij s.	
...		

## 1537-8

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 77 (*Payments*)

...		
Item Paid to iiij mynstrelles	xv s.	
...		
Item more for beryng of the pagentt on corpus Cristy day	iiij d.	35
...		

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 130\* (*July-July; rendered 2 November*)

	mydsomer cosstes & seynt petters	
Item payd for beryng off the pagant	viiij d.	

	Item payd for drynk	ij d.
	Item payd for brede & ale on seynt jonys nyth & seynt petters	iiij s.
	Item payd for brede & ale on the drynkyng day	xvj d.
	Item payd for chese	xij d.
	Item payd for candylles bowys & russchys	iiij d.
	Item payd f at the hyre off the mynstrelles	iiij d.
#	Item payd for ther waygys	v s. viij d.
	Item payd for the hyre off vj torchys	v s.
	Item payd for the beryng off them	xviiij d.
	Item payd ffor drynk ffor them	ij d.
	Item payd for the hall hyre	ij s.
	...	

## 1538-9

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

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...

## Paymentes ffollowynge

	Inprimis payed vpon Corpus Christy day for the bearinge of the pageaunt	iiij d.
	Item for beringe of the torches in the watche and for bred & ale	ij s.
	Item moore for the hall dynar bred & ale	ij s. ix d.
	Item payed to the Mynstrels	xiiij s.
	Item payd ffor the makynge of the torches	xiiij s. viij d.
	...	25

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 131\* (July-July)

	Costes att mydsomer Seynt Iohnis nyght & seynt petirs nyght	30
	Item paid for the beryng of the pageaunt	viiij d.
	Item paid for the drynkyng	ij d.
	Item paid for brede And Ale for seynt Iohnes nyght & seynt petyrs nyght	iiij s.
	Item paid for brede And ale on owr drynkyng day	xvj d.
	Item paid for cheise	xij d.
	Item paid for candels Russhes & bowys	iiij d.
	Item paid Att the hyere of the mynstrelles	iiij d.
	Item payd for the hyer off vj torchys	vj s.

Item paid for the beryng of theym	xviiij d.	
Item paid for theire drynkyng	ij d.	
Item payd for the mynstrelles wages	v s.	
Item paid for the hall heyre		5
...		
Item paid for the fachyng of the pageans & torches frome hary wyllys to the hall	ij d.	
<b>1539-40</b>		
<i>Mayor's Audits</i> BRO: 04026(2)		10
p 159 ( <i>Rental receipts</i> )		
...		
	Towkers streate	
...		
A tenement somtyme kannynges which the waytes hold by the yere	xiiij s. iiij d.	15
...		
p 202 ( <i>30 September-25 December</i> ) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )		
...		20
Payd vnto the waytes for ther fees	xxx s.	
...		
p 204 ( <i>1-7 February</i> ) ( <i>Payments</i> )		
...		25
Payd vnto therle of hartfordes players that playd before master meyre and his brothers	x s.	
...		
p 211 ( <i>23-9 May</i> )		30
...		
Payd vnto the lorde of the fyue portes players	vj s. vij d.	
...		
( <i>6-12 June</i> )		35
Payd vnto the marcus dorsentes players	x s.	
p 217 ( <i>29 August-4 September</i> )		
...		40
Payd vnto the kynges players	x s.	
...		

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029  
p 136 (July-July; rendered 15 November)

	Mydsomer costes & seynt peters ny3t(. )t	
In primys payd for beryng of the pagent		vij d. 5
Item payd for hys dryngke		ij d.
Item payd for bred & ale for seynt Iohn ys nyght & seynt peters nyght		iiij s.
Item payd bred & ale on a <sup>r</sup> owre <sup>l</sup> dryngkyng daye		xvj d.
Item payd for chese		xij d. 10
Item payd for candelles Rusches & bowes		iiij d.
Item payd at the hyre of the mynstrelles		iiij d.
Item payd for the hyre of vj torchys	vj s. vij d.	
Item payd for the beryng of þe torchys	xvij d.	
Item payd for ther dryngken	ij d.	15
Item payd for the mynstrell ys wages	iiij s.	
Item payd for the hall hyre	xx d.	

...

1540-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(2)

p 225\* (17-23 October) (Payments)

...

Payd vnto the prince his players

...

25

p 335 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the waytes for parte of ther fee

...

30

p 247 (25 December-29 September) (Rental receipts)

Towkers streate

...

35

Item A tenement somtyme Cannynge whiche the waytis  
holde be þe yere

...

xiiij s. iiij d.

p 343\* (26 March-29 September) (Payments)

40

Rewardes to greate mens seruauntis

Item one Saynt Iames eve to my Lord Russelles pleyers the tyme was busy they dyd not pleye	iiij s. iiij d.	
Item to herry my Lord marques dorcet <i>seruant</i> on Saynt Iames day his bers was beytyd	vj s. viij d.	
Item the iiij <sup>or</sup> daye of auguste to my Lord prynces pleyers	x s.	5
Item the xij day of September the kynges pleyers	x s.	
<i>summa xxx s.</i>		

...

p 361 (28 September) (Officers' fees)		10
...		
Item paid to the waytes	xxx s.	
...		

<b>Bakers' Minutes</b> BRO: 08155(1)		15
p 83* (Rendered 3 November) (Payments)		
...		
payd ffor the beryng of the pachant on corspus [(.)] Cryste day	iiij d.	
...		
payd ffor mynstrelles ffor the crafte	xij s. iiij d.	20
...		
payd to the mynstrels ffor the ffechyng of the wyne	xx d.	
...		

<b>Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts</b> BRL: 5029		25
p 141 (July-July; rendered 14 November)		

Midsomer costes And seynt petres nyght		
In primis paid for beryng of the pageant	viiij d.	
Item paid for hys drynkyng	ij d.	30
Item paid for bredd & ale vppon seynt Iohnis nyght And seynt petyrs nyght	iiij s.	
Item paid for bred And Ale on <i>owt</i> drynkyng day	xvj d.	
Item peyd ffor chese	xiiij d.	
Item paid for candels Ruschus And bowys	iiij d.	35
Item paid att the hyryng of the mynstrelles	iiij d.	
Item paid to the mynstrelles wages for bothe nyghtes	v s.	
Item for the hyryng of vj torchys	vj s. viij d.	
Item paid for the beryng of the torches	xviiij d.	
Item paid for ther drynkyng	ij d.	40
...		

Item payd for the hyre of our hall xx d.

## 1541-2

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(3)

p 5 (*Rental receipts*) 5

## Towkers streate

...

*vacat* Item A tenement somtyme Cannyngs Whyche the Waytis  
holde be the yere xiiij s. iiij d. 10

...

p 101 (*27 August-2 September*) (*Payments*)

...

Item the xx day of Auguste At the Comaundment of  
Master maior to þe kynges bererd 15  
vj s. viij d.

...

p 103\* (*17-23 September*)

...

Item the xxiiij day of September to the erle of Sussexes playes 20  
x s.

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 85\* 25

...

Item payd to the mynstrls At mydsomer [coster] coste xv s. iiij d.

...

Item payd for beryng of þe pagyn on cropuscryste day iiij d.

Item for beryng of ij torchys vj d. 30

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 144 (*July-July; rendered 2 November*) 35

## Midsomer costes &amp; seynt petris nygh

In primis paid for the bering of the pageant viiij d.

Item paid for his drynkyng in the wache ij d.

Item paid for brede and ale vppon seynt lohns nyght

& seynt petrus nyght iiij s. 40

Item paid for brede & ale on <i>owr</i> drynkyng day	xvj d.	
Item paid for cheese	xiiij d.	
Item paid for candels Ruschus and bowys	iiij d.	
Item paid att the hyryng of the mynstrelles	iiij d.	
Item paid to the mynstrelles for ther wages for bowthe nyghtes	iiij s. viij d.	5
Item paid for the hyryng of vj torchys	vj s. viij d.	
Item payd for the beryng of the torchys	xviiij d.	
Item paid for ther drynkyng in the wache	ij d.	
...		
Item paid for the hyre of <i>owr</i> hall	iiij s. iiij d. [iiij s. (...)] d.]	10
Summa this side		

## 1542-3

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 87\* (*Rendered 19 November*)

15

...		
Item payd for beryng of the pagyant	iiij d.	
Item payd vnto iiij mynstrelles	xij s.	
...		

20

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029p 148\* (*July-July*)

mydsomer costys and seynte Ionnyes nyth & seynt petters nyth		25
Item for the beryng off the pagant on corppys cryste day	viiij d.	
Item for drynke for hym	ij d.	
Item for brede & drynke on seynt Ionys nyth and seynt peters nygh	[iiij s.]	
Item for brede & alle on the drynkyng day	xvj d.	
Item for a chese on the drynkyng day	x d.	30
Item for Russys & bowys & candylles	iiij d.	
Item payd to the mynstrelles waygys	iiij s.	
Item payd for the hyte of vj torchys	vij s.	
Item payd for the beryng of vj torchys	xviiij d.	
Item payd for drynke to the berers off them	ij d.	35
...		
Item payd for the hyte of the halle	iiij s. ix d.	
...		

1543-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(3)p 134\* (*Receipts*)

...

Towkers Strete

5

...

vacat

Item a Tenement sometye Canings which the ways do  
holde by the yere

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

p 178 (2-8 December) (*Payments*)

10

...

Item paid to the kings Bereward and my lorde princes *which*  
was the v<sup>th</sup> day of December *which* showid the games

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

15

pp 179-80 (16-22 December)

...

Item paid ffor iiij yardes of Brode cloth for a young man  
*which* playeth with the ways *which* was by Master Mayors  
comaundement

x s. l

20

Item paid to the Erle of Bathes pleyers for shewing theyr  
pastyme in the yeld hall

v s.

...

25

p 184\* (20-6 January)

...

Item paid the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of January to Mr henings players

v s.

...

30

p 198\* (20-6 July)

...

Item paid to the Erle of bathes pleyers the 27. day of Iuly for  
playing afore master in the yelde hall

viiij s.

35

Item paid the same day to my Lorde maques dorsettes berwarde  
for showing pleasure to *master* Mayor *with* his beares

vj s. viij d.

...



p 203\* (21-7 September)

...

Item paid to my lorde wentworthes players for showing  
their pastyme before *master* mayor and his bretherne the  
xxij<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre

vj s. viiij d. 5

...

p 205 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the waittes for their ffee

xxx s. 10

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(1)

p 269 (21 November)

...

Iohannes levitt  
viij d.

Robertus Norres filius Iohannis Nores de Bylleryca in Comitatu Essexie  
mercator posuit seipsum *apprenticiam* Iohanni levette Mynstrello Ciui Ciuitatis  
bristollicie et *christiane uxori* eius ad eis deseruiendum tam in arte de Mynstrels  
quam &c a die dati *presencium* vsque finem *termini* quinque annorum extunc  
&c Soluetque xx s. Sterlingorum Cum duplici apparatu &c nomine &c

15

20

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 89\* (Rendered 27 November)

...

Item paid ffor the beryng of the pachant on corpuscryste day

iiij d.

Item paid to iiij mynistrelles

xv s.

Item paid ffor the beryng of the towrchys & ffor mete & dryng  
ffor the berars

ij s.

Item ffor bred at the halle dennar

xviij d. 30

Item ffor a dosen of ale

xiiij d.

Item ffor ij tapurs ffor the halle <sup>†</sup>benet sechathn<sup>o</sup>

iiij d.

Item ffor Russus

j d.

Item a Reward to the kyngys mynstrelles

xij d.

...

35

p 90\*

...

Also they brought in iiij steyned <sup>^</sup>[Clothes<sup>l</sup>] that belongeth to the Crafte.  
And vj old torches. a pageant with iiij [panes] vanes a Coffe and a fforme.

40

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029p 151 (*July-July; rendered November*)

...	mydesvmer cosstes & seynt peters nyth	
	Item payd for beryng off the pagant	viiij d. 5
	Item payd for the hyre of v torchys	vj s. viiiij d.
	Item payd for the beryng of the torchys	xv d.
	Item payd for the hyre of the minstrelles waygys	x s.
	Item payd for brede and alle on the drynkyng day	ij s. ij d.
	Item for a chese	x d. 10
...		
	Item payd for the hyre of the halle	(blank)
...		

1544-5

15

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029p 153 (*July-July; rendered November*) (*Payments*)

...		
	Item for the beryng off the pagant	x d.
...		20

1545-6

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(3)p 246 (*Rental receipts*)

...		25
	Towkers Strete	

vacat

...		
	Item a tenement somtime Caninges whiche the waytes do holde per annum	xiiij s. iiiij d. 30
...		

p 297 (*25-31 October*) (*Payments*)

...		
	Item paid by master mayors commaundement the xxviiij <sup>th</sup> of Octobre to the kinges berewardes	vij s. viiiij d. 35
...		

p 332 (*8-14 August*)costes at Saint  
laurence

...		
	Item paid for vj gallons of Gaskyn wyne and secke spent vpon saint laurence daie at wrastling	vj s. 40
	Item for bredd	j d.

Item paid for Sugar	xij d.	
Item paid for peres	ij s. viij d.	
Item paid to the wrastlers for the beest Game	vj s. viij d.	
Item paid to the Raker for his labor to convey wyne and peres to saint laurens	iiij d.	5

...

## p 337 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the waites for their ffee	xxx s.	10
--	--------	----

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 93 (Rendered 2 December)

...

The sayd masters and wardduns hath delyveryd and broute in to the new masters and wardens yat be electyd and chosn of the sayd crauft all shuche thynges as here After foloith ... iiij stayne clothys that be longith to the sayd craft a pagantt with iiij vans and a coffer		15
---	--	----

...

20

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029

## p 156 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

...

Item for beryng off the pagant	x d.	25
--------------------------------	------	----

...

## 1546-7

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029

## p 158 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

...

Item for the carynge of the pagant	x d.	
------------------------------------	------	--

...

## 1547-8

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(4)

## p 37\* (15-21 January) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the kinges berward the xiiij <sup>th</sup> daie of Octobre	vj s. viij d.	
Item paide to the Quynes pleyers the xx <sup>th</sup> daie of Octobre	xiiij s. iiij d.	40

...

## p 61 (19-25 August)

saint Laurence  
day at wrestling

...	
In primis for bredd	j d.
Item for vj Gallons of wyne	vj s.
Item paid for Sugar	ij s. 5
Item paid for peeres	iiij s.
Item paid for a horse hier to bring it thither	iiij d.
Item paid for haling formes thither	vj d.
Item paid for the best game	vj s. viij d.
...	10

## p 67 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...	
Item to the waites for their ffee	xxx s.
...	15

## 1548-9

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

## p 411 (1 March)

Thomas  
Rancock viij d.

...	20
Hec est &c quod willelmus drowry filius Roberti drowry de fynnyngle in comitatu York laborer posuit seipsum <i>apprenticium</i> thome Rancock Inholder & dorotheie vxori eius pro termino septem annorum extunc <i>proximorum sequencium</i> &c Soluetque eidem <i>apprenticio</i> in fine &c vnum vyall ac a Lowde shalme & a Styll cum duplici apparatu corpori suo conuenienti &c nomine &c .i.	25
...	

## 1549-50

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

## p 442 (24 February)

Thomas  
Rancock v de /

...	30
Hec est &c quod Nicholaus wylliams filius Ricardi williams de dypeford in comitatu deuonie husbondman posuit seipsum <i>Apprenticium</i> , Thome Rancock Inholder & dorotheie vxori eius pro termino decem Annorum &c Soluet &c a vyall. a lowde shalme. A still shalme Ac a recorder, cum duplici apparatu corpori suo conuenienti &c	35
...	

p 444\* (26 March)

Thomas  
Rancock

...  
 Hec est &c quod Iohannes Rome filius Iohannis Rome <sup>Λ</sup>[nuper]<sup>1</sup> de <sup>Λ</sup>[dracot]<sup>1</sup>  
 [Backwell] in comitatu [Somersetie] <sup>Λ</sup>[Wilticirie]<sup>1</sup> yoman posuit seipsum  
 Apprenticium Thome Rancock inhoder & dorothie vxori &c pro termino  
 decem annorum &c Soluet &c a vyall, a rebuke, a still shalme and a Lowde  
 shalme, ac iiij s. vj d. pro &c Cum &c.

5

...

1550-1

10

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(3)

p 358 (Receipts)

...

Towkers strete

...

Item a tenement somtyme Canynges whiche the waites  
 do holde

xiiij s. iiij d.

15

...

p 414 (26 April-2 May) (Payments)

20

...

Item paid to my lorde of Somersettes players the xxviiij<sup>th</sup>  
 daie of Aprill

x s.

...

p 433 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

25

...

[Item to the waytes

xxx s.]

...

30

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

p 468 (20 October)

...

Hec &c quod Willelmus Wellys filius Nicholai Wellys de Thornbury in  
 Comitatu gloucestrie Shomaker posuit seipsum Apprenticium Thome Rancock  
 Inhoder & Dorothie vxori eius pro termino Decem annorum &c Soluetque &c  
 v s. legalis &c ac iiij s. vj d. pro libertate &c Cum duplici ac vnum instrumentum  
 vocatum a vyall Ac vnum instrumentum vocatum a Rebuke &c ./.

35

...

## 1551-2

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(5a)p 2 (*Receipts*)

...

Towklers strete

5

...

vacat

Item a tenement samtyme canynges whiche the waytes

do hold

[xij s. iiij d.] [xiiij s. iiij d.]

...

10

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 99 (*Rendered 12 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

Item we do Deliver to thomas olyver and thomas Iones nowe beinge masters

... a pagante iiij vanes and a Coffe and vj torchis and an owlde table Clothe 15

## 1552-3

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04027p 47\* (*21-7 May*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to the pleyers at the yelde hall

x s.

20

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 100 (*Rendered 9 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

Item <sup>^</sup>[more] delyuered vnto the sayde new maisters ... a pageant, iiij  
vanys a coffe vj (tor)ches and an olde table clothe

25

## 1553-4

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 101 (*Rendered 20 November*) (*Payments*)

...

Item payde for dressyng of the pagent &amp; the staffe

v s.

Item for the torche to the same

xiiij d. 35

Item for the beryng of the same

iiij d.

...

*(Inventory)*

30

40

Item delyuered more vnto the saide new Masteres ... A pageant iiij vanys a  
coffe vj torches & on olde table clothe

## 1554-5

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 102 (*Rendered 7 December*) (*Payments*)

...

Item payde for bearinge of the pagent iiiij d. 5

...

*(Inventory)*Item delyuered more vnto the sayde newe masters ... a pageante & iiiij vaanes 10  
a Coffe & vj torches & an olde table clothe.

## 1555-6

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029p 177 (*July-July; rendered November*) (*Payments*) 15

...

Item for the costes of beryng of the pagent &amp; for dryng for hym x d.

Item for ther breckefast xij d.

...

20

## 1556-7

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(6)p 3 (*Rental receipts*)

Tuckers strete

...

Item a tenement somtyme Canynges which the waytes did hold xiiij s. iiiij d. 25

...

p 37\* (*23-9 May*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid the xvj day of maye by the Commaundment of 30

Mr Maior and Aldermen/ to the Waytes towerdes their

Costes home Wardes x s.

...

p 38 (*13-19 June*) 35

...

Item paid to the kinge and quenes Maiesties Players that did  
plaide before Master Maior

xv s.

...

40

38-9/ did plaide: *for plaide or did plaie*

players	Item paide to my Lord of Oxfordes players that plaide before <i>Master Maior</i> and thaldermen in thelde hall	x s.
...	...	
players	Item paide the xvij day of Iune to my Lord Barkleyes players for playenge before <i>Master Mayre</i> and his bretherne	v s. 5
...	...	
	p 39*	
...	...	
players	[Item paide the xvij day of Iune to my Lorde Barkleys players that plaide before <i>Master Maior</i>	10 v s.]
...	...	
	(20-4 June)	
...	...	15
	Item paid to Mr gyles whyte and Mr Cutt the xxiiij of Iune being geven [f] a gowne to one Rutt yat dyd attende one the waytes Mr Smyth being Mayre	xx s.
...	...	
	p 44 (15-21 August)	20
...	...	
	Item paide by the Comaundment of <i>Master Maior</i> to the waighetes for dyvers Consyderacions towerdes theyr Charges	x s.
...	...	25
	<i>Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts</i> BRL: 5029	
	p 179 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)	
...	...	
	for (.) the beryng of the pagent & for dryngke for hym	x d. 30
	more for hys breckefast & for the Wexe men of þe Iornemen	xij d.
...	...	
	Item for the peynctyng of þe vaynes of þe pagent	xvj d.
...	...	
		35
	1557-8	
	<i>Mayor's Audits</i> BRO: 04026(5a)	
	p 164 (Receipts)	
	Tuckers strete	
...	...	40
	Item a tenement somtyme Canynges which the waytes dyd holde	xij s. iiij d.
...	...	



## p 185 (17-23 October) (Payments)

...

Item paide in Rewardes to my Lorde Hastings keper of  
His Beares by Comaundment of Master Maior

iiij s. iiij d.

...

5

## p 189 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

To the waytes for theyr ffee

xx s.

...

10

## p 195 (25 March)

...

To the waytes ffor theyr ffee

xx s.

...

15

## p 199 (5-11 June) (Payments)

...

Item in Rewardes to my Lorde of Oxfordes players which  
playde before Master Mayer

vj s. viij d.

...

20

## p 200\* (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item Paide to the waytes ffor theyr ffee

xx s. 25

...

## p 203 (14-20 August) (Payments)

...

Item pade by the Comaundment of Master Mayre and the  
Aldermen to the waytes the xx<sup>th</sup> day of Auguste

30

xx s.

...

## p 206 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

To the waytes for theyre ffee

xx s.

...

35

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 103 (Rendered 13 December) (Payments)

...

payd for the berynge of the pagant

iiij d.

...

40

*(Inventory)*

...a pagantt & iiij vannes a pagantt staffe vj torchys ...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5029

p 180 (*July-July; rendered before 17 November*) (*Payments*)

...

ffor the brekfast on korpus cristiday

xij d.

ffor the bering of the pagant

vij d.

for drink in the proseyon

ij d. 10

## 1558-9

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(5a)

p 258\* (*23-9 October*) (*Payments*)

...

15

Item payde by the Commaundement of *Master Maior*  
& alldermen to the waytes for the Rent of there house

xx s.

...

p 261 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

20

...

Item paide to the waytes for theyr ffee due at Cristmas

xx s.

...

p 324 (*13-18 February*) (*Payments*)

25

...

Item paide by the Commandement of *Master mayor* and  
his Bretheren to my Lorde vawsis berewarde for beytinge  
his Beares in the marshe

iiij s. iiij d.

...

30

p 333 (*24 March*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the waightes for there ffee

xx s.

...

35

p 303\* (*23 June*)

...

Item to the waightes for there ffee

xx s. 40

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 105 (*Rendered 9 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

A pagantt *with* iiii vannes vj torchys a pagantt staf ...

...

5

**1559-60****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(7)p 29 (*30 September-7 October*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide to my lorde Andrewe Dudley Master of the  
ordenance playars at the commaundement of Master  
maior and his bretherne

...

vj s. viij d.

10

p 30 (*15-21 October*)

...

Item paid to the Quenes *maiesties* playars at the Commaundement  
of Master maior and the aldermen

...

xv s.

20

p 35 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the wayttes for ther fee

...

xx s.

25

p 38 (*18-24 February*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my lorde of oxenfordes playars for pleying in the  
ylde hall

...

x s. 30

p 40 (*24 March*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the weyghtes for there fee

...

xx s. 35

p 46 (*23 June*)

...

Item to the wayghtes for theyer ffee

...

xx s. 40

## p 48 (14-20 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my lorde Robart dudleyes players for pleyng  
in the yelde hall at the commaundement of Master maior

xx s.

...

5

## p 53\* (22-9 September)

...

Item paid for the Rente of A howse for the wayghtes at xx s.  
by the yere appoynted by Master maior & aldermen

xx s. 10

...

## p 54 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the waighetes for ther fee

xx s. 15

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 107 (Rendered 7 November) (Inventory)

...

More delevered ...

20

A pagant with iiij wanhes v thoches a pagant. staf a pare of stafes...

## 1560-1

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(7)

25

## p 131 (10-16 November) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the dowches of Sowfolkes playors at the  
commavndementte of Master maior and aldermen

x s.

...

30

## p 133 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the wayttes for ther ffee

xx s.

...

35

## p 138 (24 March)

...

Item to the weyghtes for there fee

xx s.

...

40

p 145 (23 June)

...

Item to the waightes for there ffee

XX s.

...

5

p 153\* (21-9 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid for the Rent of a howse for the waightes at xx s.  
by the yeare apoynted by Master Mayor & aldermen

XX s.

...

10

p 154 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the waightes for there ffee

XX s.

...

15

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 109\* (Rendered 4 November) (Inventory)

...

...a pagantt &amp; iiij vannes A pagantt staffe v[j] torches...

20

1561-2

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(7)

p 210 (2-8 November) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the quenes players in the yeld hall

XV s.

...

25

p 212 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to wayetes for there ffee

XX s.

...

30

p 219 (24 March)

...

Item to the waytes for ther ffee

XX s.

...

35

p 225 (23 June)

...

Item to the waightes for ther ffee

XX s.

...

40

p 226 (25 June-4 July) (Payments)

...

Inprimis paid to my lorde <sup>a</sup> of warwyke<sup>1</sup> is players for playinge in the yeld hall

x s.

...

5

p 230 (30 August-5 September)

...

Item paid to my lord dudley is players for playing in the yeld hall

xiiij s. iiij d. 10

...

p 235\* (20-9 September)

...

Item paid for the Rent of A howse for the waytes at xx s. by the yeare appoynted by Master maior & Aldermen

15

xx s.

...

p 240 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the waytes for ther ffee

20  
xx s.

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 111\* (Rendered 10 November) (Inventory)

25

...

...A pagantt with hys stafe iiij vannes iiij torchys And A pesse of a lynke...

...

1562-3

30

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(7)

p 292\* (15-21 November) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the duches of Soffocke players for pleyinge in the yeld hall

xiiij s. iiij d. 35

...

p 295 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the waites for ther ffee

40  
xx s.

...

## p 296 (10-16 January) (Payments)

...  
 Item payd to Sir raf hopton knyght marshall is pleyers for  
 pleying in the yeld hall vj s. viij d. 5  
 ...

## p 300 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item to the waytes for ther ffee xx s. 10  
 ...

## p 308 (13-19 June) (Payments)

...  
 Item pay to the earle of wosseter is players for playing in the yeld hall x s. 15  
 ...

## p 310 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item to the waightes for ther fees xx s. 20  
 ...

## p 313 (8-14 August) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid to the quenes players for playnge in the yelde hall xiiij s. iiij d. 25  
 ...

## p 316 (19-29 September)

...  
 Item paid for the rent of a howse for the waytes xx s. 30  
 ...

## p 318 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item to the waytes for ther ffee xx s. 35  
 ...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 113\* (Rendered 15 November) (Inventory)

...  
 ...Item ... a pagantt with hys stafe iiij vannes iiij torchys ... 40

## 1563-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(7)

p 368\* (30 September-2 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my lorde latymar is playars for playing in the yeld hall	vj s. viij d.	5
---	---------------	---

...

p 372 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the waytes for their ffee	xx s.	10
-----------------------------------	-------	----

...

p 373 (2-8 January) (Payments)

...

Item paid to ye Earell of wossetters players in the ylde hall	xiiij s. iiij d.	15
---	------------------	----

...

p 376 (27 February-4 March)

...

Item paid to my lord wawse is bereward for his game in ye marshe	v s.	20
--	------	----

...

p 378 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the wayghtes for ther ffee	xx s.	25
------------------------------------	-------	----

...

p 380 (9-15 April) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the lorde latymers players for pleying in the yeld hall	vj s. viij d.	30
--	---------------	----

...

p 385\* (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the iiij <sup>of</sup> wayghtes for ther ffee	xxvj s. viij d.	35
---	-----------------	----

...

p 393 (28 September)

...

Item to the waytis for there fee	xxvj s. viij d.	40
----------------------------------	-----------------	----

...



**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 115 (*Rendered 13 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

Item a pageant with his staffe &amp; iiij waynes

...

5

**1564-5****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(8)p 30\* (*19-25 November*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my lorde strainges players for playinge in the yelde hall x s.

...

10

p 33 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the waites for ther ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

15

p 38 (*24 March*)

...

Item to the iiijor weytes for ther ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

20

p 43 (*23 June*)

...

Item to the iiij weytes for ther ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

25

p 46 (*16-29 September*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid for the Rentt of A howse for the waghtes xx s.

...

30

p 48 (*28 September*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the waytes for ther ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

35

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 117 (*Rendered 22 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

Item a pagant with his staffe &amp; iiij vaynes

...

40

## 1565-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(8)p 98 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the waytes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d. 5

...

p 99 (3-9 February) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to Sir Iohn haies players which played in the  
yeld hall before *Master* mayer 10  
vj s. viij d.

...

p 101 (24 March) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item to the iiij wayettes for their ffee 15  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 107 (23 June)

...

Item to the iiij waytes for their ffee 20  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 108 (25 June-6 July) (*Payments*)

...

Item payd to my lord of hundscons players at the commaundment  
of *master* Mayer in the yeld hall 25  
xiiij s. iiij d.

...

(14-20 July) 30

Item paid to the quenes players at the commaundment of *master* mayer xx s.

...

p 112 (22-9 September) 35

...

Item for the Rent of the waytes house for this yere xx s.

...

p 114 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*) 40

...

Item to iij waytes and the rent of the house of the iiij<sup>th</sup> xxij s. viij d.

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 119\* (*Inventory*)

...

A innuytorte of <sup>f</sup>al<sup>1</sup> the Impullmentes & nessysaryes as herafter shall follow  
 & be namyd ... a paygne with iiij vanes of sylcke & the lesse of the halle[s] 5  
 and iij torches & iij lynckes & a hallfe lyncke a paggen stafe ...

**1566-7****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(8)p 161 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*) 10

...

Item to the iiij waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 163 (*2-8 February*) (*Payments*) 15

...

Item paid to my lord of shrowsberys bereward for bating his  
 beares in the marshe before master Mayer & the Aldermen vj s. viij d.

...

p 166 (*24 March*) (*Officers' fees*) 20

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their fee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 168 (*27 April-3 May*) (*Payments*) 25

...

Item paid to my Lord of mountloies players in the yeld hall at  
 master Mayers commaundment and my masters thaldermen vj s. viij d.

...

p 171 (*23 June*) (*Officers' fees*) 30

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 172 (*6-12 July*) (*Payments*) 35

...

Item paid to the quenes players at the commaundment of master  
 Mayer and the Aldermen in the yeld hall at thend of their playe xx s. 40

...

p 175 (21-9 September)

...

Item paid to Sir Henry Foskewes players in the yeld hall at the  
commaunderment of master Mayer and my masters the Aldermen  
at thend of their play

vj s. viij d. 5

...

p 176

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes toward the rent of their houses

xxvj s. viij d. 10

...

(28 September) (Officers' fees)

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d. 15

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

f 8v (24 July)

...

20

(...):ecalf/

Willelmus Alowe filius (*blank*) Awl de ciuitate Bristollie Smythe posuit se  
apprenticium Iohanni Medecalf musycian & Christiane vxori eius pro termino  
decem Annorum proximorum &c solluendo &c (*blank*) cum Duplici apparratu  
&c

...

25

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 120\* (Inventory)

...

herafter fowlowethe the accomte of all nesetaeares and empllementes ... a  
pagaunte wyth iiij fannes of sylke wirth the lese of the hall iij torches and iij  
lynkes [& half] a pagaunt stafte ...

30

1567-8

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(8)

35

p 220\* (26 October-1 November) (Payments)

...

Item paid to master Mayer to geve to a berward that bayted  
his bears in the marshe before hym and thaldermen

vj s. viij d.

...

40

p 221 (9-15 November)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Worceters players at the commaundment of  
*master* Mayer & the Aldermen in the yeld hall at thend of their play x s.

...

5

p 225 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

10

p 230 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij wayetes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

15

p 232 (2-8 May) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my Lord Riches players in the yeld hall at  
 thend of their play at the commaundment of *master* Mayer  
 and thaldermen xiiij s. iiij d.

...

20

p 235 (23 June) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

25

p 240 (28 September)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

30

1568-9

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(8)

p 298 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> wayettes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

35

## p 299 (26 December - 1 January) (Payments)

...

Item [to] paid to the blynd wayte for his wages of Mighelmas quarter in mr Northalls yere which was not charged to the chambers accompt because of his absence, and nowe by suyte to master mayer & thaldermen [was] obtaigned the same

5  
iiij s.

...

## p 302 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee

10  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

## p 308 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

15  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

## p 313 (7-13 August) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the quenes players at the commaundment of Master mayer and thaldremen at thend of their play in the yeld hall

20  
xx s.

...

## p 314 (14-20 August)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Norfolkes bereward for bating his beares before master Mayer & thaldremen in the marshe

25  
vj s. viij d.

...

## p 317 (11-17 September)

...

Item paid to Awdley the drumme player for a fourtnyghtes wages ending this day beyng the x<sup>th</sup> of Septembre [for] at [viij] iiij s. the weke

30  
viiij s. 35

...

Item paid to the Ertl of Worceters players in the yelld hall at the commaundment of Master mayer at thend of their play

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

*(25-9 September)*

Item paid to Awdley the drumme player for his bord and wages  
two wekes to william more. at iiij s. the weke viij s.  
... 5

p 319

...  
Item paid the waytes toward the Rent of their house xxvj s. viij d.  
... 10

p 320 *(28 September) (Officers' fees)*

...  
Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
... 15

1569-70

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(9)p 22 *(9-15 October) (Payments)*

... 20  
Item paid to Awdley the drumme player for these ij wekes wages viij s.  
...

*(16-22 October)*

... 25  
Item paid to Awdley the drumme player for his wages this weke iiij s.  
...

*(23-9 October)*

... 30  
Item paid to Awdley the drumme player for his wages this weke iiij s.  
...

p 23 *(30 October-5 November)*

... 35  
Item paid to my Lord straunge players at thend of their play  
before master mayor & thaldermen in the yeld hall x s.  
...

p 24\* *(27 November-3 December)*

... 40  
Item paid to Master Turner [s] the scolemaster of the Barthilmews toward the

payngting of his pageantes & charges of his playes at Christmas  
 folowing at the commaundment of *master* mayor the sume of [vj] li. xl s.  
 ...

p 25 (18-25 December)

5

Item paid for ij wekes table of a drumme player apoynted by  
*master* mayer vj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 26 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

10

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 27\* (22-8 January) (Payments)

15

Item paid to my Lord of Leyceters players at thend of their play  
 in the yeld hall at the commaundment of *master* mayer and the  
 Aldermen xiiij s. iiij d. 20  
 ...

p 29\* (12-18 March)

Item paid to two laborers to carry erthe to rere the bare plat in the  
 marshe and to sawe xvj baskettes of hay dust there for vj days at viij d. viij s. 25  
 Item paid for xvj baskettes of hay dust to sawe vpon the bare plat xij d.  
 Item paid to the Quenes bereward for bayting his beares in the  
 marshe before *master* mayer x s.  
 ... 30

p 32\* (26 March-1 April)

Item paid to my Lord Cobhams players at thend of their play in  
 the yeld hall at the commandment of *master* mayer & thaldremen x s. 35  
 ...

p 34\* (14-20 May)

Item paid to Sir Robert Lanes players in the yeld hall at thend of  
 their play at the commaundment of *master* mayer & thaldremen x s. 40  
 ...



p 37 (23 June) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
 Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

5

p 39 (30 July-12 August) (*Payments*)

...  
 Item paid to the Erle of Sussex players in the yeld hall at thend of  
 their play at the commaundment of master mayer & thaldermen xiiij s. iiiij d.  
 ...

10

## p 43 (24-9 September)

...  
 Item paid to [thre of] the <sup>i</sup>iiiij waytes toward the Rent  
 of their house xxvj s. viij d. 15  
 ...

p 45 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
 Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d. 20  
 ...

## 1570-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(9)p 99 (10-16 December) (*Payments*) 25

...  
 Item paid to the players of Coventrie by the commaundment  
 of master mayer and thaldermen x s.  
 ...

30

## (17-25 December)

Item paid to the Earle of worsters players at thend of their play  
 in the yelde halle at the commaundment of master mayer &  
 thaldermen xiiij s. iiiij d. 35  
 ...

p 100 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
 Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> weightes for their fee xxvj s. viij d. 40  
 ...

## p 101 (21-7 January) (Payments)

...

Item paid for setting hier the benches in the yelde hall in the prisoners place and <sup>an</sup>the bench before that place, to 3 carpenters a gaynst mr bournes play at the commaundement of master mayer

xij d. 5

...

## p 106 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for ther ffee

xxvj s. viij d. 10

...

## p 107 (15-21 April) (Payments)

...

Item paid the Quenes Berewarde for bayting his beres before master mayer in the marshe

15  
vj s. viij d.

...

## p 112 (24 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee

20  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

## p 117 (23-9 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid to Sir Owen hoptons players at thend of their play by the commaundement of master mayer and thaldremen in the yeld hall

25  
x s.

...

## p 118

...

Item paid the iiij waytes for the rent of their howse

30  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

## p 119 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee

35  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 121 (*Rendered 16 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

... a pagynt with iiij faynes of sylcke wyth the lesse of the halle iij torchys & iij lynckes a pagyn staffe...

5

...

**1571-2****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(9)p 162 (*21-7 October*) (*Payments*)

10

...

Item paid to the Queenes players at thend of their play in the yeld hall by the commaundement of master mayer and the Aldermen

xx s.

...

15

*(28 October-3 November)*

Item paid to my lord of Aburgeynys players at thend of their play in the yeldhall by the commaundement of master mayer and thaldremen

xiiij s. iiij d.

20

...

p 165 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

25

...

p 168 (*24 March*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d.

30

...

p 172 (*15-24 June*) (*Payments*)

...

Item <sup>[paid]</sup> to my Lord Chandois bereward at the commaundment of master mayer

vj s. viij d.

35

...

p 173 (*23 June*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d.

40

...

p 178 (21-9 September) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for the rent of thier house  
this yere

xxvj s. viij d.

...

5

p 181 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d.

...

10

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 224\* (July-July; rendered 11 October) (*Payments*)

Costes one the watsh at midsomer

15

Item paid for lyght the ij nightes

viiij s. vj d.

paid the minstrellz the ij nightes

vj s. viij d.

paid the pagent berer ye ij nightes

xij d.

paid for owr ij brekfastes

v s. viij d.

...

20

1572-3

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(9)

p 227 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

...

25

p 228 (18-24 January) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Worceters players by the commaundement  
of mastet mayer and thaldermen at thend of their play in thilde halle

x s.

...

30

p 232 (24 March) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij wayttes for their ffee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

35

p 233 (5-11 April) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to the Earle of Sussex players by the commaundement

40

of *master* mayer and thaldermen at thend of their play in  
thylde hall. amounteth to xiiij s. iiij d.

...

p 237 (31 May-6 June) 5

...

Item paid to the Erle of Essex players by the commaundement  
of *master* mayor and the Aldermen at thend of their play in the  
yeld hall xiiij s. iiij d.

...

10

p 239 (23 June) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

15

p 240 (25 June-4 July) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my lord of Leycestres bereward for bayting his  
beares before *master* mayer and thaldreman in the marshe vj s. viij d. 20

...

p 245 (27-9 September)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for the Rent of their house  
this yere xxvj s. viij d. 25

...

p 247 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

30

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 122 (Rendered 13 October) (*Inventory*) 35

...

...a pagennnt with iiij fannes of sylke with the lese of the halle a naynchet of  
sylvke with a stafe iij torges & iij lynkes a pagent staf...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5029

p 227 (July-July; rendered 15 November) (Payments)

...

paid to prine at the bere baytinge vij d.

...

5

## 1573-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(9)

p 290\* (Receipts)

Receiptes of suche moneys collectyd for the  
Quenes Maiesties enteirteignement

10

104. 7  
173. 10  
91. 4. 6  
71. 2. 4  
24. 17. 8  
535. 1. 6

In primis received of Trinitie warde the sume of j C iiij li. vij s.

Item received of Alhalon warde the sume of j C lxxij li. x s. 15

Item received of St mary porte warde the sume of XCj li. iiij s. vij d.

Item received of Redclyf warde the sume of Lxxj li. ij s. iiij d.

Item received of St Ewens warde the sume XCiiij li. xvij s. viij d.

Item received of mr pary of the colledge towards the 20

raling and sanding of the way at St Austens Back and

ownyng the ground the sume of v li.

Item sold the canvas that was left which coveryd the high

crosse when it was in gilting and payntyng wherof half was

rotton &amp; part of it stollon for the sume xxiiij s. iiij d. 25

Item received for the canvas that was left, which coveryd

the ij ffortes vizt. 159 els j li. xix s. ix d.

Item received of Thomas Symons for bordes &amp; the rest of

william Salterns accompt ij li. iiij s. vj d.

30

Moneys borrowed of Sir Thomas Whites accompt  
for the vse abovesaid to be repayed to the said accompt

In primis borrowed owt of Sir Thomas Whites accompt the 35

sume of 200 li. which was appoynted for corne as appeared

by his accompt of ij last yeres past which money is to <sup>1</sup>be<sup>1</sup>

repayed to the same accompt as spedelie as convenyentlie

may be amounteth ij C li.

Item received owt of Barstaples Chest owt of a bag of 250 li.

which money is to purchas land, which also is to be repayed 40

and returned to the said chest the sume of ij C L li.

Sume of this side C M X C vij li. x s. v d.

...

p 297 (25-31 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Leycestres players at thend of their play  
in the yelde hall by the commaundement of master mayer and  
thaldermen

xx s.

Item paid for taking down the table in the mayers courte and  
setting yt vp agayne after the said players werre gonne

xx d. 10

...

(8-14 November)

Item paid to my Lord Comptons players at thend of their play  
in the yeld hall by the commaundement of master mayer

15  
x s.

...

p 299 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

j li. vj s. viij d.

20

...

p 300\* (26 December-2 January) (Payments)

...

Item paid to mr Dunne scholemaster towardes the charges of  
the playes graunted by master mayer and thaldremen ij li.

ij li.

25

...

(10-16 January)

Item paid to my Lord of worcitiers players at thend of their play  
in the yeld hall at the commaundement of master mayer

x s.

30

...

p 301 (7-13 March)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Leycestres bereward by the  
commaundement of master meyer & thaldermen

vj s. viij d.

35

...

40

p 303 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the iiij waytes for their ffee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 308 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their fee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 313\* (14-21 August)

The Charges of the Queenes Maiesties enterteignement  
to the cite of Bristoll. as ffolowith

In primis paid for charges of gilting &amp; paynting the highe

Crosse and making new benchys as by thacompt Lxvj li. xiiij s. vij d.

Item paid for rowghcasting & playstring of lafores gate on  
bothe sides, Newgate and bothe the frowme gates on bothe  
sides and for setting vp of scaffoldes & taking down the same  
as by thacompt

ix li. vj s. j d.

Item paid for paynting and gildyng the said gates paid to  
Iohn phypps and Iohn kirry paynters

xxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item paid for pitching the stretes as appereth by  
thacompt

iiij li. xviiij s. x d.

Item paid for setting vp the Quenes Armes & the towns  
Armes in frestone in the yeld hall wall

x li. xiiij s. j d.

Item paid for setting vp a Scaffold at the highe crosse for  
the Oracion

(blank) li. viij s. iiij d.

Item paid for rowghe casting the walls of the [s] yeld hall  
withowt and washing within the hall

v li. viij s. xj d.

Item paid for riding to the Court to wyndsor & sending  
for captaigne Shute

iiij li. xv s.

Item paid for the purse of gold, sylver and silk wherin the  
200 angelettes was presented

j li. xiiij s.

Item paid for sandyng the marshe, reryng of the growndes  
and levelyng the way

viiij li. xv s. ij d.

Item paid for setting vp of postes and rales & sanding the  
way at St Austens Back

vij li. j s. vij d.

Item paid for setting vp a gallery in the marsh for the  
Quenes Maiestie to se the tryvmphes

xix li. iiij s. iiij d.



Item paid to the lighter men that brought 53 lighters of sand for the stretes	vj li. xix s. x d.	
Item to the fillers of the fates with sand	xv s. iij d.	
Item paid for mending the way in magdalen lane where the [el] Erle of Lyncoln lay	(blank) li. vj s. viij d.	5
Item paid for charges vpon Arcabouzes & drumes & for an Enseigne with a white crosse	v li. vij s. vj d.	
Item paid for charges of pitching & repaying of <sup>1</sup> the wayes at Lafores gate	iiij li. xij s. viij d.	
Item paid for ffees and charges to the Quenes clerk of the market & to the yoman of ye bottells	v li.	10
Item paid for making the quenes way thrughe Temple mede at her goyng away	(blank) li. xiiij s. iij d.	
Item paid for newe making and dressing the Scabbard with pearles	iiij li. ix s. x d.	15
Item paid to mr Dowting mastet Swordberer and to Edward chester for charges riding to ye court at Gloucester	ij li. j s. v d.	
Item paid for 26 small batrills for 26 C of corne & serpentyne powder	(blank) li. xix s. vj d.	
Item paid for the nete charges of casting of 7 morters of Brasse & making of pestells	iiij li. iij s. iij d.	20
Item paid to Edmond Robertes. Iohn hopkyns and to Iohn Sachfield Captaignes as by their accompt	j C Lxxiiij li. x s. xj d.	
Item paid to Thomas Symons for furnyshing the galleys, Barges & other charges	x C j li. v s. ij d.	25
Item paid to mighell pepwell for corne powdre for calyvers flasks & towchis as by his accompt	xvij li. j s. iiij d.	
Item paid to mr Iohn Brown for charges of drume players and for capps for souldiors as by his accompt	xxv li. j s.	
Item paid to henry Robertes for capps vitayles & drynck for Souldiors	vj li. [(. .)] s. viij d.	30
Item paid to Robert Robynson for xxvj C 36 lb of corne & serpentyne powder at 13 d. per lb	j C xLij li. xv s. viij d.	
Item paid to mr domynyck Chester for charges of the ij fortes with other busynes as by his accompt	Lxxxj li. viij s. iiij d.	35
Item paid to Iohn ffield for his payns in dressing the marsh	j li.	
Item paid to mr Richard Cole for bockeram and canvas 230 yardes & 138 ells for souldiors dublettes	xiiij li. viij s. vj d.	
Item paid to mr william Gittons for a piece of brasse, for drumes & planckes as by his accompt	iiij li. x s.	40
Item paid to mr Thomas kelke for 200 Angelettes that he presented to the Quenes maiestie	j C li.	

Item paid to mr kelke for certeign ffees that he paid to the queenes officers as by his accompt	xxxij li.	
Item paid to william Newton grocer for certeign corne powder deyuered to Iohn Sachefield	j li. x d.	
Item paid to mr phillip Langley for vytlyng of vj gonners and losse of armour as by his bills	xiiij li. iij s. viij d.	5
Item paid to william Byny for vitlyng of souldiors goyng and retorneyng from the Camp as by his bill	j li.	
Item paid to Captaigne Shute for his travaile who was generall of all the armye	xvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.	10
Item paid to mr Churchyard for his travayle bothe in the ffortes and concernyng oracions	vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.	
Item paid to William Saltern & Thomas deconson for charges of the grete ordynance as by their accompt	ix li. xv s. vj d.	
Item paid to harry Robertes and Iohn Saunders for Souldiors Capps as by thaccompt	iiij li. xix s.	15
Item paid to lxxxv pyoners who wrought at the ffortes	iiij li. v s.	
Item paid to mr dunne Scholemaster of the Barthilmews toward his charges of his stage at the schole dore	j li. viij s. vj d.	
Item paid to Iohn Amorgan for vj barrills of bere and vj dosen of ale to vityale souldiors	j li. x s.	20
Item paid to dyuerse Grocers for vij C [xxxij lbs] <sup>^</sup> Lij lbs <sup>1</sup> 1/2 of cornepowder as by their bill amounteth 752 lbs 1/2	x Lix li. ix s. x d.	
Item paid for ballesting the ffoxe and for clensing of harnesse	(blank) li. xij s. iiij d.	25
Item paid to mastet mayer Sergeantes toward their paynes	j li. vj s. viij d.	
Item paid to mr Randall hassall, to Thomas pyttes & Iohn hort for red cloth for the pike mens Gasskyns	xxvij li. xvj s. vj d.	
Item paid to mr Aldworth for losse vpon light Angelettes who was the generall Receyvor	(blank) li. xj s.	30
Item paid to mr Snygge for losse of planckes and for occupieng of his grete ordnaunce & reparacion therof	ij li. x s.	
Item paid to the lighter men for lighterage of 53 lighters at half lighterage which amounteth to 15 li. 6 s.	vij li. xvj s. xj d.	
Item paid to the hallyers for halyng all the said 53 lighters of sand vizt. 960 fates at j d per fate	iiij li. (blank) v d.	35
Item paid to the Rakar for haling 35 dd fates of sand [(.)] owt of the stretes after her maiestie was gonne	iiij li. x s.	
Item paid to mr stone for losse of angelet iij s. for a bartill of bere <sup>^</sup> [iiij s.] [vij s.]	(blank) li. vij s.	40

Item paid to Edward Chester for a bill of parcells silkes  
& ffrenge for the <sup>1</sup>men of<sup>1</sup> warre at master Recorders  
apoyntment iiiij li. j s. viij d.

Item paid to harry Robertes for the rest of Accompt of  
charges that he layed owt as by mr kelkes accompt vj li. j s. viij d. 5

Summa totalis of all charges }  
of the Quenes Maiesties enterteignement } M L iij li. xiiij s. xi d.

p 312 (26-9 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the .4. waytes for the rent of their howse  
this yere xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 315 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij waytes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

*Ordinances of the Common Council* BRO: 04272

ff 33v-4\* (12 January)

...

It ys ordayned and agreed by the worshipfull Mr Thomas Kelk Maior of the  
cite of Bristowe the Aldermen shiriffes and residue of the common counsell  
of this cite that from hensfourth the shiriffes of this cite for the tyme being  
shall geve such lyveryes to the officers of this cite which shalbe for the worship  
of the same cytie (that is to saie such of them which have vsed to haue the  
gentemens lyverye every of them fower yardes of l brode cloth worth tenne  
shillinges the yarde and to master Mayors and Master shiriffes seriantes and  
to the Towneclarkes and Stewardes clarkes and to others that haue vsed to haue  
the like lyveries vij s. vj d. the yarde and to the residue to the officers as (.) the  
porters Master shiriffes yomen the wayters and others that have vsed to haue  
the courser lyverye worth six shillinges the yarde and that master shiriffes for  
the tyme being after there clothes serving for the lyverye be redie wrowgthe  
and Dressed shall present the same before Master Mayor and the Aldermen  
for the tyme being for them to iudge whether the same clothes be of the value  
aforesaid or noo. And that all ordynaunces heretofore made concernyng the  
officers lyveries shalbe voided and repealed.

for lyverys for  
the Shryves  
sergantes &  
other

to contynew

27-8/ (that ... lyverye: closing parenthesis omitted in MS

30/ Towneclarkes: l written over k

Voyd

And also yt is agreed and concluded by the said *Master Mayor* and counsell that the cloth that was showed in the counsell howse was not a mete liverye to be worne by *Master Mayores seriantes* to wayte vppon *Master Mayor*

...

*Great White Book* BRO: 04721  
f 58v (12 January)

...

An ordynnce made the daie and yere  
aboue said by the common counsell of  
the cite of Bristowe concernyng liveryes  
to be gevin yerelie by the Shriffes of  
Bristowe to all manner of officers at  
christmas as hereafter folowith

...

Item to the fower waytes every of them iiij<sup>OR</sup> brode yardes every  
yarde price

...

vj s.

*Ricart's Calendar* BRO: 04720(1)a  
ff 166v-7\* (14-21 August)

...

queene  
Elizabeth.

This yere on Saterdag beinge the xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of Awgust the Queene came  
to this cite And *master Maior* & the common counsell ridinge with foote  
clothes receaved her highnes within Laffardes gate, And there *master Maior*  
delyvered the gilt Mace vnto her Maiestie, & she then presentelie delyvered  
it to him againe And so *master Maior* knelinge (whiles mr Iohn Popham  
esquier Recorder of this cite made an Oracion, did after it was ended stand  
vp, and delyvered a faire purse wrought with silke and golde havinge an  
hundred poundes in gold in it, vnto her highnes/ And therevpon *master Maior*  
& his bretheren toke their horses, And *master Maior* rode nigh before the  
Queene betweene too Sergeantes at armes, And the residewe of the common  
counsell rode next afore the Nobilitie and Trumpeters, And so passed throughe  
the towne vnto mr Iohn Yonges howse, where she lay vntill Saterdag then  
next followinge, on which day a litle before her maiesties departure hence she  
made five knightes (that is) the said *Sir Iohn yonge*, *Sir Richard Barkeley* of  
Stoke, mr *Tracie*, *Sir Thomas Porter*, and *Sir William Morgan* of Penyoicote.  
And duringe her abode here (amonge other thinges devised for plesure)

9/ ordynnce: for ordynance

27-8/ (whiles ... Oracion; comma used as closing parenthesis

37/ Stoke: Stoke Gifford, Gloucestershire

37/ Penyoicote: Pencoed, Llanmartin, Monmouthshire

there weare iij C. soldiers in one sute of Apparell, where of iij C. weare harquebussiers, & j C. pikemen in Corselettes/. Also there was made a greate large forte standinge in trenemill meade over againste Gibtaylor, which was assaulted by land and water iij daies, And there was also an other litle forte called the base fort, standinge vpon the hill beyond which was wonne the first night that the Assault was given, And the Queene was there at euerie Assault duringe the saide iij daies, ffor whose standinge there was builded a large scaffolde of tymber in the Marshe. Whiche martiall experiment beinge verie costlie and chargeable (especially in gonnepowder, the Queene and Nobilitie liked verie well of, And gave *master Maior* and his brethren greate thanks for theire doinges /.. /

...

*Adams' Chronicle of Bristol* BRO: 13748(4)  
nf\* (14-21 August)

...

\* At newgat she was receiued with a speach by a boy, bearing the person of Gratulation. And at the high cros a third speach was pronounced by Fame.

At St Johns gate a fowrth oration by Salutation. And at the free schoole of St Bartholomeus was 3 speches, with a solemn song by Orphans.

when she was lodged 300 small shot was discharged on the key, & 100 peces of ordinance, & then 2 volleys more of small shot.†

The high crosse was new painted and gilded, and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1574, our gracious *Queen Elizabeth* came to this Cittie. The Maior and all the Councill well mownted, with footcloth and pages by theire sides, rode & receaued her grace within Laffords gate, where the Maior deliuered the guilt mace vnto her maiestie, and shee deliuered it vnto him againe, And so the Maior rested kneeling before her grace while mr John Popham esquire, & recorder of this Cittie, made an oration vnto the Queene, which being ended he stood vp, and deliuered a faire needleworke purse wrought with silke and gowld vnto her grace with 100 li. of gowld therein\*. Then the maior & his brethren tooke theire horses, the maior himselfe rode neere before the Queene, betweene two sarieuntes at armes, and the rest of the Councill rode next before the nobillitie and trumpeters, and so passed through the Cittie, vnto mr John young his howse on St Augustine backe, where shee lay vntill Saterdag then next following, on which day a littell before her departure shee made 5 knightes. *Sir John young, Sir Richard Barkley of Stoke, Sir (blank) Tracy, Sir Thomas Porter, and Sir William Morgan of Penyquoite.* During her abode here (among other thinges deuised for pleasure) there was 400 souldiers mustred and suted alike, whereof 300 were\* Harquebusiers and 100

Queene  
Elizabeth came  
to Bristoll.

\*  
Calliuers.

pikemen in white armour. There was made a great long fort, in trenemill meades, ouer against Gibtailer, *which* was assaulted by land & water 3 daies And also another lesser fort, called the base fort, standing vppon the hill behinde it, *which* was wonne | the first night that the assault was giuen. The Queene was present at euery assault, during the said 3 daies for whose standing there was built a large scaffold of timber in the marsh, where shee had the full sight of euery action, *which* was performed by the best experienced men in martiall practice about this Cittie, with great charges, especially of gunpowder, whereof was no spare made to giue content, *which* shewes delighted & pleased our queene and nobillitie very well, commending it, & gaue the maior & counsell great thanks for such entertainment.

...

**Christ Church Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a  
f 207v\* (26 March 1574-25 March 1575; rendered 26 May) (Payments) 15

...

more ij li. ij s. vj d. paid the clarke for Ringing and dressing of the Rolodg agaynst the Quens *maiesties* comyng as by his acompt apearith ij li. ij s. vj d.

...

f 208

...

The x<sup>th</sup> septembar xx s. paid the clarke for his payns for dressing the Rolodg and other things *which* the parishe alowid him j li. -s. -

...

**St James Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJ/ChW/1(a)  
f 40\* (8 December-6 December) (Receipts)

...

Rentes dew to the Churche in//  
The old market place 30

...

William [broke] Brewer mucicion a tenement and garden yerely 0 0 viij s.

...

f 43v

...

Item payde to [xj] nyne Ringers for Ringinge when the *Queens maiestie* Came in *which* was the xiiij day of Awgust And all the while she was here till her departing *which* was the 21 August xij s. 40

The *Queens maiestie*  
Came hither

Item payde for drinck for them all that tyme ij s. iiij d.

...

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Rent Rolls* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/2(a)  
f 87 (25 December-24 December) (Payments) 5

paimentes

In primis payde for charges vpon the churche, againste the  
queenes maiesties comminge to this cite of bristowe, as by  
a bill of particulars, shewed & allowed at this Accompte.  
by the Parishnors Amounte to ix li. xvj s. ij d. 10

...

AC *St Mary le Port Churchwardens' Accounts* GL: Hockaday Abstracts, vol 442  
p 16\* (February/March 1573/4-1 March 1574/5) (Payments)

...

payde because ther was no ryngyng when the quene Rode  
owte of the Cytye in Bathe 5 s. 4 d. 15  
For Ryngyng when the quene came in to this Cytye &  
whyle her grace was in the Cytye 4 s.  
payde for ther vyttalles for ryngyng whyle the quene was here 20  
in cytye 20 d.

*Elizabeth 1's Visit to Bristol* STC: 5232  
ff 100v-10v\*

25

THE VVHOLE OR-  
der howe oure Soueraigne Ladye  
Queene Elizabeth, was receyued into  
the Citie of Bristow, and the speaches spoken  
before her presens, at her entry, with the residue of  
versis and matter that might not be spoken (for  
distance of the place) but sent in a boek  
ouer the Waetter. 30

At the hie Crosse in a disgyed manner stoed  
Faem, very orderly set forth, and spoke as fol-  
loweth, by an excelent boy. 35

Ne fleet of foet, nor swift of wyng,  
nor skarce the thought in brest: 40

Nor yet the Arrowe out of Boe,  
     nor Wynde that seld doth rest.  
 Compaers with me quickworlds report,  
     that som calls Flying Faem: 5  
 A bruet of prayes, a blast of pomp,  
     a blazer of good naem.  
 The only lawd that Kyngs do seek,  
     a loy to eatch estact:  
 A welcom freend that all men loues,  
     and noen a liue doth haet. 10  
 Saluets the Queen of raer renowne,  
     whose goodly gifts deuien:  
 Throw Earth and Ayre with glory great,  
     shall passe this tromp of mien.  
 And knowing of thy commyng heer, 15  
     my duetty bad me goe: l  
 Before vnto this present place,  
     the nues therof to shoe.  
 No soenner was pronownst the name,  
     but Baebis in street gan leap: 20  
 The youth, the age, the ritch, the poer,  
     cam runnyng all on heap.  
 And clappyng hands, cried maynly out,  
     O blessed be the owre:  
 Our queen is comming to the town, 25  
     with princely trayne and powre.  
 Than collors cast they oer the wawls,  
     and dect old howsis gaye:  
 Out flue the bags a bout afayrs  
     that long a hording laye. 30  
 A sid they set thear townishe trashe,  
     and works of gtedy gayen:  
 And tornd thear toils to sports and mirth,  
     and warlike pastimes playn.  
 As shalbe seen to morn in feld, 35  
     if that your highnes pleas:  
 Whear duetie haeth deuiesd by art,  
     a shoe on land and seas  
 To vtter matter yet vnknown,  
     that shall explained be: 40



By sutch dom sights and shoes of war,  
as thear your grace shall se.

Thus subiects means to honor prince,  
whoes sight they haue enjoyd

Moest glad hit is thear hap to haue,  
thear saruice so employd.

5

¶ Than FAEM flang vp a great Garland,  
to the reioysyng of the beholders. |

At the next Gact, and neer her highnes lodgyng stoed. iij. other  
boyes, called Salutacion, Gratulacion, and Obedient goodwil,  
and. ij. of these boyes spake as follows, and all they three drue  
theyr swords whan it was named, the hoel staet is reddie to  
defend (agaynst all dissencions) a pesable Prynce.

10

15

Salutacion the first boy.

All hayll, O plant of grace,  
and speshall sprout of faem:

Most welcom to this Western coest,

O Perll and princely daem.

20

As loe, a custom is,

whear humble subiects dwels:

When Prince aprocheth neer their vew,

for ioy to ryng their bels.

25

So all that beareth lief,

in Bristow now this day:

Salutes the Queen from depth of breast,

with welcom euery way.

And wee poer silly boyes,

that cam from skoell of laet:

30

Reioyce and clap our hands withall,

as members of thy staet.

Our dueties heer to shoe,

and further moer in deed:

35

Thear is a cause whearfore we say,

thy helpyng hand we need,

Heer is, O mightie Queen,

in way of myrth and sport:

A matter moud tween Peace and warre,

and therfore buylt a Fort. |

40

Dissenshon breeds the brawll,

and that is Pomp, and Pried:  
 The Fort on law and order stands,  
 and still in peace would bied.  
 The Warrs is wicked world,  
 as by his fruet is seen: 5  
 The Fortres representith peace,  
 and takes thy part O Queen.  
 It seems the Gods have sent,  
 in this great quarell now:  
 A noble ludge that shall with speed, 10  
 decied the matter throw.

Gratulation the second boy.

Yea suer this is a sien, 15  
 that all the gods aboue:  
 Taks part with vs and freely heer,  
 doth men and childern loue.  
 In sutch a sharp conflyct,  
 to send so suer a staye: 20  
 That shall surseace Bellonas brags,  
 and end our fearfull fray.  
 A sottell Snaek of laet,  
 with sopples sugred words  
 Haeth sleely crept in brestes of men, 25  
 and drawn out naked swords  
 And with his wrangling taells,  
 haeth stoerd vp strife ynoughe:  
 And drawn the marchant from his traed,  
 and plowman from the ploughe 30  
 Disenshon is his naem,  
 that all this mischeef breeds l  
 Who still with drosse and roemish dregs,  
 blinde peoples humour feeds:  
 And maks them mortall sick, 35  
 and sway somtims a sied:  
 With wicked warrs, and wilfull brawls,  
 that should with peace abied.  
 Bur yet O peerles Prince,  
 a true and loyall flock: 40  
 Agaynst the proud presomtuous minds,  
 are bent to stand the shock.

And swears by sacred Gods,  
     not oen within this soyll:  
 But reddy aer with loss of lief,  
     to giue thy foes a foyll.  
 For proof the feble youth, 5  
     and baeb's of tender aeg:  
 Daer draw their swords, in this attempt,  
     to corb disorders raeg.  
 Sens Englands hoep is com,  
     to payse these things in brest: 10  
 We daer not stay her longer heer,  
     Whose trauell craueth rest.

¶ Obedient good will, the thyrd boy, who could  
     not speak time was so far spent. 15

YEt if the Prince wold stay, or if men might make choice  
 Of oen no bigger than my self, to speak in Citties voice  
 I would declaer in deed, what deep desier they haue,  
 To spend their goods, their lands, & lius, her staet in peace to saue 20  
 But sens the time is short, & Prince to lodging goes  
 I say god bles our Queen *yat* gius, the whit & fayr red Roes. I

¶ After these speches wear ended. iij. hondreth Soldiours well  
     appoynted, wayted on her highnes to her lodgyng, and 25  
     theare she beyng settled, they shot of theare peeces in passyng  
     good order, at which warnyng the great Artillery went of, a  
     hundred and .xxx. cast peecis, and so the watche charged,  
     and a hundreth shot apoynted for her Gard, her highnes  
     rested that night, wheare she lay all the season in Sir Iohn 30  
     Yongs house.

¶ A Fort was made beyond the water in a ground fit for that  
     purpose, and to the saem as a frind (called Feble Pollecie) 35  
     ioyned a littell Bastillion, builded on a hil, which was not  
     strong by reason of the weak mayntenance belonging ther  
     vnto, to the which piel the Soldiours of the main fort did  
     repayre, now must be understoed that dissension passyng  
     between wars and peace (warrs beyng placed in sight) had  
     sertayn speches as follows, which speches could not be sayd 40  
     in the heeryng of the prince, wherfore they wear put into a  
     boek, and presented as heer after you shall kno.

Dissencion to the Citie to moue them to arms,  
hath his speeches as these things wear don in action.

The Sunday next the Queen went to the Colledge, to heer a Sarmond,  
whear thear was a speetch to be sayd and an Imme to be songe, the speeche  
was left out by an occasion vnlooked for, but the Imme was songe by a very  
fien boye.

¶ The Speech at the Colledge. I

YOU subiects that desierd to se,  
this gladsom preshos Ieam:  
Behold lo heer the only Ioye,  
and iuwell of the Ream.  
A Prince in deed of princely minde,  
that Princis loues and fears:  
Whose passyng hed, yea all the staets,  
of christen princis bears.  
And throughly sees and loeks into,  
as though a man might say:  
Heer is the touchstoen for the Gold,  
the Piller, Prop, and stay.  
Of eury region far or neer,  
that to vs neyghbors aer:  
How much is this poer Colledg bound,  
in naked buildyngs baer.  
For to receyue so bright a Star,  
as clouds can skarce contayn:  
Who for to se so small a Sell,  
hath taken so great payn.  
The Pieps and Organs of our harts,  
shall yeld thee thank therfore:  
By sound of Psalm, and sollemp Immes,  
yea could poer Preests do moer.  
The Musicke that thy Chapel maks,  
should be so sweet and shrill.  
Might lull a sleep the Musis all,  
and shaek Pernasoes hill.

The Songe.

O Happy ower of blis,

O Colledg thou dost se:  
 The shado gon, the substance com,  
 nay Sun doth shien on thee. |  
 Away you bosum Snaeks,  
 that sowes dissenshon heer: 5  
 Go make you neasts, whear Serpents breed,  
 this soyll and coest is clear.  
 Enchant no man with charms,  
 ye shall receyue check mact:  
 If that you play with paltring pawns, 10  
 before so great a staet.  
 She hateth Hydras heds,  
 and lous the harmles mind  
 A foe to vice, a frend to grace,  
 and bent therto by kind 15  
 Which grace and grashos god,  
 now gied her whear she goes:  
 With treble grace throw troblous time,  
 to tread on all her foes. 20

¶ A skafold the next day was set vp ful ouer agaynst the Fort,  
 and the Prince beyng placed, the speeches shold haue bin  
 spoken for the better vnderstanding of the deuised triumphe,  
 so you must heer the speeches or els shal you be ingnorant of  
 the hoel matter. 25

Dissension to peace (which was the mayn Fort)  
 speaketh in a furie these words that follow.

O People vayn, that spends in peace your dayes 30  
 To prowle about, for pens and piuish pealf  
 And maks no count, of Faem and poblik prayes  
 So eatch man liues, like Prince within him self. |  
 And so posses, the pleasuers on this mold,  
 The Iuwels braue, the gay and glitteryng gold, 35  
 You caer not what, great glory elders won  
 Nor who at first, the worthy warres begon.

You sleep and snort, in sweet perfumed sheets,  
 And hug your heds, in harber warm and gay, 40  
 Whearby in deed, ye haue sutch heauy sprees,  
 You can not se, the goodly sunny day,

No though the clouds, the Son, the Moen and al  
 Wear reddy now, apon your heds to fall,  
 You wold not, moue, nor seek your selus to saue  
 On drosse and dong, sutch deep desiers you haue.

You heer not how, the enmies at your noes,  
 Aer vp in aerms, and cawls your cowards still  
 You caer not mutch, abroed how matters goes  
 Whan that at hoem, ye want no wealth nor will  
 Clap corrage on, and cast long gowns asied  
 Pluk vp your harts, and fling down pomp and pried  
 Make Idell hands, and heds in hoels that lurk  
 For worthy lawd, com forth and learn to work.

A corslet fien, is worth ten skarlet goowns  
 A blast of faem, sormounts all things you wear  
 Call lusty ladds, to spend your spared crowns  
 The warrs aproetch, tis time the boyes wear thear  
 If you a bied, at hoem till Cannons roer  
 The plaester coms, to laet to salue the soer  
 Break downe the banks, that holds the water in  
 First strik thy foe, and so the brawll begin |

Put fyer to strawe, and make the fornayes hot:  
 And bid them crie, that borns thear fingers first  
 Yea cast on wod, to boyll the browes pot  
 And let them starue, that wants to coell thear thirst:  
 When world is wield, and all is set a gog  
 A mans a man, and than a doggs a dogg:  
 Advise you now, my dwelling is not heer  
 I must pack hens, another stern to steer.

¶ Now dissension went to the warrs which was set out in  
 open view (with all orders of marshall manner) and spake  
 as follows.

GIue ear good maets, and mark full well,  
 the tidings that I bring:  
 For I wilbe a larum bell,  
 that in your earres shall ring.

A pestlens peall of rumor strang,  
     that flies throw many a land:  
 The plain report whearof remains  
     in me dissenshons hand  
 If I keep cloes that I do knoe, 5  
     and stoer no clapper now  
 The hargaboz, the bill and boe,  
     will search your corraeg throw  
 Trust this for troeth that peace is bent,  
     to trus vp soldiors all: 10  
 Wealth wil no warrs, peace is so prowde,  
     the people fears no fall.  
 They bragg and boest thear treasuer can,  
     torn each thing how they list:  
 For eury staet is wone with wealth, 15  
     as hawk stowps don to fist. |  
 A mas of gold will porchace peace,  
     and mak wield wantons taem:  
 If warrs wear wod and waxed mad,  
     and hor as fiery flam: 20  
 Peace ruells the earth, and wrings thear thombs  
     that raging reuell maks:  
 Yea play what gaem ye list they saye,  
     that peace doth swep the stacks:  
 Peace is the prince that gouerns all, 25  
     and saith a fig for war:  
 Yea peace will put you all in pownd,  
     and mak you stand at bar.  
 Peace calls you roges, and swashing dicks,  
     that stand apon you braues: 30  
 A swarm of wasps, a flok of wolus,  
     a neast of theus and knaues  
 That lius by spoyll and morthers viell,  
     and triumphs still in bloed.  
 And haue sutch hot and greedy minds, 35  
     you thirst for neibors goed.  
 The Trompets lowd that slaughter sownds,  
     and drums with rombling noyes:  
 Was neuer maed for men of peace,  
     but rather fit for boyes. 40

They saye whoes childhoed likes fond bruets,  
and lous sutch trifling toyes:

Will you that kingdoms conquerd haue,  
be now subdued by peace

Shall seuell swains to loethsom gaiell,  
lead men lik doggs in leace. 5

Shall piuysh peace and peple weak,  
oer com the soldiour stout:

Shall loytrarrs lewd lik rebells rail,  
and manhoed wax a lowt | 10

Ah fie for shame set hand on sword,  
in your behalf I bloeshe.

Bid trompet sownd aduance the piek,  
and giue prowde peace a poesh. 15

¶ On thoes Words was warres in sutch a stoer that you might se the feeld all ouer spred with soldiours, and so they marchted down a hill and maed a goodly shoe full against the littell fort (cald Feble pollecie) and repolsing in al the Soldiours of the same, wan it with great fury, and so rased it and ouerthru hit down to the earth. 20

¶ The mayn Fort in the meean whiel did send sutch suckor as they might, but preuaylyug not, they wear in like sort driuen back, and their Fort besegeed, and mutch adoe about the saem, which droue out that day, and than by Tortchlight the Prince from her Skaffold, went to her lodgyng, and in the mean season som fier works wear seen, and so the watch was charged. 25

¶ The second day was thear maed a nue aproetch to the mayn Fort, for a better order of Warre & to the ayde of the Fort, cam diuers gentilmen of good callynge from the Court, which maed the shoe very gallant, and set out the matter mutch. 30

¶ Now sarued the tied and vp the water from Kyngroed cam three braue Galleys, chasing a Ship that cam with Vittayls to the Fort, the Fort seyng that their exstremitie within was great, sent a Gentil- l man to the Prince for aid, who brought her a boek couerd with green Veluet, which vtred the hoell substance of this deuice, the gentilmaz had a spech of his own makyng, as follows, after he had swam ouer the water in som danger Cloes and all, he spaek his part to the Prince. 35 40



## M. Iohn Robarts of the Temple.

ESkaept from waltryng waues,  
 from sword and fier, and enmies sleight:  
 From storms and sturdy flaws, 5  
 from roeryng shot and fearfull fight.  
 I com to quiet land,  
 whear noble Prince doth pastims vew:  
 And bryng a boek in hand,  
 Of all the shoes, and matter trew. 10  
 That must by practies pas,  
 before your highnes as it fauls:  
 And suerly sent I was,  
 by those that keeps your warlike wauls.  
 To craue your curteys ayd, 15  
 in their defence that peace desiers:  
 Whoes staet is maed afrayd,  
 by fals dissenshons kindled fier.  
 As your poer people haue,  
 throw peace possest great gayn and good: 20  
 So still sutch peace they craue.  
 as may avoyd the losse of blood.  
 As heer I cam a mayn,  
 so haue I promesd if I may:  
 For to retorn agayn, 25  
 throw salt sea foem the same self way. |

¶ So he departed, and all this while the businesse was greate aboute the fort, (whiche hazarded the gentilmans lief) and in a wonders braucery the hroyll continued, with a shoe of fight on Land and Sea, till the very night approtched, 30 at which time the Prince partted and stoed maruelously well contented with that she had seen.

¶ Now must you conceyue that Warres (with blodsheds, mizeries, and other horly borlees) waxt a weery & that neither the Fort, nor the wickednes of the world (which Warres represented) was desirous of further trobuls, but rather glad to haue the matter taken vp in any resonable condicions, for the which purpose was deuised that Perswasion should go and tell his taell, and vnfold what follies and conflicts rises on Ciuill broyls, and what quietnesse coms by a mutual loue and agrement. This perswasion had a speech, as hereafter follows. 40

Perswasion to the Citie,  
called the Main fort.

NO greef so great, nor soer so mutch,  
     but finds at length som rest: 5  
 As Warrs begins by wrath of God,  
     so Peace is counted blest.  
 Yet Warres is suer, a needfull thying,  
     for mans offence, A scorge:  
 A Salue to heale the sinfull soule, 10  
     and for the staet A porge.  
 That skowrs the body of the Realm,  
     and kyngdoms all throw out:  
 And leaues vnseartcht no member suer,  
     that walks this world about. 15  
 Wear not the woe that wars doth bring,  
     sweet peace should seem ful sower  
 The netels sharp and wiked weeds,  
     sets forthe a pleasant flower.  
 By siknes pangs we iudg what health, 20  
     and quiet rest is worth  
 And out of payn is pleasuer found,  
     as Gold from dros coms forth.  
 The harms, the haps, and cruell claps,  
     that warrs and Cannon bryngs: 25  
 Maks Princis seek the fear of god,  
     and subiects kno thear kings  
 Thogh peace in deed dispiseth warrs,  
     as plainnesse falshed haets:  
 Yet warlik people aer enbraest, 30  
     and liekt of all estaets.  
 The knief that cuts the finger soer,  
     in sheath about is born:  
 The sword that takes away the life,  
     makes peace whear it is worn. 35  
 The axe that heaweth down the tree,  
     is needfull for mans lief:  
 Thus proue I as mans help or harms,  
     remains in sword and knif?  
 So warrs whear they aer vsed well, 40  
     keeps world in fear and awe:  
 And shoes moer terror by his raeg,

Note

than al your ruells of lawe.  
 Sens Cayn slue abell warrs haeth bin,  
 twen bretheren as we reed  
 And soldiors hath bin wagid well,  
 as world of warrs stoed need: 5  
 Than snarr not for the faem they snatch,  
 nor brall to her thear bruet. |  
 When broyls haue sowne ill seedes of caer,  
 peace reapes from warres good fruet.  
 And learns a lesson worthy gold, 10  
 which Peace holds deer of price:  
 And maks therof a mirrouer bright,  
 to vew and sift out vice.  
 The Battayll ends whear conquest coms,  
 and when great charge is spent: 15  
 For peace the post with Pakket goes,  
 Embastars els aer sent'  
 To knit the knot and make a Leag,  
 thus all the brawls that bee:  
 Do bend to peace, and Wisdoms boe, 20  
 how ear foels bolts do flee.  
 Whearfore agree with Warres in haest,  
 you se what quarels aer:  
 And how that Warres bryngs wo and waest,  
 and leaues a kyngdom baer. 25  
 The people spoyld, the howsis bornt,  
 the freends and neighbour slayn:  
 The gildes plaegd and eatch man wrongd,  
 whear rage and war doth rayn. 30

## The Cities answer to Perswasion.

DIssention first that cald to mind,  
 our old foerfathers faem:  
 (And ript out seams of patched prayes,  
 skarce worth the noet or naem.) 35  
 Brought Peace and War in this vproer,  
 our ruells sutch brawls denies:  
 Our traed doth stand on Siuill lief,  
 and thear our glory lies. | 40  
 And not on strief the ruen of staets,  
 a storm that all destroys

A heavy bondage to eatch hart,  
 that fredoms fruet enioyes.  
 Our orders maks the roister meek,  
 and plucks the prowde on knees  
 The stif and stobborne kno the yock,  
 and roets vp rotten trees. 5  
 That may infect a fruetfull feeld,  
 what can be sweet or sownd:  
 But in that soyl whear for offence,  
 is due correction fownd. 10  
 Wee make the siuill lawes to shien,  
 and by example mield.  
 Reform the rued, rebuek the bold,  
 and tame the contrey wyeld  
 We venter goods and lius ye knoe,  
 and traueill seas and land. 15  
 To bring by trafick heaps of wealth,  
 and treasuer to your hand  
 We aer astay and stoer howse boeth,  
 to kingdoms farr and near. 20  
 A cawse of plentie throw foersyght,  
 whan things war scarce and deer:  
 And thoghe our ioy, be moest in peace,  
 and peace we do maintain.  
 Whear on to prince and realm throw out,  
 doth ries great welth and gain. 25  
 Yet haue we soldyars as you see,  
 that stoers but whan we pleas  
 And sarus our torns in howshold things,  
 and sits in shop at eas. 30  
 And yet daer blaed hit with the best,  
 when cawse of contrey coms l  
 And cals out courage to the fight,  
 by sound of warlike Droms. 35  
 We Marchants keep a mean vnmixt,  
 with any iarryng part:  
 And bryng boeth Treble and the Baess,  
 in order still by art.  
 A Souldiour shalbe liked well,  
 if his dezarts be sutch. 40  
 A noble mind for noble acts,  
 shall suer be honord mutch.

But if men glory all in warres,  
 and peace disdayns in deed:  
 We skorn with any Siroep sweet,  
 their humour sowre to feed:  
 And blest be God we haue a Prince, 5  
 by whom our peace is kept:  
 And vnder whom this Citie long,  
 and land hath safly slept.  
 From whom liekwyes a thousand gifts,  
 of grace enioy we do: 10  
 And feell from God in this her raygne,  
 ten thousand blessyngs to.  
 Behold but how all secrets fien,  
 of falshed coms to light:  
 In these her dayes, and God taks part, 15  
 with her in troeth and right.  
 And mark how mad Dissenshon thriues,  
 that would set warres abroetch:  
 Who sets to saell poer peoples liues,  
 and gets but viell reproetch. 20  
 And endles shaem for all their sleights:  
 O England ioy with vs:  
 And kis the steps whear she doth tread,  
 that keeps her country thus. |  
 In peace and rest, and perfait stay, 25  
 whearfore the god of peace:  
 In peace by peace our peace presatue,  
 and her long lief encrease.

¶ This was to be don and put in exersies befoer the Queen 30  
 cam to the knittyng vp of the matter but perswasion beyng  
 dismiss, the battry was planted befoer the FORT, and they  
 within so straitly enclosed, that they must needs abided the  
 mercy of the Sword and Cannon.

¶ At which instant, in the after noen that present day the Prince was in her 35  
 Skaffold to beholde the sucksesse of these offers of warre, and so went the  
 Battry of and the assaut was geuen in as much order as might be, the enemye  
 was three times repolsed, and beholdyng nue suckors commyng from the  
 Courte to the Forts great comfort, the enemye agred on a parley whearin was 40  
 re hersyd that the cortain was beaten down, and the fort maed sawtable, and  
 yet the enemye to saue the liues of good Citizens and Soldiors thearof, would

giue them leaue to depart with bag and багаег, as order of wars required. To the which the Fort maed answer, that the Corttayns nor Bulwarks was not their defence, but the corrage of good peple, & the force of a mighty prince (who saet and beheld all these doyngs) was the thyng they trusted to, on which answer the enemie retired, and so condicions of peace wear drawn and agreed of, at which peace boeth the sides shot of their Artillery, in sien of a triumphe, and so cryinge God saue the Queen, these triumphes and warlik pastimes finished, the Prince likyng the handlyng of these causes verie well, sent.ij. hundreth crownes to make the Souldiors l a basket. Now heer is to be considered that the Prince went into the Gallees and so down to Kyngroed, aer these things wear brought to an end.

¶ At her highnes departuer a gentilman in the confiens of the Towns liberties spaek this speech that follows.

The dolfull a Due.

OUR Ioy is ioyned with greuous groens,  
 Our triumphe tornd to tears:  
 The brantch whoes blosoms gladnes brought,  
 a bitter berry bears.  
 In howse and street whear mirth was hard,  
 is moen and moorning noies:  
 The sommer day is dimd with clowds,  
 eclypsed aer our ioyes.  
 The loedstar leaus our wished cowrs,  
 and clims the heauens hie:  
 Our sofrant will no longer lord,  
 in walls of Bristow lye.  
 No maruell sins our barrain soyl,  
 and ground of groes deuyce:  
 Haeth yelded no thing that might pleas,  
 a prince of so great price.  
 Our deuties aer not half discharged,  
 no thoghe we kist the grownd:  
 And prostract fall full flat on face,  
 whear her foet steps aer fownd.  
 The Persians daer not cast vp eies,  
 nor loek apon thear king l  
 Shall Christians then presuem to preace,  
 on sutch a Sacred thyng.  
 And sho no part of duties bownds

O god forbid I say:  
 But that the lords anointed should,  
     be honord eury way.  
 Long loekt this Citie for a prince,  
     long sens and many a yeer: 5  
 A King or Queen beheld this town,  
     short time she taryes heer.  
 Good fortun folow thee O Queen,  
     god gied thy doings all:  
 A world of threfold blessed happ, 10  
     apon thy kingdom fall.  
 As loeth to tack our heauy leau,  
     as leau our lius in deed:  
 A due deer lady of this land,  
     the liuing Lord thee speed. 15

¶ Som of these Speeches could not be spoken by means of  
 a Scholemaister, who enued that any stranger should set  
 forth these shoes.

20

## FINIS.

*Richard Edwards' The Paradyse of daynty deuises* STC: 7516  
 p 23\*

...

25

A woorthy dittie, song before the Queenes  
 Maiestie at Bristowe.

MIstrust not troth, that truely meanes, for euey ielous freke,  
 In steade of wrong, condemne not right, no hidden wrath to wreke: 30  
 Looke on the light of faultlesse life, how bright her vertues shine,  
 And measure out her steppes eche one, by leuel and by line.

Deeme eche desert by vpright gesse, whereby your prayse shal liue,  
 If malice would be match with might, let hate no iudgement geue: 35  
 Enforse no feare with wrestling wittes, in quiet conscience brest,  
 Lend not your eares to busie tongues, which breedeth much unrest.

In doubtfull driftes wade not to farre, it weeries but the mind,  
 Seeke not to search the secret harts, whose thoughtes are hard to find: 40  
 Auoide from you those hatefull heads, that helps to heape mishapp,  
 Be slowe to heare the flatterers voyce, which creepeth in your lapp.

Embrace their loue that wills you good, and sport not at their praise,  
Trust not too much vnto your selfe, for feeble are your staies:  
Howe can your seate be setled fast, or stand on stedfast ground,  
So propped vp with hollowe hartes, whose suertie is vnsound.

Geue faith to those that feare for loue, and not that loue for feare,  
Regard not them that force compels, to please you euery where:  
All this well waide and borne away, shall stablishe long your state,  
Continually with perfect peace, in spite of puffing hate.

Finis. D.S.

1574-5

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(10)

p 20 (30 September-9 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the Quenes Berewarde for bating his Beares  
before *master* mayer in the marshe

vj s. viij d.

...

Item paid to my Lord Comptons players at thend of their  
play before *master* mayer and the Aldremen in the yeld hall  
the sume of

x s.

...

p 21 (17-23 October)

Item paid to *Sir* Richard barkleys players at thend of their playe  
in the yeld hall before *master* mayer and the Aldremen at their  
*commaundment*

vj s. viij d.

...

(31 October-6 November)

Item paid to my Lord Chamberleyns players at thend of their  
playe in theld hall at the *commaundment* of *master* mayer and  
the Aldremen

xx s.

...

p 24 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

Item paid to the *iiij*<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d.

...



## p 25 (26 December-1 January) (Payments)

...

In primis paid to my Lord of worcester players for playeng  
before master mayer and the Aldremen in the yeld hall in  
the Christmas holidayes

x s. 5

...

## p 28 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d. 10

...

## p 31 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d. 15

...

## p 34 (18-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid for the Rent of the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes house for this yere

xxvj s. viij d. 20

...

## p 35 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

xxvj s. viij d. 25

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 123 (Rendered 18 January 1575/6) (Inventory)

...

...a pagaunte with iiij vanes of silke with the Lease of the haule a nanchett of  
silke, with a stafe iiij [torg] torches and a pagant staffe...

30

## 1575-6

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(10)

## p 84 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

35

p 88 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 89\* (1-7 April) (Payments) 5

...

Item paid to the Quenes berewarde for his ffee bayting his  
Beares in the marshe before *master* mayer the Aldremen  
and common counsell the sume of vj s. viij d. 10

...

p 94 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee xxvj s. viij d. 15

...

p 97\* (22-8 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid to one Edmond Iones a Tumbler for shewyng before 20  
*master* Mayer and the Aldermen certaign feates of vawting vpon  
a horse and tumbling agilitie of his bodie vj s. viij d.

(29 July-4 August)

...

Item paid to my Lord Chamberlayns players at thend of their 25  
play called the red Knight before *master* mayer and thaldermen  
in the yeld hall the sume of xx s.

...

p 98 (26 August-1 September) 30

...

Item paid for two rynges of Iren to be set vpon the howckes of  
thonside of the yeldhalldore to rere the dore from the ground  
& for mending the cramp of Iren which shuttyth the barre, 35  
which cramp was stretchid with the presse of people at the play  
of my lord Chamberleyns *Seruauntes* in the yeld hall before  
*master* mayer and thaldermen vj d.

...

p 101 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

5

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p 125 (Rendered 24 October) (Inventory)

...

...a pagent wyth iiij vanes of sylke wyth the lease of the hall and a nanchett of sylke wyth a stafe iiij endes of torches and a pagant stafe...

...

10

1576-7

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(10)

p 144 (7-13 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my lord Comptons players atthend of their playe befor master mayer & thaldremen in the yeld hall xiiij s. iiij d.

Item paid to mr Brown for gunnepowder to shot of the brasse pieces vpon mighlmas day as master mayer and his brethern passed by the Tolsay, and to pay the Trumpeter for the sownding the trumpet then ij s.

...

p 145 (9-15 December)

...

Item paid to mr Dunne Scholemaster of the Barthilmews xl s. which was graunted to hym by master mayer and the Aldermen towards the charges of his playes in the Schole at Christmas next I say paid ij li.

...

25

p 147 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

Item to the 4 waytes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

30

p 149 (10-16 March) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my lord of leycestres Bereward for shewyng pastyme with is Beares before master mayer and the Aldremen in the marshe the sume of

...

x s. 40

## p 151 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for there ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

## p 155 (19-25 May) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid to the Erle of Bathes Players at thend of their play in the  
 yeld hall before master mayer and the Aldermen the sume of xx s.  
 ... 10

## p 159 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ... 15

## p 160 (7-13 July) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid to my Lord Clyntons players at the end of their play  
 before master mayer & his brethern xiiij s. iiij d. 20  
 ...

## p 163 (1-7 September)

...  
 Item paid to the Erle of Essex players at the commaundement 25  
 of master mayor and thaldermen at thend of their Play in the  
 yeld hall-xiiij s. iiij d. paid to the Quenes Bereward for Bating  
 his beares in the marshe-x s. xxiiij s. iiij d.  
 ... 30

## p 167 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ... 35

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## p 127 (Rendered 14 October) (Inventory)

...  
 ...a pagent wythe iiij vanes of sylke wyth a stafe for hym...  
 ... 40

1577-8

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(10)

p 214\* (30 September-12 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to mr Brown for gonnepowlder to shote of the brasse  
pieces vpon mighelmas day as master mayer passed by the Tolsey  
and his brethern and also for the Trumpter and drume player the  
sume of ij s. vj d.

...

10

(20-6 October)

Item paid to my Lord of Leycesters Players at the end of their Play  
in the yeld hall before master mayer and the Aldremen and for  
lyngkes to geve light in the evenyng the play was called Myngo.  
the sume of xxij s.

...

(3-9 November)

Item to hym for iij days worke a piece to ij of his men there at  
the Crayne, with mending ij pair of Stockes at the Belfownders  
by Lafores gate, and mending the borde in the yeld hall and  
dores there, after my Lord of Leycesters players who had leave  
to play there. thone at viij d. per day, thother at vj d. amounteth  
} iij s. vj d.

...

25

p 215\* (17-23 November)

Item paid at the commaundment of master mayer & the Aldremen  
to v trumpeters which <sup>^</sup>came in the Shippes that came from Cataya,  
for sounding their Trumpettes before master mayer the Aldremen and  
common counsell commyng from the Sermon which was preached at  
the Colledge the 17 day of Novembre in skarlet vntill they came to the  
hight crosse, in remembraunce of her maiesties entry which made then  
20 yeres. the sume of } x s.

Item paid for ij seame of drie wood and a peny in fagottes to make a  
bonfier at the high crosse j s. iij d.

...

p 217 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 220 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 226 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 227 (6-12 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my Lord Berckleys Players at thend of their play in the yeld hall before master mayer and thaldermen. the matter was what mischeif workith in the mynd of man. I say paid them x s. 20

...

p 210\* (19 August) (Burgess money received)

...

James Sergeant [my] musytian is admtytted to the liberties because he married with Alise late the daughter of darby garrat shumaker and burgesse and paid iij s. iiij d. 25

...

p 230 (31 August-6 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my lord Charles hawardes players at the end of their play before master mayer and the Aldermen in the yeld hall their matter was of the Queen of Ethiopia x s. 30

...

p 231 (14-20 September)

...

Item paid to my Lord Sheffildes players at thend of their play in the yeld hall before master mayer and the Aldremen, the play was called the court of comfort xiiij s. iiij d. 40

...

p 235 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waites for there ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

5

p 251 (28 September) (*Payments*)

...  
Item it is allowed to mr Dunne Scholemaster to have fortie shillinges toward his charges of his last playes that he had in the Barthilmews the last Christmas which is intred for by mr Robertes mayer and by the consent of the Awditors of this boke

xl s.

10

...

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p 131 (*Rendered 14 October*) (*Inventory*)

15

...

...and apagente and fowre vanes of silke withe astafe for hime...

...

1578-9

20

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(10)

p 280\* (30 September-4 October) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to mr Brown for gonpowlder for to shote of 4 brasse bashs as master mayer passed by the tolsey vpon Mighelmas day and for the Drume player then the sume of

ij s. vj d.

25

Item paid for mending of the Ensigne of sylk which was rent in dyuerse places

xij d.

...

30

(5-11 October)

Item paid to the Erle of Bathes players at thend of their play in the yeld hall before master mayer and the Aldremen. the mattier was quid pro quo. the sume of

xij s. iiij d.

35

...

(26 October-1 November)

Item paid to the Erle of Derbies players at thend of their play before master Mayer and the Aldermen in theld hall the monday in the begynnyng of this weke, the sume of

xij s. iiij d.

40

Item paid to my Lord Chamberleyns players at thend of their play  
before master <sup>^</sup>mayer and the Aldermen in the yeld hall vpon the  
Tewsdays in the weke the sume of xx s.

...

p 284 (24 December) (Officers' fees) 5

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 276 (31 January) (Burgess money received) 10

...

Roger Iames musitian is admytted to the liberties because he marryed  
with welthyan Late the wife of Thomas Bundy sherman and burgesse  
to pay xliij s. iiij d. wherof he hathe paid iij s. iiij d. so rest owyng 15  
vntill the next yere 40s. so I have received iiij s. iiij d.

...

p 288 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee 20  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 293 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee 25  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 305 (28 September)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee 30  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 133 (Rendered 7 October) (Inventory) 35

...

...and apagante withe iiij sylke vanes and astafe withe iij endes of torches...

...



## 1579–80

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(11)

p 21 (30 September–3 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to Mr Browne for corne powder to shote of <sup>of</sup> iiiij Brasse  
 peices which was placed vpon the Batlementes of the towlsey to be  
 shot of as *Master* Mayer passed by vpon mighelmas day and for the  
 trumpeter and drume player at the same tyme x d. by mr Brown  
 the sume of ij s. vj d. 5

...

10

p 23 (8–14 November)

Item paid to my Lord Berckleys players at thend of their play  
 in the yeld hall before *Master* Mayer and the Aldremen and  
 the Common Counsell xiiij s. iiij d. 15

Item paid for 3. seame of wood and ij d. in fagottes to  
 make a Bonnefier in wynestrete over agaynst the pittiehead  
 vpon the xvij day of Novembre at the Commaundement of  
*Master* mayer & thaldermen which was kyndled at their  
 comyng from the Colledge in Scarlet with the Common  
 Counsell in remembraunce of the entring of the Quenes  
 Maiestie into the government of this realme. the wood cost –  
 ij s. the fagottes – ij d. for haling the wood – ij d. and to a  
 laborer to attend the said ffyer iiij d. amownt all to ij s. viij d. 25

Item paid to the Quenes Berewarde for his ffee for cowersing of  
 his beares in the Marshe before *Master* Mayer & the Aldremen vj s. viij d.

...

p 25 (24 December) (Officers' fees) 30

...

Item paid to the <sup>of</sup> iiiij waytes for their fee xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 30 (24 March) 35

...

Item paid to the <sup>of</sup> iiiij waytes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 38 (23 June)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 39 (26 June-2 July) (Payments) 5

...  
 Item paid to a drumme player for iij days that he went abowt  
 the Town to warne all the Burgesses & other inhabitauntes to  
 bring their Armour into the Marsh vpon St Peters day beyng 10  
 wednesday the 29. of Iune - ij s. vj d. paid to a yong man to go  
 with hym to reade the proclamacion to the drume player - xij d.  
 and gevon to the Belman iiij d. to take a boye with hym to reade  
 the first proclamacion. which amounteth to iiij s. x d.  
 ... 15

Item paid to Iohn Sakarston my lord of darbies Bereward for  
 offring his Beares to be cowrsed before master Mayer who had  
 no leysure to se the game but commaunded to pay hym v s.

Item paid to my Lord Sheffildes Players at thend of their play  
 before master Mayer in the yeld hall which was commaunded 20  
 by hym and the Aldremen the sume of xiiij s. iiij d.  
 ...

p 43\* (25-9 September) (Payments) 25

...  
 Item paid to mr david harrys for the Rent of the waytes house  
 this yere xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 44 (28 September) (Officers' fees) 30

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their fee xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1) 35

p 135\* (Rendered 17 October) (Inventory)

...  
 ...apagante withe iiij vanes...  
 ...

*Christ Church Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a  
 f 247\* (26 March 1580-25 March 1581; rendered 11 May) (Payments)

...  
 paid to the wayghtes of harforde for mvsycke at the last Cownpt  
 dyner ij s. 5

...

f 248\*

...  
 paid to *Master* maior for one of the quenes men xiiij s. iiij d. 10

...

1580-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(11)  
 p 97 (9-15 October) (Payments)

15

...

Item paid to mr Brown for Corne powldre to shote of iiij<sup>or</sup>  
 brasse pieces which were placed vpon the batlemntes of the  
 Tolsey vpon Mighelmas day as *master* mayer passed by and  
 for the drume and fithre player the sume of ij s. vj d. 20

...

(16-22 October)

Item paid to iiij<sup>or</sup> trumpeters at the commaundement of  
*master* Mayer for sownding their Trumpettes before hym  
 and all the Counsell vpon mighelmas day comyng from  
 the yeld hall goyng to his house the sume of iiij s. iiij d. 25

...

30

(20-6 November)

...

Item paid to my Lord Straunges players in the yeld hall at  
 thend of their playe which was shewyd before *master* mayer  
 & the Comon Counsell xiiij s. iiij d. 35

...

p 100 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffee xxvj s. viij d. 40

...

p 92\* (18 January) (*Burgess money received*)

...

harry dyttie Musitian is admytted to the liberties by Redempcion  
to 53 s. 4 d. to pay 23 s. 4 d. in hand. 15 s. at whitsontide and thother  
15 s. at Christmas I say received j li. xvij s. ij d. 5

...

p 93 (22 March)

...

Thomas Brown musitian is admytted to the liberties by  
redempcion for liij s. iiij d. to pay xx s. in hand and vj s.  
^ [viij d.] quarterlic begynnyng at mydsomer next so I have  
received j li. xij s. vj d. 10

...

p 105 (24 March) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for his ffee j li. vj s. viij d. 15

...

p 106 (26 March-1 April) (*Payments*)

Item paid to my lord Straunge players at thend of their play  
in the yelde hall before master mayer and thaldremen the  
summe of xiiij s. iiij d. 25

Item paid for mending of ij fowrmes which werre taken owt  
of St Georges Chapple and set in the yeld hall at the play. and  
by the disordre of the people were broken. paid ij s. v d.

...

p 110 (23 June) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d. 30

...

p 116\* (17-23 September) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid to my Lord of Oxfordes players at thend of their play in  
the yeld hall before master mayer & master mayer Elect and the  
Aldremen beyng j man and ix boyes at ij s. per piece, the sume of xx s. 40

...

p 115a (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waytes for their ffee xxvj s. viij d.

...

5

p 117 (24-9 September) (Payments)

...  
Item paid to mr david Harris for the Rent of the waites  
house this yere xxvj s. viij d.

...

10

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 158\* (20 August)

...

Henricus dittie

Antonius dittie filius Ricardi dittie de Soteholwaie in comitatu Somerset  
posuit se *apprenticium* Henrico dittie Musicion et Alicie vxori pro vij<sup>em</sup>  
Annis soluendo xx s. ac iiiij s. vj d. *pro libertate cum duplici &c*

...

20

1582-3

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(11)

p 150 (26 December-29 September) (Burgess money received)

...

Item received of William Lawrance one of the waighte players, for  
our ladie, Midsomer & Michelmas quarters, in parte of payment  
of his burgesse money - xx s. j li.

...

p 152 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item payde to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> weyters for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

30

p 165\* (20 May) (Payments)

...

Item paid by master Mayor and the Aldermens appoyntement to my  
Lord of Oxfordes Players for an Enterlude plaide by them before the  
saide worshipfulls and their bretheren at the yelde hall xx s. I saye  
paide them in money j li.

...

40

p 167\* (8 June)

...

Item paide by *master* Mayor and the Aldermens appoyntement, to my Lord Hunsdonns and my Lord Morleis players beinge bothe of one Companeye for a playe in the yelde hall before *master* Mayor, the Aldermen and the reste of the Counsell xiiij s. iiii d. xiiij s. iiii d.

...

p 169 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide to the iiii<sup>or</sup> waite[r]s for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 173\* (24 July) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the Queenes maiestis Players, by *master* mayor and the Aldermens appoyntemente for their enterlude played before them at the yelde hall - xl s. ij li.

...

p 181\* (26 September)

...

Item paid Davy Harris for the di. yeres rent the weytes house. endid at Michellmas last & paid heretofore xiiij s. iiii d.

...

vacat

Item paid mr Davyd Harris for the di. yeres Rent of the waites house this yere dewe at Michellmas (blank)

...

p 182 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiii<sup>or</sup> wayters for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

f 179v

...

Nicholaus  
Holden/

Robertus Aisley filius Iohannis Aishely de Stableton in comitatu Gloucestrie posuit Nicholao Holden Trumpeter et Elizabethhe vxori pro viij<sup>o</sup> annis soluendo x s. et iiii s. vj d. pro libertate cum duplici &c

et *predictus* *Apprenticius* *habebit* a *prefato* *Magistro* *vnum* *instrumentum*  
*vocatum* a *Trvmpett* et *prefatus* *Iohannes* *pater* *eius* *tenetur* in *xl* *li.* *pro* *veritate*  
*sua*

f 184\* (30 July)

5

...

*Iohannes* *yorke* *filius* *Radulphi* *yorke* *de* *ffroome* *zelwoode* *in* *comitatu*  
*Somerset* *posuit* &c *Patricio* *wise* <sup>1</sup> *musition* [mariner] et *Iohanne* *vxori*  
*eius* *pro* *Novem* *annis* *soluendo* *iiii* *s.* *vj* *d.* *pro* *libertate* *cum* *duplici* &c

10

f 186 (24 September)

...

*Iohannes* *Hait* *filius* *Thome* *Hait* *de* *Sherstone* *in* *comitatu* *wiltes* *posuit* &c  
*Nicholio* *holden* *Trvmpeter* et *Elizabeth* *vxori* *eius* *pro* *vij*<sup>o</sup> *annis* *soluendo*  
*x* *s.* et *vnum* *le* *Trumpett* et *iiii* *s.* *vj* *d.* *pro* *libertate* *cum* *duplici* etc

15

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 137 (Rendered 29 October) (Inventory)

...

...and one *pagent* *with* *iiii* *vanes*...

...

20

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 2\* (July-July; rendered November)

25

Costes and payments for the mowster  
 on mydsomer daie and for the wache on  
 .Saynte Peters even.

Item *payd* at the mowster on mydsomer day for *ij* *li.* and halfe  
 of *gondpowder* at *xiiii* *d.* the *ponde*

30

*ij* *s.* *xij* *d.*

Item for *maches*

*iiii* *d.*

Item *payd* for *xxv* *li.* of *light* at *ij* *d.* *ob.* the *ponde*

*vij* *s.* *iiij* *d.* *ob.*

Item *payd* for one *pounde* of *gondpowder*

*xiiii* *d.*

Item *payd* more for *maches*

*ij* *d.*

Item *payd* to the *minstrells* that night for there *wagis*

*v* *s.*

Item *payd* for there *supper* & there *breake* in the *morninge* and  
 the *Rest* of there *companye* & other things called for

*j* *s.* *iiii* *d.*

35

7-8/ ffroome ... Somerset: Frome, formerly Frome Selwood, Somerset

14/ Nicholio: for Nicholao

14/ vij<sup>o</sup>: for viij<sup>o</sup> or vij<sup>m</sup>

Item payd for ij pottells of dowbble beare in the hall	iiij d.
Item payd for a stafe for the pagent	j s. viiij d.
Item payd for paynetyng the same stafe & mending ye vanes	vij d.
Item payd for bearing the same pagent	vj d.

...

® Anno domini  
.1583.

This <sup>^</sup>yer<sup>1</sup> was the waytts of bristow made bretheren with the craft of wierdrawers & Cardmakers which ys William Lawrens James Sargent/ Thomas browne and hary ditte & lohn amorgan sargant

## 1583-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(11)

p 237 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waytors for their ffee

...

p 242 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighthtes for their ffees

...

p 249 (23 June)

...

Item paide to the iiij<sup>or</sup> weightors for their ffee

...

p 257\* (20-6 September) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my Lorde of Esseckes Players that played before master mayor, and the Aldermen, and sondrey of the Comon Counsell, with others - xx s.

...

p 258\* (27-9 September)

...

Item paide to the Trumpiters for soundinge their Trumpettes before Master Mayor, on Mighells daye Cominge from the halle

...

6m/ Anno domini: added later, apparently by the same hand

8/ & lohn amorgan sargant: added later, apparently by same hand



p 260 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

...

5

1584-5

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 210v (10 February)

...

Wilhelmus Carter filius Roberti Carter de (*blank*) in comitatu Hereford posuit se apprenticium Rogero James de Ciuitate Bristoll musition et welthiene vxori pro septem annis soluendo eidem in fine iiiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici &c

Rogerus  
James

...

15

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 139 (Rendered 18 November) (*Inventory*)

...

...a pagent with fowr sylcke wanes...

...

20

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 8 (July-July; rendered 16 November) (*Payments*)

...

Item payd to the waytes on the queenes holy daye

xij d. 25

...

*St James Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJ/ChW/1(a)

f 92 (8 December-6 December) (*Payments*)

...

Item payd vnto the waytes at Christmas for a Carrolle

ij s. vj d.

...

30

1585-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(11)

p 309 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> weighttes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

...

35

p 316 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waghtes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 317 (26 March-2 April) (Payments)

...

Item given to the Earle of Essex players by *master* mayor and  
 thaldermens commaundemntt who played before them in the  
 yelde Hall and the reste of the Common Counsell xxvj s. viij d. 10

...

p 325 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> weightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 15

...

p 328 (17-23 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid by *master* Mayor and Thaldermens commaundementt 20  
 to the Queenes Maiesties Players for that they played a<sup>r</sup>not<sup>1</sup> before  
 Master Mayor and his Bretheren and others of the Cominaltie xx s.

...

p 334 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

*Ordinances of the Common Council* BRO: 04272

f 57\* (21 June)

...

ffor avoydinge of many greate Inconveniencs and disorders that have  
 heeretofore happened and are lyke hereafter to ensue by the sufferaunce of  
 dyvers persons to keepe vnlawfull games within the libertyes of this Cytie. It 35  
 ys ordered that noe person or persons whatsoever shalbe at any time hereafter  
 lycensed or permitted to keepe or mayntayne any vnlawfull games within this  
 Cytie of Bristoll or the libertyes thereof notwithstanding any suyte or Requeste  
 whatsoever on payne that the Mayor for the tyme beinge which shall hereafter  
 suffer any person or persons to keepe any suche games, after he shall have 40

no playe to be  
used in ye  
Guyld hall  
vpon paine of  
xl s.//

to contynewe

knowledge or Informacion thereof geven vnto him, shall forefeyte and paye to the Chamberlayne of this Cytie to the vse of the Mayor and Comynaltic of Bristoll xl s. and fforther that noe Mayor of this Cytie shall lycense or permytte any players whatsoever to playe in the Guildhall of Bristoll at any tyme hereafter, vpon the like payne of xl s. to be payde by the Mayor as afforesaid vnles suche players doe playe there before the Mayor and his Bretherne

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)  
f 220v (24 February)

...

Robertus Chrispe filius Roberti Chrispe de Stafford in Comitatu Staffordie posuit se apprenticium Willelmo Lawrence Musition et Ellene vxori eius pro x<sup>o</sup> annis soluendo 4 s. vj d. pro libertate cum duplici &c/

...

Willelmus  
Lawrence

**1586-7**

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(12)  
p 23 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waites for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 27 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 29\* (9-15 April) (Payments)

...

Item paide by master Mayor and Thalldermens commaundement to my Lorde of Leicesters players who plaied in the yelde hall before them and others of the Common Counsell with diuers Citizens

xxvj s. viij d.

Item paid to iij Laborers for one daies worke removinge of the Tymber at the Tower of the key and layinge abroad the R(.)bell about the walkes in the Marshe againste my Lords comminge heither

ij s.

...

3/ and: elaborated in MS  
14m/ Lawrence: in display script

14/ x<sup>o</sup>: for x<sup>m</sup>  
38/ comminge: minim missing in MS



vj s. vj d., and to mr. Langley for. xlvij pounce of matche at iij d.  
 ob. per pound xiiij s., for browne paper to make up the powder into  
 halfe poundes. & into quarterns ij s. iiij d. which was delivered to the  
 Corporalls. of the Cittye for the Souldyers to meete the Lords and  
 to skyrmishe before them at their cominge into the Cittye. to iiij<sup>or</sup>. 5  
 Trumpiters for soundinge their Trumpettes at my Lords. cominge in  
 vj s. viij d. to ij master gonners for shootinge of x caste peces. in the  
 marshe close when they were in the Cittye xiiij s. iiij d. To iij laborers  
 for ladinge and vnladinge the Ornaunces vpon the hallyers draye ij s.  
 and to Nottingham for hallinge them to and fro beinge xx draughtes 10  
 vj s. viij d. to iij dromplayers and to ij fifth players for v dayes a pece  
 for warninge the Citizens for the Mosteringe [and] for receavinge of  
 them into the Cittye. at xij d. per daie per pece xxv s. for new snares  
 and braces for ij of the Chambers droms ij s., and for a new Collar  
 for. one of the Droms x d. mounnttes all to xvij li. x s. iiij d. 15

p 32 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighthtes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 20  
 ...

p 34 (23-9 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid also by master Mayor and Thalldermens appoyntementt  
 to the Queenes Maiesties players which played in the yelde hall 25  
 before them and others of the Common Counsell the some of ij li.  
 ...

p 36 (13-19 August)

...

Item paid by master Mayor and Thalldermens commaundementt  
 to the Earle of Sussex players which plaied before Master Mayor 30  
 Thalldermen & Comon Counsell with divers of the Comons in  
 the Gyldehall xx s.  
 ... 35

p 38 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighites for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.  
 ...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 141 (*Rendered 8 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

... a pagent with iiij sylke wannes and A stafe...

...

5

**1587-8****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(12)p 83\* (*12-18 November*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide on the Queens Holliday for one dubble draughte  
of wood at viij d. per seame ij s. viij d. for ffagottes ij d. for  
hallinge of yt to Master Mayors dore to make a bonfyer there  
ijj d. and to a Laborer for makinge and attendinge the same  
there iiij d. mounttes all to

ijj s. v d. 15

Item paide by Master Mayors Commaundementt to one of  
Mr Woodsonns Schollors who made an Orracion before him  
at his dore ij s. and to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Trumpiters for soundinge before  
Master Mayor vj s. and for staffe Torches to lighte Master Mayer  
home from Sermon at St Nicholas at nighte ij s. iiij d. mounttes

x s. iiij d. 20

...

p 84 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waightes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d. 25

...

p 77\* (*3 February*) (*Burgess money received*)

...

Iefferie Hellyer Musicion is admitted vnto the Liberties of this  
Cittie because he married with Ellyn Parrys, the late wyfe of  
Ionas Parrys of this Cittie Musicion deceased & paid by the  
agreement of Master Mayor and the iiij<sup>or</sup> Comytties the some  
of ij li. iiij s. vj d. whereof received

xxxij s. iiij d.

...

35

p 89 (*24 March*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waightes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

...

40

## p 94 (9-15 June) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid by master Mayor and Thalldermens appoyntementte  
 vnto the Earle of Leicesters players whome played before them  
 & the Common Counsell in the Guild hall the some of xxvj s. viij d. 5  
 ...

## p 95 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 10  
 ...

## p 96 (14-20 July) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid the xx<sup>th</sup> daie of Iulye by master Mayor and Thalldermens  
 appoyntementte vnto the Queenes Maiesties Players who played  
 before them at the Guild halle. the some of ij li. 15  
 ...

## p 97\* (11-17 August)

...  
 Item paid the xv<sup>th</sup> of Auguste. paide to the. Queenes Maiesties  
 Players & Tomlaiers who played before master mayor and  
 Thalldermen in the yelde hall, by their appoyntementte xxvj s. viij d. 25  
 ...

## p 101 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 30  
 ...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

## f 236 (28 February)

...  
 Iohannes Brewer filius Thome Brewer de Hempsteede in Comitatu Gloucestrie 35  
 musiconer Convenit cum Galfrido Hellier de Civitate Bristollie musiconer  
 [et] sibi deservire <sup>1</sup> tam<sup>1</sup> in Arte predicta quam in alijs artibus quibus ipse  
 mysterium [vurentur] vtetur pro termino trium Annorum proximorum  
 sequencium in Consideracione trium denariorum per eum Receptorum &c et

Galfridus  
 Hellier

dabit sibi in fine Annorum *predictorum* &c vnum Instrumentum Anglice  
*vocatum* one Treble viollen

signum dicti X Appenticii

(signed) Hercules Child  
 Edmond doultoinge

5

f 243v (31 August)

...

Samuel Crancke de Carhampton in Comitatu Somerset filius Humphridi  
 Crancke de Carhampton afforsaid posuit se appnticium Galfrido Hellier de  
 Civitate Bristoll Musyconer et Hellinæ vxori eius pro termino septem Annorum  
 soluendo in fine Annorum *predictorum* iiii s. vj d. et vnum Instrumentum Cum  
 duplici apparatu vno pro diebus festis et Altero pro diebus operalibus &c.

...

15

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 143 (Rendered 30 October) (Inventory)

...

...a pagen with iiii flages...

...

20

1588-9

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 259v (30 June)

...

25

Thomas Hopkins filius Willelmi Hopkins de Civitate Bristoll posuit se  
 appnticium Nicholao Holden de Civitate *predicta* Trumpiter et Surgian et  
 (blank) vxori eius pro termino Novem Annorum sollvendo in fine Annorum  
*predictorum* Anglice one Trumpet et iiii s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum  
 duplici apparatu &c

...

30

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 143 (Rendered 14 October) (Inventory)

...

35

...a pagen with fower flages...

...

3/ X: Brewer has signed with his personal mark

10/ appnticium: for apprenticeship; abbreviation mark missing

11/ Musyconer: for Musyconer; abbreviation mark missing



## 1589-90

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(12)

p 141\* (5-11 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to master mayor and Thaldermens commaundementt vnto the Queenes Maiesties Players who played before them in the Guilde hall the some of ij li. 5

...

p 145\* (21-5 December) 10

...

Item paid <sup>by</sup> Master Mayors Commaundementt to Mr woodsonns Schollors for mak[.]ge of two Orracions on Mighells daie, and the Queenes hollidaie - v s. to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Trumpiters soundinge before Master Mayor then - x s. & for makinge cleane all the Swordes - xij d. xvj s. 15

...

p 146\* (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the fflower waghtes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d. 20

...

p 149\* (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waighetes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 25

...

p 154\* (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighetes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 30

...

p 155\* (5-11 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid vnto the Earle of Essex players who played before Master Mayor and the Aldermen in the Guilde hall the somme of xxx s. 35

...

p 157\* (2-8 August)

...

Item paid by master Mayor and Thaldermans appoyntementt vnto the Queens Players which tumbled before them at the ffree schole 40

where was tumblinge shewen also by a Turcke vpon a Rope. with  
runninge on the same - xxx s. et for wyne drancke there by *master*  
Mayor ij s.

xxxij s.

...

(9-15 August)

5

Item paide by *Master* Mayor and Thalldermens appoynttemett vnto  
my Lord Admiralls players who played before them in the Guild Hall  
the some of

xxx s. 10

...

p 161\* (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> weightes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d. 15

...

***Bakers' Minutes*** BRO: 08155(1)p 144 (*Rendered 17 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...and a pagen with fower flages and a staffe...

20

...

***Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts*** BRL: 5030p 25 (*July-July; rendered 12 November*)

25

...

koste &amp; paymentes this yere

Item paid the townclark when we toke our othe

ij s.

...

paid the waytes at our dynner

ij s. 30

...

***The most dangerous and memorable aduerture of Richard Ferris*** STC: 10834  
sigs B1v-2\* (1-8 August)

35

... And from thence wee came to Ilforde Comne, which was on Satterday at  
night the first of August last past, whereupon for that wee were so neare to  
Bristow, I desired my company that wee might put to sea that night, which  
they were loth to doe, yet at my importunate sute they graunted thereto. But  
being at sea, the winde arose very sore from of the land, which put vs all in 40

great feare, whereby I my selfe was constrained to row foure houres alone on the Larboorde side, and my fellowe Rower was compelled to lade forth water so fast as it came into the Boate, which did beate vpon me and ouer me, very sore, the winde then being East and by South. Thus I was constrained to labour for life, and yet had almost killed my selfe through the heate I tooke 5  
in that rime, rowing, as is aforesaide, vntill we came to Mynette.

This done, we went from Mynytte, and so betweene the two homes came to Bristow in one tyde, and arriued at the backe of Bristow, about sixe of the clocke at night.

But it was wonderfull to see and heare what reioycing there was on all sides 10  
at our coming: The Maior of Bristow, with his bretheren the Aldermen, came to the water side, and welcomed vs most louingly, and the people came in great multitudes to see vs, in so much as by the consent of the Magistrates, they tooke our Boate from vs, not suffering vs once to meddle with it, in respect that we were all extreame wearie, and carried our saide Boate to the 15  
high Crosse, in the Citie, from thence it was conuaied to the towne house, there locked safe all night. And on the next morning the people of the Citie gathered them selues together, & had prepared Trumpets, Drummes, Fyfes, & Ensignes to go before the Boate, which was carried vpon mens shoulders round about the Citie, with the Waites of the saide Citie, playing orderly in 20  
honour of our rare and daungerous attempt atchiued. Afterwardes we were had l to maister Maiors, to the Aldermen and Sherifes houses, where we were feasted most royally and spared for no cost all the time that we remained there. Thus hauing a while refreshed our selues after our so tedious labours, we came to London on Saterday being the eight of August. 1590. 25

...

*A New Sonnet upon the Arrival of Richard Ferris at Bristol* STC: 10834  
sigs B2v-3v\*

A new Sonnet made vppon  
the arriual and braue entertaine-  
ment of Richard Ferris with his boat  
who arriued at the City of Bristowe,  
on the third day of August. 1590. 30

COme olde and young behold and vewe,  
A thing most rare is to be scene,  
A seely Wherry it is most true:

61 Mynette: *Minthead, Somerset*

71 the two homes: *Flat Holme and Steep Holme, islets in the Bristol Channel off Weston super Mare*

Is come to Towne with sayle of greene.

With Oares cullour of the same,

To happy Ferris worthy fame.

From London Citie this wager sure,

Was for to bring his Wherry small,

On surging seas if life endure:

From Port to Port happe what happe shall.

To Bristowe Citie of worthie name,

Where Ferris now hath spred his fame.

His Boate not bulgd, but at high crosse,

Was seene the third of August sure,

Whereby the man hath had no losse:

But did ech willing heart procure,

For to be readie there in haste,

To see the Boate that there was plaste.

Oh mightie Ioue thou guide of guides,

Which brought this Boate from surging seas,

Cleane from the rage of furious tides,

No doubt Ferris God thou didst please,

Both thou and thine which were with thee,

You serued God he set you free. |

Good Andrew Hill thy paines was great,

And William Thomas in this Wherry,

And honour Ferris sure doth get,

He doubtlesse meanes to make you merry.

Your fame is such through trauailes toyle,

You winne the spurre within our soyle.

Shall I preferre this to your skill,

No no twas God that did you guide,

For this be sure without his will,

You could not passe each bitter tide.

But pray you did no doubt each houre,

Whereby God blest you by his power.

Oh gallant mindes and venturors bold,

That tooke in hand a thing most rare,

Twill make the Spaniardes harts waxe cold,

If that this newes to them prepare,  
 That three men hath this voyage done,  
 And thereby wagers great hath wonne.

But now we may behold and vewe,  
 That English heartes are not afrayde,  
 Their Soueraignes foes for to subdue,  
 No tempest can make vs dismayde.  
 Let monstrous Papists spit their fill,  
 Their force is full against Gods will.

Hath seely Wherry done the deede,  
 That Gallies great dare not to trye,  
 And hath she had such happy speede,  
 That now in rest on shoare she lye,  
 Doubtlesse the Lord her Pylot was,  
 It could not else beene brought to passe. l

Well Ferris now the game is thine,  
 No losse thou hast thanke him aboue,  
 From thy two Mates do not decline,  
 But still in heart doe thou them loue.  
 So shall thy store increase no doubt,  
 Through him that brought thy boat about.

I end with prayers to the Lord,  
 To saue and keepe our royall Queene,  
 Let all true hearts with one accord,  
 Say Lord preserue her grace from teene,  
 Blesse Lord her friendes, confound her foes,  
 For aye Lord saue our Royall Rose.

FINIS.

James Sargent.

1590-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(12)  
 p 205\* (1-14 November) (Payments)

Queenes  
 Holliday

Item paide on the Queenes hollidaie for one doble draughtte of  
 woode - ij s. x d. for fagottes - iij d. to make a bonfyer on the

l/ prepare: for repare or repayte (?)

- Queenes hollidaye before *Master* Mayors howse. and to a Laborer  
for making and attendinge of the same there - iiij d. *moumttes* - iij s. v d.
- Item *paid* for Gonnepowder spentte on Mighells daie and the  
Queenes hollidaie shooringe of the Brasse Rabnettes. on the  
Guildehall at *master* Mayor and Thalldermens goinge by ij s. vj d. 5
- Item *paide* vnto the iiij<sup>OR</sup> Trumpiters for soundinge on Mighells  
daie and the Queenes hollidaye by fore *master* Mayor and  
Thalldermen - x s. & given to Children for the Oracions made  
before them on the Queenes hollidaye - ij s. vj d. xij s. vj d.
- ...
- 10
- p 211 (28 February-6 March)
- ...
- Item vnto the Queenes *Maiesties* Plaiers and the Earle of Sussex  
by *master* Mayor and Thalldermens commaundementt playinge 15
- before them in the Guilde hawle xxvj s. viij d.
- ...
- p 212 (24 March) (Officers' fees)
- ...
- Item *paid* to the iiij<sup>OR</sup> waightttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 20
- ...
- p 221 (20-4 June) (Payments)
- ...
- Item *paid* by *master* Mayor and Thalldrmens *commandement*  
vnto my *Lord* Darceyes Players who played in the Guild hall 25
- before them the some of j li. vj s. viij d.
- ...
- 30
- p 222 (23 June) (Officers' fees)
- ...
- Item *paid* to the iiij Wayghtes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.
- ...
- 35
- p 224\* (27 July-29 September) (Payments)
- ...
- Item *paid* by *Master* Mayor and Thalldermens *commaundementt*  
vnto the Queenes *Maiestyes* Players which played before them in  
the Guildehall xxx s. 40
- ...

p 226\* (25 June-29 September)

...

Item paide and allowed mr william Hopkins late mayor x s.  
for soe muche he paide and allowed to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Trumpeters  
soundinge on the Queenes hollidaye before the mayor and  
Aldermen and on Mighells daye Amountinge vnto the some

5  
x s.

...

p 227 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij weightes for their ffees

10  
xxvj s. viij d.

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 29 (July-July; rendered November)

15

kostes and paymentes this year

Ittum paid at the swerryng of the masters  
mor paid to the waytes at owr dynner

ij s. vj d.  
[ij s. vj d.]

...

20

1591-2

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(12)

p 273 (21 November-4 December) (Payments)

...

Item paide vnto vj boyes which made Orracions before master  
mayor on the Queens holliday v s. and to fower Trumpeters -  
x s. for woode for a bonfyer and to a Laborer to attende yt -  
iiij s. j d. mounntes all vnto the some of xvijj s. j d.

xviiij s. j d.

...

30

p 275 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

35

p 277 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

40

p 280 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 281 (2-15 July) (Payments) 5

...

Item paid vnto the Queenes Maiesties plaiers that plaid before  
master mayor and Thalldermen ij li.

...

10

p 282 (6-19 August)

...

Item paide vnto the Earle of Harttfordes Players playinge in the  
yelde hall x s. 15

...

Item paid vnto my Lorde Strainges plaiers by master Mayors &  
Thalldermens order xxx s.

...

20

p 285 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

25

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

f 307\* (10 February)

...

Galfridus  
HellyerIacobus Parris filius Ione Parris nuper de Civitate Bristoll defuncti posuit se  
apprenticium Galfrido Hellyer de eadem Civitate predicta Musyconer et Ellyne  
vxori eius pro Novem Annis solvendo in fine Annorum predictorum xl s. et  
iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Brist(...) cum duplici apparatu &c 30

f 316 (28 August)

...

Willelmus  
Laurence

paid

Iohannes Bannton filius Iohannis Bannton de Civitate Bristoll posuit se  
apprenticium Willelmo Lawrence de eadem Civitate musicion et Hellene vxori  
eius (.) quatuordecim Annis solvendo in fine Annorum predictorum x (...) 35  
iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c

30/ Musyconer: for Musyconer; abbreviation mark missing

30/ Ellyne: E corrected from He

32/ Brist(...): corner of leaf damaged

38/ (...): edge of leaf damaged; probably pro

38/ (...): edge of leaf damaged; rest of sum  
and & lost



*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)  
p 146 (Rendered 20 December) (Inventory)

...  
...A pagant with iiij flagges and a staf...

...

5

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030  
p 35 (July-July; rendered 10 November) (Payments)

...  
Item payd for the takeing of our oothes ij s vj d. 10  
payde the Sargan 0 s. vj d.  
payd to the waytes at our denore ij s.

...

1592-3

15

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(3)  
f 5 (2 July)

...  
Iohannes Craddock filius Thome Cradocke nuper de Civitate Bristoll defuncti  
posuit se appnticium ffrancisco Highwood de Civitate Bristoll musicion et 20  
Eme vxori eius pro octo Annis soluendo in fine Annorum predictorum iiij s.  
vj d. cum duplici apparatu

ffranciscus  
Highwood ys  
not ffre of this  
Cyty

...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030 25  
p 43 (July-July; rendered 12 November) (Payments)

...  
Item our othes iiij s.  
the Sargant vj d.  
the strange wayts j s. 30  
the musessyons j s.

...

*Edward Alleyn's Letter to his Wife* Dulwich College Library: MS 1  
single sheet\* (1 August) 35

Emanuell

My good sweett mouse I comend me hartely to you And to my father my  
mother & my sister bess hoping in god thought the siknes beround about

11/ 0 s.: 0 written over j (?)

20/ appnticium: for apprenticium; abbreviation mark missing

39/ thought: for though

you yett by his mercy itt may escape *your* house *which* by ye grace of god it shall therfor vse this corse kepe *your* house fayr and clean *which* I knowe you will and every eveninge throwe water before *your* dore and in *your* bakcsid and haue in *your* windowes good store of rwe and herbe of grace and *with* all the grace of god *which* must be obtaynd by prayers and so doinge no dout, but ye Lord will mercyfully defend you: now good mouse I haue no newse to send you but this thatt we haue all our helth for *which* the Lord be prayسد I reseved *your* letter att bristo by richard couley for the wich I thank you I haue sent you by this berer Thomas popes kinsman my whit wascote because it is a trobell to me to cary it reseave it *with* this Letter And Lay it vp for me till I com if you send any mor Letters send to <sup>^</sup>me<sup>^</sup> by the cariers of shrowsbery or to west chester or to york to be keptt till my Lord stranges players com and thus sweett hartt *with* my hartt comendation to all *our* frends I sess from bristo this wensday after saynt Iams his day being redy to begin the playe of hary of cornwall mouse do my hartt comendation to mr grigs his wif and all his houshold and to my sister phillyps

your Loving housband Edward Alleyen

mouse you send me no newes <sup>^</sup>of<sup>^</sup> any things you should send of *your* domestycall matters such things as hapens att home as how *your* distilled watter proves or this or that or any thing what you will.

*(Postscript)*

and Iug I pray you Lett my orayng tawny stokins of wolen be dyed a very good blak against I com hom to wear in the winter you sente me nott word of my garden but next tym you will but remember this in any case that all that bed *which* was parsley in the month of september you sowe itt *with* spinage for then is the tyme I would do it my self but we shall nott com hom till allholand tyd and so swett mouse farwell and broke our *Long Jorney with patience*

1593-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(13)  
p 20\* (14 October-3 November) (*Payments*)

...

Item paid mr williums vs her of the free scoole vppon the Queenes hollidaie that was given him by *master* Maiors appointment v s., to iij boies - xvij d. & to Nicholas the Trumpeter ij s. Some viij s. vj d.

...

## p 22 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the fflower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

5

## p 23 (26 December-12 January) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid mr Woodson Scoolemaster that was given him  
 in regarde of his charges in makinge of plaies ij li.

10

## p 26 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

15

## p 30 (23 June)

...  
 Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

20

## p 32\* (4-10 August) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid to the Queenes maiesties players by *master maiors*  
*Comaundmentt* xxx s. 25

## p 34\* (25 August-7 September)

...  
 Item paid for vj Staffe torches this <sup>^</sup>[iiij] yeres for *master maier*  
 on the *Quenes hollidaie* vij s. 30

## p 35\* (22-9 September)

... 35  
 Item paid the Trumpeters att *master maiors comaundmentt* for  
*Michaellmas daie* v s.

Item paid vpon the *Queenes hollidaie* to the Trumpeters to  
 the *Scolemasters* for Orations ffor xvij li. of Gunpowder ffor  
 Wood for the bonfier & to the gunners the some of - ij li. 40  
 ij s. iiij d. - ij li. ij s. iiij d.

...

p 17 (27 September) (*Burgess money received*)

...  
William Iohnson musician is admytted into the liberties of this Cittie  
for that he was prentice to James Sergantes a burgesse butt because he  
served butt parte of his terme master mayor Comaunded him to be  
made a burges  
ijj s. iiij d. 5

p 36 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
Item paid to the iiij waightes for their ffees  
xxvj s. viij d. 10  
...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 16\* (27 January)

... 15  
Iohannes wood filius Bartholomei wood de dunstar in Comitatu somerset  
posuit se apprenticium Ihepheri Hilliard de Civitate Bristoll musition et  
Eleanore vxori eius pro [decem] <sup>1</sup>novem<sup>1</sup> annis solvendo in fine annorum x s.  
et iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll Cum duplici apparatu &c  
° memorandum that the sixth day of Auguste 1597 before William yate mayor 20  
and by the Conscent of Thomas watkins who maried with the said Elianor  
the wief of the said Jeffery and with the conscent of the said apprentice the  
said apprentice ys Contented to serve the residue of the said terme with Henry  
Laurence musicion & the said Henry (...)formi(...) (...)ovenn(...) & agrementes  
therein menconed And the said Thomas watkins for him & his execut(.)rs 25  
doth Covenante to pay to the said apprentice x s. I say x s. (...) and one  
Instrument in thend of the said terme.°

1594-5 30

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 53 (July-July; rendered 11 November) (*Payments*)

Item layd out for my ooth and for the sargent xv d.  
Item to the wayts xvj d. 35  
Item for wyne the cownt daye xvij d.  
Item at our mery ment in the hall for cheateges ij d.  
...  
Item when our master Rychard hart was sworne j s. 40  
...

Iepheri  
Hilliard

16/ dunstar ... somerset: *Dunster, Somerset*  
18/ Eleanote: 3 *minimi* in MS

24/ (...)ovenn(...): for *covenantes* (?); word obscured by smearing  
25/ menconed: for *mencioned*; abbreviation mark missing

Item at the swering of the new masters & for holdinge of the booke iiij s.  
 Item to the wayts j s.

...

1595-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(13)

p 78\* (30 September-25 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the Trumpiters on the Queenes hollidaye vj s. viij d.  
 for wood and ftagottes for a Bonfyer - iiij s. iiij d. and to one to  
 attende yt vj d. xj s. vj d. 10

Item paid to mr Woodsonnes Schollors on the queenes hollidaye  
 v s. v s.

...

p 79 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 80 (11-31 January) (Payments)

...

Item paid to mr Woodsonne which was given him makinge  
 of Playes at Christmas ij li. 20

...

p 82 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 86 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 87 (11-24 July) (Payments)

...

Item given vnto my Lord of Darbyes plaiers, which played  
 in the Guildhalle XXX s. 40

...

p 88 (8-21 August)

...

Item paid to the Queenes Players for playinge in the Guildehalle ij li.

...

p 89 (12-29 September)

...

Item paide vnto the Trumpiters soundinge on Mighells daie vj s. viij d.

...

p 92 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> Waighttes for theirre ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

**Ordinances of the Common Council** BRO: 04272

f 64\* (3 February)

...

noe players to  
be in the Guild  
hall

It is ordered that there shall not be any players in Interludes suffred at any tyme hereafter to play in the yeald hall of Bristoll beinge the place of Iustice  
And that yf any Maior of thes Cittie shall at any tyme hereafter lycense or  
permitt any such players to playe in the said yeald hall, Then euery suche  
Maior breakinge this ordynance shall forfitt and pay to the Chamberlen to  
the vse of the Maior and Comminalty ffive poundes of Currant Englishe  
money to be deducted out of his ffec of xl li. due to be paid vnto him by the  
Chamberlen/. And that noe suche players be suffred to playe in this Cittie or  
within the liberties thereof at any tyme after Sunn sett/.

vppon payne  
that the maior  
gevinge licence  
shall forfett  
and paye v li.

to contynewe

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 46 (17 December)

...

Nicholaus  
Holden

Willelmus wattes filius Iosephi wattes [de] nuper de Glastenbury in comitatu  
Somerset defuncti posuit se apprenticium Nicholao Holden de Civitate Bristoll  
Trumpeter et Matilde vxori eius pro termino Septem Annorum solvendo ad  
finem Annorum predictorum vnum Anglice Trumpet x s. et iiij s. vj d. pro  
libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c

...

f 54 (3 August)

Henricus  
Godden

...  
Iacobus Iacobbes filius [Iacobi] Cornelij Iacobbes nuper de Civitate Bristoll defuncti posuit se *apprenticium* Henrico Godden de Civitate Bristoll *predicta* musicion et Alicie *vxori* eius *pro termino* Decem Annorum *solvendo* in fine Annorum *predictorum* vnum *Instrumentum* et vj s. viij d. et iiij s. vj d. *pro libertate* Bristoll *cum duplici apparatu &c*

5

f 56v (7 September)

Willelmus  
Iohnson } 12

...  
Robertus wilson filius Nicholai wilson nuper de Civitate Bristoll defuncti posuit se *apprenticium* willelmo Iohnson De Civitate *predicta* Musytion et Matilde *vxori* eius *pro termino* Septem Annorum *solvendo* in fine Annorum *predictorum* vnum *Instrumentum* et iiij s. vj d. *pro libertate* Bristoll *cum duplici apparatu &c*.

10

15

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 149 (*Rendered 12 October*) (*Inventory*)

20

...  
...and a paiante with iiij flagges and a staff...

1596-7

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(13)p 140\* (*30 September-9 October*) (*Payments*)

25

...  
Item *paid* vnto the Trumpiters for soundinge on Mighells daie before *Master* Mayor

vj s. viij d. 30

*(10 October-20 November)*

...  
Item *paid* to the Trumpiters on [Migh] the Queenes hollidaye  
Item *paid* for woode and attendaunce for the bonfyer on the same daie

vj s. viij d. 35

iiij s. viij d.

p 141 (24 December) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )		
...		
Item paid to the iiiij <sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.	
...		
		5
p 145 (24 March)		
...		
Item paid to the iiiij <sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.	
...		
		10
p 147 (24 April-14 May) ( <i>Payments</i> )		
...		
Item paid to my Lorde of Darbyes Plaiers by <i>master</i> Maiors apoyntementt	x s.	
...		15
p 148 (23 June) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )		
...		
Item paid to the iiiij <sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.	
...		20
p 149 (17 July-13 August) ( <i>Payments</i> )		
...		
Item paid to the Queenes Maiesties plaiers in St James weeke	ij li.	
...		25
p 150 (28 August-10 September)		
...		
Item paid to my Lorde of Pembrokes plaiers playinge twice before <i>master</i> maior	ij li.	30
...		
p 151 (11-17 September)		
...		
Item paid vnto my Lord Chamberlins plaiers playinge in the Guildehall	xxx s.	35
...		
p 153 (28 September) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )		
...		
Item paid to the iiiij <sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.	40
...		



**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 150 (*Inventory*)

...  
 ...A paiant with iiij flagges and A staff...

5

**Will of William Jacy** BRO: will William JACY 1598single sheet (*4 June; probated 26 May 1598*)

Jacie

10

In the name of god Amen. I william Jacy clarke parson of the rectorie of St Michells in Bristoll, beinge sick and waeke of body yet of gode and perfect remembrance (thancks be given to allmightie god,) doe make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner & form following.... Item I giue and bequethe to Richard Moore and ffrancis Moore sonnes vnto mr Iohn Moore all my bookes and my [lute] lute....

15

## 1597-8

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(13)

20

p 212\* (*30 September-8 October*) (*Payments*)

Item paid to the Trumpiters for sounding before Master Maior on the Mychells daye

vj s. viij d.

25

*(9 October-5 November)*

Item paid vnto the Trumpiters on the Queenes hollidaye

vj s. viij d.

Item paid for wood for a ffyer before Master Maiors dore & hallinge

iiij s.

30

Item paid for makinge and keepinge of the ffyer there

vj d.

*(6 November-25 December)*

Item paid to the Queenes players for playinge in the Guild hall

ij li.

35

p 213 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees

xxvj s. viij d.

40

p 216 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 220 (23 June)

...

Item paide to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 221 (25 June-8 July) (Payments)

...

Item given vnto my Lord of Pembrookes players the some of xxx s.

...

p 223 (17-29 September)

...

Item paid vnto my Lorde of Worcesters players playinge before  
Master Maior xxvj s. viij d.

...

p 224 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 79v\* (11 July)

...

eodem parochia

Willelmus

Iohnson

'soluit 4 d.'

Elizabetha Phillippes filia Anthonij Phillippes nuper de parochia predicta  
defuncti posuit se apprenticiam Willelmo Iohnson dicte Civitatis musicion  
et margarete vxori eius pro termino duodecim Annorum solvendo in fine  
Annorum predictorum duplicem appatatum &c

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 61 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

Item for our Othes

iiij s.

...

Item more laid out for wine	ix d.
Item more to the waite plaiers	vj d.
Item more towardes a quarte of wine	viiij d.
...	
Item more to the minstrells wee being sorne	j s. 5
...	
Item more to the waites on Coronacion day the some of	j s.
...	

## 1598-9

10

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(14)

p 20\* (30 September-7 October) (Payments)

...	
Item paide vnto the Trumpiters on Mighells daie	vj s. viij d.
...	15

(8 October-4 November)

Item paide vnto the Trumpiters on the Queenes hollidaye	vj s. viij d.
Item paide for a Bondfyer and for on to attende and make ytt	iiij s. viij d. 20
Item paid to Thomas Hamon for iij Torchis then	iiij s.
...	

p 21 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...	
Item paide vnto the iiij <sup>or</sup> waighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.
...	25

p 23 (24 March)

...	
Item paide to the iiij <sup>or</sup> weighttes for their ffees	xxvj s. viij d.
...	30

p 25 (20 May-24 June) (Payments)

...	
Item paide to my Lorde Staffoord Players	xx s.
...	35

71 Coronacion day: probably referring to the Queen's Holiday, 17 November



## p 78\* (10 February-25 March) (Payments)

...

Item paide to my Lorde Morleyes players here x s.

...

5

## p 79 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> weighttes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

10

## p 80\* (26 March-17 May) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the Lorde of Pembrookes Players, playinge here xxx s.

...

15

## p 81 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> Waighttes fortheyr ffees xxvj s. viij d.

...

20

## p 82 (25 June-19 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the Earle of Huntingtons players here the some of xxx s.

...

25

## p 83 (7-13 September)

...

Item paide to my Lorde Shaundos players here x s.

...

30

## p 84\* (14-20 September)

...

Item paide to the drummes and ffyffes on Mighells daie v s.

Item paide to the Trumpyters then the same daye vj s. viij d.

...

35

Item paide to my Lorde Cromwells Players here xx s.

...

## p 86 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the iiiij<sup>or</sup> Waighttes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

40

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030p 64 (*July-July; rendered November*) (*Payments*)

...

Imprimis Laide out for our Othes 0 iij s. 0

Item for wine &amp; Ale at the Counte day 0 vij s. vj d. 5

Item paid for Guestes at the same time 0 ij s. viij d.

Item paid to the waites the same time 0 ij s. ix d.

...

## 1600-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(14)p 144\* (*30 September-15 November*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide Master Maior for powder spentt vpon the  
Queens hollidaie ij li. j s. 15

...

p 145\* (*16 November-25 December*)

...

Item paid vnto the Trumpiters soundinge on the Queens  
hollidaye vj s. viij d. 20

...

p 146 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> weightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 25

...

p 149 (*24 March*)

...

Item paid to the fflower waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 30

...

p 152 (*23 June*)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees xxvj s. viij d. 35

...

p 157 (*28 September*)

...

Item paid to the fflower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d. 40

...

Charges iij li.  
ix s. ij d.

## 1600-2

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 154\* (30 September 1600-29 September 1602) (Inventory)

...

...a payante with iiij flagges and a staffe...

5

...

## 1601-2

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(3)

f 138v (19 October)

10

...

*Ricardus* Hutt fillius Henrici Hutt de wedgburie in Comitatu Staffordie posuit se Apprenticium ffrancisco Hiwood de Ciuitate Bristoll Musicion et Eme vxori eius pro termino septem annorum soluendo in fine Annorum predictorum singulatam apparatum &c and also one Instertment that he Can play best &c

15

...

## 1602-3

*Adams' Chronicle of Bristol* BRO: 13748(4)

nf\* (26 March)

20

...

The 26th of march 1603 King Iames was proclaimed at the high crosse in Bristoll, by mr Iohn Alworth sherife which was acted in this manner: ffirst Triggges the trumpeter sownded 4 times solemnely and mourefully, turning himselfe 4 seuerall wayes vppon the Crosse, for the death of her maiestic, and so for a while rested. Then began againe, sownding 4 times and 4 waies turning his face as before, but now ioyfully for the entrance of King Iames. After which the said sherife read the proclamation alowd and so concluded praying for his maiesties long and prosperous raigne, all our Councell stood with the maior before the Towlsey in scarlet gownes.

25

30

...

## 1603-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(14)

p 208 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

35

...

Item paied to the fower waightes for their ffees

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

12/ wedgburie ... Staffordie: probably Wednesbury, Staffordshire

24/ mourefully: for mournefully

24/ turning: 6 minims in MS

p 211 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the fower waights for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

5

p 213 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

10

p 217 (28 September)

...

Item paid to the iiij<sup>or</sup> waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

15

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 156 (Rendered 30 October) (Inventory)

...

...a pagente &amp; iiij vanes a staffe...

...

20

1604-5

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(15)

p 22 (30 September-10 November) (Payments)

...

Item paid for vther proclamacions for to proclaime his  
Maiestie king of grate brittaine vj s. viij d.Item paid Trigge for sounding att that proclamacion vj s.  
viij d., for a messenger into the countrie to call him vj d.  
and to the waightes ij s. ix s. ij d.

...

25

30

p 14 (6 October) (Burgess money received)

...

Roberte Willson musicion is admitted into the liberties  
of this Cittye for that he was the Apprentice of William  
Iohnson musicion iij s. iiij d.

...

35

p 24 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

40



p 27 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

5

p 29 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

10

p 33 (28 September)

...

Item paid to the fower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

15

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 84 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

...

li. s. d.

...

20

Item paid to the muzizians at the Beares In 00 iiij s. 00

Item more at the same time, laide out of the stock by

Consent of the Companie at the Beares Inn 00 x s. 00

...

25

1605-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(15)

p 86 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item payed to the fower waightes for their fees j li. vj s. viij d. 30

...

p 88 (9 February-25 March) (Payments)

...

Item paid Triggess for sounding his Trumpett on our Ladye Eve vj s. viij d. 35

...

p 89 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item payd to the fower waightes for their fees j li. vj s. viij d. 40

...

BRISTOL 1605-6

p 91 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their fees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 95 (28 September)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their fees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 87\* (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

...

li. s. d.

...

Payments

Imprimis Laid owt for our Oathes 00 iij s. 00

Item for a pottle of sacke the next day after thacompt day 00 j s. viij d.

Item for a quart of muskodile 00 j s. 00

Item for a Gallonn of sacke 00 iij s. iiij d.

Item paid to the waites one the swering day 00 ij s. vj d. 20

Item for a Gallon of sacke on thacompt day the some of 00 iij s. iiij d.

...

*St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StMR/ChW/1(c)

p 86 (16 April-15 April; rendered 14 May) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the waightes ij s. vj d.

...

*Temple Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: Temple Records Ca 6(1)

f 2v (Payments)

...

Item to minstrells at Master Iohn Bar. feast 00 05 00

...

*Replication of Richard Cooke against Nicholas Woolfe* PRO: REQ 2/296/80

mb 2\* (7 July)

Septimo die Iulij anno domini 1606

33/ Bar.: for Barnes (?); a Mr Iohn Barnes, mentioned on some previous pages of the account, was mayor of Bristol in 1588

The Replicacion of Richard Cooke *esquier*  
 Complainant to the Ioint and severall aunswares  
 of Nicholas Woulf and Margarett his wief *defendants*

The Complainant averreth his said bill of Complainte & everye part thereof 5  
 and all and every the matters and thinges therein Contayned to be verie Iust  
 & true in such manner and forme as in & by his said bill of Complaint is  
 most truly sett foorth and declared & saieth that the aunswares of the saide  
*defendants* are for the most part vntrue vncertaine & insufficient in the lawe  
 to be Replied vnto of which this Complainant hath Iust cause to except 10  
 against the Rechlessenes of the said woulfes oath in case he were sworne to  
 his aunsware to the Complainantes bill in this Court Yet neverthelesse all  
 Advantages of excepcion to the vncertaineties absurdities and insufficiencies  
 thereof now and att all tymes hereafter vnto this Complainant saved for  
 Replicacion this Complainant saieth that on or about the tyme in the bill 15  
 mencioned he this Complainant did take of the said defendant the whole  
 house & Implementes in the bill mencioned except one little Studye or  
 Countinge house & one garret or worke house wherein certaine working  
 tooles laye from Michaelmas then next Comminge for and duringe one  
 haulf yeere then next followeing & did agree & for the same consideracion 20  
 about the tyme aforesaid did paie the said somme of ffive powndes, &  
 afterwardes and before the said feast daie of Saint Michaell thearkangell this  
 Complainant haveing dealt for the Castell in or neere Bristoll aforesaid &  
 then mynded to Remove from the *defendants* house & settle himself & his  
 famelye in the said castell did make the said woulfe acquainted therewith 25  
 and withall sent him worde by his servant Peter Hawkesworth that he this  
 Complainant would lett or assigne his said Interest & terme vnto some other  
 for that he the said Complainant then thought and had imported soe much  
 before vnto the defendant woulf it would be preiudiciall vnto him the said  
 Complainant to lett the same stand void & to paie a dead Rent for noe 30  
 benefit, which he shoulde have donne in case the said house had not bene  
 otherwise disposed of & therevpon the said woulf the defendant Required  
 this Complainantes said servant to desire this Complainant that woulf himself  
 might have the said house and terme soe lett by him vnto this Complainant  
 againe to his owne vse to lett & bestowe of & for the finishinge and concluding 35  
 of the same he woulde the next daie come to this Complainantes house and  
 take order for the Repayment of the money which the said Complainant had  
 disbursed for the same and vpon this aunsware of the defendant the said  
 Complainant Relyinge tooke his Journey to the Bathe where haveing speech  
 with a gentlewoman of good accompt and worshipp a widowe called *Mistris* 40

Knevet of such a house, she earnestlie entreated this Complainant that she  
 might have the same and she would presentlie satisfie this Complainant the  
 said ffive powndes which he had paid for the same wherevpon the said  
 Complainant sent againe vnto the said woulf to enforme him thereof & to  
 knowe his mynde who aunswared then that he wouldbe loath to have any  
 5 tenant to his house and goodes but of his owne choise and therefore desired  
 that he might have it againe himself & att the Complainantes Retourne from  
 the Bathe he would satisfie the Complainant the money he had disbursed  
 Afterwardes this Complainantes wief being a<sup>1</sup> Resident<sup>1</sup> in the said castell did  
 10 Commaund that a woman servant of this Complainantes called Iohan Crannye,  
 which said Iohan had not long before served the wief of the defendant as her  
 apprentice by the space of twelue yeeres or thereaboutes which Iohan vpon  
 the especiall Commendacion and att the earnest entreatye of the said defendant  
 woulf and his wief was entertayned into service by this Complainant) should  
 15 make cleane and dressevp the saide house soe lett by the said woulf vnto this  
 Complainant who accordingly did as this Complainantes wief had Commaunded,  
 (as this Complainant hath heard her saie) and she being then and there in  
 the saide house for the purpose aforesaide He the said woulf did eyther take  
 20 out of the outer doore of the Roomes lett vnto the Complainant or otherwise  
 from the said woman servant the keys of the said Roomes or house so lett  
 vnto this Complainant as aforesaid, but howsoever the said woulfe did gett  
 the said keys the same was donne without this Complainantes good likeinge  
 privitie or consent for that this Complainant had left straigh charge with  
 his wief and servantes eyther to Receive the said moneye or securitie for the  
 25 same before the deliury of the keys thereof doubting the said woulfe might  
 in quality equall his name and soe as he now endeoureth seake in effect to  
 defraud & devowre the said some of five powndes soe by him promised vnto  
 this Complainant as aforesaid, and therevpon this Complainant having  
 vnderstandinge of the courses aforesaid did send often vnto the said woulfe  
 30 and sometymes he this Complainant talked with him att which tymes he  
 made many kinde protestacions and promised to paie the money att severall  
 tymes by him appointed as in the bill is formerlie sett forth & now long  
 sithence past And therevpon after many vnnesessarie and vnfit delaias this  
 Complainant doubtinge his woulfish intentes did as he hopeth is lawfull for  
 him to doe Commence suit in this Court for his Relief touching the premisses  
 35 And this Complainant saith that if any of the said woulfes stuff or Implementes  
 left and lett with the said house be thence Removed the same is of verie small  
 valewe and donne by the said woman servant aforesaid trusted in vsage of the  
 said stuffe & Implementes & especiallye by the said woulf & for that purpose

12/ which: opening parenthesis missing before this word

16/ Commaunded: minim missing in MS

23/ straigh: for straight

especiallye placed with the *Complainant* in service as aforesaid All which if  
 any such be this *Complainant* saith & will prove to be donne without his  
 privyete or consent & contrarye to his speciall Commaundement and Charge  
 given vnto all his *servantes* And whereas it is auerred by the *defendant* in  
 his aunswere indefinitelye that this *Complainant* and his famelye vsed &  
 Inhabited the said house as though this *Complainant* had enjoyed the same  
 part of the terme demised & yet greedily & that in croching vppon the  
*defendants* promise did desire and seeke the whole money paied for the whole  
 tyme or terme This *Complainant* saith and cann make Iust proof thereof  
 in case it were materiall to the matter in question that he this *Complainant*  
 with all his househould and famelye departed and left the said house six or  
 seaven daies before the terme he was to have entred thereon by vertue of the  
*defendants* graunt and that during the tyme for the most parte that he and  
 his famelye made their abode in the said house he this *Complainant* had all  
 his horses and dyett with and from the said woulf being an *Inneholder* att  
 as deere Rates as this *Complainant* hath vsed or should have paied elsewhere  
 & was to have had his lodginge in his dwelling house being a *Common Inne*  
 but that the said woulf to the end to begett a lykeinge in this *Complainant*  
 to the said house did bring this *defendant* thither & there lodged him vppon  
 Which his kindnes this *Complainant* was the more and Rather indeede to  
 deale as aforesaid without that that the said *Complainant* did take or carrye  
 or any by his goodwill consent or privyete did take or carrye from the said  
*defendants* house onto the said Castell a great number of *parcells* of househould  
 stuffe & *Implementes* to a great valewe without the Consent or knowledge of  
 the said *defendants*, or that he Refuseth <sup>^</sup> to Redeliver<sup>^</sup> the same in case any  
 such betaken awaie as in the said *defendants* aunswere is most falslye and  
 slaundersously surmised And without that that the *Complainant* being att  
 the Castell of Bristoll aforesaid did Request the said *defendant* to consider  
 that it wouldbe a hard bargaine vnto him the said *Complainante* to paie the  
 saide whole some of ffive powndes havinge noe accacion to occupy the same  
 or that the *defendant* vsed these wordes that he the said *Complainant* might  
 dispose of the same for the Residue of the saide terme att his owne pleasure  
 howe & <sup>^</sup> in<sup>^</sup> what sort & to whomesoever he should thinke good or that the  
*Complainant* did att any tyme Require the *defendant* to procure any tenant  
 or tenantes in the said Roomes for the ease of this *Complainant* as in the  
 said Aunswere is vntrulie surmised And with that that the said *defendant*  
 besought this *Complainant* that he would not lett the said Roomes or his  
 terme or Interest therein to others but that he the said *defendant* might have  
 againe the said house and bargaine of the said *Complainant* and that he would  
 Repaie vnto this *Complainant* the said some of ffive powndes by him soe  
 formerly Receaved of the said *Complainant* as in the said bill is most trulie  
 alleaged And with that that the said *Complainante* for the cause in the bill

menconed did as aforesaid suffer or leave and yeeld vpp the said house and  
 goodes vnto the defendantes owne proper vsse and behoof & that the defendant  
 did take the possession and the keys thereof out of the locke of the outer Dore  
 of the Roomes of the said house lett vnto the Complainant & Retayned the  
 possession of the said house <sup>1</sup>as in the said bill<sup>1</sup> is truly alleaged And with  
 that that the said defendantes did vse the said house and meddle therewith  
 in other manner then to shewe or lett the same to others for the benefitt and  
 good of this Complainant as in their said Aunswere is vntruly Surmised but  
 lodged sundrie persons of all sortes many tymes during the Complainantes  
 terme besides certaine Comedyantes whome he suffered to act and playe within  
 the said Roomes for which the said defendantes tooke moneye And with that  
 that the said defendant did come vnto the said Complainant att his lodging  
 in the Castell for the same Intent and purpose as in the said bill is formerly  
 Declared and that the said defendant both att that tyme when he was att the  
 said Castell and also att diuers other tymes did vowe and protest that he would  
 Satisfie vnto the Complainant the said some of ffive poundes att such tyme  
 as in the bill is alleaged and that he desired that the Complainant would not  
 be offended with him for that he had disappointed him of the payment thereof  
 as in his said bill is likewise trulie alleaged And without that that any other  
 matter or thinge in the said defendantes aunswears contayned materiall or  
 effectuall for this Complainant to Replie vnto, and in or hereby not sufficiently  
 Replied vnto, to this Complainantes Remembrance is true All which matters  
 this Complainant is Readie to averr and prove as this honorable Court shall  
 awarde and therevppon demaundeth Iudgement and praieth as in his said  
 bill of Complaint he hath praied (signed) Edward Iane

*Bishop's Court Deposition Book* SRO: D/D/Cd 36  
 pp 382-3\* (1 November) (Examination of William Stott, miller, aged 44,  
 upon articles exhibited by Eleanor Cox against Miles Brokenburrough)

*Taken before Thomas Merest, surrogate judge*

...  
 Ad secundum articulum in vim iuramenti sui prestiti examinatus deponit  
 et dicit that [in the] vppon a certaine daye happinge about Midsomer daye  
 nowe last past before this his examination or thearaboutes about ten or aleven  
 of the Clock in the forenoone of the same daie, (vt modo recolit, diem et  
 tempus aliter perfecte non recordatur, this Irat being in his house [a] in  
 Southover within the towne of welles and [looking on] leaning & looking  
 out at a yndowe into the Streate, sawe the articulated Ellinor Cox and Myles

1/ menconed: for mencioned; abbreviation mark missing  
 36-7/ (vt modo ... recordatur; comma used as closing parenthesis

37/ Irat: for Iurat

Brokenburrowgh passage by l and meeting togethers she gowinge downe  
 towards to her [own] house, and he cominge vpp strete dreaving a horse  
 of his *which* had byn impounded in the pound, by the saide Ellinor Cox her  
 house. Att *which* tyme and place there passed these angrie and vncharitable  
 speeches followinge <sup>^</sup> between them<sup>1</sup> vz. The saide Ellinor askinge him where  
 he [would] <sup>^</sup> had<sup>1</sup> payed for the impounding of his horse, he answered her  
 sayinge, thowe shalt haue a turd, doest thowe answeare me soe (*quod* she)  
 thowe filthie pigge, I haue paide iij d. alreddie to my lords man, and therfore  
 thowe shalt paye it; Then the saide Brokenburrowgh replyeing sayed doest  
 thowe call me filthie pigge, thowe art a dronken sowe <sup>^</sup> & a dronken iade<sup>1</sup>  
 then she <sup>^</sup> saide he was a<sup>1</sup> [called hym] knaue to call her in that manner <sup>^</sup> &  
 demanded him where he ever knew or sawe her dronk<sup>1</sup>, whervppon he againe  
 called her dronkard, and dronken sowe <sup>^</sup> & saide to her heyte dronkard goe  
 drunkard goe along<sup>1</sup> and sayed to her <sup>^</sup> alsoe/ wilt thowe fayne knowe the  
 tyme, whye<sup>1</sup> Thowe weare dronk at Bristow, when thowe wentes after the  
 Berrards *which* had byn at thye house, for thye monye, and there thowe weare  
 soe dronk, that thowe weare carried out of the streate to thee bedd like a  
<sup>^</sup> dronken<sup>1</sup> sowe, and manye other spe(. . .)es he vsed of and to her at that tyme  
 & place in verie angrie and vncharitable manner; Et hæc dicit de suis proprijs  
 visu auditu et intellectu present standing in or neere this Iurates streate doore  
 this examinantes wiffe, and Raffe Harvy his contest, and others *which* passed  
 bye whome this deponent cannott nowe perfectlye remembet whooe did  
 hearken vnto and vnderstand the premisses aswell this deponent. Et aliter  
 nescir deponere.

...

## 1606-7

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(15)p 150 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item payed the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 153 (24 March)

...

Item payed to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

21/ towards to: to redundant

12/ sawe: w corrected from y

18/ spe(. . .)es: ie, speeches; hole in paper

21/ Raffe: name added in blank space left by clerk;  
rest filled with 3 line fillers

23/ aswell: for aswell as

## BRISTOL 1606-7

p 155 (23 June)

...

Item payed to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 159 (28 September)

...

Item payed to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 90 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

Payments

Imprimis payde att ye swearing daye for our oathes 00-3-00

Item payde the same daye to the waites 00-2-00

Item payde vppon our accoumpt daye to ye waites 00-5-00

...

*Merrie Conceited Jestes of George Peele* STC: 19541

pp 16-17\*

The Iest of George Peele at  
Bristow.

George was at Bristow, and there staying somewhat longer then his coyne would  
 last him, his palfrey that should be his carier to London, his head was growne 25  
 so big that he could not get him out of the stable, it so fortun'd at that instant,  
 certaine players came to the towne, and lay at that Inne where George Peele  
 was: to whome George was well knowne, beeing in that time an excellent  
 Poet, and had acquaintance of most of the best Players in England, from the  
 triuall sort he was but so so: of which these were only knew George by name 30  
 no otherwise, there was not past three of the company come with the Cariage,  
 the rest were behinde, by the reason of a long lorney they had, so that night  
 they could not inact, which George hearing had presently a stratagam in his  
 head, to get his Horse free out of the stable: and money in his purse to beare  
 his Charges vp to Londone, and thus it was, hee goes directly to the Maior 35  
 tels him he was a scholler and a gentleman and that he had a tertan historie  
 of the knight of Rodes & withall how Bristow was first founded and by whome,  
 & a briefe of all those that before him had succeeded in office in that worshipfull  
 City desiring the Maior that he with his presence & the rest of his Brethren 40  
 would grace his labours. The Maior agreed to it, gaue him leaue and withall



apointed him a place, but for himselfe he could not be there beeing in the  
 euening, but bid him make his best benefit he could of the City: and l very  
 liberally gaue him an Angell, which George thankfully receiues and about  
 his businesse hee goes, got his stadge made, his history cryed and hyred the  
 players Apparell, to flourish out his show promising to pay them liberally and  
 withall desired them they fauour him so much as to gather him his mony at  
 the doore, for he thought it his best course to imploy them, least they should  
 spy out his knauery, for they haue parlous heads, they willingly yeeld to doe  
 him any kindnesse that lies in them, in briefe caries their apparell to the Hall.  
 placeth themselues at the doore, where George in the meane time with the ten  
 shillings hee had of the Maior, deliuered his horse out of purgatory and caries  
 him to the Townes end, and there placeth him, to be ready at his comming.  
 By this time the Audience were come and some forty shillings gathered, which  
 mony George put in his purse, and putting on one of the Players silke Robes,  
 after the trumpet had sounded thrise: out he comes, makes lowe obaysance  
 goes forward with his prologue, which was thus.

A tryfling toy, a Iest of no account, pardie.  
 The Knight perhaps, you thinke for to be I.  
 Thinke on so still, for why you know that thought is free  
 Sit still a while, Ile send the Actors to ye.

Which beeing said after some fire workes that hee had made of purpose,  
 threw out among them & down staires goes he gets to his horse and so with  
 his forty shillings to London leaues the Players to answer it. who when the  
 Iest was knowne, their Inocence excused them, beeing as well gulled as the  
 Maior, and the Audience.

## 1607-8

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(15) 30  
 p 210 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
 Itim payed the fower Waightes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 213 (24 March) 35

...  
 Itim paid to the fower waightes for their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.  
 ...

## BRISTOL 1607-9

p 215 (23 June)

...

Itim payed to the fower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 217\* (7-27 August) (Payments)

...

Itim paid for newe Instrumentes to the Waightes by order  
of Master Maior and Alderman x li.

...

5

10

p 219 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Itim paid to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

15

## 1608-9

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(15)

p 274 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Itim paid the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

20

p 275 (26 December-11 February) (Payments)

...

Itim paid the Earle of Sussex Players that was given them xx s.

...

25

p 277 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Itim paid to the fower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

30

p 279 (23 June)

...

Itim paid the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

35

p 283 (28 September)

...  
Item paid the fower waightes for their ffeesj li. vj s. viij d.  
...

5

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 266 (12 November)

...  
Iohannes Powell filius Iohannis Powell de Ciuitate Bristol Musicion posuit  
se apprenticium Willelmo Iohnson de eadem Ciuitate Musicion et Margarete  
vxori eius pro termino duodecim annorum soluendo iijj s. vj d. pro libtate  
Bristol cum duplici apparatu &cWillelmus  
Iohnson

10

f 280v (14 July)

...  
Robertus Saunders filius Willelmi Saunders nuper de Baselicke in Comitatu  
monmoth husbandman defuncti posuit se appnticium Isacco Bryne de Civitate  
Bristol Instrumentmaker et Sibellæ vxori eius pro termino decem Annorum  
soluendo in fine Annorum predictorum xv s. [Cum duplici apparatu &c]Isaak Bryne  
this man ys  
not free.

15

20

Memorandum yt ys agreed and Agnes Iones mother of the said apprenytcye doth  
for herself her executors & administrators Covenante promise & graunte to &  
with the said Isaake Bryne his executors & assignes that shee the said Agnes  
Iones/ shall fynde and allowe at her owne chardges sufficient and necessary  
apparell from tyme to tyme hereafter duringe all the said terme of his apprenticeship,  
And that the <sup>^</sup>said<sup>1</sup> [forsaid Ball] <sup>^</sup>Isaak<sup>1</sup> Bryne shall pay and disburshe vnto  
the said Agnes Iones her executors or assignes Twenty shillings of Lawfull  
Englishe mony at the ende of euery of the said last fower yeres for and towardes  
the mayntenaunce of the said apprenytcye in his apparell the said last fower yeres  
of his apprenticeship And yt ys agreed betwene them that the said Isake & his  
assignes shalbe fully freed for beinge any further Chardged in fyndinge apparell  
for the said apprenytcye duringe the full terme of x yeres as afforesaid [by] <sup>^</sup>but<sup>1</sup>  
only xx s. yerely for the last fower yeres as afforesaid Any Covenant or agreement  
<sup>^</sup>in<sup>1</sup> the said Apprentices Indenture notwithstanding.

25

30

35

Signum dicte

wytnes

X

(signed) Hercules Childe

Agnete Iones

(signed) Isaac Brine

11/ libtate: for libertate; abbreviation mark missing

17-18/ Baselicke ... monmoth: Basaleg, Monmouthshire, Wales

18/ appnticium: for apprenticium; abbreviation mark missing

25/ fynde: 3 minims in MS

27/ disburshe: for disburse

37/ X: Agnes Jones has signed with her  
personal mark

*Common Council Proceedings* BRO: 04264(2)  
f 13 (19 December)

It ys this day agreed that Isake Bryan virginall maker shalbe admitted into  
the libertye and freedome of this Cytie only to vse the trade of makinge of  
virginalls and instrumentes only duringe his naturall lyfe Provyded alwayes  
that he take noe apprentice to be free neyther that his wyfe shall have her  
freedome after his deceasse by Reason of this his admittaunce/. and for this  
his freedome he ys to pay to the Chamberlen xliiij s. vj d. whereof iiij s. vj d.  
in hande and xx s. yerely vntill his said some be payd/.

*Will of John Fowens* BRO: 04421(3)a  
f 79 (28 March)

...I Iohn ffowens of the Citie of Bristoll merchant beinge in perfect healthe  
both of bodie and minde praise be geven to allmightie god, yet Consideringe  
with my selfe the frailtie of mans lieffe, the shortnes of this tyme and the  
vncertanty of the houre of his departure out of this worlde have thought good  
in this my tyme of healthe accordinge to the wordes of the proffit Isaighe to  
set my house in order and to dispose of those temporall blessinges wherewith  
god hath endewed me ...

f 79v

...Item I geve and bequeathe vnto my said daughter Sara ffowens my virginalls  
and my best Carpett of greene Clothe fringed with silke and my silver skynker  
...

1609-10

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(16)  
p 26 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
Itim paid to the fower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

p 28 (24 March)

...  
Itim paid to the fflower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

p 29 (26 March–24 June) (Payments)

...

Item paid to my Lord Presidentes Players by *master* Maiors Direction ij li.

...

5

p 30 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the fower Waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

10

p 31 (25 June–28 July) (Payments)

...

Item paid my Lord Presidentes Players by *Master* Maiors Direccion ij li.

...

15

p 32\* (29 July–25 August)

...

Item paid to a Trumpetor on Michlemas Daye ij s. vj d.

...

20

p 34 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

25

*Soapmakers' Minutes* BRO: 04370

f 83\* (March–March) (Inventory)

The Impelmentes of the Hall, in the yeare, 1610

...

Item a Pagent

...

Item vj formes bige and small

...

Item ij stremers of silke with ij stafes and one boxe

...

35

1610–11

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(16)

p 88 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their ffees

...

j li. vj s. viij d.

40

p 91 (24 March)

...

Item paid to the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 94 (23 June)

...

Item paid the fflower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 96 (21 July-10 August) (Payments)

...

Item paid for an Instrument Called a Sagbutt for the waightes iiij li.

...

p 99 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the fower waightes for their ffees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 101\* (July-July; rendered 12 November) (Payments)

Imprimis to master Towneclark for our oathes iij s.

Item on the kinges Holliday and on the Count day  
for wine<sup>1</sup> & other daies of meting<sup>1</sup> xxij s.Item paide for mr powell & mrs powells dynners on  
the Compt day ij s. vj d.

Item for mr Bisse his dynner the same day j s. iij d.

Item paide to the waites the same day vj s. 30

...

1611-12

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 103 (July-July; rendered 12 November) (Payments)

Item for our oathes 3 s.

Item for muscadin 2 s.

Item to the musissions 3 s. 6 d.

Item for mr Bisse j s. 4 d. 40

Item for mr Powell and his wife 2 s. 4 d.

Item for wine at the accompt dinner	5 s.
Item for muscadin	2 s.
...	

## 1612-13

5

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(16)

p 140\* (25 December) (Receipts of fines and casualties)

...

Received: of Alderman Butcher towards the Charges  
at the Queenes enterteynement L li. 10

Received: of Mr Iohn Aldworth by master Mayors appoyntment  
towards the defraiege of the same Charges xxxiiij li. x s.

...

p 150 (30 September-25 December) (Payments) 15

...

Item paide to the Queenes maiesties Revellers ij li.

...

p 151 (24 December) (Officers' fees) 20

...

Item paide to the fower Waightes for their fees j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 153 (26 December-25 March) (Payments) 25

...

Item paide to the Lady Elizabeth players ij li.

...

p 154 (24 March) (Officers' fees) 30

...

Item paide to the fower Waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 156 (26 March-24 June) (Payments) 35

...

Item paide for takeinge away the Miskan at St Augustyns backe  
before the Queenes lodginge, the mixen in the Castle ditch, the  
misen at the wyche by Newgate, and makeinge Cleane all  
thereaboutes ij li. x s. x d. 40

...

p 157\* (26 March-24 June)

Yet more paiementes of the thirde quarter  
and for the Queenes maiesties enterteinement  
at Bristoll

...	5
Item for men to keepe the Causeway, and for a Man to ride to Bathe and for his horse hyer to bringe newes of the Queenes cominge	iiij s. iij d.
Item for hallinge of ordinance from the backe to the key	x s. 10
Item for hallinge of xxj peeces more and placeinge them	vij s. iiiij d.
Item for lighteridge of ordinance from Hungerode and for dismountinge them	xij s. vj d.
Item paide Iames Rainstopps noate for the water sportes for the Backe	xx li. xviiij s. x d. 15
Item paide Edward Williams noate for the twoe Galleys	xx li. xj d.
Item paide for Cranedge of Ordinance	v s.
Item paide Humphrey Clovells noate for powder, gildinge the sworde and mace	xviiij li. xv s. x d.
Item paide for fillinge vpp the pott at mr Coles Corner	j s. iij d. 20
Item paide to lade ordinance on the dray	j s. x d.
Item paide for removeinge of anckors and other thinges from the key	j s. ij d.
Item paide for payntinge and White lymeinge of laffordes gate and Newgate by order	j li. j s. iiiij d. 25
...	

p 158

More paymentes for the Queenes enterteinement

...	30
Item paide Henry Goodman to make the Bower	xvij s.
Item paide for nayles spent thereabouts	v s. iiiij d.
...	
Item paide for carrienge a cradle of yran to the bower & backe and for charcole	j s. iiiij d. 35
Item paide to laborers for digginge aboute the bower, and for helpe	ij s. vj d.
...	
Item paide for Rushes packthrid Roses and flowers to dresse the bowers	x s. vj d. 40
...	



Item paide for Rosewater <sup>r</sup>&<sup>l</sup> sweete water to sprinckle the bower ij s.  
 Item paide to a coople of maydes for dressinge the bower j s.  
 Item paide the yeomen of the wardropp for the bower j li. x s.  
 Item paide for lvj li. of powder for Capteyne Cole ij li. xj s. iiij d.  
 Item paide for xvij yardes of Reddcloth for the drums and fifes 5  
 at vij s. iiij d. peryarde vj li. xij s.

...

p 159 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

... 10  
 Item paide the fower waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.  
 ...

p 163 (28 September)

... 15  
 Item paide the fower waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.  
 ...

**Common Council Proceedings** BRO: 04264(2)

f 36v col 2\* (29 May)

20

It is agreed that their shalbe a purse and one hundred peeces of goulde in yt called vnites of xxij s. a peece presented and geven to the Queenes Maiestie as a gifte from the Mayor and Comunaltye of the Cytie at her comminge hyther on ffrydaye the iiijth of Iune nexte. 25

Item It is agreed <sup>l</sup>that<sup>l</sup> all the chardges which shalle growe or arise for the receyvinge and entertay(. . . .) of the Queenes maiestie by any meanes during her aboade in Bristoll shalbe borne by the mayor and Communaltye of this Cytie and be disbursed and defrayed oute of the Common Treasure of the sayd mayor and Communaltye/ and the same to be furnished by the generall 30  
 Receyver and Treasurer Chamberlen of the Cytie, vntill other provision may be made for the repayment thereof againe, as the mayor aldermen and Common counsell shall thincke fytt and expediente/ And yf there be not presente money in the handes of the sayd Receyvor, [or] treasurer, <sup>l</sup>and chamberlen<sup>l</sup> then they shall take vppe soe muche as shalbe needefull vpon their bandes, 35  
 and they shalbe allowed thereof agayne/

It ys thought fytt and agreed that there shalbe greate ordynance, *provyded* & placed in some conveniente place at the kaye to be shotte of after her maiestye ys gonne into her house, and that Master Sheryves shall take Care and ordere for the same 40

27/ entertay(. . . .): *ie, entertayninge; remainder of word lost in gutter*39/ maiestye: *ye corrected over -es sign*

Item that the Captaynes with their trayned bandes shalbe in readynes to receyve the Queenes maiestie at her firste entraunce into the libertyes of this Cytie and to bringe her to her lodginge but not to shoote in any wise vntill her highnes be in her Lodginge and all the horses placed in Stables/.

Item that the Companies in this Citie be in readynes in their Lyveryes & best arraye to attende Master Mayor at her Maiesties Commingel. 5

Item that order be taken for the makinge Cleane of the streates and of the marshe & the tymber to be removed at the kayel/.

Item that there be order taken for the makinge of roome in the Streates for the better passage of hir Maiestie and her followers, and for the mayor, aldermen, 10 and Common Counsell and the Constables be appoynted for that purpose/.

f 37 col 2 (2 June)

...

1 fforasmuch as It hath bin thought fytt and soe advised by somme honorable 15 person neare vnto hir Maiestie that noe presente shoulde be geven vnto hir highnes at hir furste enteraunce into the Cytie, but that yt shoulde <sup>be</sup> geven vnto hir Maiestie afterwarde in her house. It ys agreed that the same shalbe soe presented vnto hir Maiestie in her house, vnlesse there shalbe any other direction or advertyement from her Maiestie or the Lordes which are 20 nowe attendinge on her highnes persone,

2 It ys agreed that the Captaynes shall place them selves and their Companies at their meetings and shewes before the Queenes maiestie accordinge as the antiquitye of euery of the sayd Captaynes and their places in the Counsell house of this Cytie. 25

3 The Captaynes shalbe allowed fiftye poundes of Powder to euery of their Companies for the first daye, It ys alsoe ordered and agreed that the Chardges which shalbe bestowed by the Mayor or Sheryves or any of them for any extraordinary entertainment of the Lordes Ladyes or any of her Maiesties Servauntes or followers during her highes 30 aboade in Bristoll shalbe borne, and defrayed by the Mayor and Commonaltye, oute of their Common Treasury

...

f 37v\* (25 July)

...

It is agreed that noe Stage players shalbe permitted to play in the Cytie this St James tyde In regarde of the infection of the plague at Aburgavenney and other places in Wales, and the daunger thereof nowe greatlye feared in Bristoll/.

8/ & ... kayel: inserted at end of a line and between lines of original text, but by the main hand  
38-9/ In regarde ... Bristoll/: inserted after main text written, but by the main hand

Mr ffrauncys knight alderman and mr Iohn Aldworthe dyd not agree  
herevnto/

William  
Baldwine  
Mathewe  
Warren  
Iohn Langton  
Thomas Cecil

*Ricart's Calendar* BRO: 04720(1)a  
ff 181-2\* (4-8 June)

5

...  
Alsoe this yeere the high and excellente Princes Queen Anne, daughter of  
the noble Prince Frederick, Kinge of Denmark, and Norway, and syster to  
Christierne the nowe Kinge of those countries, and wyfe to our most deere,  
and dread soueraigne Lord Iames, kinge of great Brittain, ffrance, & Ireland; 10  
havinge bin at the Cittie of Bathe, for her health and recreacion was disposed  
to *comme* from thence to visite this Cittie of Bristol, beinge called, and  
accompted, her *Maiesties* Chamber, Of whose comminge thither the Maior  
havinge some intelligence, did with the advyse of his brethren the Aldermen  
[of] & Counsell of this Cittie make such provision for the receiving, and 15  
entertaining of her *Maiestie*, as could be accomplished vpon soe suddaine  
and shorre warninge wherupon he caused all the streetes | where hir *Maiestie*  
should passe through the Cittie, to be sanded, and all the Companies of *Artes*  
& *Misteries*, with three *Bandes* of Trayned Souldiers to the number of 500  
souldiers, well appareled & furnished, vnder the charge of three Captaines 20  
to be in readines for the attendinge & guardinge of hir highnes through the  
streetes, And soe the Maior Aldermen, Sherives, and *Common* Counsell, all  
in Skarlett Gownes, tooke their horses, and roade on ffootclothes from the  
Tolzey to Laffordes gate on ffridaie the fourth of Iune, where they mett, and  
receaued hir *Maiestie*. Mr Laurence Hide Esquior then Recorder of the Cittie, 25  
makinge a brief Oration vnto hir *Maiestie*, which beinge ended, the Maior,  
vsinge *somme* gratulatory speeches in few wordes, presented vnto hir highnes  
a faire Purse, of satten, imbrodered with two *lettres* for hir name (viz) .A.R.  
in which purse were 100 vnites, of gould, amountinge to the summe of 110 li.  
as a guyfte from the Maior and *Commynalty* of this Cittie which hir *Maiestie* 30  
most gratusly accepted, and soe the Maior & Recorder tooke their horses,  
and the Maior beinge placed betwene two *gentlemen* vs hers roade next before  
the lord Carie, whoe roade next vnto hir *Maiesties* Charriott, and soe the Maior  
with his brethren & *Companie* brought hir *Maiestie* to the house of the Ladie  
Marques, sometime the house of Sir Iohn Younge, knight; noe sword beinge 35  
hen borne before the Maior, (hir *Maiestie* beinge guarded by the souldiers as  
she passed through the streetes to the house aforesaid,) noe sound of drumme  
or Gunne beinge heard as she passed, But when hir highnes was placed and

settled in hir lodging, the bandes of souldiers beinge all sett in good order  
 vponn the Kay, they gave a great valley of shott, and immediatlie thervponn there  
 were .60. peeces of great Ordnances dischargd neere the Kay, and then the  
 souldiers returned & dischargd their peeces againe before hir highnes Courte,  
 hir *Maiestie* behoulding hem forthe of hir Chamber window, and much 5  
 commendinge them; And the same night certaine speiall souldiers were sett  
 & appointed to watch & to garde hir *Maiesties* person at the said house. And  
 the next daie beinge somethinge rainye weather hir *Maiestie* made hir aboade  
 in hir house; *Master Maior* entertaininge many of hir highnes *servauntes* at  
 dinner in his house, that daie. And on Sundaie following the *Maior Aldermen* 10  
*Sherives* and *Common Counsell* with their *Officers* repaired to hir highnes  
 Courte, and attended hir *Maiestie* from thence to the Cathedrall Church of  
 St Augustines, where <sup>she</sup> heard the Sermon preached by *Master doctor*  
*Robson* deane there, and soe returned to the Courte, being guarded by the  
 souldieres, as hir highnes passed thither And the next daie beinge Mundaie 15  
*Master Maior* invited the *Lordes* and *Ladies*, and other *Knights*, whoe dyned  
 at his house, and in the afternoone there was a show made for pleasure on  
 the River, by a shipp, sett on, & assaulted by two *Turkishe Gallies*, a scaffold  
 beinge made in *Canvings Marsh* for hir *Maiestie* to behould the same, and  
 the takinge of the said shipp in fight by the said Gallies which her *Maiestie* 20  
 beheld with great delight; And the same night the *Ladie Drumman* with other  
*Ladies*, and *gentlemen* being hir *Maiesties* | *Servauntes* did suppe at *Master*  
*Maiors* house, And then the *Ladie Drumman* did deliuer vnto *Master Maior*  
 a ffaire Ringe of Gould sett with *Diamondes* very richly, as a ffavor from the  
*Queene Maiestie*. And the next daie hir *Maiestie* departed from this City to 25  
*Syston* in *Gloucesteshire* to the house of *Sir Henry Billingsly*, the *Maior* with  
 his brethren and the rest of the *Companies* bringinge and attending hir highnes  
 to *Laffordes gate*, and there *Master Maior* and his brethren tooke their leaves  
 of hir *Maiestie*, whoe gave *Master Maior* and his brethren greate thanks for  
 hir entertainment, which she most graciously accepted and promysed to shew 30  
 the *Cittie* anie ffavor in any thinge wherin she might be occasioned to vse the  
 same, for their good.

...

*A Relation of the Entertainment, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse,* 35  
*Queene Anne* STC: 18347  
 sigs B1-D2\* (4-8 June)

THE QVEENES *Maiesties* Entertainment at BRISTOLL.

IF auncient Records of renowne vnto our yeeres declare  
 What deedes by our fore-fathers times, of old atchieued were;  
 If they for vs such care haue had, that their successors be,  
 By writing of their famous acts, that we the same might see:  
 Shall wee to our suruiuors then our selues ingratefull proude, 5  
 By not recording things which may succeding ages moue  
 In imitation of the like, to get a glorious name;  
 And to enroll themselues in Bookes of neuer-dying fame?  
 The monuments so much renown'd that mighty Monarches reare  
 Piramids & Colosso's great doe moulder downe and weare 10  
 In tract of time; so that no forme nor fashion they retaine,  
 Whereby the Passengers may say, Here once they did remaine:  
 But vertuous deedes, which by the Muse preserued are for aye,  
 Shall still abide when date of these is passed cleane away:  
 For vertues fame immortall is, and neuer shall it dye, 15  
 Though vnder ground, consum'd to dust, a thousand yeares we lye.  
 Great Peleus Sonne, by Hectors death, had neuer famous beene,  
 Had Homer grac'd him not with his immortalizing penne.  
 Shall I let sleepe in silence then what these mine eyes haue seene,  
 Bristols renowned prayse, set forth in welcomming our Queene? 20  
 The graue & auncient Counsell first, in gownes of Scarlet dye,  
 Attended on (each by a Page) did ride triumphantly,  
 With foot-cloaths were their Horses deckt: no cost they thought too (much)  
 For to expresse their willing hearts, their loue to her was such, I  
 To Bristols vtmost auncient bounds, marcht on this gallant Traine, 25  
 To meete her Grace, for whose approach, with ioy they did remaine:  
 Next after them the Companies, each after their degree,  
 With ioyfull hearts, marcht on to meete her Gracious Maiestie.  
 Like as the drie and thirstie ground, by Phœbus burning dart,  
 With extreame heate, for long time vext, & pierced to the hart, 30  
 With yawning throate wide gaping seemes, ye moisty cloud to call,  
 That with their watry drops they would into her bosome fall,  
 Thereby to coole her thirsty throate, and arme her breast so well,  
 That Phœbus stinging darts she may with moisture colde expell:  
 Euen so all sorts, both olde & yong, with hearts and voyce did craue 35  
 The wished presence of her Grace in compleate ioy to haue.  
 And last of all, though last, not least, chiefe subiect of my Verse,  
 Three bands there were, whose worthy praise my Muse cannot rehearse;  
 The first in white and violet clad, the second blacke and white,  
 The third with white and scarlet was, in martiall order dight: 40

Simile.

But least that curious carping fooles, obiecting thus may say,  
 Renowned valour seldome lurkes, where is apparrell gay.  
 (I answer them) Nay, this hath beene by flying fame enroll'd,  
 That Bristoll Bands in all attempts, haue beene of corage bolde:  
 For as to please her princely sight, they spared not their goods; 5  
 Like so, for to protect her Grace, they will not spare their bloods.  
 The hardy Pilot neuer is, but in a storme, describe:  
 The perfect gold not known from brasse, but when by touch-stone tride  
 Euen so, when storms shall threaten wrack, and blustering billowes beate,  
 Then shall appeare, & not till then, where is true valours seate. 10  
 But haste, my Muse for too-too long the time thou hast delaid;  
 To bad men, more will not suffice; to good enough is said.  
 No sooner did her Graces Traine approach our Cities bound,  
 And that her Harold gan draw neere, with blast of Trumpets sound,  
 Submissiue prostrate on his knees, the Mayor then fell downe, 15  
 And the Recorder by his side, a man of great renowne,  
 With graue aspect & perfect voyce, his silence then he brake.  
 These words vnto her Princely Grace, or not vnlike, he spake. |

The Oration to her Maiestie. 20

THE rarest Iemmes, that mortall men, to Princes can impart,  
 (Renowned Lady) true Loue is, proceeding from the hart:  
 This is the gift that God requires, this is the perfect band,  
 The seale that revnites the force and sinewes of our Land; 25  
 This Bristols Iemme, set clearely forth, in euery subiect true,  
 On whom your Grace shall bend your face, or daigne to take a view,  
 Prostrates it selfe in lowly wise vnto your Graces sight,  
 To serue our Soueraigne King and Queene, with all our force and (might.)  
 Bristoll a Citie of renowne hath neuer traitor beene 30  
 To Soueraigne Rule, or Regall Raigne; or false to King or Queene,  
 VVith thankfulness recordeth still, full many a fauour great  
 Inioy'd by famous Kings and Queenes that ruled Englands seate:  
 But to your Gracious Maiestie, as to our Soueraigne sweet,  
 For preseruation of our weale, we render praises meet; 35  
 Our liberties by you preseru'd, and many other things;  
 You are the fruitful root from whence our hopeful branches springs  
 Ingratefull should we then be thought, and iustly be condemned,  
 For pretermittig dutie bownd, vnto your Grace descended  
 From aunccient Christian Kings, adorn'd with outward graces, blest 40

With inward Princely vertues rare, which farre surpasse the rest:  
 VVith Royall Imps blest from aboue, to raigne and rule this Land,  
 As long (we hope) as Sunne and Moone, in Firmament shall stand.  
 Yet this respect of princely giufts could not our citie moue,  
 For to inuite your Maiestie; was yet for want of loue? 5  
 Farre be it from their loyall hartes! nay, rather did they feare  
 Too meane for such a Princely Guest, your entertainment here  
 Expected, should approue it selfe, vnto their grieffe of minde,  
 VVhen as your Princely Grace the same should insuficient finde. |  
 But now with double bands of loue indebted to your Grace, 10  
 Wee finde our selues most strictly bound, since that vnto this place  
 (Of your accord and Princely loue) you haue approched neare,  
 To make our Citie by this meanes more famous to appeare:  
 Most humble thanks I yeeld therefore, vnto your Maiestie,  
 In name of all these Citizens, whose seruice till they dye 15  
 Deuoted is vnto your Grace, as to their Soueraigne good,  
 Not fearing (if occasion were) to seale it with their blood:  
 Requiring pardon of your Grace for what amisse you finde,  
 Imputing it not to neglect, but to the want of time:  
 Accepting this our token small, a pledge of louing hartes, 20  
 Who will continue subiects true vntill their liues depart;  
 Treading the step of Princes great, as by records we finde,  
 Who neuer did respect so much the gift as giuers minde.  
 This done, Bristoll, which to our ioy and great content hath beene  
 For euermore accounted still the Chamber of the Queene 25  
 Of England, is and euer will, as yet hath bene to fore,  
 Vnto Queene ANNE our gracious Queene, much bound for euer-<sup>r</sup>(more.)  
 And I this Cities worthlesse mouth, which tasted hath full oft  
 Your Princely fauours bountifull, on me bestow'd for nought  
 Of worthinesse in mee you found, for which I will intreate, 30  
 For you and all your Royall Traine, vnto the Mercy-seate  
 Of God, that he may bless you still, and send you long to raigne  
 Vnto his glory and our good, the truth for to maintaine.

The end of the Oration.

THE graue Recorder hauing then concluded this his speech,  
 The Mayor he his Present gaue, and did her Grace beseech  
 For to accept it in good part, as pledge of their good will,  
 Which to her Soueraigne Maiestie they would continue still;

p 180, l.22–p 181, l.33/ THE rarest lemnes ... for to maintaine: printed in italics  
 36/ THE: T printed as large display capital

A rich imbrodered Purse it was, most sumptuous to behold  
 In outward shew, the in-side was cramm'd full of massie gold. |  
 In gracious wise the Queene receiu'd the present he her gaue,  
 And render'd thanks, more thanks then they of her could wish or (craue) 5  
 And lastly all the Magistrates in order passing by,  
 With reuerence did (as dutie bound) salute her Maiestie.  
 When she had passed thus along vnto the Citie gate  
 Attended on by great and small, and many a noble state,  
 There first her eyes beheld what earst her heart could not conceiue,  
 Through sodaine admiration rapt, scarce could she credit giue 10  
 Vnto her sight; for since she first set foot on English ground,  
 Such braue couragious hardy men, at once, she neuer found,  
 Admiring at this sodaine sight, she viewes these martiall Bands,  
 How each in his assigned place, in order firmly stands  
 On eyther side of Bristoll streetes firme ioyned like a wall 15  
 To guard her Grace vnto the Court, lest ought might her befall  
 Through rashnesse of the multitude, which might her grace annoy,  
 By pressing on for to behold, their loue, their life, their ioy.  
 First stood a rancke of hardy Pikes, much like a thorny Wood:  
 Next after them the nimble Shot in order ready stood. 20  
 Here waues the Ancients in the winde, there stands the Fife and drum,  
 Attending when her Maiestie would through their squadrons come:  
 All to their Captaines Colours were with scarfes & feathers bright  
 Adorn'd, not wanting ought was fit to please her Princely sight.  
 Each man for Martiall discipline doth a Comaunder seeme, 25  
 As though in warres from tender yeeres, they exercis'd had beene.  
 Like some great Princesse who intends to purchase Jewels rare,  
 Which by some forraigne Jeweller to her presented are:  
 First, through his Casket doth she looke, with curious searching eye,  
 Where she may to her hearts content some pretious Lemme descry: 30  
 The first she sets her hands vpon seems glorious in her sight,  
 A second doth more better please her curious appetite:  
 The third anone shee doth behold, which doth the rest excell,  
 So that each latter choyse doth seeme the former to refell.  
 That quite confounded in her mind, she knows not which to chuse, 35  
 But still shee thinkes she takes ye worst, and doth the best refuse:  
 Euen so our gracious soueraigne Queene, as through the street she past  
 Each seuerall obiect pleas'd her well whereon her eyes she cast. |  
 But as amidst these armed Troopes, she passing forward went,  
 Each Martialist vnto her view did seeme most excellent: 40  
 So that, protesting, thus she did vnto her Nobles say,  
 Braue Bristoll-men from all the Land, hath borne the price away.



For this their famous enterprise their credit I will raise,  
 Renowned Fame shall spread their name, and glory sound their praise.  
 No thundring shot nor ratling drums throughout the streets were heard  
 Whiles that her grace to Court-ward went, most strictly was obserued  
 The Proclamation former made, wherein did plaine appeare, 5  
 The reuerend Counsels Prouidence, the Souldiers Loue and feare.  
 But when she was conducted safe, with all her Noble traine,  
 Vnto her Royall Court, whereas with ioy shee did remaine,  
 And in her Presence-chamber plac'd, there for to take a view  
 Of all the Royall pastimes made by this braue Martiall Crew, 10  
 Who marcht along on Bristols Key, with Ensignes braue displaid:  
 And opposite against the Court each Band in order staid,  
 Expecting when by sound of Drumme they should commanded be  
 For to discharge their ratling shot before her Maiestie.  
 Thus ready ranged stood these Bands, expecting nought but time, 15  
 That temporizing space (I meane) wherewith wee must refine  
 Our outward acts, and all our deeds, whereby we shall be tride  
 As perfect gold which in the fire is seauen-times purified.  
 Had Hanibal of Carthage knowne what triumph great he lost  
 By times neglect, when he had slaine the mightie Romaine host, 20  
 If he forth-with had marcht to Rome with his victorious bands,  
 Romes lofty pride no doubt had stoop'd to his vnconquered hands:  
 But when (preuented by report) hee came too late to speede,  
 An answere fit he then receiu'd for this his sloathfull deede;  
 O Hanibal, full well thou knowest a victory to get, 25  
 But how to vse it, once obtain'd, thou has not learned yet.  
 Musicke with time, as natiue twinnes, afford sweet harmonie,  
 Arions harpe (time not obseru'd) resounds harsh melodie.  
 Each hearb and plant, each fruitfull tree their times appointed know:  
 A time there is for Husbandmen to reape, a time to sow; 30  
 Therefore I say attend on time while time attends on thee:  
 For time once lost, for gold nor gaine cannot attained be. |  
 This precious Jewell Time (I say) did these our Troopes attend,  
 That their fore-sight no slanderous tongues in ought might discommend  
 But vwhen at length (by tokens made) was time conuenient found, 35  
 Two thundering Peales of shot were heard, which seem'd to shake the <sub>1</sub>(ground:)  
 And next, for halfe an houres space, the roaring Cannons cry,  
 With fiery smoake did seem to choake, and quench bright Phœbus eye.  
 The ayrie regions were inflam'd, as if that Phaëton  
 (As Poets faine) had rul'd againe the Chariot of the Sunne. 40

But when the Cannons were discharg'd, and that the skies waxt cleare,  
 And Phœbus with his glistering beames gan brightly to appeare,  
 A ioyfull shout by thousand made, which thither did repayre,  
 In token of contented ioy, resounded in the ayre.  
 The Bels most ioyfully did ring, with Musickes simphony, 5  
 And still these words (God saue our Queene) re-ecchoed in the skie.  
 In auncient Writers doe I finde when (Romes rare pearle of price)  
 Pompey was chosen chiefe of Seas, by Senators advice,  
 Thence to expell the roysterous rout of brauing Pirates might,  
 Such was his fame through triumphes wonne in all the Romaines sight, 10  
 That all applauding his renowne, with clamorous shoutes and cries,  
 So did they pierce the thin vast ayre extant beneath the skies,  
 With horrid noyse, that flying Fowles, amazed, fell to ground  
 Through great astonishment and feare of this their thundering sound.  
 Much more should we doe for our Queene, inflam'd with ardent loue 15  
 Of her attractiue vertues rare, proceeding from aboue,  
 And for King Iames our Soueraignes sake, whom God preserue & keep  
 From all detested treacheries, both waking and asleepe:  
 For he our Albion Thesius true, hath curb'd our enemy,  
 Romes Minotaure, a restlesse foe to Britaines Progenie. 20  
 Nay, mighty Loue, in mercy great, hath clos'd this monsters Iawes  
 From hurting of his Daniel deare; or tearing with his Pawes  
 The holy Saints and Martyres all, whose bloud did oft imbrow  
 This Monsters blacke bloud-thirsty throate (which innocents he slew)  
 But now (thanks be to God therefore) we are escaped free, 25  
 By our most gracious Soueraigne King, from this our misery,  
 Who rules vs with most gentle loue, from all oppressions free,  
 Defending vs by peace, from strife, and former tyranny. |  
 Licurgus-like with Argus eyes he doth prescribe his lawes,  
 To free poore Codrus innocence from Cræsus greedy iawes: 30  
 To all his friends, he succour sends which are opprest by might:  
 Protecting Itus from his foes, and doth maintaine his right,  
 When glorious Titan diues in west, and hides him from our eyes,  
 For to enlight the darksome night, pale Cinthia doth arise,  
 Like so bright Soll declin'd with vs, when by Impartiall death, 35  
 The vitall thred was cut in twaine of Queene Elizabeth:  
 Yet did no dusky night succeed, for in Elizaes roome,  
 As from the Phœnix ashes doth another Phœnix come:  
 For why, no sooner Brittain had her former bright eye lost,  
 But straight another did begin to shine from Northeren cost, 40  
 With hands vpheld, may we therefore giue thanks vnto our God,  
 Who like a father did forbeare, to strike vs with his rod.

Sending to vs in mercy great, such an Athenian King,  
 Whose learned fame and Pietie, throughout the world doth ring:  
 Another Cicero for wit and learned Eloquence,  
 A valiant Cæser bountifull, for rare Magnificence:  
 For to conclude, he doth maintaine Gods true and perfect word, 5  
 Which cutteth sinne from off our soules, as a two-edged sword:  
 But soft my Muse, attempt thou not so high an enterprise,  
 His vertues rare for to behold doth daze thy tender eyes,  
 So great a taske shall rest for men of most approued praise,  
 As none but Eagles fixe their eyes on Solls respndant rayes: 10  
 The Souldiers having thus with ioy, this first dayes triumph done,  
 which did delight her graces sight, and all that look'd there on:  
 Returning backe before the Court, each band in good aray,  
 With thundering shot their leaues they tooke, and homewards marcht <sup>(away.)</sup>  
 { Thus did her graces Court excell, with great renowne and fame, 15  
 { Where thousands for to see her face, to Bristoll flocking came:  
 { Whereas her Gracious Maiestie, their kindnesse to requite,  
 { In open view her selfe did shew to all the peoples sight.  
 It weare too long for to rehearse, the braue pastime and sport,  
 Which by the Citizens were made, for to delight her Court, 20  
 Their loue by proffered seruice shewen to guard her Maiestie,  
 But mine intent is to conclude each thing with breuity: |  
 And for to imitate aright, in this the curious Sunne,  
 Who doth intend for her delight a Nosegay sweet to frame:  
 Shee crops not rudely of those hearbes, on which she seaseth first, 25  
 But doth select the rarest sort, reiecting those are worst,  
 Like so few words will beautifie what doth from truth proceed,  
 For too much matter Pell-mell mixt, doth a confusion breed.  
 Wise Caliepie, Queene of Eloquence, assist my stammering tongue  
 To finish this triumphant shew, which now I haue begun: 30  
 Lest that my Muse, for want of aide vnder her burden fall,  
 As Vines vnpropped oftentimes vpon the ground doe crall.  
 No sooner had swift Phæbus steeds, beganne their course to runne,  
 Shining with most respndant rayes vppon our Horrison,  
 But that each souldier did prepare, to guard her Maiestie 35  
 Vnto the temple of the Lord, with great solemnity:  
 Not clad in armes as erst they weare, with thundering shot that ror'd,  
 But with good harts to sanctifie, the sabboth of the Lord,  
 Who hath sixe dayes allotted vs to purchase worldly wealth,  
 The seauenth alone he hath reseru'd, for good of our soules health: 40  
 That we this day might praise his name and rest our selues from sinne,  
 As God did rest when he had made the world and all therein:

® Simile

® Sunday

Quite from the Court vnto the Church this worthy guard was seene,  
 In ranckes close standing one by one, to safe conduct the Queene,  
 But when the Mayor graue & wise, in most triumphant sort,  
 With all the reuerend Councell came on foot vnto the Court:  
 In seemly wise attired all with gownes of Scarlet dye, 5  
 For to attend vnto the Church her gracious Maiestie,  
 Who mounted like faire Cinthia bright, into her sumptuous Coach,  
 Drawen by foure milke-white coursers braue, and next her did ap-(proach)  
 The Ladies on their trampling steeds, like faire Diana's traine,  
 Hunting in the Arcadian woods, (as doe the Poets faine.) 10  
 Formost of all in their degrees, vnto the Church did goe,  
 The reverend Senate, two and two, all marching on a row:  
 Lastly on foote (before her grace with all her noble traine,  
 Of Lords & Knights into the Church the worthy Mayor came,  
 The Queene then set in chaire of state with all ye residue 15  
 (In their degrees) the Mayor & Shriefes, and the Nobilitie, )  
 Where learned Docter ROBSON did, a godly Sermon frame,  
 In setting forth Gods mighty workes, and lauding of his name,  
 Which Sermon being finished, she backe return'd to Court,  
 Guarded along from Church againe, in most triumphant sort. 20  
 The reuerend Mayor and the Shriefes, their loue for to expresse,  
 Did feast with most delitious cheare, & dainties numberlesse  
 Her Noble traine; who did admire, as though Earth, Ayre, and Sea,  
 Withall their dainties had conspir'd, Bristoll to dignifie,  
 Whose true affection to her Prince, and peerlesse Progenie, 25  
 Doth rest vnparagond, as yet, vnto posterity,  
 With their true loue set forth in part, before the worlds bright eye,  
 Their hearts, their hands, their life, their lands, to please her Maiestie:  
 And to content her Princely grace, shall euermore be prest,  
 For whose most heauenly gifts diuine, we from aboue are blest 30  
 By mighty loue, who through his loue, hath sent vs such a King,  
 That turnes our blustering winters blasts into a gladsome spring,  
 Deere mother England, with salt teares bend thou thine aged knee,  
 And render thanks vnto thy God, who hath deliuered thee,  
 When most vndoubted was thy feare, then did he comfort bring, 35  
 Shrouding thee safe from Tigers pawes with his all-couering wing:  
 For what a terrour had it beene, vnto thine heart to see  
 Through sodaine strife, thy streetes exempt from popularity,  
 When children fatherlesse each where, should in the streetes be found,  
 Thy fathers childlesse sighing sore, and in deepe dolours drown'd, 40  
 Thy trusty friends bereau'd of life, sisters rapt from the brother,  
 No kinsman left for to lament or to inter each other,

Thy Virgins bath'd in teares thy youth amaz'd themselues to see,  
 Through griefe of heart bereft of strength and of validity:  
 Thy lofty towers tumbled downe, as in the Romains ire,  
 Jerusalem was brought to ground, by famine, sword, and fire?  
 But since that God hath now vouchsaft, not for our merits sake, 5  
 But of his mercy and great loue, these iudgments iust to take  
 From vs, who haue by sinne deserued to taste the bitter cup,  
 Fild with the dregges of Gods iust wrath, and for to drinke it vp:  
 Let vs giue thanks to God therefore, that nought but thanks doth [(craue,)]  
 Who hath vs rais'd from death to life, as Lazarus from the graue, | 10  
 Continuing still vnto our ioy, the perfect Lampe of light,  
 His sacred word, our spirituall food, and heauenly soules delight.  
 Now bloody Mars is tied in chaines with fierce Bellena bound,  
 His armes and Adamantine coate, lies rusting on the ground:  
 Grizely Thanattos who did still his gastly steps attend, 15  
 Hath lost his stinging force and might, (by bondage of his friend:)  
 Harsh discord thirsting after blood, with sweet concord is drown'd,  
 Whiles peace with plenty in our streetes doth euery where abound:  
 Now may the Lambes securely feed, from Wolfe, and Tigers claws,  
 Since Pan our watchfull Shepheard hath shut vp these monsters iawes, 20  
 For all these benefits therefore receiued by our King,  
 We will expresse our thankfulnesse and loue, (we owe to him  
 And to his royall Progeny) vnto our Soueraigne Queene,  
 Whose like throughout the worlds vast bounds cannot again be seene.  
 But soft my Muse, let Ancors fall, strike sailes, thy swift course stay, 25  
 Welcome to shore, remember that this is a Sabbath day:  
 What twixt Euterpes mirth and sad Melpemens tragicke stile,  
 (Thy sences luld) thou hadst almost spleeted thy barke ere-while  
 Vpon the rocke Obluion cal'd: moreouer harke giue eare,  
 Mundayes triumph implores thine ayde to make his fame appeare: 30  
 Varietie and change doth best content mans appetite,  
 Each obiect faire seemes fowle if still presented to our sight,  
 Sweete Orpheus musicke cloyes our eares, if that it common be,  
 Our nature is so apt and prone to mutability:  
 By good aduice therefore it was prouided that her Grace, 35  
 With all her traine might not dislike their tarying in this place,  
 For euery day shee soiourn'd here in most triumphant sort  
 A seuerall pastime was ordain'd, for to delight her Court,  
 And as at her first entrance here she did with ioy behold,  
 A martiall troupe of warlike men, of courage stout and bould: 40

Like so, for Mundaies pastime was prepared for her sight,  
 Betwixt two gallies and a ship a bloody water fight,  
 But yet awhile I must looke backe, ere farther I proceede,  
 Least that my Muse should taxed be for too too hasty speede,  
 This water fight (by fame diuulg'd) full many thousand drew, 5  
 Both farre and neere for to behold, and take a perfect view,  
 Of Turkes and turkish gallies both, describ'd in liuely wise,  
 By worthie Brutes who oft haue seene, their habit, forme, and guise:  
 Nay, many a Christian Marchant man, hath too too often knowen,  
 (Though by constraint) to Christ his flock their loue and kindnesse (shewen,) 10  
 When with the losse of all their goods, (O barberous cruelty!)  
 These cursed Turkes (more deere then life) from them their liberty  
 With endles bondage haue restrain'd, for gally-slaues condemn'd,  
 There bound in chaines for to remaine till death their liues doth end:  
 We Christians much more pittie shew, to dumbe and sencles things 15  
 Then they to Christians will afford (such deadly rancour stings,  
 There cankered hearts with pride puft vp, inflam'd with rage and Ire,  
 That nothing can aswage their wrath, nor quench this burning fire,  
 But Christian blood by their curst hands powred vpon the ground,  
 By Christ redeem'd, then when naught else sufficient could be found,) 20  
 We for our Cattell houses frame, against cold winters showers,  
 Naked they row, when th'angry skies their stormy blasts down powers:  
 We giue our cattell prouender, of sundry sorts of graine,  
 They scarcely bread and water giue, their liues for to maintaine,  
 We doe not presse our beasts with worke, beyond their strength and <sup>1</sup>(force, 25  
 With restles rowing they oppresse their slaues without remorce,  
 And when they haue their vtmost done, their tiranizing Lords  
 Barbarian-like, torment their flesh with scourging whips of cords:  
 For why, no words can ought auaille, neither can sighes suffice 30  
 To mollifie their stony hearts, once bent to Tirannize.  
 Woe worth the sinnes of Christendom, which haue incenst Gods ire,  
 In iudgments iust for to lay wast, by famine, sword, and fire,  
 Europe his chosen Heritage, (which doth Christs name adore)  
 By letting sur in proud Ottoman, that Erimanthean Bore, 35  
 Whose cursed race, hath rais'd their names by Christian Princes fall,  
 While mongst themselues they disagree'd through ciuill strife & braule  
 Witnesse the Grætian Empire lost, by Christian Kings neglect,  
 To these accursed Infidels whiles each seemes to respect  
 Their seuerall discords and debates, not knowing that the flame 40  
 Once kindled in our neighbours house, will make vs feare the same.  
 Of all things which God did create, of Birds, Beasts, Fish, and Fowle,  
 The Lord into mans face alone did breath a liuing soule, |

That he which beares the forme of God imprinted in his face  
 Should frame himselfe in heart thereto, as God hath giuen him grace:  
 But man corrupted at the first, by sinne, through Adams fall,  
 Hath euer since a rebell beene, and proued worst of all.  
 For why? each beast obseruing kinde, his nature doth expresse: 5  
 But man the Lawes of God aboue, and Nature doth transgresse.  
 No Tiger seekes a Tigers bloud his greedy maw to fill,  
 In Natures Schoole this learn'd, they keepe inuiolable still:  
 But man to mankinde often proues most cruell, fierce, and fell;  
 Yea, Christians vnto Christians are (I tremble for to tell) 10  
 As bad, nay, some more worse then Turkes; who through their ciuill <sub>1</sub>(broyles,)  
 Present the Turkes occasion fit to glory in their spoyles.  
 When Christian Princes disagree, and each gainst other rise,  
 Then doe the Turkes with might and maine their ruine straight devise;  
 For how can wee expect good fruit where euill is the tree? 15  
 Or credit Turkes, who mortall foes vnto all Christians be?  
 Ye Christian Kings and Potentates, ioyne both your hearts and hands  
 To chase this off-scumme Scithian-brood from you and all your lands.  
 Vnite your Forces Christian like from Europe to expell  
 Proud Ottoman, too dangerous a neighbour neare to dwell: 20  
 Whose Moony Standards still attend, expecting but a prey,  
 To satisfie their greedy lusts, impatient of delay.  
 Christ is the head of Christendome, and we the members be,  
 Ioyned in one through faith in him, with perfect vnitie:  
 Euen as the members of a man, the head, the hands, the feete, 25  
 Each in his office doth his part, the body for to keepe  
 In perfect health: like so should we yeeld helping hands to others,  
 Whom God hath made through faith in Christ, more near & dear then  
<sub>1</sub>(brothers.)  
 When Amphitrites flowing waues began to fill their banks, 30  
 Full forty thousand eyes at least, expected when our ranckes  
 From Court-ward would conduct the Queene vnto the Riuers side,  
 For to behold by worthy Brutes this water-combat tride:  
 Who came accompanied at length with all her noble Court;  
 The Mayor with the Councill roade, to shew her Grace this sport. 35  
 One of the Bands in warlike wise marching triumphantly,  
 Guarded vnto the water side her gracious Maiestie. |  
 The other two on eyther side were of the Riuer plac'd,  
 Whose thundering Shot resounding shrill, this famous triumph grac'd  
 Where placed in her Royall Tent, bedeckt with Flora's pride, 40  
 She did attend to see the end of this braue combat tride.  
 O that I could in these my verse, to Virgils veyne aspire,

That all ensuing ages might this glorious act admire,  
 Thereby to kindle in their breast a like desire of fame,  
 By loyall tokens of their loue to equalize the same!  
 But since that wishes are but vaine, whereby to purchase skill,  
 My want of wealth in learning shall, and not my want of will, 5  
 Condemned be: therefore, my Muse, feare not for to indite  
 This worthy triumph as it was perform'd in order right.  
 Foremost of all an English Ship came stemming with the tyde,  
 And right before her graces Tent at Anchor did she ride,  
 Her Colours were the bloody Crosse (to Britaines foes well knowne) 10  
 A worthy Captaine was her guide whose skilfull Art was shovne:  
 Her Soldiers braue resolued hearts no danger could impaire.  
 Her Flags & lofty Pendants seem'd to beautifie the ayre:  
 But whiles at Anchor there they lay, they gan discry from farre  
 Two Turkish Gallies well prepar'd, most mighty men of warre: 15  
 They saw how close they ply'd their Oares, to boord her if thy can,  
 Then euery mate begins to stirre, minding to play the man:  
 Each one betakes him to his Armes, to entertaine this guest.  
 In emulation which of them should guard his Quarter best.  
 Some runneth here, some runneth there, all wants for to supply, 20  
 As hony Bees in Summer time, when Phœbus gins to fry:  
 Their fights hung forth, their Musket-shot, and Murderers each one  
 Were ready prim'd expecting nought but when the Turks would come  
 Whose Moony Standerds at the last, they plainly gan descry, 25  
 Full well provided both for armes and for artillery.  
 Their Admirall had all her men aparelled in blew,  
 The other red; so neare they did resemble Turkes in hew,  
 With Targs and Cemitaurs, so that had sharpe ey'd Lienus scene,  
 He would haue iudged that these men Turks naturall had beene,  
 But when by swiftnesse of their Oares they did approach them nigh, 30  
 Amaine, amaine, your top-sailes strike, these fained Turks did cry: |  
 Oh! hoy! so! hoy! From whence your ship? Of England. Whither bound?  
 For Bristol port. What will yee yeeld, or else sinke and be drown'd?  
 Wee'll fight it to the vtmost man, the Christians did reply:  
 We had much rather lose our liues then lose our liberty. 35  
 Then did the Fife and Drummes begin deaths fierce alarum sound,  
 The thundring shot with horrid noyse, did all things else confound:  
 But when with Musket-shot they had on each part done their best,  
 Their sharpe-edg'd Cemitaurs they drew, for to performe the rest.  
 At once both Gallies fell aboard (a Turkish stratagem) 40



Seeking by numbers to suppress our neuer-daunted Men,  
 Who with like courage did sustaine the fierce Barbarians force,  
 Confronting them with their bright swords: who without all remorse,  
 Prest on with might & maine. So that to the beholders eye,  
 Each 'gainst their opposite did shew their vtmost crueltie. 5  
 Like as the waters whose swift course is stopped by a bay,  
 Which though not long, it for a while, their fury doth delay,  
 Till re-vniting of their force, they cast it to the ground,  
 So that no mention of the same remaineth to be found:  
 Euen so thes Turkes were for a while repulsed with disgrace 10  
 By Christians, till their numbers fail'd for to supply each place:  
 Whereas the Turkes on all parts did their victory beginne,  
 Though not by valour yet by force their chiefest hope to winne.  
 On eyther part no slacknesse found, but each man firmly stood.  
 That Amphitrites siluer waues were stain'd with crimson blood. 15  
 This fight so brauely was maintain'd, that winged Victory  
 Now on the Christians, then on Turkes, did looke impartially.  
 The Bands which by the Riuer stood, on each side did their best,  
 With thundring shot to aide their friends, by numbers thus opprest.  
 Meane whiles the Turks with high applause their victory pursu'd, 20  
 Longing to see their Turkish blades with Christian blood imbrud.  
 But trust who list (vnill deceiud) Fortunes inconstant chance,  
 Which mighty Monarches casteth downe, and meaner doth aduance:  
 When greatest hope of good successe, when health and wealth is highest  
 Then wofull wracke, disease, and want, with grieffe approacheth highest. 25  
 For whiles vpon thes Turkes attempts she sweetly seem'd to smile,  
 (Bending her browes, she turnes her face, intending greatest guile. |  
 The Christians well perceiuing that their forces nought auail'd  
 To daunt these proud insulting Turkes which fiercely them assail'd,  
 With fained feare retyring backe, they chast them cleane away, 30  
 By fiery force) depriu'd of this their misconceiued prey.  
 Like as the greedy rauening Wolfe, with pinching hunger prest,  
 Leauing the Woods, through hils and dales, disdainig quiet rest,  
 He fearelesse rangeth vp and downe, not ceasing till he finde  
 The harmesse flocke of tender Lambes, the obiect of his minde: 35  
 Where ready prest to seize vpon his long desired pray,  
 And satisfie his greedy lust, impatient of delay,  
 The Mastiue dog pursues his theft, whom hastily he flies,  
 Amaz'd with feare, being dispossesst of this his wished prise:  
 Euen so these Turkes prouokt by thirst of honour and renowne, 40  
 Striuing for to adorne their heads with a victorious crowne:  
 Whose Laurell Branches (Fames desert) are not by cowards gain'd,

But by true valiant noble hearts with sweaty browes obtain'd.  
 When that they thought all danger past, which might themselues op- (pose)  
 To their designes, then were they made a spoile vnto their foes:  
 For oft-times when we glory most in Sun-shine of delights,  
 Then Winter stormes our ioyfull course with sharpe affliction bites, 5  
 Some of these Turkes incenst with rage, not fearing this mischaunce,  
 Were mounted vp into the shrowdes, their prowesse to aduance,  
 Where thirsting for to win renowne, with all their force and might,  
 Against the fury of their foes maintain'd an eager fight:  
 But when their fortune once declin'd, the Christians they forsooke, 10  
 Leaping into the Brinish waues, and so their Gallies tooke:  
 But yet these drops that cool'd their heate, quench'd not the burning (fire)  
 Of fierce reuenge for their disgrace, but more inflam'd their Ire,  
 And wrathfull rage: remembring that how much more hard the paine,  
 So much more excellent shall be the triumph they obtaine. 15  
 Thus arm'd with hope, (for hope is swift, and flyes with Swallows wings,  
 Of mighty Monarches it makes Gods, and meaner creatures Kings,)  
 The second time they did attempt, although vnto their cost,  
 To re-obtaine from Christians hands, their former honour lost.  
 Then might you see the fiery bals like Comets blazing bright, 20  
 The dusky smoke of powdred shot, which dim'd and daz'd their sight. |  
 The moony Targs aduanc'd on high from harme to guard their heads  
 The Christians valour in defence, which nought their fury dreads:  
 The fierce aspect on eyther part sufficient to affright  
 And terrifie great Mars himselfe, the dauntlesse God of fight. 25  
 For to conclude, they came aboard, where entertain'd they were  
 By these braue Brutes, with Martiall strokes, vntill the former snare  
 Once more had dispossesst their hope the victory to winne;  
 Constrayning them (to get aboard their Gallies) backe to swimme.  
 Amidst their fight one of these Turkes, thirsting to get renowne, 30  
 Ere that the Christians him descri'd, had tooke their Colours downe.  
 Wherewith vnto the Bowspret got, he leapt into the maine,  
 And tooke his Gally with triumph of this his glorious gaine.  
 The valiant heart which once hath felt the vtmost force and might  
 Of enuious Fortune, courage takes, and thriues in her despight, 35  
 That by his resolution bold he doth abate her ire,  
 Who sought to worke his ouer-throw, by famine, sword, or fire:  
 Euen so these Christians hauing once repulst this furious foe,  
 Whose first assault might seeme to threat their wrack, & dreadfull woe,  
 Their valiant hearts were more inflam'd by Turkes disgracefull foyle, 40  
 Hoping their Trophyes for to raise by those Barbarians spoyle,  
 Who foure times twise did boord their ship, with lofty shouts and cryes,

And foure times twice they were repulst from this their wished prise.  
 So that through feare discouraged, they tooke themselues to flight,  
 And left some of their braue consorts by Christians tooke in fight,  
 Which captiues brought before her Grace, on bended knees did craue  
 For mercy, which her Maiestie with pardon freely gaue. 5  
 Loe here behold by this triumph, as in a mirror plaine,  
 How mighty loue against all foes our quarrell doth mantaine,  
 Confounding all their priuie plots, and close Conspiracies,  
 Who for to vndermine our state, against vs doe arise.  
 Their vaine attempts and boundles thoughts, he turnes to their decay 10  
 Entrapped in ye selfe-same snare, they did for others lay,  
 For God which bounds the raging Seas, hath bounded their desire:  
 And turns to smoke their proud attempts wherto their thoughts aspire,  
 This braue exploite thus finished, the Queene with all her traine  
 Attending on, her Princely Grace, to Court return'd againe. | 15  
 By which time Phoebus gan to hide his Chariot in the West,  
 And each thing liuing tooke themselues vnto their wonted rest.  
 But when that Philomell began her sugred notes to sing  
 At faire Auroraes first approach, which present comfort brings.  
 By chasing hence the darkesome night with her deluding dreames, 20  
 And bringing in the ioyfull light by Sols all-searching beames.  
 When euery man with ioyfull heart, his sleepy bed forsakes,  
 And to his daily labours eke, himselfe againe betakes:  
 The vtmost date expired was vpon this present day,  
 Of our most gracious Queenes abode in Bristoll for to stay. 25  
 Wherefore the reuerend Counsell came vnto her Princely Court,  
 For to attend her Maiestie, prepar'd in seemely sort:  
 Where as our Queene most graciously vouchsaf'd to thanke them all,  
 Both Mayor, Sheriffes and Aldermen, who on their knees did fall,  
 And humbly kist her Royall hand, such fauour did she shew, 30  
 And loue, for loue, which to her Grace, in dutie, they did owe.  
 And furthermore, for to expresse her loue to loyall hearts,  
 And bounty by rewarding all according to deserts,  
 A Ring with Diamonds beset, most graciously she sent  
 Vnto the Mayor as a pledge of her most kinde intent, 35  
 In ought she might for Bristols good, in rightfull cause obtaine,  
 By suite prefer'd vnto King IAMES our gracious Soueraigne.  
 Such tender loue hath now possess her Graces Princely breast,  
 That she for Bristols weale will be for euer ready prest:  
 For as the fixed Stars moue not within the Firmament, 40  
 So loue by vertuous deedes obtain'd is alwayes permanent.  
 In solemne wise her farewell tooke, through Bristoll streetes she past,

Where (as at her first entrance here) a worthy guard was plac'd:  
 The Mayor, with the Councill graue, before her Grace did ride,  
 Her Courtly traine of worthy Peeres, attended by her side.  
 The streetes on eyther side were prest with numbers infinite,  
 Who in her gracious countenance had fixed their delight:  
 Whose ioyfull hearts expressed were, when they beheld her face,  
 And with loud voyces did cry out, The Lord preserue your Grace!  
 Thus roade they with her Grace as farre as Bristols bounds extend,  
 Where this their ioyfull Iourney was compell'd to take an end. |  
 In humble wise the Mayor then his lofty steede forsooke,  
 And of her Grace on bended knees, prostrate, his farewell tooke,  
 And all the rest her Subiects true did seeme to change their cheare,  
 And mourne her absence as the childe that loseth parents deare.  
 The Martiall Bands in number three, by three braue peales of Shot  
 Exprest their loue, that cursed hate might not their honour blot.

Thus haue you here impartially presented to your view,  
 A patterne of most loyall hearts vnto their Soueraigne true,  
 Who not alone in hearts but hands, haue manifested plaine  
 Their loue vnto our gracious Queene, which Enuy cannot staine,  
 Although that vertue seldome scapes, through Enuy free from blame,  
 For why detraction will not spare to blot Diana's name:  
 Yet vertue by how much the more hid from the worlds bright eye,  
 By cursed hate, so much the more it mounteth vpon high,  
 Whose Rose-bound head for her deserts, shall gaine a glorious crowne;  
 Incompast with a three-fold Wreath, Loue, Honour and Renowne,  
 Therefore let Enuy fret and fume, and spit her poysoned bane,  
 For vertuous deedes shall still inioy a neuer-dying fame.

## FINIS.

*St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StMR/ChW/1(c)  
 f 179 (16 April-15 April; rendered 11 May) (Payments)

...  
 Item paide to Iohn Sessill towardes the payment of the musicions  
 att his Count dynner

ij s. vj d.

*St Thomas Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StT/ChW/46  
 f [3]\* (27 April 1613-26 April 1614) (Payments)

...  
 Item paid the Ringers at the Queenes Comminge

0 vij 0

*Inventory of William Atkins, Joiner* BRO: inventory 1613/2  
single sheet (20 August)

...  
Item a old paire of virginals xiiij s. iiij d.

*Letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton* PRO: SP 14/74  
f [2v] (10 June)

...the Quene is not yet returned from the Bath or therabowt hauing ben at 10  
Bristow, and receued great entertainment in diuers places with which and  
the countrie sports they make her she is so pleased that yt <sup>is</sup> thought she  
will make many more such progresses, she is not looked for at Greenwich till  
saterday come seuenight, the king goes as farr as windsor to meet her. ...

#### 1613-14

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)  
f 75 (30 November)

...  
Iohannes Collyer filius Egidij Collyer de Ciuitate Bristoll instrument maker 20  
posuit se apprenticium prefato Egidio patri suo pro Termino septem Annorum  
soluendo in fine Annorum iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll Cwn duplici apparatu  
&c./

...  
*St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StMR/ChW/1(c)  
p 198 (11 May-11 May)

...  
Item geuen to the musicens on the Counte dynner v s.

...  
*Will of Nicholas Woolfe* PRO: PROB 10/314  
sheets 1-3\* (2 June; probated 2 July)

...  
In the name of God Amen The second daye of Iune in the yeare of our Lord 35  
God A thousand six hundred and ffowerteene, I Nicholas woolfe of the Cittie  
and diocese of Bristoll gentleman beinge weake in bodie but of sounde and  
perfecte memorie Thankes be therefore given to Allmightie god, doe make  
and ordayne this my last will and Testament in manner and forme followinge.  
That is to saye, ffirst and principally I doe with a most ffree harte and willinge 40

minde ~~surrender~~ yeeld vpp and give agayne my soul into the handes of  
 Allmightie god, stedfastly beleevinge that for his infinite mercy set forth in  
 the pretious Bloude of his dearely beloved sonn Iesus Christ our onely Saviour  
 and redeemer I shall bee wasshed and purged from all my synnes and placed  
 amongst the Companie of his heavenly Angeles and blessed saintes, And my  
 Body I doe, I doe with a free harte and contented mynde give ouer Comittinge  
 it to the Earth from whence it was taken to be buried in the Church or  
 Churchyarde of Christ Church in the said Cittie of Bristoll as neare vnto the  
 Corps of my last deceased wyffe as the same maye conveniently bee layed:  
 And as concerninge such worldly goodes as it hath pleased almightie god of  
 his greate mercy and bountie to lend me towardes the discharge the cares and  
 necessities of this mortall lyffe, I doe dispose and bestowe in manner and forme  
 followinge. That is to saye: ffirst I geve and bequeath to the Churchwardens  
 and parishioners of the parishe of Christ Church to the vse of the poore people  
 of the same parishe for euer one Annuitie or yearely rent of vj s: viij d. to bee  
 yearely yssueinge and payable out of my Play house in wynstreete within the  
 said Cittie of Bristoll, Item I give and bequeath to the Churchwardens and  
 parishioners of the parishe of St Peeters within the said Cittie to the vse of  
 the poore people of the same parishe for ever one Annuitie or yeerely Rente  
 of vj s. viij d. to be yearely yssueinge and payeable out of my said Play house,  
 Item I give to the Master and Companie of the Cuttlers and Smythes of the  
 said Cittie towardes the mayntenance of their hall for euer one Annuitie or  
 yearely Rente of Six shillinges & eighte pence to be yearely yssueinge and  
 payable out of my said Playe house. Item I give and bequeath to the poore  
 prisoners of the Gaole of Newegate within the said Cittie of Bristoll vj s. viij d.  
 to be yearely yssueinge and payeable out of my said play house. Item I geve and  
 bequeath to the vse of the relieffe and mayntenance of the poore Children  
 of the hospitall of the said Cittie of Bristoll for euer one Annuitie or yearely  
 Rente of xxx s. to be yeerely yssueinge and payeable out of my said play house,  
 Item I geve and bequeath, Item I geve and bequeath to the poore people of  
 the Almes house of St Iohns within the said Cittie of Bristoll one Annuitie  
 or yeerely Rente of v s: to bee yearely yssueinge and payeable for euer out of  
 my said Playe house, Item I geve and bequeath to the poore people of the  
 Almes house of St Michaells within the subvrbes of the said Cittie of Bristoll  
 for euer one Annuitie or yeerely Rente of v s. to bee yearely yssueinge and  
 payeable out of my said playe house, provided allways and it is my treue  
 entente and meaninge That all Thannuities and yeerely Rentes before mencioned  
 and lymitted to bee paid out of my said playe house shall continewe due and  
 payeable soe longe only as the same house shall continewe a playe house at

6/ I doe, I doe: *ditto*graphy  
 11/ discharge: *for* discharge of

30/ Item ... bequeath, Item ... bequeath: *ditto*graphy  
 39/ at: *for* and (?)

that such players as doe resorte to the said Cittie or inhabite within the same  
 doe vsually playe there and maye be permitted & suffered quietly to playe  
 there and noe longer any guifte or legacie before mencioned to the contrarie  
 thereof in any wyse not withstandinge, Item I geve and bequeath vnto Issacke  
 wolffe the sone of my Brother Roger wolffe the lease of my little shoppe 5  
 vnder Christes Church & the Three vices, And also all the wares in the said  
 Shopp beinge. hee the said Isaack payeing for the same wares all such debtes  
 as I doe owe for the same wares eyther in Bristoll or London And alsoe payeing  
 vnto his sister Grace wolffe x li: att her daye of marriage | or age of xxj yeeres  
 which shall first hapen, And also I geve and bequeath vnto the same Isaacke 10  
 wolffe A blacke cloke my hatt a dublett lerkyn and Breeches, two paire of  
 Stockinges one fflocke bedd ij paire of sheetes one Couerlid one Blanket a  
 bolster a pillowe and <sup>^</sup>two<sup>^</sup> pillowebeares Two platters ij pottengers ij sawcers  
 and a Candlesticke Item I geve and bequeath vnto Iohn Woolf sonne of my  
 brother william wolffe three vices in the greate shopp and my ffyles and 15  
 hammers there and Tenn poundes in money Item I geve and bequeath vnto  
 the same Iohn Wolffe one fflocke bed, ij paire of sheetes one Couerlid, one  
 blankett one bolster, a pillowe ij pillowebeares ij platters two Sawcers, & a  
 Candlesticke, Item my will & meaninge is And I doe hereby lymitt and  
 appoynte That the said Isaacke & Iohn woolf shall haue the vse and ocupacion  
 of my fforge & of all my tooles belonginge to my trade vntill such tyme as  
 my sonn myles woolf shall accomlishe his full age of xxj yeeres, But yf my  
 said sonne shall happen to decease before he shall accomlishe his said age  
 Then I doe geve & bequeath the said fforge and workinge tooles vnto them 25  
 the said Isaack & Iohn Woolf to be equally devided or parted betweene them  
 Item I geve & bequeath vnto my sister in lawe willmott wolffe duringe her  
 naturall lyffe. xx s. a yeere to be paid by myne Executor Item I geve vnto Iohan  
 wolffe daughter of Roberte wolffe iij li. in money to bee paid att her daye  
 of marriage, Item I geve and bequeath Clase woolf xl s. to be paid att her day  
 of marriage. Item I geve and bequeath vnto Agnis woolf daughter of <sup>^</sup>Roger<sup>^</sup> 30  
 woolf v li: to be paid att her daye of marriage. Item I geve and bequeath vnto  
 my brother Leonard wolffe xl s. Item I geve & bequeath vnto the Children  
 of Roger payne the xx li: whiche hee oweth me. Item I geve and bequeath  
 vnto Alice Payne daughter of the said Iohn Payne x li. to be paid att the daye  
 of her marriage or age of xxj yeeres which of them shall first happen. Item I 35  
 geve & bequeath vnto my goddaughter Elizabeth Archer iij li. to be paid att  
 her daye of marriage Item I geve & bequeath vnto <sup>^</sup>all<sup>^</sup> my god Children  
 which shall bee lyveing at the tyme of my decease v s. a peece Item I geve  
 vnto Thomas Alforde one of my dubble bandes Item I geve and bequeath  
 vnto my wyffe margaret wolffe the one halffe or moyetie of all that my house 40  
 wherein I nowe dwell with all and singuler Thappurtenances to the said  
 moyetie or halffe belonginge or appertayninge only for & duringe the terme

of her naturall lyffe Item I give and bequeath vnto Thomas Latche & his  
sonn x s. a peece And to Ioyce Styfford xx s. & to Richard Latch x s., & to  
Iohn Syllyvant x s. Item I geve and bequeath vnto my sonne Myles woollfe  
All my messuages houses Landes Tenementes meadowes pastures ffeedinges  
woodes vnder woodes Commons profittes Comodities and hereditamentes 5  
with all and singuler theire & euery of their appurtenances scytuatt lyeinge  
and beinge within the said Cittie of Bristoll and liberties of the same & in  
the Counties of Wiltes & Dorset or any of them or else where within the  
Realme of England in whose tenure or occupacion soeuer they or any of  
them are To haue and to hold the said Messuages Landes Tenementes and 10  
hereditamentes with thappurtenances to the said Myles woollf and to the  
Heires of his body lawfully begotten, But yf it happen that my sonne Myles  
doe decease without such issue Then my will and meaninge is that all my  
landes & Tenementes Then vndemysed shall bee by my ouerseers herevnder  
named lett and sett to ffarme for the terme of ij yeeres nexte after the decease 15  
of my saide sonn att a resonable Rent and that the Rentes and profittes  
ariseinge aswell thereof, as of my landes which then shalbe alreddy in lease  
for the said <sup>1</sup>space of ij yeeres shall bee by my said ouerseers distributed  
amongst the poore people of the said Cittie where they in discretion shall  
see most neede And I doe hereby geve bequeath lymitt & appoynte. that all 20  
my landes Tenementes and hereditamentes after the expiration of thesaid  
Two yeeres shall bee remayne and come vnto and amongst my kynred here  
vnder mencioned That is to saye amongst the Children of my brother Roger  
woolf the Children of my brother william woolf the Children of my sister  
Alice Payne and the daughter of my brother Roberte woollfe and their Heires 25  
for euer Item I geve vnto my <sup>1</sup>said sonne Myles woollfe my signet of Gold  
with a blacke stone & ij lettres for my name in it Item I geve and bequeath  
vnto my said sonn Myles woollfe all my Plate of all sortes wayinge 223 ounces  
and quarter vizt ij Tankards wayinge xxxiiij ounces, A salte dubblegilte wayinge  
xxv: ounces <sup>1</sup>and quarter; ij gilt Bowles wayinge xvij ounces & quarter ij gilte 30  
Bowles wayinge xxvj ounces & quarter A small bell salte wayinge vj ounces  
& halffe ij white Bowles wayeinge xxij ounces & halff ij tinnes & ij bowles  
wayinge xxj ounces and halffe. Item a tankard & a bell salte <sup>1</sup>white wayinge  
xxij ounces & halffe & a bell salte and xvij spoones wayinge xxv ounces &  
halffe. The Residewe of all my goodes Chattles leases plate and Ieweles not 35  
hereby geven or bequeathed my debtes legacies and funeralles paid &  
discharged I geve & bequeath vnto the said Myles my sonne whome I make  
& ordayne my whole and sole executor of this my last will and testament,  
And I doe appoynte my good frendes Mr Iosephe Rattle and Mr Henry Yate  
to be myne ouerseers of the same will desieringe them (as my speciall trust is 40  
to haue a ffatherly respecte & care vnto my said sonne that he he maye be



brought vpp in vertuous educacion and in the ffere of god and that his estate which I leave him may bee well ymployed duringe his minoritie And I doe geve to each of my <sup>1</sup>said ouverseers in regard of theire paynes to be taken therein and as a token of love a peece of golde of xxij s. to a peece of them to be stowe in a Ringe, in wytnes whereof I haue to this my present Will beinge  
 in number ffyve sheetes sett my hand & seale & published the same to be my last will & Testamente yeoven the daye and yeere first aboue written That parte of <sup>1</sup>my House which I haue appoynte & bequeathed to my wyffe duringe her liffe I doe nominate and appoynte to be these parcells followinge  
 vizt the vse of the kytkchen & alsoe shall enjoy the great parlor ouer the shopp & the Chamber wherein shee doth vsually ly & the forestreete Chamber  
 Witnesses herevnto Henry Yate, David Harris.

...

*Inventory of George Lane* BRO: inventory 1613/37 15  
 sheet 1 (*Exhibited 2 October*)

...

l. s. d.

...

In the vpper loftes 20

...

a citterne with his Case 6 s. 8 d. 00 06 08

...

In the hall

...

a payr of virginalls with his frame more another pair 1 06 08 25

...

sheet 3

...

In the parlor and chambers 30

...

twoe old pictures, & a lute with his Case 01 00 00

...

*Inventory of Thomas Saunders, Pinker* BRO: inventory 1613/51 35  
 single sheet (*10 October*)

...

In the haull

...

Item a payre of virginalls, ij lutes, & a Rebicke 40

...

x s.

*Inventory of Katherine Bowcher* BRO: inventory 1614/1  
f 2v (16 May)

...  
Item [ij] <sup>one</sup> Cypres Cheste A spruce Chest A great spanysh  
Cheste A drawing boxe with a frame for lynnene one bigg painted 5  
Trunk three other Trunkes An Hand Counter with A frame a  
Court Cupbord and a payer of virginalles all valued att xiiij li.  
...

1614-15 10

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(17)  
p 24 (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

...  
Item paide Mris Cole iij li. vj s. viij d. for soe much allowed her  
by *master* Mayors Order, towardes her husbandes Charges at the 15  
Queenes beinge treere iij li. vj s. viij d.  
...

p 26 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

... 20  
Item paide the foure waightes their fees j li. vj s. viij d.  
...

p 28\* (26 December-25 March) (Payments)

... 25  
Item Paide to Mr Robert Aldworth Alderman for vj hogsheades  
of Gascoigne wyne taken of him by the Queenes Maiesties  
Purveyours xxxj li. x s.

... 30  
Item paide to Mr Iohn Whitsone Alderman for vj hogsheades  
of gascoigne wyne taken of him by the Queenes maiesties  
Purveyors xxxj li. x s.

Item paide to Mr Iohn Tomlinson marchant in parte of  
payment of wyne taken of him by the Queenes Maiesties  
Purveyors the somme of lx li. 35

...  
Item paide Mr Iohn Barker marchant in parte of payment  
of wines taken of him by the kinges maiesties Purveyours  
the some of lx li.

Item paide to Hale the Tincker for heddinge of Capteyne  
Challones his drume j s. vj d. 40  
...

p 29 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paide the fower waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

5

p 33 (23 June)

...  
Item paide the fower waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

10

p 34 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

...  
Item paide to the kinges maiesties trumpeters by  
Master Mayors order j li. ij s.

...

15

p 37 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paide the fower waightes their fee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

20

**Common Council Proceedings** BRO: 04264(2)

f 51 col 2 (20 December)

It is this daye agreed that Iohn Vowell of the Cytie of Bristoll Musition shall 25  
be admitted into the libertyes of this Cytie for his owne lyeffe only payenge  
iiij s. vj d. but none of his children to be freed Provyded that hee nor any  
other vnder him shall keepe any Alehouse or victuallinge at any tyme here  
after nor shall take any apprentices nor his wyfe to be free after him and that  
he doe putt in suertes to dischargde the parish of st Thomas of his children 30  
that they shall not be burthensome to the same at any teym hereafter/

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(4)

f 97v (6 October)

...

35

Willelmus Philippus filius Willelmi Phillipps de Ciuitate Bristoll Tayler posuit  
se Apprenticium Willelmo Iohnson de eadem Ciuitate Musition & Alicie  
vxori eius pro Terio Novem Annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll  
Cum duplici apparatu &c And an instrument./

...

40

AC *Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book* BRL: B7976, SR 26  
p [4b]\*

1614.1615 Reseaved of Mr. Yate and is the gyfte of Nicholas Wolfe  
to the Ospytall 1. 10. - 5  
...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030  
p 113 (July-July; rendered 13 November) (Payments)

... 10  
li s. d.  
Item paid spent on ye Compte day in the Hawle in muscadell 0-01-06  
Item for Musick on the Compte day att ye Hawle 0-01-06  
...  
Item paid spent on thellection day for wyne 0-03-00 15  
Item paid for our musick the same daye 0-01-00  
Item giuen to the poore att master Maiors request att the  
swearing the new masters 0-01-00  
Item spent for our musick the same day 0-01-00  
... 20

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)  
f [12v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1615/16) (Receipts)

...  
Item one anuitee out of the play house in wynestreete of the 25  
guifte of Nicholas Woolfe per annum v s.

f [13] (5 March 1614/15-4 March 1615/16) (Payments)

...  
Item paide the poore people of the almehouse of the guifte of 30  
Nicholas Woolfe v s.  
...

*Letter from Sir George Buc to the Lord Chamberlain* PRO: SP 14/81  
single sheet\* (10 July) 35

Good mr Paquior, mr Samuel Daniell hath enformed me yat the King my  
Master is pleased at the mediation of the Queen in his behalf, that there shalbe  
a company of childern or youths prepared & licenced to play comedies &  
tragedies hence at Bristow & elswh(...) & to go vnder the name & title of 40  
the Youths of hir maiesties royall chambre of Bristow. & he hath desired my  
good will herin & hee hath shewed to me a draft in parchemin of the Kinges

warrant in this behalf. Provided therfor yat it be made in the same form (for I return the sam draft to you here enclosed) I yeld my consent, for I wish well to Mr Daniel & would be glad to <sup>Λ</sup>doo<sup>1</sup> him any good, in any thing wherin I should not preiudice myn own right, nor do wrong to my successors. & so I bydd kyndly farewell from the kings office of the Revells. 10 Iuly. 1615/ 5

Your very assured  
frend George Buc

Sir my wages ar due now from the last of October & the 24. of December 1613. & all my other fees & profites are shrunk hence I pray you to entreat humbly my honorable good Lord Chamberlain to be a meanes that the office of the Revells may be <sup>Λ</sup>paid<sup>1</sup> which lacketh mony extremly, & was never so long vnpayd.

George Buc 15

*Patent to John Daniel to Form a Company of Players* PRO: C 66/2075  
mbs 33-4 (17 July)

...

James by the grace of God &c To all Iustices of peace mayors Sheriffes Bayliffes 20  
Constables headboroughes and other our lovinge subiectes and Officers  
greetinge. knowe yee that wee at the motion of our most deerelie loved consort  
the Queene have licenced and authorised And by these presentes do licence  
and authorise our welbeloved Subiectes Iohn Daniell and his Assignes to  
entertaine and bringe vp a company of children and youths vnder the name 25  
and title of the Children of her maiesties royall Chamber of Bristoll to vse  
and exercise the arte and qualitie of playinge Comedies histories Enterludes  
morralles Pastoralles Stageplayes and such other like as they have alreadie  
studied or hereafter shall studie or vse aswell for the solace and delight of  
our most derely loved consort the Queene whensoever they shalbe called as 30  
for the recreation of our loving Subiectes. And the said Enterludes or other  
to shewe and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie aswell in and about  
our said Citie of Bristoll in such vsuall houses as themselves shall provide, as  
in other convenient places within the liberties and freedomes of any other  
Cittie vniversitie Towne or Burrowe whatsoever within our Realmes and 35  
Dominions willing and commaunding you and every of you as you tender  
our pleasures not onlie to permitt and suffer them herein without any your  
letter hinderances molestacions or disturbances duringe our said pleasure, but  
alsoe to be aydinge and assistinge vnto them yf any wronge be done vnto  
<sup>Λ</sup>them<sup>1</sup> or to them offred, and to allowe them such further curtesies as have 40  
bene given to other of the like qualitie. And alsoe what further grace and  
favour you shall shew vnto them for our sakes wee shall take kindly at your

De con. regard.  
Iohn Daniell

3.

handes. Provided alwaies and our will and pleasure is, all authoritie power privileged and proffitt whatsoever belonginge and properlie l apperteyninge to the maister of the Revelles in respect of his office shall remayne and abide entire and in full force effect and vertue and in as ample sort as if this our Commission had never byn made. In witnes whereof &c witnes our Selve at westminster the seaventeenth day of luly (*blank*) per breue de priuato sigillo &c

...

### 1615-16

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(17)

p 82 (10 October) (*Burgess money received*)

...

Thomas Prynce musition is admitted into the Liberties of this City for that hee married with Elizabeth Childe the daughter of William Burte cooper and hath paide

iiij s. iiij d.

...

p 91 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the foure waighes their fees

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 93 (24 March)

...

Item paide the fflower waighes their fee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 95 (23 June)

...

Item paide the fower waighes their fee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 101 (28 September)

...

Item paide the fower waighes their fee

j li. vj s. viij d.

...

AC *Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book* BRL: B7976, SR 26  
p [4b]

...

Receyved of Mr. Henry Yate for soe much bequethed to the Hospitall

by Mr Nicholas Woolfe deceased to bee yeerely paide out of his  
house in Wine Street 1. 10. -

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030 5  
p 116 (July-July; rendered 12 November) (Payments)

...

Imprimis on our Choosing day for musick j s. 00 d.

...

Item given mrs Powells maide by Consent 0 j s. [vj d.] 10

Item giuen the waites by Consent v s. 00

Item paid for mrs Powells dynner j s. ij d.

...

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a) 15  
f [13v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1616/17) (Receipts)

...

Item one anuytie out of the playhouse in Wynestreet in Bristoll  
of ye guift of Nicholas Woolfe v s.

...

20

f [14] (5 March 1615/16-4 March 1616/17) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the poore people of the guifte of Nicholas Woolfe v s.

...

25

### 1616-17

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(17)  
p 167 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the fflower waightes their ffees j li. vj s. viij d. 30

...

p 170 (24 March)

...

Item paide the fower waightes their ffee j li. vj s. viij d. 35

...

p 174 (23 June)

...

Item paide the fower waightes their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 182 (28 September)

...

Item paide the fflower waightes their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

AC *Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book* BRL: B7976, SR 26

p [4b]

...

1617 Receyved of Mr Henry Yate for one yeer's rent out of the  
 Play-house in Wyne Streete which was given by Nicholas  
 Woolfe, Cutler to remaine to the Hospitall for ever due at  
 -1617- 1. 10. -

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 119 (July-July; rendered November) (Payments)

...

li. s. d.

...

Item giuen by Consent to mrs Powell ye Counte daye 00 00 10 25

...

Item paid by Consent for musicke on our Counte daye 00 05 00

Item paid for the waites Dynner the same daye 00 05 00

Item paid on the morrow after our Counte towards the  
 makinge vpp of the money for our Counte dynner 00 04 00 30

Item paid for wyne spent on our Counte daye 00 10 00

...

p 121

...

li. s. d.

Item paid for Musicke on the daye mr Webb and mr harris  
 were sworne 00 01 00

Item paid the same daye att dynner for them by Consent for  
 wyne 00 02 06 40

...



*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StjB/ChW/3(a)  
f [14v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1617/18) (Receipts)

...  
Item one Annuitie out of the Playhowse in Wynestreet in Bristoll  
of the guift of Nicholas Wolfe v s. 5

f [15] (5 March 1616/17-4 March 1617/18) (Payments)

...  
Item paid to the poore people of the guift of Nicholas Woolfe v s.  
... 10

1617-18

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(17)

p 249\* (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

li. s. d. 15

...  
Item paid to Alderman Whitson xl s. for soe much  
hee gave by *master* Mayors order to the Palsgraves  
Players ij li. 00 - 20  
...

p 250 (30 September-24 December)

li. s. d. 25

Item paid the same tyme to the Princes players by  
*master* Mayors order ij li. iiij s.  
Item paid vnto Ephraim Goodier for mending the silver  
Chaines for the waite players per *Master* Mayors order iij li. x s.  
... 30

p 251 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

li. s. d.

...  
Item paid the fower waighte players their ffee j li. vj s. viij d. 35  
...

p 254 (24 March)

li. s. d. 40

...  
Item paid the fflower waighte players their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.  
...

p 259 (23 June)

...

Item paide the fower waighte players their ffee j li. vj s. viij d.

...

p 262 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the kinges Maiesties trompeters by  
master Mayors order ij li.

...

p 263\*

...

Item paide Sir George Buckes players by master  
Mayors order j li. ij s. 15

...

p 264

...

Item paide to the princes players which was given  
them by order of master Mayor and the Aldermen ij li. iiij s. 20

...

p 265 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide to the fflower waightes their ffee j li. vj s. viij d. 25

...

AC *Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book* BRL: B7976, SR 26

p [4b] 30

...

1618 Receyved of Mr Henry Yate for one yeere's rent  
yssueing forth of the Playhouse

1. 10. -

...

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 125 (July-July; rendered 16 November) (Payments)

...

li. s. d.

Item paid for musicke on our Counte day 0 v s. 00 40

Item paid for wyne and sugar on our Count day 0 xij s. ij d.

...

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)  
f [15v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1618/19) (Receipts)

... l. s. d. 5

Item: one Anewitie oute of the Playe howse in wynestret the  
gifte of Nicolas Wolf .. v ..

f [16] (5 March 1617/18-4 March 1618/19) (Payments) 10

Item payed to the pore pepell of the gifte of Nicolas Wolfe .. v ..

*Letter Confirming John Daniel's Patent to Form a Company of Players* 15

PRO: SP 14/97

single sheet\* (April)

After our hartly Commendations Whereas it pleased his Maiestie by his *Lettres*  
*Patentes* vnder the great Seale of England bearing date the xvijth daie of Iulie 20  
in the xiiij<sup>th</sup> yeere of his Highnes Raine, to grant vnto Iohn Daniell gentleman  
(the Prince his seruant) Authoritie to bring vpp a Companie of Children  
and youths in the quallitie of playing Enterludes & Stageplaies. And wee are  
informed *yat* notwithstanding his Maiesties pleasure therein, that there are  
some who oppugne and resist the said authority in contempt of his Maiesties 25  
*Lettres Patentes*

In consideracion whereof and for the further effecting & performance of  
his Maiesties pleasure therein Wee haue thought good to grant vnto the said  
Iohn Daniell these *our Lettres* of Assistance Thereby requiring you and in  
his Maiesties name straightly chardging & commaunding you and euery of 30  
you not only quietly to permitt and suffer Martin Slatier Iohn Edmonds &  
Nathaniell Clay (her Maiesties seruants with their Associatts the bearers  
hereof to play as aforesaid (As her Maiesties seruants of her Royall Chamber  
of Bristoll) in all Playhowses Townehalls Schoolehowses and other places  
convenient for *yat* purpose in all Citties Vniuersities Townes and Burroughes 35  
within his Maiesties Realmes and Dominions ffreely & peaceably without  
any of your lets troubles or molestations. But as occasion shall be offred (they  
or any of them hauing to shoue his *Lettres Patentes* and a Letter of Assignement  
from ye said Iohn Daniell) to be lykewise aiding and assisting vnto them they  
behauing themselues ciuilly and orderly lyke good and honest subiects and 40



**Common Council Proceedings** BRO: 04264(2)

f 78 (5 January)

...  
 It ys this daye agreed that there shalbe xxvj s. viij d. yerely geven to a fiveth  
 man to playe with the Other fower musitions in the Cytie, on the Saggbutt  
 to make vppe a fiveth parte

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(4)

f 194v (12 April)

...  
 Iohannes Hunter filius Georgij Hunter de Bedminster in Comitatu Shoemaker  
 posuit se *apprenticiū* willelmo Iohnson de Civitate Bristoll Musicion et  
 Alicie vxori eius pro termino septem Annotum solvendo iiii li. sterlingorum &  
 iiii s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c & one Bandore for  
 an Instrument that he can plaie best on which shall not exceed the value of  
 xxx s./

...

AC **Queen Elizabeth's Hospital Treasurers' Book** BRL: B7976, SR 26

p [4b]

1619  
 Receyved of Mr Henry Yate for one yeere's rent of the Play  
 house due ye 29<sup>th</sup> day of September Anno 1619

l. 10. -

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)

f [16v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1619/20) (Receipts)

...

l. s. d.

...  
 Item: on Anewitie out of the playe howsse in wyne streeete  
 the gift <sup>a</sup> of nicholas wollffe<sup>1</sup>

.. v ..

f [17] (5 March 1618/19-4 March 1619/20) (Payments)

...

l. s. d.

...  
 Item payd to the poore peopell of the gift of Nycholas Wollffe

.. v ..

...

*Answer of Joseph Rattle to Miles Woolfe's Suit* PRO: C 3/328/28  
mb 3\* (28 May)

...  
...neither hath this *defendant* in his/ Custodie, any goodes, or received any  
money belonginge vnto the said *complainant* Myles woolffe. (excepte two 5  
paire of virginalls which the said myles woolffe the *complainant* broughte  
with him after his ffathers decease to this *defendantes* house duringe the/  
tyme hee dwelt with this *defendant*, which was by the space of two yeeres and  
three quarters or thereabouts, duringe all which tyme this *defendant* did 10  
allowe vnto the said Myles Woolfe, and such others as did teache him in the  
Arte or scyence of musicke/ meate, drinke, lodginge, and other necessaryes,  
without receaveinge or without any intente to receive any money or other  
consideracion of the said Myles or out of his estate for the same, And hee this  
*defendant* is reddey to deliver the said virginalls vnto/ the Guardians of the  
said Myles Woolffe, or vnto any other person or persons whome they shall 15  
appoynte to receive them...

*Answer of Margaret Woolfe to Miles Woolfe's Suit* PRO: C 3/328/28  
mb 6 (2 June)

...  
The seuerall answeres of Margarett Woolfe one of the *defendantes* to the bill  
of complaint of Miles (.....) *complainant*  
All benefit and advantage of excepcion to the incertenties and insufficiencies  
of the said Bill of complainte vnto this *defendant* nowe and at all tyme hereafter 25  
saved and not other wise ffor answer vnto soe muche thereof and suche  
matters therein conteyned as concerneth her to answer vnto she for her  
part saith She dothe not know that the said nicholas woolfe in the bill named  
was in his life tyme seised in fee, or of any othere state of inheritance of or  
in any houses groundes, landes or Tenementes within the cittie of Bristoll 30  
or elsewhere bot onlie of one messuage or tenement in Bristoll wherein the  
said Nicholas dwelled at the tyme of his deathe, and of one house with  
thappurtenaunces in wynestreete within the said cittie comonlie called the  
play house. All whare as this *defendant* taketh it verie well knowne vnto the  
*complainant* But what the yearlie value or values of the same or either or any 35  
of them preciselie are, This *defendant* saithe, she dothe not well knowe....  
neither dothe she knowe or can preciselie sett forth what lease or leases is, or  
be in beinge of the same, or of any parte or parcell thereof, but one lease of  
parte of the saide dwellinge house herein after by her confessed. Neither dothe  
she knowe, of, or can preciselie speake to any deede or deeds, evidence or 40

evidences, counterparte or counterpartes, rental or rentals, in any wise concerning the premises or any parte or parcell of them, or of either or any of them or any other of the premisses in the Bill specified. And she saithe She dothe not knowe that the saide nicholas wolfe her said late husband did take or purchase any manner lease or estate to the saide Nicholas and this defendant and to the complaynant or to either or any of them as by the Bill is supposed. And this defendaunt for answere [to] <sup>14</sup> touching<sup>1</sup> the messuage tenement, or Inne in the bill mencioned called the White harte and landes in Baggwood, and two closes nere Earles meade nowe in the occupation of one Thomas Clement by the demise of the other defendantes or one of them as she taketh it she saithe, that before she intermarried with the saide nicholas wolfe, she had to husband one Thomas Thomas deceased, whoe was possessed and interessed of and in some estate for yeares absolute, or for yeares determyneable vppon lives (the precise certentie whereor she cannott sett forthe) of and in the saide messuage or Inne and landes in Baggwood and two closes, and was also possessed of other personell estate in Bristoll and at Baggwood aforesaid to the value of three hundred poundes or thereaboutes as she veralie beleeveth and hopeth sufficientlie to prove. And beinge soe thereof respectuелиe possessed and interessed, disposed of the saide leases to the benefit of one Elias Grigg his kinsman, and made a will, and of the same made this defendaunt his sole executrix and dyed in occupation of the saide Inne leavinge to this defendant personall estate to the value of three hundred poundes at the least as she verelie beleeveth and hopeth to prove. After whose decease this defendant contynued the occupation of the saide Inne to her greate profitt and comoditie vntill such tyme that the saide nicholas wolfe intermarried with the defendant. Soone after which Intermarriage between him and this defendant, he the said Nicholas Wolfe caused this defendant to leave keepinge the said Inne and to Remove and dwell with him at his owne dwellinge house in wynestreete afforesaide. And also caused this defendant to leave behinde her in the saide Inne houshold stuff and goodes to the value of one hundred and fortie poundes at the lease as she verelie beleveth and hopeth to prove....

*Answer of Henry Yate to Miles Wolfe's Suit* PRO: C 3/328/28  
mb 9 (2 October 1619)

...

... & the tenementes & estates thereof <sup>14</sup> are<sup>1</sup> as followeth first the said Margrett Wo(.)fe is to (...) and parcell of the house called the playhouse (...)

14/ whereor: for whereof (?)  
38/ (...)<sup>1</sup>: 27mm lost

38/ (...)<sup>2</sup>: 30mm of text faded

(...) for the vse of the stage in the said playho(...) wh(...) (...)  
 ...Richard hopkins for a shopp parcell of the said playhouse in his possession  
 as tenant at will *per an*(no. xxij s...)  
 ...

## 1619-20

5

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(18)

p 26 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the five waites plaiers their ffee  
 ... j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 10

p 28 (24 March)

...

Item paide the fyve wayte players their fee  
 ... j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 15

p 33\* (23 June)

...

Item paide the five waighte players their fee  
 ... j li. vj s. viij d. 20

p 35 (25 June-29 September) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide the kinges trompeters for a benevolence  
 by the [(.)] order of master Mayor and Aldermen  
 ... ij li. - - 25

p 39 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide to the five waightes their fee  
 ... j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 30

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 207 (15 October)

35

Richardus Gay filius Iohannis Gay, de Batheston in Comitatu Somerset  
 husbandman defuncti posuit se apprenticium Willemo Lavasher de Ciuitate  
 Bristoll Instrument maker & Elienore vxori eius pro termino septem annorum



*soluendo vnum bandore valoris xx s. & iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c*

...

f 216 (15 April)

5

...

*Willelmus Child filius Herculis Child nuper de Ciuitate Bristoll yeoman defuncti posuit se apprenticium Thomæ Prince, de eadem Ciuitate Musicion & (blank) vxori eius pro termino Octo Annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c*

10

...

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)

f [17v] (25 December–24 December; rendered 5 March 1620/1) (Receipts)

...

Item one Annuitye out of the Playhouse in Wynestreete the  
Gifte of Nicholas– Woulfe

00 0V 00

...

f [18] (5 March 1619/20–4 March 1620/1) (Payments)

20

...

li. s. d.

...

Item paied to the poore people of the gifte of Nicholas Woulfe

00 0V 00

...

25

*Philip Powell's Commonplace Book* Cardiff County Library: MS 3.42

p 139 (25 March 1620–26 March 1621)

...

1620 ii

30

on Kendal a foole in a stage play in Bristoll being m<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> etie acctinge the part of the vize, spake extempore as foloweth, in dispraise of the noble Brittans, if thou art a Britthane borne, it fitts thee to were ye horne

John Brittan a prentiz of on Thomas Dean of Bristoll his re-ply to Kendall: twise: as foloweth:

35

A Brittans name I truly beare, I leaue the horne for thee <sup>r</sup>ato were:<sup>1</sup>  
the horne becomes the saxons best

I kisd thy wife suppose the rest:

...

## 1620-1

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(18)

p 100 (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the Ladie Elizabeths players by  
master Mayors appointment

ij li. - - 5

...

p 101 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the five waite players theirre fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 10

...

p 103 (26 December-25 March) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the kinges Children players xl s. by  
the order of Master Mayor and the Aldermen

ij li. - - 15

...

p 105 (24 March) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the five waite players theirre fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 20

...

p 111 (23 June)

...

Item paide to the five waighte players theirre ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 25

...

p 114 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item paide to the Tumbler by master Mayors order,  
for that hee should not play

j li. - - 30

...

p 115

...

Item paide vnto twoe Companyes of plaiers by [(.)]  
order of master Mayor & Aldermen

iiij li. - - 35

...

p 116 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid to the five waighetes their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

5

p 129\* (30 September-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item I crave allowance of vj s. viij d. paide to  
ye waight players in Midsomer quarter 1620  
and not then charged as may appeare

- vj s. viij d. 10

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(4)

f 237 (21 March)

...

Willelmus Wells filius Thome Wells de Awre in Comitatu Gloucestric tayler  
defuncti posuit se apprenticium Willelmo Lavasher de Ciuitate Bristoll  
Instrumentmaker & Elienore vxori eius pro termino Novem annorum  
Solvendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c  
A bond of x li. from Mary Welles his mother now of this City for his service 20  
and truth

15

1621-2

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(18)

p 191 (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

...

Item paide to a Company of players by order of  
master Mayor and Aldermen

j li. - -

...

30

p 192 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the fyve waites players their fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

35

p 197 (24 March)

...

Item paid the fyve waite players their fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

## p 200 (26 March-24 June) (Payments)

...				
Item paide to Baber the powdermaker for 160 li. of powder at x d. 1/2 per li. which was vsed at the Earle of Essex and others cominge hither	vj li.	xix s.	iiij d.	5
Item paide to three gonners, sixe labourers & five other men that wrought aboute the great ordnance in ladinge discharginge and placeinge them	j li.	—	x d.	
Item paide to iiij trumpeters that attended at that tyme	—	x s.	—	
...				10

## p 201 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...				
Item paid to the fyve waite players their fee	j li.	xiiij s.	iiij d.	15
...				

## p 205 (28 September)

...				
Item paid to the fyve waighters their fee	j li.	xiiij s.	iiij d.	20
...				

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

## p 173 (Rendered 9 December) (Inventory)

...				
...a pagant and iiij flagges...				25
...				

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

## p 145 (July-July; rendered 12 November) (Payments)

...				
		li.	s.	d.
...				
paid on the count day for wine <sup>^</sup> 10 s. <sup>1</sup> & to ye waites <sup>^</sup> 5 s. <sup>1</sup>	00	15	00	
...				35

## 1622-3

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

## f 273v (4 November)

...

Phillipus Browne filius Petri Browne de Melles in Comitatu Somerset yeoman  
 posuit se *apprenticium* Isaacko Bryne de Ciuitate Bristoll Virginalmaker  
 & Sibilie vxori eius *pro termino Septem annorum & duorum annorum*

conventiono Solvendo in fine apprenticiatus iiiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll  
cum duplici apparatu & in fine vltimi anni conventionis xl s. sterlingorum

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 175 (*Rendered 27 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...a padgent, and iiiij flagges...

...

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 148 (*July-July; rendered 17 November*) (*Payments*)

...

li. s. (*blank*)

Imprimis paide on the swearing daie for our oathes to the  
Towne clarke

0-03-6

Item paide for wine then & the ward dinner & for musicke

00- 3-8

...

Item paid Lawrence watkins our furberer on the Count day

00- 1-0

Item for the ward dinner then & for mrs Pen

00- 2-6

Item paid then for wine

00-10-0

Item paid to the waites then

00-05-0

...

*Somerset Quarter Sessions Roll* SRO: Q/SR 42, pt 1

f 156 (*19 December*) (*Examination of John Browne, tailor, formerly of Frome*)

*Taken before Francis Baber, esquire, JP*

...

Who sayeth that his dwellinge is at ffrooke, and that he came from ffrooke  
aforesaid wensdaie last, being the xviiij<sup>th</sup> daie of december, and had occasion  
to travell from thence vnto the Cittie of Bristoll to speake with one Anthony  
Besser of Bristoll aforesaid a musition for that this examinat vnderstood, that  
the said Besser wanted one to ioyne in Consort with him, this Christmas  
tyme, and therefore went to Bristoll to see if he could gett himseif in with the  
said Besser/ And beinge chardged with the ffelonious takinge of one greene  
saye Apron and one pare of greene yarne Stockins, beinge the goodes of  
William Brathead of Heigh littleton in the said county Husbandman/ this  
examinat sayth that as he came <sup>^</sup>from<sup>^</sup> ffrooke to travell to the City of

Bristoll as aforesaid [this *examinat* sayth] that he went through the backside of the said William Brathead and that he tooke vpp the said Greene saye apron and the said greene yarne Stockyns, hard by the footepath in the said Backside and being further demaunded, whether that he acquainted any person with the findinge of the said goodes, sayeth that he acquainted none therewith, but only a workman of Mr Brittyns of Heigh littelton aforesaid, to whom he offered the said greene saye Apron to sell, but for the Stockyns he sayeth that he intended to weare them himself

(signed) Francis Baber

10

## 1623-4

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(18)

p 281 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the five waighes their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 15

...

p 286 (24 March)

...

Item paid the five waighes their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 20

...

p 290 (23 June)

...

Item paid to the five waight players their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 25

...

p 299 (28 September)

...

Item paide to the ffive waight players their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 30

...

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 308 (12 April)

...

Iohannes Read filius Iacobi Read de Welles in Comitatu Somerset musicion posuit se *apprenticium* Willelmo Levasher de Ciuitate Bristoll Instrument maker & Eliene vxori eius *pro termino* Septem annorum Soluendo xx s. & iiij s. vj d. *pro libertate* Bristol cum duplici apparatu &c

35

...

40

Willelmus  
Levasher

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 181 (*Rendered 18 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...one padgent, iiij flagges...

...

5

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030p 154 (*July-July; rendered 15 November*) (*Payments*)

...

	li.	s.	(blank)	10
Imprimis for our oathes	00	03	06	
Item paid for wyne then	00	02	00	
Item paid for musick then	00	01	00	
...				
Item paid to the waytes on the counte day	00	06	(blank)	15
Item paid for wyne then	00	10	00	
...				

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)f [21v] (*5 March 1623/4-4 March 1624/5*) (*Receipts*)

20

...

li. s. d.

...

Winestreete

...

25

Item a quitt Rent out of the Playhouse of the Guifte of  
Nicholas Woulfe

000 05 00

...

f [22] (*Payments*)

30

...

Item more deducted in arerages which is vtterlie lost the  
particulars vizt. the widow robertes 7 li. the goody lloyd  
18 s. the playehowse 5 s. allamountes vnto

008 03 00

...

35

**1624-5****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(19)p 27 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the five waighte plaiers their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

40

p 33 (24 March)

...

Item paide the five waightes their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

p 34\* (26 March-24 June) (Payments)

...

Item paide vnto the Trompeters at ye proclayminge  
of Kinge Charles vij s. vj d., the waightes v s. and  
the drommes and phifes vj s. all is xviiij s. vj d. - xviiij s. vj d. 10

...

p 40 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the five waighte players their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 15

...

p 47 (28 September)

...

Item paide ye five waightes their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 20

...

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 328v (19 December)

...

Egideus Stevens filius Iohannis Stevens nuper de Ciuitate Bristoll Shomaker  
defuncti posuit se apprenticium Willelmo Lavasher dicte Ciuitatis Instrument  
maker, & Ellenore vxori eius pro termino [Octo] Septem annorum Soluendo  
iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c.!

...

Willelmus  
Lavasher*Adams' Chronicle of Bristol* BRO: 13748(4)

nf\*

Charles by the grace of God now king of England, and true heire apparant of  
all his fathers dominions, began his most peaceable and triumphant raigne  
ouer this kingdome the 27<sup>th</sup> of march 1625 to the glory of God, and great  
ioy to all true English heartes, being about the age of 23 and 4 monethes, 35



(for he was borne on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November 1602). A prince of lovely countenance and behaviour, tall of stature, and actiue of body, and endewed with asmuch godly wisdom & vertuous quallities as may be wished in a King.

On friday the first of Aprill 1625, he was proclaimed King of great Brittain, 5  
france, and Ireland at the high crosse in Bristoll by sheriffe Clements, who,  
with the Maior and whole Councill were tired all in Scarlot, and stood before  
the Towlsey bare hedded with great reverence while the proclamation was  
reading, with 4 trumpettes [sowd] sownding both before and after, as it was  
done at the death of Queene Elizabeth, and proclayming of King James. 10

Ieffry Allaga<sup>r</sup>g<sup>h</sup>a, a Grætian borne, but a Turke by education, and chiefe  
Basha of Constantinople, having redeemed 50 English Captiues, brought  
certaine presentes of strange beastes and fowle to King Charles, landed at  
Plimouth, and being bownd for London, tooke Bristoll in his way, and came  
to this Cittie on thursday the last of March 1625. Hee was present at the 15  
proclayming of our king, and from the Towlsey went and dined with the  
Maior, being accompanied with all the Councill, & many marchantes of  
good account, where he was royally entertained. After dinner he walked to  
view the Cittie, and that night the Marchantes of Bristoll invited the said  
Basha to supper at his lodging at the Crowne in the high streat, with admirable 20  
cost & prouision vppon so short a warning. Hee came to treat of conditions of  
peace, and release of Captiues; wherfore his entertainement was very bountifull,  
in requitting goodnes for much euill formerly done by the Barbarians. They  
would not suffer him, or any of his followers to spend one penny in this  
Cittie, | but extended liberallitie for the honnour and good of all Christendom, 25  
and vnderstanding that he wanted a horse for his lorney, & intended to hite  
one of a Carrier, the marchantes freely bestowed a good gelding vppon him,  
fitted with rich furniture beseeming his [great] greatnes and their credit,  
who departing from the Cittie on the second day of Aprill, our marchantes  
conducted him part of the way, and so lovingly tooke leave of each other. 30

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

p 183 (*Rendered 31 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...one padgent, & iiij flagges...

...

35

*Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 163 (July-July; rendered 14 November) (Payments)

...	li. s. d.	
Imprimis paid for our oathes	0-03-06	5
Item paid for wyne & musick then	0-04-04	
...		
Item spent in wyne att mr Tylys dynner	0-06-00	
Item geuen the waytes then	0-03-00	
...		10

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)

f [22v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1625/6) (Receipts)

...	li. s. d.	15
...		
	Winestreete	
...		
Item for a Rent out of the Play house there, given by Nicholas Wolfe	000 05 00	20
...		

*St Mary Redcliffe Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StMR/ChW/1(d)

p 73 (10 May-9 May) (Payments)

...	li. s. d.	25
...		
paid the waite players when my Lord Bishopp came to our Church which was in Burgess tyme	00 3 4	30
...		

## 1625-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(19)

p 79 (30 September-25 December) (Rental receipts)

...		35
	winestreete	
...		
Item a quitt rent out of a tenement sometimes a play house paide by the heires of Nicholas Woulfe	- v s. -	40
...		

p 96 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paide the five waighetes players their ffee                    j li.    xiiij s.    iiij d.

p 100 (24 March)

...  
Item paide the five waighetes their ffee                                j li.    xiiij s.    iiij d.

p 90\* (15 April) (Burgess money received)

...  
Iohn Hunter musicion, ys admitted into the Liberties  
of this City, for that hee was the apprentice of William  
Iohnson musicion and hath paid    —    iiij s.    iiij d.    15

p 105 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paide the waighete players their ffee                                j li.    xiiij s.    iiij d.    20

p 111 (28 September)

...  
Item paid the five waighetes their fee                                        j li.    xiiij s.    iiij d.    25

*Apprenticeship Indentures*    BRO: 04352(5)a

f 7 (12 June)

...  
Iohannes Hayward filius Iohannis Hayward de Bedminster in Comitatu  
Somerset Silkweauer posuit se *apprenticiū* Willelmo Iohnson de Ciuitate  
Bristoll Musicion et Alicie vxori eius pro termino Octo annorum Soluendo  
iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu, & optimum  
instrumentum quo vti potest.

Willelmus  
Iohnson

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 185 (*July-July; rendered 3 November*) (*Inventory*)

...

...one padgent &amp; iiij flagges...

...

5

*St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)f [23v] (*25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1626/7*) (*Receipts*)

...

li. s. d. 10

...

Winestreete

...

Item for the Rente out of a Playhouse there given by  
Nicholas Wolfe

000 05 00 15

...

## 1626-7

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(19)p 149 (*30 September-29 September*) (*Receipts*)

20

...

Winestreete

...

Item a quitt rent out of a tenement sometymes a playhouse  
paide by the heires of Nicholas Woulfe Cutler deceased

- v s. - 25

...

p 166 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the ffive waighte players for their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 30

...

p 170 (*24 March*)

...

Item paide the fyve waightes their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 35

...

p 173 (*23 June*)

...

Item paide the waighte players their ffees

j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 40

...

p 181 (28 September)

...

Item paid the five waights for their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

5

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a  
f 37v (23 April)

...

Henricus Gilson filius Henrici Gilson de Bedminster in Comitatu Somerset  
Cooke posuit se apprenticium Willelmo Iohnson de Ciuitate Bristoll Musition 10  
& Alicie vxori eius pro termino septem annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro  
libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c./

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)  
p 187 (Rendered 31 October) (Inventory)

15

...

...one padgent, &amp; iij flagges...

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030  
p 173 (July-July; rendered 22 November) (Payments)

20

...

	(blank) s. d.	
Item paid for wyne & musicke	00-11-11	25
Item paid for wearing the armour	00- 2-00	
...		
Item paid the waights for musicke	00-02-06	
Item paid for administring our oathes	00-03-00	
Item paid the seargeant	00-00-06	30
Item paid for the wardens dinner	00-02- 0	
...		

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)  
f [24v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1627/8) (Receipts) 35

...

Winestreete

...

Item for the Rent of a Play house there giuen by  
Nicholas Wolfe 000 05 00 40

...

## 1627-8

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(19)p 221 (*Rental receipts*)

...

Wine streete

5

...

Item a quitt rent out of a Tenement sometymes a  
Play house paid by the heires of Nicholas Woulfe  
Cutler deceased

- v s. -

...

10

p 240 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid the ffive waight players for their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

15

p 241\* (*26 December-25 March*) (*Payments*)

...

more paide for fower dosen of Iuystes for the Gaunter  
xxiiij s. iiij d. for three tonnes of fflagges for the gowte  
there x s., for twoe tonnes of pennant vj s. viij d. for  
stones from Iacobs well ij s., and for taking downe a  
maypoll vj d. all is

ij li. iiij s. vj d.

...

25

p 247 (*24 March*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid the fyve waightes their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

30

p 252 (*23 June*)

...

Item paid the waight players their ffees

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

35

p 258 (*28 September*)

...

Item paid the ffyve waightes for their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a

f 51v (6 October)

...

Ricardus Burges filius Ricardi Burges nuper de Bedminster in Comitatu Somerset shomaker defuncti posuit se apptenticium Willelmo Iohnson de Ciuitate Bristoll Musicion et Alicie vxori eius pro termino decem annorum Soluendo iiii s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c

...

Willelmus  
Iohnson**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 189 (Rendered 31 October) (Inventory)

...

...one padgent, &amp; iij flagges...

...

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 177 (July-July; rendered 29 October) (Payments)

...

	l.	s.	d.	
...				
Paid the 27 of march for wyne & ye wayghtes	0	4	4	20
...				
paid for expedition and wyne	0	9	0	
paid for wearing the Armor	0	2	0	
paid for musicke	0	6.	0	25
paid the Clearkes	0	5	6	
...				

**St John Baptist Churchwardens' Accounts** BRO: P/StJB/ChW/3(a)

f [25v] (25 December-24 December; rendered 5 March 1628/9) (Receipts)

...

Wine streete

...

Item for the Rent of a Play there giuen by Nicholas Woulfe 000 05 00

...

## 1628-9

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(19)p 293 (*Rental receipts*)

...

Wine streete 5

...

Item a quitt rent out of a Tenemente sometimes a  
Play house paid by ye heires of Nicholas Woulfe  
Cutler deceased

- v s. -

...

10

p 313 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid the five waight players for their fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

15

p 316 (*24 March*)

...

Item paid the fyve waightes their fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

20

p 321 (*23 June*)

...

Item paid the waight players their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

25

p 327 (*25 June-29 September*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide which was given by order of master  
Mayor & Aldermen to a Company of players  
ffortye shillinges

ij li. - -

...

30

p 328 (*28 September*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paid the ffyve waightes for their fee

j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

35

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)af 93v (*18 December*)

...

Iohannes Williams filius Leonardi Williams de Ciuitate Bristoll Clothworker

40



Iohannes  
Collier

posuit se *apprenticium* Iohanni Collier dicte Ciuitatis Instrumentmaker et  
Vrsule vxori eius *pro termino* Octo annorum Soluendo iij s. vj d. *pro libertate*  
Bristoll cum *duplici apparatu* &c vnum novum pallium vel xx s. ad *electionem*  
*apprenticij*

A bond of vij li. vpon the Master & Lewes Iones of Bristoll Clothworker to  
repay &c./

...

f 100 (27 February)

...

Stephanus ffudger filius Willelmi ffudger 'nuper' de Ciuitate Hereford  
shomaker *defuncti* posuit se *apprenticium* Isaacco Brine de Ciuitate Bristoll  
virginall maker & Elizabete vxori eius *pro termino* decem annorum Soluendo  
iij s. vj d. *pro libertate* Bristoll cum *duplici apparatu* &c

Isaacus  
Brine

10

f 121v (17 September)

...

Iohannes Waymouth filius Willelmi Waymouth 'nuper' de Ciuitate Bristoll  
marriner *defuncti* posuit se *apprenticium* ffrancisco Harbur dicte Ciuitatis  
^ 'Trumpiter' Et Marie vxori eius *pro termino* octo annorum Soluendo iij s. vj d.  
*pro libertate* Bristoll cum *duplici apparatu* &c

ffranciscus  
Harbur

15

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 191 (Rendered 31 October) (Inventory)

...

...one padgent &amp; iij flagges...

...

25

**Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 184 (July-July; rendered 20 October) (Payments)

li. s. d.

...

Item paid to Lawrence for wearing the armor

0-2-0

Item to ye wayghtes

0-6-0 35

...

**Inventory of John Whitson** BRO: 09458(1)

sheet 4 (1 June)

...

In the roome at the head of the Stayres

40

...

Item one Muskett sixe Caliuers, a little [Crock] Clocke and a hanginge shipp in the said roome an old payre of virginnalls and a littell staggess head at				iiij li.
...				
<b>1629-30</b>				5
<i>Mayor's Audits</i> BRO: 04026(20)				
p 7 ( <i>Rental receipts</i> )				
...				
	Wine streete			10
...				
Item a quitt rent out of a Tenement sometymes a playhouse, paid by the heires of Nicholas Woulfe Cutler Deceased		—	v s.	—
...				15
p 28 ( <i>24 December</i> ) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )				
...				
Item paid the five waight players for their fee	j li.	xiiij s.	iiij d.	20
...				
p 31 ( <i>24 March</i> )				
...				
Item paid the five waightes their fee	j li.	xiiij s.	iiij d.	25
...				
p 33 ( <i>26 March-24 June</i> ) ( <i>Payments</i> )				
...				
Item paid vnto the Kinges Maiesties plaiers, by order of Master Mayor and the Aldermen	ij li.	—	—	30
...				
p 35 ( <i>23 June</i> ) ( <i>Officers' fees</i> )				
...				
Item paid the waight players their fee	j li.	xiiij s.	iiij d.	35
...				
p 40 ( <i>25 June-29 September</i> ) ( <i>Payments</i> )				
...				
Item paide the players by order of master Mayor & aldermen to send them out of the Citty xx s.	j li.	—	—	40
...				

p 43 (28 September) (*Officers' fees*)

...  
Item paid the fyve waigh<sup>t</sup>es for their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
...

5

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a

f 135v (27 January)

...  
Barthollimus Brittill filius Walteri Brittill de Odcum in Comitatu Somerset  
husband man posuit se apprenticiū Isacco Brine de Ciuitate Bristoll  
instrumentmaker Et Elizabethē vxori eius pro termino septem annorum  
Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &c

10

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 193 (Rendered 8 November) (*Inventory*)

...  
...one padgeant & iij flagges...  
...

15

1630-1

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(20)

p 83 (*Rental receipts*)

...  
Winestreete

20

...  
Item a quitt rent out of a Tenement, sometymes a  
Play house, paid by the heires of Nicholas Woulfe  
Cutler deceased

25

— v s. —

...  
p 106 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

30

...  
Item paide vnto the fyve waigh<sup>t</sup>e players theirē ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
...

p 109 (24 March)

35

...  
Item paid the fyve waigh<sup>t</sup>es their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
...

Isaccus  
Brine

## p 113 (23 June)

...

Item paid the waight players their fee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

## p 114 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item paide *which* was given by order of *master* Mayor & Aldermen to a player that would haue shewed some devices j li. - - 10Item paide more vnto mr Tomlinson mayor ij li. *which* hee gave to the *Kinges Maiesties* players to send them out of this Citty ij li. - -

...

Item paide to mr Tomlinson Mayor *which* hee disbursed for mee vnto the Palsgraves players fforty shillings ij li. - - 15

...

## p 122 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the fyve waightes for their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)

## p 195 (Rendered 7 November) (Inventory)

...

...one padgeant &amp; iij flagges...

...

## 1631-2

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

## f 200v (29 December)

...

Robertus Deane filius Roberti Deane de Ciuitate Bristoll weaver posuit se apprenticium Iohanni Burch dicte Ciuitatis Intimentmaker Et Alicie vxori eius pro termino octo annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu &amp;c/ 35

Iohannes  
Burch

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)p 197 (*Rendered 22 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...one padgeant &amp; iij flagges...

...

5

**1632-3****Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(20)p 166\* (*30 September-25 December*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide to a Company of Players xx s. which was  
given vnto them by order of master Mayor and the  
Aldermen

j li. — —

...

10

p 167 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the five waight players their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iij d.

...

15

p 170 (*24 March*)

...

Item paide the waighte players their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iij d.

...

20

p 173 (*26 March-24 June*) (*Payments*)

...

Item paide to master Mayor xx s. which hee gave to  
a company of players to bee ridd of <sup>h</sup>them<sup>l</sup>

j li. — —

...

25

30

p 174 (*23 June*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item paide the Waighte players their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iij d.

...

35

p 180 (*28 September*)

...

Item paide the five waighte players their ffee

j li. xiiij s. iij d.

...

40

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a  
f 227v (14 February)

Iohannes  
Burch

...  
Thomas Arny filius Thome Arny de Ciuitate Bristoll [C] whitetawer posuit  
apprenticiū Iohanni Burch eiusdem Ciuitatis Instrument maker Et Alicie  
uxori eius pro termino Octo annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristoll  
cum duplici apparatu &c

5

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 199 (Rendered 29 October) (Inventory)

10

...  
...one padgeant iij flagges...

15

**1633-4**

**Mayor's Audits** BRO: 04026(20)

p 232 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...  
Item paide the five waighte players their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 20

p 234 (26 December-25 March) (Payments)

...  
Item paide to Toby Love for a saggbutt which was  
bought for ye Citty waightes by master Mayor and  
Aldermens order iiij li. vij s. ~ 25

p 236 (24 March) (Officers' fees) 30

...  
Item paide the waighte players their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

p 237\* (26 March-24 June) (Payments) 35

...  
Item paide George Butcher for the Charges of the  
enterteynement of Sir Nathaniell Brent the vicar  
generall aborde the shippes in Hungroad as per note xvij li. xvj s. j d.  
Item paide the Owners of the Charles for twoe 40

barrills of gonne powder for the ordnance *which* was  
 shot of at the enterteyement of the vicar generall viij li. xj s. ix d.  
 Item paide the maister of the Charles xx s: for [the] his  
 Companies paines about the enterteyement, and xj s.  
 given the musicions for theire paines and ij s. ij d. spent 5  
 and given amongst the Company that came vpp al is j li. xiiij s. ij d.  
 ...

p 238

... 10  
 Item to a Company of players by order of *master* Mayor  
 to ridd them out of Towne j li. x s. -  
 ...

p 242 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

... 15  
 Item paide the waight players theire ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
 ...

p 250 (28 September)

... 20  
 Item paide the five waightes players theire ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
 ...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a  
 f 260v (22 January)

... 25  
 Willelmus Rowbottome filius Ricardi Rowbottome de [Wiltes] Trowbridge  
 in Comitatu Wiltes Tayler defuncti posuit se apprenticium Iohanni Burch  
 de Ciuitate Bristol Instrument maker et Alicie vxori eius pro termino Octo 30  
 annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d. pro libertate Bristol cum duplici apparatu  
 ...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 201 (Rendered 27 October) (Inventory) 35

...one padgent, iij flagges...  
 ...

*St Thomas Churchwardens' Accounts* BRO: P/StT/ChW/66  
 f 7 (4 May-4 May) (Disbursements)

	...				
	...		l.	s.	d.
November 1	To Iohnson & Company for their Musick	00	02	00	5
	...				
	f 9*				
	...				
	To Iohnson & Company vpon Twelwe daie	00	03	00	10
	...				

## 1634-5

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(20)

p 310 (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

	...				15
	Item paide to certeyne players by order of <i>master</i> Mayor and Aldermen as <i>per note</i> appeareth	ij li.	-	-	20
	...				
	p 311 (24 December) (Officers' fees)				
	...				
	Item paide the five waighte players their ffee	j li.	xij s.	iiij d.	25
	...				
	p 314 (24 March)				
	...		li.	s.	d.
	Item paid the waighte plaiers their ffee	j li.	xij s.	iiij d.	30
	...				
	p 305 (16 April) (Burgess money received)				
	...				35
	Thomas Beza Musition is admitted into the liberties of this City for that hee married with <i>Christian deane</i> the daughter of <i>william deane</i> & paid	-	iiij s.	iiij d.	
	...				



## p 317 (23 June) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paid the weight plaiers their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

5

## p 318 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

...

Item paide which was given to certeyne plaiers by  
master Maior and the Aldermens order, bicause 10  
they should not play in the Citty ij li. - -

...

Item paide for newe headinge and Ribbing the Citty  
drumms, and for Ribbondes for the drummers suites  
as per note j li. xvij s. xj d. 15

...

## p 321\* (25 June-29 September)

...

Item paide to one Perry a plaier by order of master Mayor 20  
for yat hee should not vse his skill heere in this Citty ij li. - -

...

## p 324 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the ffive waighte players their ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d. 25

...

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(5)a  
f 298v (4 March)

...

Georgius Mison filius Iohannis Mison de Trowbridge in Comitatu Wiltes  
loyner posuit se apprenticium Iohanni Burtch de Ciuitate Bristoll Instrument  
maker et ffrancisce vxori eius pro termino Octo annorum Soluendo iiij s. vj d.  
pro libertate Bristoll cum duplici apparatu 35

...

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

## p 203 (Rendered 26 October) (Inventory)

...

...one pagent, iij flagges... 40

...

*Will of Thomas Prince* BRO: will Thomas PRINCE 1634  
 sheets [1-2] \* (12 November; probated 4 December)

In the name of God Amen. The twelveth day of November in the yere of our  
 Lord God one thowsand six hundred Thirtie and fower, I Thomas Prince one  
 of the Lay Petticanons of the Cathedrall Church of the Holie and indevided  
 Trinitie Bristoll, beinge sicke and weake in bodie but of sound and perfect  
 memorie thankes be given vnto Almighty God doe make and ordaine my my  
 last will and testament in manner followinge ... Item I give and bequeath  
 vnto Isaac Brian my other ouerseer herein after-named my Twoe Lutes And  
 vnto his daughter Iohann Brian fower l bookes of Musick which bookes are  
 bound vpp together and her name putt vpon the same by my appointment.  
 Item I give and bequeath vnto Iames Blomar one of the Lay Petticans of the  
 Holie indived Trinitie Cathedrall Bristoll my base violl. Item I give vnto Edward  
 Redwood my Virginalles ...

## 1635-6

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(20)  
 p 386\* (30 September-25 December) (Payments)

Item paide to one that came with a licence from the  
 maister of Revells to shewe tumblinge trickes ij s. vj d.,  
 to a labourer for digging stones j s., and to a poore  
 woman for clothes for a base childe <sup>4/</sup>v s.<sup>1</sup> — viij s. vj d.

p 387 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

Item paide the five waighte players there ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

p 389 (24 March)

Item paide the waighte playets there ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

4/ In the ... day: in display script

8/ my my: dittography

9/ Item: in display script

13/ Petticans: for Petticanons

14/ indived: for indevided

14/ Item: in display script

p 392 (23 June)

Item paide the waighte players there ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

5

p 393 (25 June-29 September) (Payments)

Item paide to the players of his maiesties Revells by  
order of master Mayor & the Aldermen xx s. j li. - -

...

10

p 398 (28 September) (Officers' fees)

Item paide the five waighte players there ffee j li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

15

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 205 (Rendered 31 October) (Inventory)

...

...one pagent, iij flagges...

...

20

1636-7

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 207 (Rendered 30 October) (Inventory)

...

...one pagent, iij flagges...

...

25

1637-8

**Bakers' Minutes** BRO: 08155(1)

p 209 (Rendered 30 October) (Inventory)

...

...one pagent, iij flagges...

...

30

35

**Wiredrawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts** BRL: 5030

p 248 (July-July; rendered 23 October) (Payments)

...

Item paid to the waites 0-3-0 40

Item paid to Clarke 0-5-0

Item paid for the diners of mr Palmer his wife his child  
and mr Pen

0-4-3

...

*Will of Sarah Barker* BRO: will Sarah BARKER 1637  
ff 1-2\* (31 May; probated 25 August)

5

In the name of God Amen the one and thirtith day of May in the yeere of  
our Lord God One thousand six hundred thirtie and seaven I Sara Barker of  
the Citie of Bristoll widdowe being of perfect mynde & memorie ... doe make 10  
and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner followinge, ffirst I  
give & resigne my [sould] soule into the hands of God my Creator hoping  
to enioy the ioyes of heaven by and through the death and passion of my  
savior Iesus Christ, And my bodie to the earth to be buried in Christian  
buriall in the parish Church of Redcliffe as neere my husband as may be, 15  
And my will is that there shallbe five poundes laid out and bestowe(.) on my  
funerall, Item I give devise and bequeath vnto my sonne Phillip and to his  
heires forever, All those my three Messuages or tenementes and garden with  
their appurtenances lyeing and being in Redcliffehill within the Countie of  
the said Citie of Bristoll which I latelie bought and purchased of and from 20  
my sonne Iames Barker, Item I give devise and bequeath vnto my said sonne  
Phillip Barker and to his heires forever, All those my twoe messuages or  
tenementes and gardens with th'appurtenances scituate & being vpon the west  
side of Redcliffe hill aforesaid which I likewise boughte and purchased of and  
from my said sonne Iames Barker, Item I give and bequeath vnto my sonne 25  
William Barker all that howse and being which my late husband built for a  
playhouse, for all my estate terme & interest therein except the Chamber over  
the well att th'end of the said playhowse, which Chamber I give & bequeath  
vnto my daughter Ellioner Barker for all my terme and estate therein, Item I  
give vnto my said sonne Iames Barker ten shillinges, Item I give and bequeath 30  
vnto my sonne Richard Barker, I All that my litle Chamber next vnto the  
streate on Redcliffehill aforesaid heretofore built by my said husbnde  
adioyning to the messuage or tenement wherein I nowe dwell and the Cellers  
vnder the same Chamber which was taken of or graunted by the Maior and  
Cimmonalty of the said Citie of Bristoll, Item I give vnto my said sonne 35  
Richard Barker my leaden Cisterne in the howse wherein I now dwell, Item  
I give vnto my daughter fflorence ten shillings, Item I give vnto my said  
daughter fflorence A knobbed gould ringe and my second best suite of  
apparell throughout, Item I give vnto my daughter Sara my second best fether

bed and all thinges belongeinge therevnto, halfe a dozen of table napkins a table Cloth, fower peeces of Pewter and one brasse Crock, Item <sup>r</sup>I give to my daughter Ellioner Barker<sup>1</sup> all the rest of my weareing apparell and household stuffe (except a br(.)sse horse candlestick and a silver guilt salte), And all the rest of my goodes Chattles rightes and Credittes (my debtes legacies & funerall expences being (. .)id & discharged I give and bequeath vnto my (. . .) Phillip Barke(.) (.)home I make & ordeyne sole executor of this my last will & testament, And I doe appointe & entreate my loveing ffreindes Thomas Chambers and William Blackborowe to be overseers of this my last will & testament In witnes whereof I have herevnto putt my hand & seale the daie & yeere abouewriten./

(signed) Sara Barker

...

### 1638-9

*Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' Accounts* BRL: 5030

p 255 (July-July; rendered 18 October) (Payments)

...

Item laid out to the waighetes	0-2-6	
Item paid for mr Husbands and mr pen	0-1-2	20
Item laid out for the Count diner	0-6-6	

...

### 1639-40

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(21)

p 25 (24 December) (Officers' fees)

...

Item paide the ffive waight players their ffee	001	13	04
--	-----	----	----

...

p 28 (24 March)

...

Item paide the waight players their ffee	001	13	04
--	-----	----	----

...

p 34 (23 June)

...

Item paide the five waight players their ffee	001	13	04
---	-----	----	----

...

p 41 (28 September)

...  
 Item paide the five waightes plaiers for their ffee 001 13 04  
 ...

***Inventory of Nicholas Meredith, Merchant*** BRO: inventory 1639/68  
 f 2 (12 November)

...  
 In the lower Parlour  
 Item one table board fower ioyned stooles, fower old Chayeres 10  
 two low stooles a paire of Virginalles & sixe thrum Cushons  
 two needleworke Cushons, a sideboard cloth a Carpett & some  
 old pictures xxiiij s. iiij d.  
 ...

***Inventory of Francis Derricke*** BRO: inventory 1640/18  
 single sheet verso (7 May)

...  
 Item one olde violl and a Lute 00 04 00  
 ...

1640-1

***Mayor's Audits*** BRO: 04026(21)p 102 (24 December) (*Officers' fees*)

... 25  
 Item paid the ffyve waighte players their ffee 001 13 04  
 ...

p 105 (24 March)

... 30  
 Item paid the Waighte players their ffee 001 13 04  
 ...

p 108 (23 June)

... 35  
 Item paid the ffyve waight players their ffee  
 001 13 04  
 ...

p 114 (28 September)

... 40  
 Item paid the ffyve waight plaiers their ffee 001 13 04  
 ...

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)p 213 (*Rendered 29 October*) (*Inventory*)

...

...on pagent, iij flages...

...

5

*Inventory of Morgan Winscombe, Clothworker* BRO: inventory 1641/56  
f [1] (*3 May*)

...

In [the] his bedchamber

10

...

Item one <sup>old</sup> paire of virginales

v s.

...

## 1641-2

15

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(21)p 165 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

...

Item payde the five Waighte players there ffee

001 13 04

...

20

p 169 (*24 March*)

...

li. s. d.

...

25

Item payde the wayte Players there ffee

001 13 04

...

p 173 (*23 June*)

...

li. s. d.

...

30

Item payde the five wagate players there ffee

001 13 04

...

35

p 181 (*28 September*)

...

li. s. d.

...

Item payde the five Wayte players there ffee

001 13 04

...

40

*Bakers' Minutes* BRO: 08155(1)  
p 215 (*Rendered 5 November*) (*Inventory*)

...  
...on pagann iij flages...

*Inventory of Richard Brace, Physician* BRO: inventory 1642/9  
single sheet (*6 August*)

...  
... In the Servants Chamber ...

Item one paire of old virginalls, two Citterns, & a Rebicke  
° or violin° XX s.

... 15

*Inventory of Steven Hussey* BRO: inventory 1642/26  
f [1] (*14 September*)

...  
Item one vnfinished harpsicall, one vyall and a dulcimar  
li. s. d.  
01 00 00 20

### 1642-3

*Mayor's Audits* BRO: 04026(21)  
p 230 (*24 December*) (*Officers' fees*)

... 25  
... (li....)  
Item payde the five Wayte players theyre ffee  
001 13 04



APPENDIX, TRANSLATIONS, ENDNOTES, PATRONS AND  
TRAVELLING COMPANIES, GLOSSARIES, AND INDEX



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## APPENDIX

# Saints' Days and Festivals

The following table lists the dates of all the holy days and festivals referred to in the Records. All days are entered under their official names but unofficial names occurring in the Records are also given in parentheses and repeated in their alphabetic places as required. Only feast days themselves are listed; if the night or eve of a feast or its tide or season (likely the feast day itself together with its octave) is referred to, its date may be inferred from that of the feast. The exact dates of moveable feasts, such as Easter, in any given year may be found following the tables in C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, corrected ed (London, 1996), 84–161.

Accession Day, Elizabeth 1 (Queen's Holiday)	17 November
James 1 (King's Holiday)	24 March
Charles 1	27 March
All Saints (All Hallows)	1 November
Christmas	25 December
Coronation Day	<i>see</i> Accession Day, Elizabeth 1
Corpus Christi Day	Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the eighth Sunday after Easter
Epiphany (Twelfth Day)	6 January
Invention of the Holy Cross (Holy Rood Day)	3 May
King's Holiday	24 March
Lady Day	25 March
May Day	1 May
Michaelmas	29 September
Midsummer	24 June
Pentecost (Whit Sunday)	seventh Sunday after Easter, ie, 50 days after Easter
Queen's Holiday	17 November
St Bartholomew	24 August
St Clement	23 November
St George	23 April
St James	25 July

St John the Baptist, nativity of (Midsummer)	24 June
St Katherine	25 November
St Lawrence	10 August
St Mary Magdalen	22 July
St Mary the Virgin, Annunciation to (Lady Day)	25 March
"    "    Conception of	8 December
St Michael and All Angels	29 September
St Nicholas	6 December
St Peter	29 June
Twelfth Day	<i>see</i> Epiphany
Whit Sunday	<i>see</i> Pentecost

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# Translations

ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

The Latin documents have been translated as literally as possible. The order of records in the Translations parallels that of records in the original. Place-names and given names have been modernized. The spelling of surnames in the Translations reflects the same principles as used in the Index. Capitalization and punctuation are in accordance with modern practice. As in the Records text, diamond brackets indicate obliterations and square brackets cancellations. However, cancellations are not normally translated; they may be translated when a whole entry is cancelled, especially if it appears that a cancellation may be administrative rather than the correction of an error, or if they seem of special interest or relevance.

Round brackets enclose words not in the Latin text but needed for grammatical sense in English. Not all the Latin in the text has been translated here. Latin tags, formulae, headings, or other short sections in largely English documents are either translated in footnotes or not at all. In translated documents containing a mixture of Latin and English, the English sections are normally indicated with '(English)'. Very short entries, especially those that are part of repetitive annual series, or simple Latin formulae in court books are not normally translated, unless they present special problems. All Latin vocabulary not found in the standard Latin dictionary, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, is found in the glossary.

The Anglo-Norman document sorted under 1391–2 was translated by William Edwards (p 255).

1255-6

*Mandate Concerning a Drowning* PRO: C 66/70

mb 6\* (16 July)

...

The  
Community  
of Bristol

The king to his justices in the next eyre for the county of Gloucester and to all others to whom the present letter may come: greetings. Since, while we were recently staying at Bristol, John Kneyl was drowned in our presence by misadventure as he played in the water of the Avon and we caused his body to be buried without view of coroner and (since) we are fully agreed that neither those who were taking part in the said pastime with the aforesaid John nor any others are in any way guilty of the death of the same John, we order you not to act against or prosecute in any way the vill of Bristol, or those who took part in the said pastime with the aforesaid John, or others on account of the death of that John. In witness of which, etc, as above.

...

1278-9

*Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard* HWRO: x716.093 BA 2648/1(i)

ff 93v-4\* (21 August)

...

A proceeding for the crime of decapitation at Bristol

Held before us, Godfrey, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, in our cathedral church on 21 August in the year of grace 1279 on business arising from our office against Peter de la Mare, constable of Bristol Castle, and others, his accomplices, on the charge that recently they did improperly carry out certain irregular actions in the town of Bristol against clerical immunity, that is, that Richard de Waleden, cleric, having taken an oath to tell the truth, acknowledges that he (Richard) ordered that William de Lay, a fugitive at the church of the apostles Philip and James in Bristol, be dragged outside while he was in the churchyard of the same church. And (he acknowledges that) he himself laid hands on him (William) to drag him out; after that was done, he caused him to be taken back to the castle and kept there.

Henry de Essex, layman, likewise having taken an oath, acknowledges that he grabbed the aforesaid William in the aforementioned churchyard by the beard and carried him into the castle.

Nicholas fitz Neel, layman, after being sworn, says that he held the said William in the said churchyard and took a sword from his hand and led him forcibly into the castle.

Gilbert la Gayte, layman, after being sworn, says that he grabbed the aforesaid William by the arm and drew him outside the churchyard and carried him into the castle.

Robert le Waleys, layman, after being sworn, says that he grabbed him (William) as he was fleeing into the churchyard and held (him) by the feet while the rest of his body was in the churchyard and let go because of the noise of the people.

Adam le Steor, layman, after being sworn, says that he only cut off his (William's) head and did not do anything more because he was at the prison the whole time, before and after (the incident at the churchyard), because he was the gaoler. And he knew well that (William) had been removed from the churchyard.

Richard le Forester, layman, after being sworn, says that he came at the order of his superiors and that he was present when (William) was beheaded. And that he knew that he (William) had been removed from the churchyard nor was he pleased at the beheading.

Andrew le Forester, after being sworn, says the same as the previous witness and adds that he stood there to guard both the one being beheaded and the headsman.

Thomas le Forester, after being sworn, says the same as the other two and adds that he advised the headsman to behead (William).

John le Foreste, after being sworn, says the same as the aforesaid Richard.

Henry de Essexe, layman, after being sworn, says that he tied his (William's) hands in the prison and led him to the place of beheading and advised the headsman to behead (William) and when (William) had been beheaded he carried the headless body outside the castle.

John la Gayte, layman, after being sworn, says that when (William) had been removed from the churchyard, he met him outside the castle gate and led him, together with others. He says the same thing about the beheading as the aforesaid Richard le Forester. l

Gilbert la Gayte, layman, after being sworn, says the same as the abovesaid Richard le Forester. And he adds that he carried the headless body outside the castle.

Robert le Paumer, after being sworn, says that he led him (William) from the prison to the place of beheading and was present there. Also, when he had been removed from the churchyard, he led him into the castle.

Peter de la Mare, constable of Bristol Castle, after being sworn, says that he was not present during the removal but that he approved it and ordered him (William) to be kept (at the castle). And (he says that) he did that on account of the safety of himself and his followers and finally that he ordered him (William) to be beheaded and that all those things should happen just as they happened.

Robert, rector of St Mary's Church, Bristol, after being sworn, says for himself and his brother Richard that he does not know who have composed the

well-known song, who have written it, and who have made it public. However, he says that he has heard that miracles were performed by the said William de Lay and that his brother has recounted them.

...

f 95\* (23 August)

...

Godfrey, etc, to his beloved sons in Christ, .., archdeacon of Gloucester and .., dean of the church of Westbury: greeting, grace, and blessing. We entrust to you both, jointly and severally, our authority, together with a lawful power of punishment, to enquire in the town of Bristol whether any (persons) are detestably and rashly venerating the body of William de Lay, (buried) by the church of the apostles Philip and James, as if it were holy, falsely asserting that he had suffered martyrdom; or whether any (persons) have presumed to compose any song about him or recite or make public (such a) composition; and especially (to enquire) about the composition of a well-known song, written (on or attached to a board/placard; and to punish such offenders. Moreover we also entrust authority to you) to punish the rectors of the churches of St Mary in the Market and of the apostles Philip and James and any others who are encouraging scandals and errors in the aforementioned town of Bristol in whatever way on account of the late William de Lay. Further (we entrust authority to you) to receive Peter de la Mare and his accomplices, who lately committed openly certain outrages against the church, as duly penitent – just as we enjoined you verbally, archdeacon – and to call together the clergy and people, if it seems good to you, and enjoin our commands upon them. Given at Wick 23 August.

...

1347–8

*Grant by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, for the Foundation of a Chantry in St Augustine's Abbey* Berkeley Castle: Select Charter 521  
single sheet\* (27 April)

... And I wish and order that the aforesaid chaplain, William, and his successors, chaplains, make their personal residence in the said chantry and that they celebrate daily and serve (there) in accordance with my ordinance as prescribed and written (below).... And that they live chastely and honourably, not visit markets or inns except for necessary reasons, and not involve themselves in unlawful trade in any way. And that they entirely flee from frivolities and unlawful shows and dishonourable gatherings....



## 1391–2

*Little Red Book* BRO: 04718f cxvii verso (14 December) (*Common Council ordinance as to officials' liveries*)

Because the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol have previously, of their own accord, without the approval of the good folk of the said town, dressed several persons in common livery which has been used of old, at the great cost and expense of the aforesaid town, wherefore, at the city council held the first Thursday following the feast of the Conception of Our Lady in the fifteenth year of the reign of our lord king, Richard II, it is ordered and agreed that henceforth there shall be no more persons dressed in the common livery without cost except the following, namely, the mayor, the sheriff, two bailiffs, the recorder, the city clerk, he who carried the sword of the mayor, four serjeants of the mayor's court, the herald bailiff, the city inspector, the town's four minstrels, the two water bailiffs, and the gaoler of the gaol, as well as the clerk of the court of Tolsey and the four serjeants of Tolsey while the yearly rent is in the possession of the town, which livery will be given once a year and no more....

## 1403–4

*Will of John Bount* PRO: PROB 11/2A

f 61 (24 August; probated 6 February 1404/5)

...

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Amen. On 24 August, on the feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle, in the year of our Lord 1404 and in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry, the fourth after the conquest, I, John Bount, son and heir of John Bount, late a burgess of the town of Bristol, being sound in mind and in my memory, thanks be to the Highest, do make my testament in this manner.... I also leave to John Beoff, junior barrister and my beloved colleague, 40s. I also leave to the same John my new statutes and my sword decorated with silver. I also leave to the same John my large harp and my gittern (decorated (?)) with a girl's face....

...

## c 1450

*Little Red Book* BRO: 04718

f iii col 1\*

...

Payments paid annually by the bailiffs of Bristol  
to the mayor, sheriff, recorders, and other officers

First for the mayor, 12 yards of scarlet, price

£8

Item for his fur lining

10 marks

Item for his wine	5 marks
Item for his minstrels	5 marks
Item for his pension	£20
Item on the feast of St George	2 torches
Sum	£41 6s 8d

## 1543–4

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

p 269 (21 November)

...

John Levette  
8d

Robert Norres, son of John Norres of Billericay in the county of Essex, mercer, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Levette, minstrel, a citizen of the city of Bristol, and to Christian his wife, to serve them, both in the craft of minstrels and, etc, from the date of the present (indenture) to the end of a term of five years thereafter, etc. And (Levette) will pay 20s sterling together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc, in the name of, etc.

...

## 1548–9

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

p 411 (1 March)

...

Thomas  
Rancock  
8d

This is, etc (*ie*, this is to certify), that William Drowry, son of Robert Drowry of Finghall in the county of York, labourer, has placed himself as an apprentice to Thomas Rancock, innkeeper, and Dorothy, his wife, for the term of seven years following next thereafter, etc. And (Rancock) will pay to the same apprentice at the end, etc (*ie*, at the end of his term), one viol and a loud shawm and a still (shawm), together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays) that fits him, etc, in the name of, etc.

...

## 1549–50

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

p 442 (24 February)

...

Thomas  
Rancock  
5d

This is, etc (*ie*, this is to certify), that Nicholas Williams, son of Richard Williams of Diptford in the county of Devon, husbandman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Thomas Rancock, innkeeper, and Dorothy, his wife, for a term of ten years, etc. (Rancock) will pay, etc, a viol, a loud shawm,

a still shawm, and a recorder, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays) that fits him, etc.

...

p 444\* (26 March)

...

This is, etc (*ie*, this is to certify), that John Rome, son of John Rome, [late] of Draycot [Backwell] in the county of Wiltshire [Somerset], yeoman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Thomas Rancock, innkeeper, and Dorothy, his wife, etc, for a term of ten years, etc. (Rancock) will pay, etc, a viol, a rebec, a still shawm, and a loud shawm, and 4s 6d, etc, with, etc.

...

1550–1

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(1)

p 468 (20 October)

...

This is, etc (*ie*, this is to certify), that William Wells, son of Nicholas Wells of Thornbury in the county of Gloucester, shoemaker, has placed himself as an apprentice to Thomas Rancock, innkeeper, and Dorothy, his wife, for a term of ten years, etc. And (Rancock) will pay, etc, 5s of lawful, etc (*ie*, of lawful English money), and 4s 6d for the freedom, etc (*ie*, of the city), together with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays) and one instrument called 'a viol' and one instrument called 'a rebec,' etc.

...

1566–7

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 8v (24 July)

...

William Alowe, son of (*blank*) Alowe of the city of Bristol, smith, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Medecalf, musician, and Christian, his wife, for a term of the next ten years, etc. And (Medecalf) will pay (*blank*), etc, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

1580–1

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 158\* (20 August)

...

Anthony Dittie, son of Richard Dittie of Holway in the county of Somerset, has placed himself as an apprentice to Henry Dittie, musician, and Alice, his

Thomas  
Rancock

Thomas  
Rancock  
8d

(...)ecalf

Henry Dittie

wife, for seven years. And (Henry Dittie) will pay 20s and 4s 6d for the freedom (of the city), together with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1582-3

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

f 179v (4 April)

...

Nicholas  
Holden

Robert Aishely, son of John Aishely of Stapleton in the county of Gloucester, has placed himself as an apprentice to Nicholas Holden, trumpeter, and Elizabeth, his wife, for eight years. And (Holden) will pay 10s and 4s 6d for his freedom, together with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

And the aforesaid apprentice will have from his aforementioned master one instrument called a 'trumpet' and the aforesaid John, his father, will be held accountable for £40 for his truth.

f 184\* (30 July)

...

Patrick  
Wise

John Yorke, son of Ralph Yorke of Frome Selwood in the county of Somerset, has placed, etc (*ie*, has placed himself as an apprentice), to Patrick Wise, musician [mariner], and Joan, his wife, for nine years. And (Wise) will pay 4s 6d for his freedom, together with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

f 186 (24 Sepsemer)

...

Nicholas  
Holden

John Hait, son of Thomas Hait of Sherston in the county of Wiltshire, has placed, etc (*ie*, has placed himself as an apprentice), to Nicholas Holden, trumpeter, and Elizabeth, his wife, for seven years. And (Holden) will pay 10s and one trumpet and 4s 6d for his freedom, together with double (clothing *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1584-5

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(2)

f 210v (10 February)

...

Roger  
James

William Carter, son of Robert Carter of (*blank*) in the county of Hereford, has placed himself as an apprentice to Roger James of the city of Bristol, musician,

and Welthian, his wife, for seven years. And (James) will pay to the same (William Carter) at the end (of his indenture) 4s 6d for his freedom of Bristol, together with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1585-6

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 220v (24 February)

...

Robert Chrispe, son of Robert Chrispe of Stafford in the county of Stafford, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lawrence, musician, and Ellen, his wife, for ten years. And (Lawrence) will pay 4s 6d for his freedom with double (clothing, *ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1587-8

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 236 (28 February)

...

John Brewer, the son of Thomas Brewer of Hempstead in the county of Gloucester, musician, has agreed with Geoffrey Hellier of the city of Bristol, musician, to serve him both in the aforesaid craft and in other crafts of which this trade makes use for the term of the next three years following for the consideration of 3d received by him, etc. And (Hellier) will give him at the end of the aforesaid years, etc, one instrument called in English 'one treble violin.'

The sign of X the said apprentice

(signed) Hercules Child  
Edward Doultouinge

f 243v (31 August)

...

Samuel Crancke of Carhampton in the county of Somerset, son of Humphrey Crancke of Carhampton aforesaid, has placed himself as an apprentice to Geoffrey Hellier, musician, of the city of Bristol, and Ellen, his wife, for the term of seven years. And (Hellier) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years 4s 6d and one instrument, together with double clothing, one (suit) for holidays and one for working days, etc.

...

William  
Lawrence

Geoffrey  
Hellier

Geoffrey  
Hellier

## 1588-9

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 259v (30 June)

...

Nicholas  
Holden

Thomas Hopkins, son of William Hopkins of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to Nicholas Holden of the aforesaid city, trumpeter and surgeon, and (*blank*), his wife, for a term of nine years. And (Holden) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years (an instrument called) in English 'one trumpeter' and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

## 1591-2

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(2)

f 307\* (10 February)

...

Geoffrey  
Hellier

James Parris, son of Jonah Parris, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to Geoffrey Hellier of the same city aforesaid, musician, and Ellen, his wife, for nine years. And (Hellier) will pay 40s at the end of the aforesaid years and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

f 316 (28 August)

...

William  
Lawrence  
paid

John Bannton, son of John Bannton of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lawrence of the same city, musician, and Ellen, his wife, for fourteen years. And (Lawrence) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years, 10(s) (and) 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

## 1592-3

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(3)

f 5 (2 July)

...

Francis  
Highwood is  
not free of this  
city

John Craddock, son of Thomas Craddock, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to Francis Highwood of the city of Bristol, musician, and Emma, his wife, for eight years. And (Highwood) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years 4s 6d, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays).

...

1593-4

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 16\* (27 January)

...

Geoffrey  
Hellier

John Wood, son of Bartholomew Wood of Dunster in the county of Somerset, has placed himself as an apprentice to Geoffrey Hellier of the city of Bristol, musician, and Eleanor, his wife, for nine years. And (Hellier) will pay at the end of (the aforesaid) years 10s and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

(English)

...

1595-6

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 46 (17 December)

...

Nicholas  
Holden

William Wattes, son of Joseph Wattes, deceased, late of Glastonbury in the county of Somerset, has placed himself as an apprentice to Nicholas Holden of the city of Bristol, trumpeter, and Matilda, his wife, for the term of seven (years. And (Holden) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years one (instrument), called) in English (a) 'trumpet,' 10s, and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

f 54 (3 August)

...

Henry  
Godden

James Jacobbes, son of Cornelius Jacobbes, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to Henry Godden of the aforesaid city of Bristol, musician, and Alice, his wife, for the term of ten years. And (Godden) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years one instrument, and 6s 8d, and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

f 56v (7 September)

...

William  
Johnson } 12

Robert Wilson, son of Nicholas Wilson, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the aforesaid city, musician, and Matilda, his wife, for the term of seven years. And (Johnson) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years one instrument and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

## 1597-8

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 79v\* (11 July)

...

Of the same  
parish (*ie*, St  
Mary le Port)

Elizabeth Phillippes, daughter of Anthony Phillippes, deceased, late of the aforesaid parish, has placed herself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the said city, musician, and Margaret, his wife, for the term of twelve years. And (Johnson) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

William  
Johnson

\* He has paid 4d.

...

## 1601-2

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 138v (19 October)

...

Francis  
Highwood

Richard Hutt, son of Henry Hutt of Wednesbury in the county of Stafford, has placed himself as an apprentice to Francis Highwood of the city of Bristol, musician, and Emma, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Highwood) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years single clothing, etc, and also one instrument that he can play best, etc.

...

## 1605-6

**Bishop's Court Deposition Book** SRO: D/D/Cd 36pp 382-3\* (1 November) (*Examination of William Stott, miller, aged 44, upon articles exhibited by Eleanor Cox against Miles Brokenburrough*)*Taken before Thomas Merest, surrogate judge*

...

When examined on the strength of his oath already taken, he deposes and says to the second article (*English*) - as he now recalls; he does not perfectly remember the day and time otherwise - (*English*). And he says these things from his own sight, hearing, and understanding (*English*). And otherwise he does not know how to depose.

...

## 1608-9

**Apprenticeship Indentures** BRO: 04352(3)

f 266 (12 November)

...

William  
Johnson

John Powell, son of John Powell of the city of Bristol, musician, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the same city, musician, and



Margaret, his wife, for a term of twelve years. And (Johnson) will pay (at the end of the term) 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

f 280v (14 July)

...

Isaac Bryne  
This man is  
not free.

Robert Saunders, son of William Saunders, deceased, late of Basaleg in the county of Monmouth, husbandman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Isaac Bryne of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Sibyl, his wife, for the term of ten years. And (Bryne) will pay at the end of the aforesaid years 15s [together with double clothing, etc] only.  
(English)

1613-14

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 75 (30 November)

...

Giles  
Collyer  
Not bound<sup>o</sup>

John Collyer, son of Giles Collyer of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, has placed himself as an apprentice to the aforementioned Giles, his father, for a term of seven years. And (his father) will pay at the end of the (aforesaid) years 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

1614-15

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 97v (6 October)

...

William  
Johnson

William Phillippes, son of William Phillippes of the city of Bristol, tailor, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the same city, musician, and Alice, his wife, for a term of nine years. And (Johnson) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc, and an instrument.

...

1618-19

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 194v (12 April)

...

William  
Johnson

John Hunter, son of George Hunter of Bedminster in the county (of Somerset),

shoemaker, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the city of Bristol, musician, and Alice, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Johnson) will pay £4 sterling and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc (*English*).

...

### 1619-20

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 207 (15 October)

William  
Lavasher

Richard Gay, son of John Gay, deceased, of Batheaston in the county of Somerset, husbandman, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lavasher of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Eleanor, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Lavasher) will pay one bandore of the value of 20s and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

f 216 (15 April)

Thomas  
Prince

William Child, son of Hercules Child, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, yeoman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Thomas Prince of the same city, musician, and (*blank*), his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Prince) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1620-1

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 237 (21 March)

William  
Lavasher

William Wells, son of Thomas Wells, deceased, of Awre in the county of Gloucester, tailor, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lavasher of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Eleanor, his wife, for a term of nine years. And (Lavasher) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc. (*English*)

## 1622-3

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 273v (4 November)

...

Isaac  
Bryne

Philip Brown, son of Peter Brown of Mells in the county of Somerset, yeoman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Isaac Bryne of the city of Bristol, virginal maker, and Sibyl, his wife, for a term of seven years and for a covenant of two years. And (Bryne) will pay at the end of the apprenticeship 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), and at the end of the last year of the covenant, 40s sterling.

...

## 1623-4

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 308 (12 April)

...

William  
Lavasher

John Read, son of James Read of Wells in the county of Somerset, musician, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lavasher of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Eleanor, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Lavasher) will pay 20s and 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

## 1624-5

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(4)

f 328v (19 December)

...

William  
Lavasher

Giles Stevens, son of John Stevens, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, shoemaker, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Lavasher of the said city, instrument maker, and Eleanor, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Lavasher) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

## 1625-6

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 7 (12 June)

...

William  
Johnson

John Hayward, son of John Hayward of Bedminster in the county of Somerset, silkweaver, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the city of Bristol, musician, and Alice, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Johnson) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double

clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays) and the best instrument which he can use.

...

### 1626-7

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 37v (23 April)

...

William  
Johnson

Henry Gilson, son of Henry Gilson of Bedminster in the county of Somerset, cook, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the city of Bristol, musician, and Alice, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Johnson) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1627-8

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 51v (6 October)

...

William  
Johnson

Richard Burges, son of Richard Burges, deceased, late of Bedminster in the county of Somerset, shoemaker, has placed himself as an apprentice to William Johnson of the city of Bristol, musician, and Alice, his wife, for a term of ten years. And (Johnson) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

### 1628-9

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 93v (18 December)

...

John  
Collyer

John Williams, son of Leonard Williams of the city of Bristol, clothworker, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Collyer of the said city, instrument maker, and Ursula, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Collyer) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc, (and) one new cloak or 20s at the apprentice's choice.

(*English*)

...

f 100 (27 February)

Isaac  
Bryne

Stephen Fudger, son of William Fudger, deceased, late of the city of Hereford, shoemaker, has placed himself as an apprentice to Isaac Bryne of the city of

Bristol, virginal maker, and Elizabeth, his wife, for a term of ten years. And (Bryne) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

f 121v (17 September)

...

Francis Harburt  
John Waymouth, son of William Waymouth, deceased, late of the city of Bristol, mariner, has placed himself as an apprentice to Francis Harburt of the said city, trumpeter, and Mary, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Harburt) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

1629-30

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 135v (27 January)

...

Isaac Bryne  
Bartholomew Brittell, son of Walter Brittell of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, husbandman, has placed himself as an apprentice to Isaac Bryne of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Elizabeth, his wife, for a term of seven years. And (Bryne) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

1631-2

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 200v (29 December)

...

John Burch  
Robert Deane, son of Robert Deane of the city of Bristol, weaver, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Burch of the said city, instrument maker, and Alice his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Burch) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

1632-3

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a

f 227v (14 February)

...

John Burch  
Thomas Arny, son of Thomas Arny of the city of Bristol, whittawer, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Burch of the same city, instrument maker, and Alice, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Burch) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays), etc.

...

## 1633-4

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a  
f 260v (22 January)

...

John  
Burch

William Rowbottome, son of Richard Rowbottome, deceased, of Trowbridge in the county of Wiltshire, tailor, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Burch of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Alice, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Burch) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays).

...

## 1634-5

*Apprenticeship Indentures* BRO: 04352(5)a  
f 298v (4 March)

...

John  
Burch

George Mison, son of John Mison of Trowbridge in the county of Wiltshire, joiner, has placed himself as an apprentice to John Burch of the city of Bristol, instrument maker, and Frances, his wife, for a term of eight years. And (Burch) will pay 4s 6d for the freedom of Bristol, together with double clothing (*ie*, for working days and for holidays).

...

---

## Endnotes

3 PRO: C 66/70 mb 6

This mandate concerning a drowning is interesting because it is the earliest Bristol record that has come to light to use the word 'ludus,' although here it is most probably more related to swimming games than to dramatic activity.

3-5 HWRO: x716.093 BA 2648/1(i) ff 93v-4, 95

The forcible removal of William de Lay from the sanctuary of the church and his subsequent beheading is included in this volume because of its relation to the composition and dissemination of a 'carmen famosum' (p 5, l.1), an infamous or notorious song, which falsely venerated de Lay and proclaimed him a martyr. Bishop Giffard initially imposed stiff and extensive penances on the miscreants, including public penance in procession, reburying the body with its severed head, and taking up the cross (that is, joining the Crusades). Peter de la Mare, the master and ringleader of the execution of de Lay, was ordered to establish in perpetuity a priest to pray for the repose of de Lay's soul and the souls of others, to pay for a stone cross costing at least 100s, and to feed each year 100 poor persons (or to give each pauper 1d for food) on a day to be set by the bishop. However, because they agreed to send one of their number, or another fighting man, to the Crusade at their collective expense, the offenders were all absolved from both excommunication and any further penance only two days after the initial orders.

The first excerpt from the register (p 3, l.16-p 5, l.3) is the bishop's examination of the royal officers and the rector of St Philip and St James. It is an extremely early example of a church court at work, at a time when legal business was still frequently dealt with before the bishop himself. The second excerpt (p 5, ll.6-24) is Giffard's mandate to two diocesan officers to continue with the action against both de Lay's veneration and the infamous song and to indicate that those responsible for de Lay's death were penitent.

The double dots (p 5, l.8) which occur here were used in medieval documents in a way analogous to the use of 'A.B.' in modern legal formulae or form books, normally indicating either that the name of the addressee was unknown to the sender (unlikely in this case) or that the letter was addressed to that person not in his proper persona, but in an official capacity, to be opened and acted upon by whoever was currently exercising the office.

The parish church of St Philip and St James is located east of the castle walls; the castle was located on the eastern edge of Bristol in the thirteenth century. The city of Bristol did not gain administrative control of the castle from the Crown until 1630, by which time Bristol had completely surrounded this 'island' of Gloucestershire.

## 5 Berkeley Castle: Select Charter 521 single sheet

Isaac Herbert Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 1892), 163–4, describes the charter as follows: '521. Grant by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, of certain premises in Bristol for the foundation of a chantry in St. Augustine's Abbey, and the endowment of a Chaplain, who shall ... live chastely and honestly and not ... go to markets or taverns more than shall be necessary, or frequent plays or unlawful games, etc.' It was dated at Berkeley 20 April 1348 and confirmed by Bishop Wulstan in Hartlebury on 25 April and by Prior John in Worcester on 27 April. Since the charter is written continuously and in the same hand, this copy was probably made and sealed on or after 27 April 1348.

## 6–7 BRO: 04718 ff iii col 1, [cxxxviiA]

The extract on f iii appears near the beginning of the volume, which contains entries from 1344 to 1574. It is in Latin, rather than the English of later civic documents. The hand, however, is of the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century (late anglicana) and therefore the excerpt has been dated c 1450. On occasion, clerks or recorders would return at a later date to earlier pages of a book to use blank spaces or pages there, which seems to have happened in this case. The c 1450 dating is supported not only by palaeographical evidence but also by the sums, which show an increase of overall expenditures in the Little Red Book record as compared to those of Ricart's Calendar.

Folio [cxxxviiA] is one of two that were inserted between ff cxxxvii and cxxxviii of the Little Red Book. The second insert is internally dated to 32 Henry VI, or 1453. Since the insert transcribed here is in a mid-fifteenth-century hand, it has been dated c 1450.

## 7 BRO: P/StE/ChW/1 f 27

The churchwardens' accounting year usually ran from late March to late March. This entry is grouped with Easter-related activities. (Easter Day in 1455 occurred on 6 April.)

St Ewen (Owen or Ouen; Audoenus in Latin) was bishop of Rouen in the seventh century. Only four other parishes in England were dedicated to him.

Richard Bransby (l.27) was an influential member of the parish who served as proctor in 1453–4 (f 23v), 1460–1 (f 36v), 1463–4 (f 46v), and 1464–5 (f 49). David Englund (l.28), a tailor, was another influential member of the parish who served as proctor in 1453–4 (f 23v) and 1462–3 (f 41). See Masters and Ralph (eds), *The Church Book of St. Ewen's*, pp 25, 40, 50, 64, 67.

## 7–8 Lambeth Palace Library: ms 306 f 132

Edward IV visited Bristol within six months of his accession on 4 March 1460/1 as both an assertion of power and to make certain the city supported him.

## 8 BRO: 04720(1)a f 123v

This undated document clearly refers to Edward IV's visit to Bristol on 9 September 1461; 'ful honourably receyvid' (l.15) undoubtedly relates to the pageant described in the previous entry.

## 8 BRO: P/StE/ChW/1 f 49v

John Nancotian (l. 22), tailor and draper, was a wealthy and influential member both of the parish of St Ewen and of the fraternity of St John Baptist, the Tailors' guild. In the 1455 church inventory (*The Church Book of St. Ewen's*, p 5), he is credited with having paid for both the St Margaret altar apparel and one of the banner cloths dedicated to St Katherine. According to Ricart (f 125v), a 'Johannes Nancotian'



was one of the two Bristol bailiffs in 1469–70. John Nancothan died 14 October 1469 and was buried in the chapel of St John Baptist in the church of St Ewen. Both guild and chapel were founded in 1399. The chapel of St John Baptist was, in fact, the church's southern aisle and belonged to the Tailors' guild. Nancothan provided legacies to St Ewen's and All Saints' in Bristol, the mother church in Worcester, and churches in Yatton, Congresbury, and Cornwall. He also left a gown to the chaplain of his fraternity and provided for his son, John, his daughters, Margaret, Edith, and Isabel, 'each of the children,' and the venerable Philip Meed, merchant. Nancothan's wife, Margaret, was to be executrix and the will was proved 6 August 1470 (see Wadley, *Notes of Wills*, p 143). For a discussion of 'dancing money,' see Audrey Douglas, "'Owre Thanssynge Day': Parish Dance and Procession in Salisbury," *Folk Music Journal*, 6.5 (1994), 600–16.

Cheney's *Handbook of Dates* places the patronal feast of St Ewen as both 24 August (according to the Black Book of the Exchequer) and 25 August (according to the Canterbury calendars); the date of the dedication of this church is, however, unclear in the accounts.

8 BRO: P/StE/ChW/1 f 58

It is not clear if Margaret (l.32) is John's wife or one of his daughters.

William Tayllour (l.33) was a prominent member of the parish and served as proctor in 1460–1 (f 36v). He gave a coat of purple velvet for a statue of Mary according to the 1455 inventory (f 4) and in 1473–4 (f 74v) he and Margaret Nancothan each gave 20s towards new vestments of blue velvet. In the same entry, John Woolfe gave 13s 4d towards the new vestments. (Margaret Nancothan gave an additional 3s 6d towards the vestments in the same year from the selling of ale.) Margaret Woolfe (l.34) is also mentioned with John Tayllour in reference to ale sales to raise money for the purchase of a new silver censer for the church in 1465–6 (f 55). Lawrence Woolfe (l.35) was also a tailor and parishioner of St Ewen Church.

9 BRO: 04720 (1)a ff 160v–1

Ricart became clerk in September 1478, when he started to compile his calendar. The BRO describes it as being compiled in 1479, but it makes more sense to date this entry consistent with the first Michaelmas–Michaelmas year of Ricart's tenure.

The weavers of Bristol lived primarily in Temple parish. They supported St Katherine's chapel in Temple Church, although their hall, also dedicated to St Katherine, was located in nearby St Thomas Street (see Sacks, 'The Demise of the Martyrs,' pp 147–8). Temple Church had a leaning tower, significantly out of plumb, which stands to this day. The church proper was destroyed by enemy action in November 1940 but the ruins remain and can still be used, as in the case of the staging of the Cornish cycle there in the summer of 1981.

Smith concludes in the margin of her edition of Ricart (p 80) that the second item (ll.21–31) is the festival of the boy bishop. Sacks, in 'Celebrating Authority in Bristol, 1475–1640,' agrees and points out that the ceremony 'corresponds quite closely to the usage at Salisbury.... [The] blessing of the civic body during its game of dice, however, appears to be unique' and thus brilliantly emphasizes the explicit misrule associated with the boy bishop festivities (p 199).

9–10 BRO: 04720(1)a f 161v

This is an English version, with details added, of the undated Latin list in the Little Red Book, f iii col 1 (p 6, l.40–p 7, l.4 above). The latter, although logically prior, cannot have been made too long before this list, since the sums have not changed, one reason for the mid-century date assigned to it.

10 BRO: 04720(1)a f 164

In her edition of Ricart's *Kalendar*, Smith (p 85) calls this entry the 'Proclamacion for peace during the Christmas holidays, and the reign of the Lord of Misrule.'

10–14 BL: Cotton Julius B. XII ff 18v–21

Ricart, a contemporary, does not mention the king's 1486 progress to Bristol, although he does accurately record for that year the king's marriage to Elizabeth of York. Ricart (ff 131v, 132v) suggests that Henry VII came to Bristol in 1491 and 1496.

Sacks argues that Bristol was still in decline at this time due to the fall of Bordeaux to the French in July 1453 (see *The Widening Gate*, p 21 and Table 1, p 22). However, it was also common for the city fathers to paint for their king the bleakest picture possible to avoid any increase in their tax burden. According to Ricart (f 131v), when Henry VII returned in 1491, the city fathers presented the king with a benevolence of £180, clearly no indication of poverty.

Henry VII's progress began from London on 14 March 1486 with stops at Lincoln, Nottingham, Doncaster, Pontefract, York, back through Doncaster and Nottingham to Coventry, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Bristol, and Shene, before returning to London on 5 June (see McGee, 'The First Provincial Progress of Henry VII,' pp 245–7).

The abbey of Kingswood (p 10, ll.37–8), founded in 1139, was located three miles east of Bristol in the county of Gloucestershire. (There is another Kingswood in Gloucestershire, twelve miles northeast of Bristol and a half mile southwest of Wotton-under-Edge, but the clear reference in the text to the distance the city fathers travelled to greet the king makes it clear that this is the closer Kingswood.)

McGee (p 197) indicates that the stanzas 'ffor in quiet wise ... And vnytie,' (p 12, ll. 24–30) and 'I am Iusticia ... from oppressions,' (p 13, ll. 9–15) are borrowed 'from the *Secreta Secretorum*; it repeats almost word for word the translation of Benedict Burgh in *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, ed. Robert Steele, EETS, cs 66 (1894), 33.'

St Anne's (p 14, l.3) was an Augustinian chapel two miles up river from Bristol.

15 BRO: 08155(1) p 1

The Bakers' accounting year is unknown; the ordinance of 1499 says that the annual account was to be rendered within sixteen days of Michaelmas, which suggests a Michaelmas–Michaelmas year. The date of rendering the account, where known, is generally October–December, which again suggests a Michaelmas–Michaelmas account year.

Alderman Fox believes that St Clement (23 November), the patron saint of mariners, was also the patron saint of the Bakers. See Fox, 'The History of the Guilds of Bristol,' for a discussion of the guilds of Bristol which centres on the Bakers. Clearly, St Clement was important to the port of Bristol.

16–17 BRL: 5029 pp 15–16

'bothe nythys' (p 17, ll.13, 14) undoubtedly refers to Midsummer Eve (23 June) and St Peter's Eve (28 June), both of which were sometimes celebrated with bonfires and processions, eg, in Coventry and Exeter (see R.W. Ingram (ed), *Coventry*, REED (Toronto, 1981), xxii–xxiii, liii, and Wasson (ed), *Devon*, xvii). See p 17, BRL: 5029 p 19 for the specific reference to these two eves.

17 BRL: 5029 p 19

Half this page has been cut away but the account appears to be complete.

18 BRL: 5029 p 27

This page also bears a heading for costs for the dinner and the initial word of the first payment but half the page is torn away after that word 'Inprim(...)' and with it the first part of the dinner expenses; the remainder are on p 28.

19 BRL: 5029 pp 30–1

Bristol had four friaries at this time, any one of which could be the Friars Hall used by the Wire drawers and Pinmakers: the Dominicans or Black Friars, the Franciscans or Grey Friars, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians.

19–20 BRL: 5029 p 33

During this year the Wire drawers and Pinmakers seem to change the time of rendering their accounts to a later date. Hitherto the dates of regnal years and mayoral terms given have roughly coincided, since Henry VII's regnal year ran from 22 August to 21 August and the Bristol mayors and sheriffs held office for a term running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas Eve (29 September–28 September). In such cases, it is clear that the accounts were rendered on or before 21 August, or the regnal year would not have agreed with the mayoral year. In 1506–7, however, the regnal year specified is 23 Henry VII (22 August 1507–21 August 1508), whereas the mayor named is the one who held office in 1506–7. This discrepancy suggests that the accounts were rendered, this year, some time between 22 August and 28 September 1507, the last day before the new mayor took office.

20–1 BRL: 5029 pp 36–7

The reference to the king's daughter (p 20, l.22) probably refers to Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII; her daughter was born 15 July 1508 but died almost immediately. Margaret had nearly died following the birth of her first child, a son, on 21 February 1507 (who died the following 27 February 1508), during which time her husband, James IV of Scotland, made a successful pilgrimage on her behalf to the shrine of St Ninian. Her recovery may have been the reason for the Bristol procession.

The account is too early to be in reference to the marriage of Margaret's sister, Mary Tudor, by proxy on 17 December 1508 to Prince Charles of Castile.

21 BRL: 5029 p 40

The celebratory bonfires 'made for the Kyngis daughter' (ll.24–5) may refer either to Mary Tudor's marriage (by proxy and later repudiated) on 17 December 1508 to Prince Charles of Castile or to the July birth of Margaret Tudor's daughter (see above). The subsequent birth of Margaret's son, Arthur, on 20 October 1509 (and who died 15 July 1510) occurred too late to be identified with this account.

22 BRL: 5029 p 45

The payment for 'berying of oure pagent At the birthe of the prynce' (ll.30–1) refers to Prince Henry, duke of Cornwall, first child of Henry VIII and Katherine of Arragon, born 1 January 1510/11 (and died 22 February). It seems odd to find a payment for an event that occurred in January subsumed in a Corpus Christi payment (Corpus Christi was on 19 June in 1511), but the accounting practice of the guild seems to have been to lump together all the payments for pageant-bearing at the end of the accounting year (see BRL: 5029 pp 36–7, p 20, ll.21–2).

23–4 BRL: 5029 pp 50–1

The accounts on p 50 are separated into sections by an extended flourish inserted between lines 2 and 3 and between lines 6 and 7.

'for dressyng of the mete with wodde' (p 23, l.39) means that the cost of the wood used as fuel is included in the payment for dressing (preparing) the meat.

25–6 BRO: 04721 ff 48, 49

The list from which these expenses come is part of a larger dispute between the city's principal officials and William Dale, a young merchant who served as one of the sheriffs in 1518–19 (see Introduction, p lv).

This lawsuit is discussed at length by I. S. Leadam in *Select Cases in the Star Chamber*, pp cii–cxviii. The internal chronology of the relevant documents is not always easy to determine, although two fixed points of reference stand at the beginning and end of the case: Dale's bill of complaint initiating the suit (see below pp 27–9) and the Great White Book account of Dale's final appearance before Star Chamber and the chancellor's adjudication of the dispute in October 1519 (see below, pp 31–3). Many of the documents that survive take the form of lists of estimated revenues and expenses for the sheriffs of Bristol, put forward by one side or the other in the dispute in an effort to discredit the projections of the opposing side.

This list, which precedes the Great White Book record of the formal pleadings in Dale's lawsuit, may represent the situation as it was at the commencement of the case, presented from the mayor's point of view. If so, it is important to compare it with the attachment or 'Cedule' (p 27, l.26) filed by Dale at the same time as his bill (see p 29, ll.4–19), which is his presentation of the status quo ante. Earlier lists of these civic expenses appear in English in Ricart's Calendar, f 161v (1478–9) and in Latin in the Little Red Book, f iii col 1 (c 1450) above (pp 9–10 and 6–7, respectively).

27–9 PRO: STAC 2/6 sheets [5–6]

Sheets [5–6] of STAC 2/6 contain one of three surviving copies of the bill of complaint. The original parchment bill survives as sheet [1] but it is too worn and damaged to permit an accurate transcription. This paper draft contained in the same bundle was chosen instead as the copy closest in time and authority to the parchment bill. The third copy forms part of the Dale section of the Great White Book, ff 50–1v.

29 PRO: STAC 2/6 sheet [3]

These charges are part of the 'Cedule' (p 27, l.26), a schedule of revenues and expenditures for the sheriffs of Bristol attached by Dale as supporting documentation for his complaint. Both the accuracy of the presentation and the propriety of the charges are called into question by other similar lists and comments. This schedule was also copied into the Great White Book, ff 51v–2v.

29–30 PRO: STAC 2/6 sheets [7d, 8, 8d]

These estimates appear to have been put together by Dale or his counsel, possibly in response either to the city's answer to his bill or to opposing lists of charges such as the ones found on ff 48 and 49 of the Great White Book. However, in the surviving copy the estimates have been annotated in another hand and ink with comments and reductions. At this time it was not yet the normal practice in Star Chamber for the two sides in a suit to exchange proofs (supporting evidence for their positions) in a procedure equivalent to the discovery stage in a modern common law case (see John Alexander Guy,

*The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks, 1977), 93). However, the existence of a document like the schedule of expense estimates from which these charges come is evidence that the practice had already begun.

Another schedule of charges survives in PRO: SP 1/19 pp 30–4, prefaced by a rejoinder from the mayor against Dale. The mayor's defence was based in part upon distinguishing between those charges which Dale was required to pay (and for which he was provided with £60 in revenue from the town) and other charges claimed in the bill and schedule. Dale claimed that he had been required to pay this latter set of charges as well but according to the mayor 'the said shireffes ben not bounden nor nede not to pay but at their pleasures' (p 30). The charges given in this schedule of charges reflect the comments and corrections made by the second hand in STAC 2/6 sheets [7–8d].

30–1 PRO: E 101/560/14 sheets [3, 5–6]

This document was not identified by Leadam in *Select Cases in the Star Chamber* as part of the case but the similarities between the expenses listed and those under dispute in this lawsuit are very strong. It is undated and has been assigned only a date 'Temp. Henry VIII' by the PRO; if it is connected with Dale's suit against the mayor of Bristol, however, it must have been produced in 1519. Like sheet [4] of STAC 2/6, this schedule may have been part of Dale's responses to the mayor and city's position outlined in SP 1/19 pp 30–4 and the corrections and annotations to STAC 2/6 sheets [7–8d]. The amounts indicated usually correspond with the original amounts in sheets [7–8d].

A copy of this document survives in BL: Add. 24,785, made (probably in the second quarter of the nineteenth century) by Charles Devon of Gray's Inn for the antiquarian John Bayley. The excerpted entries are on ff 13 and 19.

31–2 BRO: 04721 ff 55–5v, 56v

The 'Cardenall abouenamed' (p 31, l.35) is Cardinal Wolsey, at this time lord chancellor and hence the presiding judge of the Star Chamber. The details of William Dale's submission and the chancellor's decision are only recorded here in the Great White Book. In Wolsey's settlement, the sheriffs are guaranteed an income of £216 20d yearly from various sources out of which they must pay £254 3s 6d for a deficit of £38 3s 6d. It is not clear whence this money should come.

There are occasional marginal notations on these folios in a later hand, probably that of an antiquarian.

33 BRL: 5029 p 65

'v<sup>xx</sup> ll. iiij' (l.28) is probably to be rendered 'fivescore and four [ie, 104] pounds'; thus, each torch would have weighed 13 lbs and been rented at a cost of 7d.

34 BRO: 04721 f 58

In the Great White Book the undated expense list, from which this entry comes, immediately follows the 4 October 1519 settlement imposed by Cardinal Wolsey, chancellor at that time. Wolsey did not itemize livery charges in his settlement, allowing a total of £25 for all livery; this is less than the total amount of the charges given here. However, the prices per yard in this list are very similar to those given by the annotator in reduction of Dale's estimates in PRO: STAC 2/6 sheets [7–8d]. It seems likely, therefore, that this list was drawn up not long after the end of Dale's suit, as part of the practical working out of details of Wolsey's decision.

34 Atchley: 'Mediæval Parish Records' p 67

Atchley, working with the original churchwardens' accounts, now lost, does not provide the amounts paid for the minstrels and refreshments on May Day. He notes also that in 'several years, "hosyn for Robyn hoode & lyttyll John" were provided.'

36 BRL: 5029 p 80

The account on p 80 is a fair copy of the account on p 78, with which it is collated.

37 BRO: 08155(1) p 56

This account is a special case; it includes expenses for Midsummer but the date of rendering is 10 April 1528, that is, well before Midsummer of 1528. The assumption is that the rendering of this account was somehow delayed – it should have been mid-October 1527.

38 BRO: 08155(1) p 57

This account is not in the usual form; it is couched as a memorandum dated 10 August 1528 but it seems clear, from its position in the manuscript and the names of the officers given, that it covers the accounting year Michaelmas 1527–Michaelmas 1528. However, since the memorandum is dated 10 August, this is given as the account's closing date. The previous account, for 1526–7, was not rendered until April 1528 (see p 37, BRO: 08155(1) p 56, above), which leads to speculation that there was some internal disorganization within the guild during this two-year period.

39 Atchley: 'Mediæval Parish Records' p 43

These entries are added as part of footnote 5 to Atchley's transcription of the 5 March 1432/3 inventory of church goods (St Nicholas Vestry Book, f 12, now lost). The stall was being prepared for the boy bishop ceremony of St Nicholas. In his note, Atchley identifies the 'j myter & j crowche' in the inventory as the mitre and crosier for the boy bishop, but the entry is not specific on this point. It is also possible that these items were for an image of St Nicholas.

39 BRL: 5029 p 94

The three accounts for 1529–30, 1530–1, and 1531–2 (pp 39–40, 41–2) are dated somewhat differently from the accounts that precede and follow them. Each gives a rendering date of 2 November as well as a regnal and a Michaelmas–Michaelmas mayoral year but in these three cases the mayoral year given is that in which the Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' accounting year ended, not that which included the 2 November rendering date. This suggests that the accounts were rendered sometime between late July, when the Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' accounting year ended, and Michaelmas, when a new mayoral year began, rather than on 2 November as specified. This discrepancy disappears in 1532–3 and subsequent accounts.

39–40 BRL: 5029 p 97

See endnote to BRL: 5029 p 94, above, for variation in the dating of this account.

40 BRO: 04026(1) p 3

The Canynges family were wealthy and influential for generations in Bristol and it is not certain to which Canynges this refers. It is probably William Canynges who was mayor of Bristol five times between 1441 and 1466. In 1467, upon the death of his wife and at the end of his last mayoralty, he became a

priest and within two years was dean of the collegiate church and college of Westbury. He died 17 November 1474 and is buried in the parish church of St Mary Redcliffe, where his effigy can still be viewed.

41–2 BRL: 5029 p 102

See p 276, endnote to BRL: 5029 p 94, above, for variation in the dating of this account.

42 BRO: 04026(1) p 179

According to Ricart, Thomas Pacy (l.29) was mayor of Bristol in 1532 (f 142) and again in 1544 (f 144v). A Thomas Pacy was sheriff in Bristol in 1516–17.

44 BRO: P/StJB/ChW/2(a) f 23

Given the source, the St John Baptist Churchwardens' Rent Rolls, it is possible that Daubency's singers were paid for a musical event in the church of a liturgical nature. It is also possible, however, that Daubency's singers were paid for something other than a liturgical event, such as for entertaining at an unspecified parish event.

44–5 BRO: 04026(2) p 3

The marginal '*nihil*' (p 45, l.1m) means that the money, although due, was not received. In subsequent years nonpayment is common.

45 BRO: 04026(2) p 143

The annual rentals are usually the first items in the accounts. This page of rentals, however, has been misplaced in the manuscript; it ought to have been bound between pp 76 and 77 instead of in its present place.

46 BRO: 04026(2) p 137

This account, which covers the eleventh week of the Michaelmas quarter, contains a payment for Saturday, 16 September, which should have been entered in the accounts for the twelfth week. Such discrepancies occasionally occur in the Mayor's Audits; in this case, perhaps, the weekly account was made up later than it should have been and an item that belonged to the following week was entered by mistake.

47–8 BRL: 5029 p 130

This account, although dated in 1537, is probably that rendered on November 30 Henry VIII (1538). This makes it the account for 1537–8, which fits its order in the books.

48–9 BRL: 5029 p 131

This account bears no rendering date, apparently because a page has been cut out between the present p 130 and p 131. This account is thus probably part of the account rendered 31 Henry VIII (1539), that is, part of the account for 1538–9, an account which would otherwise be missing.

50–1 BRO: 04026(2) pp 225, 343

This account's form is unusual. According to the account heading, it runs from Christmas to Michaelmas, rather than Michaelmas to Michaelmas, as is usual. (Hence the annual rental on p 247 is dated 25 December–29 September, rather than the more usual 30 September–29 September.) However, the previous account (for 1539–40) includes a partial account for the missing Michaelmas-to-Christmas

quarter, even though that quarter clearly belongs to the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year of this account. Relevant extracts from that quarter's account are given here in their proper place, according to date, which is why date and page order do not agree in the series of Mayor's Audit extracts printed under this year.

Since the items following the second-quarter account in this annual account are not broken down by week or quarter they have been assigned simply to the period which covers the last two quarters of the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1540–1 (ie, 26 March–29 September).

This is the first time the Mayor's Audits record that players were paid not to play (p 51, ll.1–2), and the reason is given, which is unusual.

51 BRO: 08155(1) p 83

This account is dated 1540 as to the year of grace but it seems clear, both from the regnal date (33 Henry VIII) and from its position in the surrounding accounts, that it covers the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1540–1. Since these accounts usually give the year of grace in which the account was completed, the 1540 date is probably an error for 1541.

52 BRO: 04026(3) p 103

To accommodate the internal date, 23 September, and the account date, twelfth week of the fourth quarter, the first 'week' of the quarter must be reckoned as covering the two-week period 25 June–8 July and the thirteenth or last week as covering the part-week 24–9 September. This is not unusual in these accounts, which tend to start slowly and end with a final week or part-week heavy with payments that ought perhaps to have been recorded earlier. The alternative explanation (taking 25 June–1 July and 2–8 July as the first and second weeks of the quarter and 10–16 September and 17–29 September as the twelfth and thirteenth 'weeks') would be that the money used to pay the earl of Sussex's players was drawn out a week in advance, which, in turn, presupposes that the civic administration of Bristol knew ahead of time when the players would be arriving, an unlikely assumption.

52 BRO: 08155(1) p 85

No rendering date is given, but since the preceding and succeeding accounts of the Bakers were rendered in November, it seems likely that this account, too, was rendered in November.

53 BRO: 08155(1) p 87

This account is dated 1543 as to the year of grace and Michaelmas 1542–Michaelmas 1543 as to mayoral/shrieval year, and it follows the 1541–2 account. It seems clear that it is an account for Michaelmas 1542–Michaelmas 1543, despite the regnal date given, which places it between 22 April 1542 and 21 April 1543 (34 Henry VIII). In all but this account and that of 1543–4, the regnal year given is the one in which the account ends, so the assumption is that these two regnal dates are a year off.

53 BRL: 5029 p 148

No rendering date is given for this account or for any subsequent one until 1558–9. Since the accounts for years both before and after this period give a November rendering date, it is likely that these accounts, too, were rendered in November.

54–5 BRO: 04026(3) pp 134, 184, 198, 203

The heading makes it clear that the account covers the period Michaelmas 1543–Michaelmas 1544, while giving mayor's and sheriffs' names for the following year, Michaelmas 1544–Michaelmas 1545.



However, since the account extends to Michaelmas, which is when the new mayoral and shrieval years begin, the date on which the account was rendered almost certainly falls in the following mayoral year.

It is not clear why a payment made on 17 January (p 54, l.28) should be lumped in with the accounts for 20–6 January. Perhaps, since visits from travelling companies were unscheduled and money for payments thus could not be drawn out ahead of time, players were paid out of the mayor's own pocket and the payment recorded when the mayor was reimbursed the following week.

There are two different ways of dating the fourteen 'weeks' into which the last quarter of the accounting year is divided and to which the entries on pp 198 and 203 belong. Neither completely accommodates the internal dates. The subhead dates given are based on the assumption that 24 June–5 July is the first 'week' and 28–9 September the fourteenth or last, as this seems to accommodate the internal dates slightly better than the alternative method, according to which the first 'week' would be 24–8 June and the fourteenth 21–9 September. It is still difficult to explain why a payment for 27 July is accounted for in the week 20–6 July, especially a payment to players. This payment, however, could have been anticipated if the players had arrived the day before their performance, or perhaps 27 is an error for 17 and the payment was, in fact, accounted for a week late, as suggested in the previous endnote for a similar payment.

55 BRO: 08155(1) pp 89, 90

See p 278, endnote above to BRO: 08155(1) p 87.

'they' (l.39) are identified in the manuscript as David Williams and Robert Southall. John Smyth, a prominent import/export merchant of the period (see p 280, endnote to BRO: 04026(6) p 39), kept a 'boke of accountmptes' which was edited by Jean Vanes, *The Ledger of John Smythe, 1538–1550* (London, 1974). It records that Smyth sold David Williams, a Bristol baker, both iron (p 43) and sack (pp 118, 203), and that Williams provided biscuits for Smyth's ship, *The Trinity* (p 203).

57 BRO: 04026(4) p 37

It is not clear why payments made in October were not recorded until January. Perhaps the mayor paid the visiting entertainers out of his own pocket and was not reimbursed until later.

59 BRO: 04352(1) p 444

There are three Draycots in Wiltshire: Draycot Cerne, Draycot Fitz Payne, and Draycot Foliat.

60 BRO: 04027 p 47

Although it seems highly unlikely that the ninth week of the Midsummer quarter (ie, that ending 24 June 1553) could be computed as anything except 21–7 May, there is a payment in this account for 'the last of Maye.' However, as this payment is for Spicer's alms, a regular, easily anticipated payment, it seems possible that the money was withdrawn the previous week in anticipation of the almsgiving and noted as having been paid the following week when the accounts were made up.

61 BRO: 04026(6) p 37

There is a dating problem here. This account ought to be that for 23–9 May for the other dates to work out. The Midsummer quarter (ie, that ending 24 June 1557) has twelve full accounting weeks and two part-weeks, so there are two ways of counting the weeks: first week as 26 March–3 April and thirteenth as 20–4 June, or first as 26–7 March and thirteenth as 13–24 June. The latter has been rejected because it generates a twelfth week of 6–12 June, which in turn implies that money was withdrawn to pay for an anticipated performance which, although possible, seems very unlikely.

62 BRO: 04026(6) p 39

According to Vanes (ed), *Ledger of John Smythe*, p 12, Giles White (l.16) was apprenticed to the Bristol merchant, John Smyth, sometime before 1532; he is mentioned throughout the Ledger as Smyth's servant and factor. In September 1549 John Cutt (l.16) purchased a house in Corn Street from Smyth; he is also mentioned regularly in the Ledger. Both White and Cutt were named in the list of merchants, compiled in or around 1550, which was included at the end of Smyth's Ledger, and in the list of merchant venturers who held the company premises as feofees in 1561 (McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol*, p 18 n23). Both White and Cutt were sheriffs in 1554–5 when John Smyth was mayor. Smyth (d. 1 September 1556), a prominent importer/exporter and wealthy property owner in Bristol, was sheriff in 1532–3, and mayor in 1547–8 and 1554–5. In this account White and Cutt are apparently only now being paid for the gown they gave to Rutt two years earlier during their shrievalty.

63 BRO: 04026(5a) p 200

This is the last entry on the page before the sum and the only one to begin with 'Item.' The character of the writing differs slightly from that of the other entries but is, however, so similar that the line was probably added by the same hand, with a quill cut slightly smaller, after the rest was written up.

64 BRO: 04026(5a) pp 258, 303

There is no formal account heading for the 1558–9 annual account, of which this quarterly account is a part, but it is clear from the mayoral and quarter dates given that the payments listed on pp 258–70 belong to the first quarter of the 1558–9 accounting year, that is, 30 September 1558–25 December 1558.

Page 303 is now bound out of order and was originally the last leaf of the surviving text. It is damaged at the head and following leaves have clearly been lost.

66 BRO: 04026(7) p 53

This payment for a year's rent of the waits' house is entered in the account for the thirteenth week, which is why it is placed under 22–9 September. Sometimes the rents due for a whole year are listed before the quarterly and weekly accounts, and when that happens the date can only be given as 30 September–29 September. Since there is no internal date here, however, and the payment is dated in a specific week, it seems sensible to use the week date.

67 BRO: 04026(7) p 153

See endnote above to BRO: 04026(7) p 53.

67 BRO: 08155(1) p 109

This account is dated 1561 as to the year of grace, Michaelmas 1560–Michaelmas 1561 as to the mayoral/shrieval year, and 4 Elizabeth (17 November 1561–16 November 1562) as to the regnal year. The date of rendering is 4 November, and it seems clear from the account's position in the manuscript as well as from the mayoral/shrieval year and year of grace that this is the account for 1560–1 and that it was rendered on 4 November 1561. Possibly the regnal year is given as 4 Elizabeth simply because the scribe anticipated the imminent change of regnal year, or, more likely, the account heading was not written until 17 November or later, by which time the regnal year had in fact changed.

68 BRO: 04026(7) p 235

See endnote above to BRO: 04026(7) p 53.

68 BRO: 08155(1) p 111

This account appears, from the other dates given, to be that for 1561-2 but the new regnal year is again anticipated. See p 280 above, endnote to BRO: 08155(1) p 109.

68 BRO: 04026(7) p 292

In the heading to the general payments section of this account, the date is given as Michaelmas 1563-Michaelmas 1564. However, the date given in the general account heading is Michaelmas 1562-Michaelmas 1563 and internal dates confirm that this is the 1562-3 account.

69 BRO: 08155(1) p 113

As in the two previous Bakers' accounts (see p 280 above, endnote to BRO: 08155(1) p 109), the regnal year given here is off by one, perhaps because this date of rendering, like the other two, is in November and thus very near the end of Elizabeth's regnal year. The error is corrected in the next Bakers' account (for 1563-4) so that for both accounts the regnal year given is 6 Elizabeth.

70 BRO: 04026(7) pp 368, 385

According to the heading of the general payments section of this account, this is the account for Michaelmas 1564-Michaelmas 1565. However, based on the general heading, other section headings, and internal dates, this is clearly the account for 1563-4.

This is the first time the Mayor's Audits record the number of waits (1.37).

71 BRO: 04026(8) p 30

For the third year in a row, the date given in the heading to the general payments section of a Mayor's Audit account is one year advanced of the correct date of the account. The main account heading, other section headings, and internal dates confirm that this is the account for Michaelmas 1564-Michaelmas 1565.

73 BRO: 08155(1) p 119

The guild officers did not change between 1565-6 and 1566-7. The guild wardens rendered their account at some date after Michaelmas 1567 and it covered the preceding two-year period. Two full inventories are given and both are printed, with pp 119 and 120 assumed to represent two separate accounts.

74 BRO: 08155(1) p 120

See endnote above to BRO: 08155(1) p 119.

74 BRO: 04026(8) p 220

The twelve 'weeks' of this quarter consist of eleven full weeks and two part-weeks. The dates supplied here are based on a first 'week' of 30 September-4 October and a twelfth 'week' of 14-25 December, a choice which satisfactorily accommodates the internal dates.

77-8 BRO: 04026(9) pp 24, 27, 29

The payment on p 24 also appears in the sixteen-volume Jefferies Collection as an antiquarian copy (BRL: 7948 Jefferies Collection, vol 4, p 330; originally a 'Collection for a History of Bristol by Wm. Tyson. Vol. 2'). William Tyson (1785-1851), a bookseller and antiquarian, joined the *Bristol Mirror* in 1826,

writing archaeological articles under the byline 'T,' and serving as an editor until his death. As early as 1816, he also published a quarterly magazine, the *Bristol Memorialist*, which focused on the antiquities and history of Bristol. Between 1852–4, Tyson's collection was auctioned, with much of it being purchased by C. T. Jefferies, a new and second-hand bookseller, stationer, bookbinder, and printer, at which point volume 2 of Tyson's collection became volume 4 of Jefferies' collection.

The payments on these pages belong to the second quarter of the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1569–70. The second quarter runs from 26 December to 25 March and is usually divided into twelve or thirteen accounting 'weeks.' This particular quarterly account contains only twelve 'weeks,' although the calendar quarter contains twelve full weeks and one six-day part-week along with the first full week (ie, the 'week' runs 26 December–7 January), or the twelfth and last 'week' includes two full weeks (ie, the 'week' runs 12–25 March). The long first 'week' is the more likely, and the 'weeks' to which the extracts printed here belong have been dated accordingly.

For schoolmaster Turner (p 77, l.42), see Introduction, p xxxiii.

78 BRO: 04026(9) pp 32, 34

These payments belong to the third quarter of the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1569–70. In this year the third quarter, which runs 26 March–24 June, consisted of thirteen full seven-day weeks and no part-weeks, but the quarterly account is divided into only twelve 'weeks.' Following the usual practice of assimilating extra part-weeks into the first and last 'weeks,' it is assumed that either the first or the last 'week' includes two seven-day weeks. In this case, because the account for the eighth 'week' contains the internal date of 20 May (which makes that 'week' 14–20 May), the first 'week' thus becomes 26 March–1 April and the last 11–24 June.

82 BRL: 5029 p 224

The bottom quarter of the page is torn away but the entries end at mid-page.

84–5 BRO: 04026(9) p 290

This list of sums collected towards the cost of the queen's visit in August 1574 is not dated specifically for the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year but it seems likely that the money was collected well in advance.

The ell (p 84, l.27) is a unit of measure. The English ell was usually 45 inches, the Scots ell was 37.2 inches, and the Flemish ell was 27 inches. Based on a 45-inch English ell, as is likely to be the case here, 159 ells would be almost 200 yards.

William Saltern (p 84, l.29) is possibly William Saltern, sheriff in 1574–5. Sir Thomas White (1492–1567), one time master of the guild of Merchant Taylors in London, had established a trust estate in Bristol in 1545 with a gift of £2,000 to the corporation. In his will he made arrangements for the disposition of future rents from this estate, presumably from which this money (p 84, ll.34–8) is being borrowed.

John Barstaple (p 84, l.39), a prominent citizen who died in 1411, served as bailiff (1379–80), sheriff (1389–90), and mayor three times (1395–6, 1401–2, and 1405–6), built a new almshouse near Lawford's Gate, and appears to have left a bequest to the corporation. The 'chest' seems to have been a real one containing money, some of which is being borrowed in anticipation of the queen's visit.

85–9 BRO: 04026(9) pp 300, 313

Thomas Dunne (p 85, l.26; p 88, l.18) was schoolmaster of the free school of St Bartholomew between 1570 and 1578 (see Introduction, p xxxiii). In 1579 Dunne was 'admytted to the liberties because he married with margeret late the daughter of Iohn Hancock merchaunt and burgesse' (BRO: 04026(10) p 277).

Nichols (*Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol 1, pp 392-407) and Ricart (ff 166v, 167) agree that the queen arrived on Saturday, 14 August; Nichols gives no departure date but Ricart and Adams (p 163) say she left the following Saturday (21 August).

Many of the individuals named in this list were prominent Bristol citizens and merchants who held public office in the late sixteenth century. The 'mr Dowting' (p 87, l.16) is probably the Edward Dowting who was elected undersheriff of Bristol on 16 January 1570/1 (see Maureen Stanford (ed), *Ordinances of Bristol 1506-1598*, p 46). John Hopkins (p 87, l.22) is frequently named in manuscript records relating to the Merchant Venturers of Bristol and was a Bristol sheriff in 1586-7. In May 1605, a John Hopkins was one of ninety-seven Bristol merchants named in a new grant by James I incorporating a company of English merchants trading in Spain and Portugal and was appointed one of the assistants to the secretary of the Spanish Company. On 31 December 1605, John Hopkins, alderman, was present at a meeting for the reorganization of the Bristol Merchant Venturers as exempt from the incorporated Spanish Company. See Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol*, pp 63-4, and McGrath (ed), *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol*, p xii, for discussion of the relationship between the Spanish Company and the Merchant Venturers.

Thomas Symons (p 87, l.24) is possibly the Thomas Symonds, merchant venturer, who was co-feoffee with Thomas Aldworth of the company's property until 20 November 1561, at which date it was conveyed by feoffment to a greater number of company members. A 'T. Symoundes' is named in the c 1550 list of merchants in the back of Smyth's Ledger and a Thomas Symonds, possibly a son, is one of the 1605 Spanish Company. Michael Pepwell (p 87, l.26) was sheriff in 1575-6 and mayor in 1593-4. John Brown (p 87, l.28) had been sheriff in 1558-9 and mayor in 1572-3 and is probably the same John Browne, Bristol merchant, who wrote *The Marchants Avizo* (1589), a handbook for apprentices and factors abroad (see Patrick McGrath (ed), *The Marchants Avizo* (Boston, 1957).

Dominick Chester (p 87, l.34) was a Bristol sheriff in 1567-8 and member of parliament for Minehead, Somerset, in 1572. He played a significant role in the early growth of the Company of Merchant Venturers, serving as a warden in 1566 when Elizabeth I confirmed the original letters patent granted by Edward VI and as master in 1569 when the company obtained its grant of arms. He is one of several members to whom the company property was conveyed in 1561. Richard Cole (p 87, l.37) was sheriff of Bristol in 1569-70 and William Gittons (p 87, l.39) in 1572-3. Thomas Kelke (p 87, l.41; p 88, l.1; p 89, l.5) was sheriff in 1559-60 and mayor in 1573-4 during the queen's once-in-a-lifetime visit. He was a co-feoffee of the company property after 1561 and master of the Merchant Venturers in 1566.

Philip Langley (p 88, l.5) was a Bristol grocer who was a city alderman from c 1566-92, sheriff in 1566-7, and mayor in 1581-2. He and John Popham, Bristol recorder (see pp 284-5, endnote to BRO: 13748(4) nf below), were elected members of parliament for Bristol in 1571 and 1572, having taken the seats from two merchant venturers who had promoted a 1566 bill - repealed in 1571 - which attempted to limit Bristol overseas trading to company members only. Despite his apparent opposition to the trade restriction, Langley was himself a member of the society of merchants trading in Spain and Portugal that was incorporated by Elizabeth I in 1577.

Mr Churchyard (p 88, l.11) is, of course, Thomas Churchyard, who devised the entertainment for the queen and whose account of her reception is printed on pp 93-109. This reference indicates that Churchyard served as designer of the forts as well as author of the script. For William Saltern (p 88, l.13) see p 282, endnote to BRO: 04026(9) p 290.

Ralph Hassald, possibly the same man as Randall Hassall (p 88, l.27), was a sheriff in 1571-2. A John Harte, possibly the same man as John Hort (p 88, ll.27-8), was a sheriff in 1585-6 and mayor in 1599-1600. 'mr Aldworth' (p 88, l.29) may be Thomas Aldworth, who was sheriff in 1566-7 and mayor in

1582–3 and 1592–3. The Aldworth family appears to have been well represented in the Merchant Venturers. A Thomas Aldworth was co-feoffee with Thomas Symonds of the company's property until 1561; a Thomas Aldworth, the younger, served as one of forty new feoffees of the company premises in 1600 as well as treasurer of the company in 1605 and was also named as a member of the Spanish Company in that year. A Robert Aldworth was sheriff in 1596–7, a member of the Spanish Company in 1605, warden in 1607, and master of the Merchant Venturers in 1609 and 1612. A John Aldworth was sheriff in 1602–3 and warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1609 and 1612. The names John and Robert Aldworth both appear in the records relating to the feoffment of Merchant Venturers' property in 1600 and its reorganization in 1605.

'mr Snygge' (p 88, l.31) is perhaps the George Snygge who was mayor in 1574–5. A father and son, both George Snygge, were listed among the twenty-eight Merchant Venturer members who held the company property by feoffment in 1561. 'mr stone' (p 88, l.39) may be the John Stone, yet another merchant venturer, who was mayor in 1568–9 and 1571–2.

89–90 BRO: 04272 ff 33v–4

For Thomas Kelke, see endnote to BRO: 04026(9) pp 303, 313, above.

90–1 BRO: 04720(1)a ff 166v–7

John Young (p 90, ll.34, 36), arguably Bristol's wealthiest and most influential Elizabethan citizen (and who was knighted during the queen's visit), owned an impressive new private residence where St Austin's (Augustine's) Back meets Host, or Horse, Street, on the site of the former Carmelite Friary (see p 285, endnote to BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a f 207v). 'mr Tracie' (p 90, l.37) was Sir John Tracy (d. 1591) of Toddington, Gloucestershire, who was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1578–9 and member of parliament in 1584. Sir Thomas Porter (1537–98) was also of Gloucestershire for which he was member of parliament in 1572 and sheriff in 1581–2. Sir William Morgan (c 1542–83) of Pencoed, Monmouthshire, Wales, was a soldier and adventurer who saw service in France, Holland, and Ireland. Early in 1573, he volunteered in a colonization expedition with the first earl of Essex to Ireland and was there appointed marshall on the departure of Sir Peter Carew. It was probably in consequence of a commendation to the queen by Essex that Morgan was knighted on his return to Bristol. For Richard Berkeley (p 90, l.36), see *Patrons and Travelling Companies*, p 302. His players were in Bristol in 1574–5 (see p 110, BRO: 04026(10) p 21) and in Devon in 1576–7 (see Wasson (ed), *Devon*, pp 245, 281, and 465).

91–2 BRO: 13748(4) nf

The substantive variants between this account and that in the 1623 recension (BRL: 25486 pp 162–3; *Adams's Chronicle of Bristol*, pp 113–14) seem intended to add further details and to make the description clearer. At the foot of the recto on which the account concludes, a note has apparently been pasted in and then cut away, headed, 'More notes concerning her Grace, at her being in Bristoll as aforesaid.' Only a few words are visible below that heading: 'Many (...) made against the great fort but still it.'

The new knights referred to on p 91, ll.37–8 are identified in the endnote to BRO: 04720(1)a ff 166v–7 above.

John Popham (p 91, l.28) of Somerset was member of parliament for Bristol in 1571, acting in opposition to the 1566 act to limit Bristol's trade to Merchant Venturers (see p 283, endnote to 1573–4 BRO: 04026(9) pp 303, 313, above), and again in 1572–83 when he spoke on several specific legal points including bringing minstrels within the meaning of an act against vagabonds. He was recorder for Bristol from 1571 to c 1577. He was appointed serjeant-at-law (1579), solicitor-general (1579–81), speaker

of the house (1581), attorney-general (1581–9), and lord chief justice (1592–1607). He was knighted in 1592.

92 BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a f 207v

These accounts cover the period 26 March–25 March; the rendering date, when given, is April or May, and the dated payments run in sequence from June to March, with the 'minister,' for example, being paid his year's wages on 25 March. This particular account is printed under the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1573–4 because the entries relate to the queen's visit in August 1574.

'Rolodg' (l.17) may refer either to 'horologe' (ie, the town clock) or to Rowland's Lodge which was purchased in 1568 by Sir John Young (see p 284, endnote to BRO: 04720(1)a ff 166v–7, above). Young began to build the Red Lodge in the late 1580s on the site of the demolished Rowland's Lodge. Elizabeth stayed at Young's 'Great House' in St Augustine's Back but clearly an important event occurred at 'Rolodg' when the queen visited.

The present-day Red Lodge and its historical background are the subject of a City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery information pamphlet.

92 BRO: P/StJ/ChW/1(a) f 40

Brewer (l.33) pays this rent through 1587–8, although he is never again described as a musician.

93 GL: Hockaday Abstracts, vol 442 p 16

Comparison of these accounts with the others in the same series shows that they actually run from 1574–5. They are printed here in 1573–4 because they relate to the queen's 1574 visit to Bristol.

93–109 STC: 5232 ff 100v–10v

Where 'ée' appears as a printer's error for 'ee' (as, for example, in 'freend,' p 94, l.9), it has been reproduced as 'cc.'

The 'Colledge' (p 98, ll.4, 9) is presumably Bristol Cathedral, formerly the church of St Augustine's Abbey, a community of canons regular.

John Robertes (p 103, l.1) was mayor of Bristol in 1578–9. Clearly prominent by the time of the queen's visit in 1574 (to have a named part in this royal entry), Robertes must also have been talented.

'Scholemaister' (p 109, l.18) is a reference to Mr Thomas Dunne, a master at the free school of St Bartholomew (see Introduction, p xxxiii).

109–10 STC: 7516 p 23

This poem is not by Richard Edwards, but by one D. Sand[e], to whom four poems from the *Paradysse of Daynty Deuses* (nos 22, 25, 29, and 47) are assigned. See Rollins (ed), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, p lxi.

112 BRO: 04026(10) pp 89, 97

Since there are only twelve accounting 'weeks' in this quarter, which consists of twelve full weeks, a six-day part-week, and a one-day part-week, it is difficult to determine what days the first and last weeks should cover. However, to set the internal date 14 April, which occurs in the account for the third 'week' (within the week which runs 8–14 April) and to accommodate another internal date in the fourth 'week,' it is necessary to define the first 'week' as 26–31 March and the last as 10–24 June.

115–16 BRO: 04026(10) pp 214, 215, 210

There are two ways of dating the weeks of this quarter, which has twelve accounting 'weeks' but in fact consists of eleven full weeks and two part-weeks. For the internal date of 17 November to be properly placed, the first 'week' must be long, that is, from 30 September–12 October and the last 'week' must be short, that is, from 22–5 December.

The 'Crayne' (p 115, l.22) is most likely the mechanical crane located on the Avon just in St Nicholas Back between Marsh Gate and the Bridge which was used for loading and unloading ships and boats.

The entry from the week of 17–23 November (p 115, ll.30–6) is most interesting because during this period it is none other than John Northbrooke who is preaching the sermons at the cathedral, the author of *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terra. A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes, or Enterluds, with other idle pastimes, &c, commonly used on the Sabboth day, are reprov'd by the Authoritie of the word of God and auncient writers* (1577; STC: 18670). Undoubtedly the famous despiser of games, dicing, and playing must have delivered many sermons in Bristol on the evil of the theatre (see Introduction, p xxxiv).

The musician James Sargent (p 116, l.25) is probably the same person who wrote 'A New Sonnet upon the Arrival of Richard Ferris at Bristol' (see p 288, endnote to STC: 10834 sigs. B1v–2, B2v–3v, below) and who is identified below as a Bristol wait (see p 287, endnote to BRL: 5030 p 2).

117–18 BRO: 04026(10) p 280

The event in honour of which the brass 'bashes' (p 117, l.25) were shot off and the drum played was the swearing-in ceremony of the mayor and the aldermen, which occurred on 29 September each year.

120 BRO: 04026(11) p 43

David Harris (l.26) was probably one of the Bristol waits; it appears the waits lived together in one house.

120 BRO: 08155(1) p 135

The rendering date of this account is given as 17 October 1588, an obvious scribal error. Internal evidence makes it clear that this is the account for 1579–80. The account for 1587–8 is excerpted below, p 134.

121 BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a f 247

The account covers the period 26 March 1580–25 March 1581, but because the 'last Cownpt dyner' (ll.4–5) was presumably held in April or May of the Michaelmas–Michaelmas year 1579–80 (ie, when the account for the previous year was rendered), this extract has been entered under that year.

121 BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a f 248

While tempting to believe 'one of the quenes men' (l.10) is an actor, such a conclusion is by no means certain, since the term 'man' could refer to a member of the household or domestic staff. Although there had been a troupe of queen's interluders active in the provinces in the 1560s and early 1570s, notices of payments to them disappear from the records later in this decade. Murray's isolated reference to the queen's players in Ipswich in 1581–2 is misdated by a year and probably refers to the better known queen's men company reformed in 1582/3 (see *English Dramatic Companies*, vol 1, p 19).

122 BRO: 04026(11) pp 92, 116

The 'harry dyttie' (l.3) mentioned here is probably the musician 'Henricus dittie,' also identified in the Apprenticeship Indentures (see p 123, BRO: 04352(2) f 158).



The payment to Oxford's players (ll.38–40) sounds more like Oxford's boys than Oxford's men. If correct, this would predate by several years Harbage's assertion (*Annals of English Drama*, p 299) that Oxford's boys were active 1583–4. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, vol 2, pp 100–1, suggests that these 'were probably boys of the Earl's domestic chapel, travelling either with the Duttons [Oxford's Men] or as a separate company.' The breakdown of the 20s payment is also interesting in that the man receives the same amount as the boys and they may have been paid separately.

123 BRO: 04352(2) f 158

The first two entries on f 158 are dated 2 August, the next three 20 'April,' followed by 15, 13, 22, 21, and 20 August. The 'April' in these entries is probably a scribal error for August, although it is possible that the three missed entries, once discovered, were placed in the records four months late.

123–4 BRO: 04026(11) pp 165, 167, 173, 181

This account is dated in the usual way with named quarters and numbered weeks, but it also gives a single day and month date for each accounting 'week.' These single-day dates appear in the subheads in the place of the more usual week dates. It is clear that, as in earlier accounts, the length of the accounting 'week' is variable; these 'weeks' are sometimes as short as four days and sometimes as long as ten and they may begin on any day of the week except Sunday, although Friday is used only once and Tuesday is the most common starting day.

125 BRO: 04352(2) f 184

Patrick Wise (l.8), the master in this apprenticeship indenture, made a will in September 1588, when he intended to make a trip to Ireland (BRO: 04421(1)a f 377). It was not proved until January 1590, which suggests that he completed his trip safely. However, he died before the conclusion of the nine-year term of indenture agreed to here. Unfortunately it is not known with whom John Yorke completed his indenture. The will is very brief, leaving all his goods to his two daughters without itemizing any possessions such as musical instruments. The goods were valued at £161 7d.

125–6 BRL: 5030 p 2

James Sargent, who wrote 'A New Sonnet upon the Arrival of Richard Ferris at Bristol' (see p 288, endnote to STC: 10834 sigs. B1v–2, B2v–3v, below), is likely the same James Sargent who is identified here as a Bristol wait (p 126, l.7) and above as a musician (see p 286, endnote to BRO: 04026(10) pp 214, 215, 210, above).

126 BRO: 04026(11) pp 257, 258

There are fourteen accounting 'weeks' in this quarter, but thirteen full weeks and two part-weeks in the calendar quarter, which means that there are two possible dating schemes. The dates given for the entries on these two pages are based on first and last weeks of the quarter as 25 June–4 July and 27–9 September.

128–9 BRO: 04272 f 57

This ordinance was apparently first enacted on 18 November 1585, since it appears under that date in BRO: 04273(1) f 18v. In the margin of that text, however, another hand has written 'repealed by the law.'

129–31 BRO: 04026(12) p 29

This account for the third week of the third quarter is interrupted by a separate account for the reception

of the earl of Leicester and the earl of Warwick on Easter Eve and Easter Day. The last day of the third week was 15 April, which was Easter Eve in 1587; thus Leicester's players may have been in town on the day that their patron arrived; indeed, they may have travelled with him and performed for him on Easter Eve in Bristol.

'mr Kitchin' (p 130, ll.30, 33–4) was obviously a member of the prominent Bristol family of that name and was probably Robert Kitchin who, according to McGrath (ed), *Merchants and Merchandise*, p 104, was a distinguished Bristol merchant venturer and alderman. He was mayor of Bristol in 1589. An Abel Kitchin, considered one of the wealthiest members of the Merchant Venturers, was warden of the company in 1607 and master in 1610. He was mayor in 1613 at the time of the visit of Queen Anne.

Humphrey Clovell (p 130, l.37) was a goldsmith who lived (or whose shop was) in Wine Street. He was also involved in a lawsuit in 1598 with Nicholas Woolfe, owner of the Wine Street playhouse (see Introduction, pp xxxviii–xl).

132–3 BRO: 04026(12) pp 83, 77, 97

For Woodsonn (p 132, l.17), see Introduction, p xxxiii.

Geoffrey Hellier (p 132, l.30) began to take apprentices soon after becoming free of the city (see pp 133–4, BRO: 04352(2) f 236) and in 1591–2, he took on his stepson, James Parris, as an apprentice (see p 142, BRO: 04352(2) f 307).

The accounting week for the entry on p 97 ought to cover the period 4–10 August, yet the entry contains the internal date 16 August. This can be accounted for by the variability in 'week' length first made explicit in the accounts for 1582–3 and discussed on p 287, endnote to BRO: 04026(11) pp 165, 167, 173, 181.

135–6 BRO: 04026(12) pp 141, 145, 146, 149, 154, 155, 157, 161

The general heading for this yearly account is missing. The account is dated 1590 (in a later hand) on f 122, and the separate account for rural properties ends Michaelmas 1590, so it seems clear that this is the account for 1589–90. There are apparently no surviving accounts for 1588–9.

The account for the sixth accounting 'week,' to which 2–8 August has been assigned (p 135, l.39–p 136, l.3), contains a payment dated 29 August, while the account for the seventh 'week' (9–15 August) contains a payment dated 15 September, facts which suggest that the calendar weeks and the accounting 'weeks' were noticeably asynchronous in this quarter.

136–9 STC: 10834 sigs B1v–2, B2v–3v

A James Sargent (p 139, l.33) is identified in 1582–3 (see p 287, endnote to BRL: 5030 p 2) as a wait and is probably the same James Sargent who wrote 'A New Sonnet upon the Arrival of Richard Ferris at Bristol,' which accompanied Ferris' own account of his adventure.

The *DNB* refers to two other contemporary ballads which describe the event of Richard Ferris' voyage to Bristol by rowboat. They are listed in the *Transcripts of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* (Gloucester, 1967), vol 2, nos 557 and 558. They do not appear to have survived.

139–41 BRO: 04026(12) pp 205, 224, 226

The entry on p 205 comes from the account for the fifth and sixth weeks of the first quarter of 1590–1, which should be 1–14 November. However, since the payments for celebrations on 17 November ('the Queenes hollidaie'; p 139, l.39) are included in this account, the actual accounting period extended to 17 November at least and appears to include 29 September as well ('spente on Mighells daie,' p 140, l.3),

which is probably just a case of two similar payments being entered together, as happens elsewhere in these accounts.

The city chamberlain who wrote these accounts died sometime after 24 June and before 27 July 1591. The payments from p 224 (27 July–29 September) are made on his behalf by his servant for the remainder of the last quarter. The chamberlain's servant did not make all the payments for that quarter, however, and the remaining payments are contained in another account for the fourth quarter found on p 226 (25 June–29 September).

142 BRO: 04352(2) f 307

James Parris (l.29) is here apparently apprenticed to his stepfather. In 1587–8, Hellier had obtained the freedom of the city by marrying Ellen Parris, the widow of a burgess, Jonah Parris, here named as James' deceased father (see p 132).

143–4 Dulwich College Library: ms 1 single sheet

This letter is not explicitly dated internally. The references to plague in London and the company's touring with 'Harry of Cornwall' strongly suggest a date in 1593. The final clause of the letter proper refers to the 'Wednesday after St James' Day (25 July), which fixes the date as 1 August 1593. See also R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (eds), *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1968), 276–7.

'couley' (p 144, l.8) is surely Richard Cowley (d. 1619), actor (but probably not a shareholder), who played the role of Verges, probably to Kempe's Dogberry. Cowley's name appears in the Quarto of 1600 and in the Folio of 1623.

Pope (p 144, l.9) is surely Thomas Pope (d. 1604), actor and one of the original shareholders in the Globe and also a shareholder in the Curtain. Nungezer (*Dictionary of Actors*, pp 285–7) does not refer to Allyn's mention of Pope in this letter to his wife, possibly because the reference is to Thomas Pope's kinsman, who might be either of his two brothers, John or William.

The reference to 'my Lord stranges players' (p 144, l.12) confirms the conjecture in Harbage, *Annals of English Drama* (p 302), that Strange's players 'amalgamated with Admiral's intermittently c 1588–1594.'

'mr grigs' (p 144, l.15) is probably John Grigs, a London carpenter (see Somerset (ed), *Shropshire*, pp 278, 679).

144–5 BRO: 04026(13) pp 20, 32, 34, 35

The accounting 'weeks' appear to diverge considerably from the calendar weeks here; for example, a payment for 'the Queenes hollidaie' (17 November; p 144, ll.35–6) is accounted for in a period which, by the calendar, would be 14 October–3 November. The 'weekly' account (p 32), dated 4–10 August if its week is a calendar week, contains an entry dated St James Tide (25 July). Either the bill was presented late or the accounting 'weeks' are variable here.

The entry on p 34 is not an anticipatory payment for the following 'Queenes hollidaie' (17 November); it is a payment covering the cost of torches borne on the Queen's Holiday over the three preceding years.

On p 35 the payment to the trumpeters for Michaelmas (p 145, ll.36–7) belongs to the current week, but that for the 'Queenes hollidaie' (17 November, p 145, ll.38–41) belongs to a different accounting 'week' and, technically, in fact, to the next Michaelmas–Michaelmas year. Probably the trumpeters presented a single bill after 17 November, covering both days, and the city chamberlain entered both payments under the date of the first when the accounts were compiled.

146 BRO: 04352 (3) f 16

This Geoffrey Hilliard seems clearly to be the same man as the musician Geoffrey Helliet, who was made

free of the city in 1587–8 because of his marriage to the widow of another musician, Jonah Parris. Her name is given both as 'Ellen' (p 132, l.31; p 142, l.30) and (in Latin) as 'Helen' (p 134, l.11; p 142, l.37), and she is possibly the same woman as the 'Eleanor' named as Geoffrey's wife in this indenture. Evidence suggests that the etymological relationships not only between 'Ellen' and 'Helen' but between 'Helen' and 'Eleanor' continued to be recognized as late as 1604 in at least some parts of England; the *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names* quotes a Yorkshire Recusancy Roll of that year in which the same woman is referred to indiscriminately as 'Helen' and 'Eleanor.' It seems possible that this document, which used such unusual spellings of Geoffrey's name as 'Iepheri' and 'Ihepheri,' is here referring to Ellen or Helen Parris as 'Eleanor.' If so, Thomas Watkins (l.21) was at least her third husband.

A 1597 memorandum (ll.20–7) is written above and around the first two lines of the original entry into the left margin and it continues in the space at the foot of the folio. It records the transfer of this apprentice's indenture to Watkins (presumably also a musician) so that he could finish out his term following Geoffrey's death. Another of Geoffrey's known apprentices, his stepson James Parris, would also not have finished the term of his indenture by 1597 but it is not known what arrangements were made for his case.

147 BRO: 04026(13) p 78

No formal account heading for this set of accounts survives but the final item in the series is an account of various lands for the year ending Michaelmas 1596. Presumably, therefore, these are the accounts for 1595–6.

The payments to the trumpeters and to 'mr Woodsonnes Schollors' (ll.9–13) appear in an account for the first three 'weeks' of the quarter. That period can be dated 30 September–18 October or 30 September–25 October, depending on how the two part-weeks fit into this twelve-week quarter. Neither choice, however, will accommodate the Queen's Holiday (17 November). Possibly the payments were anticipated; more likely, the accounting 'weeks' and calendar weeks have once again diverged.

148 BRO: 04272 f 64

This ordinance was apparently first enacted on 11 December 1595, since it appears under that date in BRO: 04273(1) ff 20v–1. In the margin of that text, however, the scribe has written 'memorandum omitted.' This was presumably a reminder not to copy that version into BRO: 04272 but to copy the later re-affirmation instead, as the definitive and valid one.

149 BRO: 04026(13) p 140

No formal account heading for this set of accounts survives but the final item in the series is for country lands for the year ending Michaelmas 1597. Presumably, therefore, these are the accounts for 1596–7.

This first quarter is divided into only ten accounting 'weeks,' while the calendar quarter contains twelve full weeks and one part-week, making it impossible to establish dated 'weeks' which correspond to calendar weeks. Instead, the quarter has been divided into 'weeks' consisting of eight to ten days; the subhead dates given are for such 'weeks' and groupings of 'weeks.'

151 BRO: 04026(13) p 212

Once again the payment for 'the Queenes hollidaye' (l.29) is anticipated or the accounting 'weeks' and the calendar year are asynchronous.

152 BRO: 04352(3) f 79v

The second of two girls' indentures made the same day, this may not, in fact, be the record of a musician's apprentice but instead that of a girl bound to a musician and his wife to learn housewifely rather than

musical skills. The lack of money received may be due to Elizabeth Phillips being on a kind of 'workfare' in which her keep and clothes are provided in lieu of cash.

153 BRO: 04026(14) p 20

Again the payment to the trumpeters for 'the Queenes hollidaye' (l.19) appears to be anticipated, or else accounting 'weeks' and calendar weeks have diverged.

154-5 BRO: 04026(14) pp 78, 80, 84

For reasons which could be explained only by the city chamberlain, the system of accounting by weeks breaks down in this year's second quarter, which contains only seven accounting 'weeks' versus twelve full calendar weeks and two part-weeks. Internal dates suggest that the account is complete but that the section covering 'weeks' 1-2 appears to contain the accounts for roughly half the quarter, while the section covering 'weeks' 3-7 contains the remainder. Subhead dates have been set accordingly.

The account for the third quarter, like that for the second, is divided into two sections, each covering a specified number of weeks. Despite the unequal division (the first section covers 'weeks' 1-3, the second, 'weeks' 4-9), internal dates suggest that each section covers roughly half the quarter. The sub-head date has therefore been set accordingly (p 155, l.6).

The payment to the trumpeters for Michaelmas (p 155, l. 28) appears to be anticipated, as the payments for the queen's accession day so often are.

156 BRO: 04026(14) pp 144, 145

Here, and in most of the following Mayor's Audits, each quarterly account is divided into two parts only: one covering weeks 1-6 and the other weeks 7-12 of what is nearly always a twelve-week quarter. It is usually not difficult to assign calendar dates to these half-quarters but it seems clear that the weeks are listed by convention only, and the real division is between two half-quarters roughly equivalent in length. The exception is usually the last (Michaelmas) quarter, which is still often divided into three separate subaccounts containing a total of thirteen weeks. Here too the division into weeks seems no longer significant; the difference is that the quarters' accounts have been divided into thirds rather than halves. In later years even the fourth quarter's account shrinks to twelve weeks but is still divided into three or sometimes four subaccounts - no doubt reflecting that recorded payments seem to bunch up at the end of the last quarter.

For pp 144 and 145 it seems clear that the city chamberlain was a little hazy about the midpoint of the quarter; one of the payments for the Queen's Holiday occurs in the first section and one in the second. 17 November is near but past the actual midpoint of the quarter and is past the end of any rationally determined sixth week.

157 BRO: 08155(1) p 154

No rendering date is provided for this account nor is there any explanation why it covers two years instead of the usual one.

157 BRO: 13738(4) nf

This account has changed radically from the version contained in Adams' earlier draft (BRL: 25486 p 264; *Adams's Chronicle of Bristol*, p 178):

The 26th of march our king was proclaymed at the high crosse of Bristoll by Iohn Aldworth sherife, and as Phillip Ienkins writeth & another he was proclaymed on the

19th of march 1603 by Sir George Sing our Recorder by whome my selfe was then an eie witnes. ffirst Trigs the trumpetter sowned 4 times solemnly & mourefully turning himselfe 4 seuerall wayes vppon the crosse for the death of her maiestie, then 4 times and 4 wayes ioyfully for the entrance of king Iames, and then our Recorder read and pronounded the *proclamation* alowd. and the 25th Iuly 1603 our king was crowned at Westminster by doctor Whitegift Archbishop of Canterbury.

For John Aldworth (l.23), see pp 283–4, endnote to BRO: 04026(9) pp 300, 313.

160 BRL: 5030 p 87

'the swering day' (l.20) was usually the day the new officers were sworn in, the day their guild or corporation year changed. The Wire drawers' and Pinmakers' guild accounting year ran from July to July; their swearing-in day was, presumably, the specific day in July on which the new masters took office, probably the feast of St Mary Magdalene (22 July). Their account day (ll.17, 21), the day on which the accounts of the previous July–July year were rendered, was usually considerably later, generally in November.

160–4 PRO: REQ 2 296/80 mb 2

This replication, or detailed restatement, of Richard Cooke's charges against Nicholas Woolfe and his wife is one of four surviving documents in the suit. The others are Cooke's original bill of complaint to the Court of Requests (an equity court designed to provide affordable relief to those unable to afford the regular courts), a writ allowing local Bristol officials to take Woolfe's response, and Woolfe's response (mbs 1, 3, and 4 respectively). These other documents contain no references to the 'Comedyantes' (p 164, l.10). The substance of the suit was a disputed £5 allegedly owing to Cooke and not repaid, but it was complicated by claims and counter-claims over tenancy, subtenancy (such as the use allegedly granted to the players), and furnishings of the Wine Street property used as a playhouse. For discussion of the Wine Street playhouse, see Introduction, pp xxxvii–xl.

164–5 SRO: D/D/Cd 36 pp 382–3

This is one of seven depositions taken at various stages of a defamation case brought by Eleanor Cox (who apparently kept an alchouse in Wells in Somerset) against her fellow townsman, Miles Brokenburrough. Three of the other depositions also mention the bearwards in Bristol, those of Ralph Harvie (p 385), William Taverner (p 476), and Richard Atwell (pp 477–8); all four are printed in Stokes and Alexander (eds), *Somerset, including Bath*, pp 258–61. The articles about which these seven witnesses were deposed do not survive, so the details of the case remain obscure, but it seems that Cox had accused Brokenburrough (among other things) of defaming her by saying she had been incapacitated by drink while travelling to Bristol to collect a debt owed by some bearwards. Presumably those entertainers had bilked her of the costs of their lodging by moving on to the next city on their itinerary without paying. The quarrel reported here took place in the summer of 1605 but how long before that time the bearwards came to town is not clear. There are no payments in either the Bristol or Wells civic records for 1604–5 or 1605–6 which would identify them.

166–7 STC: 19541 pp 16–17

For George Peele (p 166, l.22), see Documents, pp lxiii–lxiv.

168 BRO: 04026(15) p 217

This extract comes from a subaccount in the fourth quarter's account for weeks 6–9, which is problematic because the first subaccount is headed weeks 1–6. The mistake is probably in the second subaccount, which probably covers weeks 7–9.

171 BRO: 04026(16) p 32

According to the heading the expenses recorded on this page were incurred during weeks 5–8 of the quarter, ie, 29 July–25 August. Expenses for weeks 9–12 are recorded on p 33 and officers' fees paid on Michaelmas Eve on p 34. One can only assume that the trumpeter for Michaelmas Day was hired and paid in advance.

171 BRO: 04370 f 83

The appearance of this inventory relates to the Soapmakers' occupation of a new hall in 1610, at which time the guild's possessions were moved.

172 BRL: 5030 p 101

'mr powell' (l.27) could possibly be either Richard Powell or his son Thomas Powell, both of whom were named as Bristol merchants in the 1605 Spanish Company.

173–4 BRO: 04026(16) pp 140, 157

A John Butcher (p 173, l.9) was sheriff in 1596–7 and was listed as a member of the Merchant Venturers in 1605. For John Aldworth (p 173, l.11), see pp 283–4, endnote to BRO: 04026(9) pp 300, 313.

A James Rainsthorpe or Rainsterpe (p 174, l.14) was admitted to the freedom of the city as a mariner in 1608 but describes himself as a merchant in his will of 8 August 1615 (proved 28 September 1615); see McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*, pp 47–9. For Humphrey Clovell (p 194, l.18), see p 288, endnote to BRO: 04026(12) p 29, above.

175–7 BRO: 04264(2) ff 36v col 2, 37v

The actual date of Queen Anne's visit to Bristol was June 1613. Between April and August, she visited Reading, Bristol, Bath, and Wells. See Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*, pp 98–9, and Stokes and Alexander (eds), *Somerset, including Bath*, pp 21, 371–9, and 503–5.

For 'mr John Aldworthe' (p 177, l.1), see pp 283–4, endnote to BRO: 04026(9) pp 300, 313; the Aldworths were a prominent Bristol family. Francis Knight (p 177, l.1), alderman and member of the Merchant Venturers, was sheriff in 1579–80 and mayor in 1594–5. According to Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*, p 140, Knight was one of the wealthiest members of the Society. Matthew Warren (p 177, ll.4–5m) was a clothier and mayor of Bristol in 1633; a John Langton (p 177, l.6m) was mayor in 1628, warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1630, 1631, and 1641, and treasurer in 1639.

177–8 BRO: 04720(1)a ff 181–2

'lord Carie' (p 177, l.33) was Sir George Carew, first Baron Carew of Clopton, Warwickshire, who was appointed vice chamberlain to Queen Anne in October 1603. 'Ladie Drumman' (p 178, ll.21, 23) is probably Isabel, widow of James, Lord Drummond and first earl of Perth. Sir Henry Billingsley (p 178, l.26), the eldest son of Sir Henry Billingsley, was knighted by James I on 28 June 1603; he entertained Queen Anne in 1613 at his house at Siston, Gloucestershire, on her departure from Bristol.

178-94 *STC*: 18347 sigs B1-D2

Naile's versified account of Bristol's entertainment for Anne of Denmark caught the attention of William Adams, Bristol's contemporary chronicler. He copied substantial excerpts from it into both the 1623 and 1625 recensions of the *Chronicle of Bristol* (1623, *BRL*: 25486 pp 278-89 (printed in *Adams's Chronicle*, pp 187-200); 1625, *BRO*: 13748(4)). So impressed was Adams by Naile's work that he even included a poem of his own in praise of Naile and his accomplishment at the conclusion of the excerpts (*BRO*: 13748(4) nf; for the somewhat different wording of the 1623 recension, see *Adams's Chronicle*, p 200):

*William Adams Concerning Robert Naile.*

It is good to keepe aliue what would be dead,  
therefore hee hites the naile, not on the head:  
But yet hee hath done the office of a Naile,  
to fixe that fast, which otherwise would faile.  
As now proues true, his name matching his fate,  
in nailing fame on Eternities great gate.

Adams' copying of Naile's verse is more complete in the later recension, lacking only three passages from the original: p 184, l.19-p 185, l.10; p 185, ll.23-32; and p 186, l.33-p 187, l.34. However, there are two items in Adams not found in the printed text of Naile. In both recensions, a quatrain is added to the conclusion of the description of the mock sea-battle between Turkish and English mariners which took place on the Monday of her visit:

\*Where like Neptunians, captiue-like, these Turkes shee saw returne,  
with linstockes, match, targes, Oares in hand, in solemne march to mourne.  
Which being acted to the life, so much her Grace contentes,  
as new varieties haue force, mixt with strange complementes.

The asterisk against the first word links it to the accompanying *marginale*: 'So the *mariners* came by her Court all being ended. And after [(.)] wee gaue two vollies of shot at departure.' (This is the text as it appears in the 1625 recension; there the quatrain has been bracketed in the right margin with a lightly-drawn brace. In the earlier recension (where Adams has used no brace), only the *marginale* contains any substantive variants; it reads 'here at Court wee gaue 2 vollies of shot at our parting.')

If these lines were part of Naile's original poem, they were excised from the printed text; however, it is possible that they were added by Adams to provide a more personal touch to his work. The second addition is clearly Adams' annotation. At the foot of the verso facing the recto on which the excerpt concludes in the unfoliated 1625 recension, an additional note has apparently been pasted in and then cut away, of which only part of the heading is now visible: 'Here follow three other speeches made to Queene Anne by our.'

194 *BRO*: P/StT/ChW/46 f [3]

The heading to this account begins 27 April 1613, which suggests an accounting year as noted. Because the extract printed here refers to Queen Anne's visit of June 1613, it has been placed under the Michaelmas-Michaelmas year 1612-13.



195–9 PRO: PROB 10/314 sheets 1–3

A photocopy of this will is in the Bristol Record Office, courtesy of Kathleen Barker. Nicholas Woolfe was buried 8 June 1614, according to the Christ Church Register (BRO: P/XCh/R/1a unnumbered).

200 BRO: 04026(17) p 28

For Robert Aldworth (l.26), see pp 283–4, endnote to BRO: 04026(9) pp 300, 313. Robert Aldworth and John Whitson were, according to Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*, p 140, two of the wealthiest members of the company at this time. John Whitson (l.30), alderman, wine cooper, and ship owner, was one of the Bristol merchants in the Spanish Company of 1605 for which he was named an assistant to the secretary of the fellowship. He was warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1605 and master of the company in 1606 and 1611. He was mayor in 1604 and 1615 and member of parliament for Bristol in 1605, 1620, 1625, and 1625–6. Whitson took an active interest in voyages to New England departing from Bristol, especially that of Martin Pring, who commanded *The Speedwell* and *The Discoverer* to the American continent in 1603. According to Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*, p 147, during Pring's time at the Bay of Massachusetts he named the harbour 'Whitson,' although the landing place became known later as Plymouth. An excerpt from the probate inventory of Whitson's goods appears on pp 231–2 of the Records.

202 BRL: B7976, SR 26 p [4b]

Richard Smith says, about the lost original, in his introduction (pp 4–[4a]):

... I am now about to lay before the reader an extract from a Document pointed out to me by Mr. M Britton in one of the Old books handed over to the Charity Trustees: – which proves beyond contradiction that we a regular theatre at an earlier period than the foregoing – thus it runs!

Extracts from Queen Elizabeth  
Hospital's Treasurers' Book

... I have seen at the Charity Trustees Office Albion Chambers an Old Book of Accounts & from this document it is quite clear that there was a theatre in 1616.  
as the Reader will observe on the other side of this Paper –  
the Sum 1.10.0 is small – but this was 'out of the rent.' & 'issuing forth of the playhouse' –  
This was pointed out to me by Mr Mechec Brittan Solicitor to the Trust (of which I am one)  
– & was copied for me by Mr. T. J. Mancheer Secretary in 1841

Henry Yate (l.4) was named as an overseer of the estate in the will of Nicholas Woolfe and was later called upon to answer charges of malfeasance by Woolfe's minor son and heir, Miles. See p 296, endnote to PRO: C 3/328/28 mb 3.

202–3 PRO: SP 14/81 single sheet

Samuel Daniel (p 202, l.37), brother of John Daniel, was a poet and playwright who became connected with the stage through his appointment as official censor for the children of the queen's revels. They received a patent in 1604. According to Nungezer, *Dictionary of Actors* (pp 110–11), Daniel was not only responsible for licensing their plays but he was also a joint-payee in 1605 for two performances at court. His connection with the troupe ended in 1605 when Queen Anne's patronage was withdrawn.

For George Buc (p 203, l.8), see Documents, pp lxiv–lxv. A group of players carrying a licence from his office was in Bristol in 1617–18 (see p 208, BRO: 04026(17) p 263).

207–8 BRO: 04026(17) pp 249, 263

For 'Alderman Whitson' (p 207, l.17), see pp 294–5, endnote to BRO: 04026(17) p 28. For George Buc or Buck (p 208, l.14), see Documents, pp lxiv–lxv. The payment here probably refers to players that were licensed by Buc in his capacity as master of the revels rather than to a company directly under his patronage. See also p 240, BRO: 04026(20) p 386.

209–10 PRO: SP 14/97 single sheet

This document is discussed in Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p 56. Also, see the letter from the mayor of Exeter, quoted in Wasson (ed), *Devon*, pp 188–9, in which the mayor explains that he refused to permit a visiting company to play because their patent was for a company of children and youths, whereas their company of fifteen had only 'five youthes among them, and all the rest ar men som about 30 and 40 and 50 yeares.'

For John Daniel see Documents, p lvii. Martin Slater (or Slaughter) (p 209, l.31) was named in Henslowe's first list of the lord admiral's men in 1594 and was a payce with Edward Alleyn for performances at court by the admiral's men in 1596/7. Slater left the lord admiral's men in 1597 and, after some time in Scotland, joined the earl of Hertford's men by 1603. Associated with a provincial company under Queen Anne's patronage by 1606, he was manager and shareholder of the children of the king's revels at Whitefriars in 1608. Between then and the formation of this company, Slater was involved in a lawsuit and labelled a vagabond as an unlicensed player. He was buried in Southwark on 4 August 1625. John Edmonds (p 209, l.31) could be either John Edmonds or John Edmans, both of whom were players and contemporaries of each other. John Edmonds married Margaret Goodyere in 1600. John Edmans (or Edmonds) was a joint beneficiary of player Thomas Pope. This John Edmans (or Edmonds) married Mary Clarke, also a beneficiary of Pope, who received Pope's shares in the Curtain and the Globe. A John Edmonds was buried in Southwark on 20 September 1634. Nathaniel Clay (p 209, l.32) is mentioned here and again in 1629 in relation to a group of players under the leadership of Robert Kimpton, presumably the children of the king's revels.

The space where the date would normally have been supplied has been left blank (p 210, l.5); in fact, much of the rest of the page (about 125 mm) is blank: 'To all Maiors ... appertaine' (p 210, ll.7–10) is written close to the bottom.

212 PRO: C 3/328/28 mb 3

This reply, and the two which follow, are the only documents surviving from this lawsuit to mention the Wine Street property formerly owned by Miles' late father, Nicholas Woolfe. Of the seven surviving documents, three (mbs 4, 5, and 7) are writs containing no substantive information and one (mbs 1–2, with a copy on mb 8) is the bill of complaint, which focuses on the situation created by Nicholas' will and his estate in general. Miles, although still a minor, was named official executor of the estate in his father's will, while Joseph Rattle and Henry Yate were made overseers until he came of age. According to the bill, Miles (who was about seventeen years old at the time of the lawsuit) had become concerned about the overseers' conduct. Rattle did not live in Bristol and Yate, who did, had taken over the management of the estate, along with Miles' stepmother Margaret. Miles accused Yate and his stepmother of diverting rents and other profits to their own use and making false accounts to conceal the fact. Since he was underage, Thomas and John Latch, who are described in the bill as his 'brethren & gardians,' brought this suit on his behalf to compel Rattle and Yate to make a full and accurate disclosure of their management of the property which would become Miles' when he came of age, including, of course, the Wine Street property.

Nicholas Woolfe's will (see pp 195–9) demonstrates that Miles had no brothers. Presumably the Latches were relatives in some degree, possibly on the side of Miles' late mother, Joyce Woolfe, who was buried 12 July 1602 (Christ Church register, BRO: P/XCh/R/1a unnumbered).

214 BRO: 04026(18) p 33

The sum noted (£1 6s 8d) is the amount formerly paid to four waits. A note in the 1620–1 accounts (see next endnote, to BRO: 04026(18) p 129), however, makes it clear that the missing 6s 8d was, in fact, paid but not entered into the account.

217 BRO: 04026(18) p 129

See p 296, endnote to BRO: 04026(18) p 33, above; it is here that the chamberlain records the make-up payment to the five waits. For an explanation of 'Midsomer quarter' (l.9) as a reference to the third quarter of the previous year (p 214, ll.18–21), see the Introduction, p lxviii.

222 BRO: 04026(19) p 34

Charles I acceded 27 March 1625 but, according to Adams' Chronicle (see pp 222–3, BRO: 13748(4) nf below), was proclaimed in Bristol on 1 April.

222–3 BRO: 13748(4) nf

There is only one substantive variant of interest between this text and the version which appears in the 1623 recension. In the latter, Adams added at the end: 'since which time [were] wee heare of no English shippe that hath bene taken at sea by any Turkes being at the instant writing hereof a whole yeare since' (BRL: 25486, p 308). As Ali Agha's visit was made in March 1625, this is an example of Adams' continued use of his 1623 draft to record initial accounts of events as late as 1626, a year after the more finished 1625 draft had been begun.

The sheriff Thomas 'Clements' (p 223, l.6) may be the same as the Thomas Clement mentioned in the 1618–19 controversy over Miles Woolfe's inheritance (p 213, l.10). His name appears as 'Clement' in the PRO *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (1898; rpt New York, 1963), 168.

225 BRO: 04026(19) p 90

This is undoubtedly the same John Hunter who appears in the Apprenticeship Indentures in 1618–19 (see p 211, BRO: 04352(4) f 194v) and was apprenticed to William Johnson for seven years.

228 BRO: 04026(19) p 241

Elizabeth Ralph, in the *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office*, (Bristol, 1971), 13, says of 'the Gauntes' (l.19) (now the Lord Mayor's Chapel), 'The chapel is all that remains of the hospital of St. Mark, Billeswick, founded in about 1220 by Maurice de Gaunt. The hospital foundation was dissolved in 1539 and by Royal Letters Patent of 33 Henry VIII (1541) the hospital and its estates were granted with other lands to the Corporation.

In 1722 in consequence of a dispute with the Cathedral authorities, the Corporation decided to use St. Mark's instead of their seats in the Cathedral and the chapel became known as the Lord Mayor's Chapel.'

235 BRO: 04026(20) p 166

PRO: SP 16/238/32 documents the trial of the members of Richard Bradshaw's 'outlaw' troupe in 1633; one of the related documents, the examination of Richard Whiting of Cothelston, contains a direct

reference to Bristol. Whiting indicated that he joined the troupe half a year before 2 May 1633, met his father, Edward, in Cornwall, and then came to Bristol. There is no direct indication that Bradshaw's troupe performed in Bristol – the Whitings could have simply passed through on their way to perform with Bradshaw in Warwickshire and Leicestershire (see further *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I. 1633–1634*. (London, 1863), 47–9).

236–7 BRO: 04026(20) p 237

George Butcher (l.37) was a member of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol. Sir Nathaniel Brent (1573?–1652) was elected warden of Merton College, Oxford, in 1622 and was afterwards appointed commissary of the diocese of Canterbury and vicar-general to the archbishop, eventually becoming judge of the prerogative court. In 1633–4 he had begun an extensive tour throughout England south of the Trent to report on and to correct ecclesiastical abuses, which explains his name appearing in the Bristol records at this time.

238 BRO: P/StT/ChW/66 f 9

This payment falls between payments dated 14 and 19 January. However, the January payments do not appear to have been recorded in chronological order, since a payment dated the 26th precedes that dated the 14th.

239 BRO: 04026(20) p 321

Perry (l.20) is possibly William Perry, a provincial player who was first licensed to play, probably with the king's revels company, in 1615. After 1617 he was associated with the children of the revels to the late Queen Anne and the company received a confirmation of its patent in 1623, at which time Perry was manager. In 1629 Perry was manager of the Red Bull Company, where he remained until the closing of the theatres.

240 BRO: will Thomas PRINCE 1634 sheets [1–2]

Each sheet of the will has been signed by the two overseers and a witness, as well as by Prince himself. The overseer Isaac 'Brian' (l.10) signs himself on both sheets as 'Brine'; he was a virginal maker who was made free of the city in 1608–9 (see p 170, ll.1–10). The last legatee excerpted here, Edward Redwood (ll.14–15), may be related to another legatee, Margaret Redwood, widow, who was left furniture and linens. The executor of the will is Prince's son-in-law, William Child, who had also been his apprentice (see p 215, ll.5–10); at this time he was already a musician at St George's Windsor and so could not have overseen the details of Prince's bequests (see J.G. Hooper, 'Survey of Music in Bristol with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century,' typescript on deposit in the Bristol Reference Library (Bristol, 1963), 158). Another bequest is of money to his four godsons, two of whom (John Williams and Thomas Lavashe) may be connected with local Bristol instrument makers: a John Williams was apprenticed to the instrument maker John Collier in 1628–9 (see pp 230, l.39–p 231, l.6) and Lavashe's name appears to be a variant of Lavasher or Levasher, suggesting a possible connection with the instrument maker, William Lavasher, who took four apprentices in the 1610s and 1620s.

240 BRO: 04026(20) p 386

The master of the revels (l.23) at the time was Henry Herbert, who held the office from 20 July 1623 until the closing of the theatres.

242 BRO: will Sarah BARKER 1637 f 1

Each sheet of the will has been signed by Barker herself; only the second sheet also bears the witnesses' signatures.

This important document strongly suggests a second purpose-built playhouse in Bristol in Redcliffe Hill, which was probably contemporary with Nicholas Woolfe's playhouse in Wine Street (see Introduction, p xl).

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# Patrons and Travelling Companies

ARLEANE RALPH

The following list has two sections. The first section lists companies alphabetically by patron, according to the principal title under which their playing companies and entertainers appear. Cross-references to titles other than the principal, if they are also so named in the Records, are also given. The second section lists companies which have been identified by place of origin.

The biographical information supplied here has come entirely from printed sources, the chief of which are the following: *Acts of the Privy Council*; S.T. Bindoff (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558*, 3 vols (London, 1982); *Calendar of Close Rolls*; *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (edited through 1582); *Calendar of State Papers*; C. R. Cheney (ed), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*; G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage...*; *The Dictionary of National Biography*; James E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England Showing the Succession, Dignities, and Offices of Every Peer from 1066 to 1885*, 3 vols (London, 1886); P. W. Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London, 1981); *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols and Addenda (London, 1864–1932); E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986; rpt 1996); J.S. Roskell, Linda Clark, and Carole Rawcliffe (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386–1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1992); Josiah C. Wedgwood and Anne D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439–1509* (London, 1936); and Josiah C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of Both Houses 1439–1509* (London, 1938).

All dates are given in accordance with the style of the sources used. The authorities sometimes disagree over the dates of birth, death, creation, succession, and office tenure. Where this evidence conflicts, the *Calendar of State Papers*, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, and similar collections, such as the following, are preferred: J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England: 1558 to 1640* (Oxford, 1969); *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831*, Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, no 9 (London, 1898; rpt New York, 1963); and J.C. Sainty, 'Lieutenants of Counties, 1585–1642,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Special Supplement, no 8 (May, 1970).

Normally each patron entry is divided into four sections. The first lists relevant personal data and titles of nobility with dates. Succession numbers are given for the most important titles held by a person, as well as for those titles by which he or she is named in the Records. These numbers follow the absolute sequence given in *The Complete Peerage* rather than the rela-

tive ones that begin afresh with each new creation. Knighthood dates are included only for minor gentry not possessing higher titles.

The second section lists, in chronological order, appointments showing local connections and includes those known to have been used within titles of playing companies. Purely expeditionary military titles have been largely omitted, along with most minor Scottish and Irish landed titles. For patrons holding peerage titles, minor civil commissions have been largely omitted, except for those concerning Bristol and Gloucestershire, the geographically proximate counties of Berkshire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and Worcestershire, and Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire in Wales.

Where possible, the date of an appointment is taken from the date of a document assigning that position. If the appointment is stated in the document to be 'for life,' then these words follow the job title. If the original document has not been edited and a secondary source is used that states 'until death,' then this form appears. Otherwise dates of appointment and termination are given, if available. If the length of time an office is held is not known, then only the date of appointment is given. Alternatively, if the only evidence comes from a source dated some time during the period of tenure, then the word 'by' and a date appears. A '?' following a date indicates uncertainty in the attribution of the post to a patron, in the case of several patrons by the same name, or in the date of an appointment as shown in the sources. For all minor commissions, such as commissions of gaol delivery, commissions of array and muster, and commissions of the peace (JP), years only are given. If the dates of these commissions cover several years in sequence, then the earliest and latest years of the sequence are separated by a dash.

The third section, for which information is often incomplete or unavailable, contains the names and locations of the patron's principal seats, and of counties where he or she held lands. Extensive property lists have been condensed by limiting them to Gloucestershire, the surrounding counties, and the southern counties of Wales.

The fourth section is an annotated index by date of the appearances of each patron's company or companies in the Bristol Records. Following the date are the page numbers in parentheses where the citations occur. If a patron's company appears under a title other than the usual or principal one, this other title is in parentheses next to the designation of the company. Companies named according to a patron's civil appointment are indexed under the name of that post as it appears in the Records: for example, 'Lord Chamberlain.' If the patron sponsored more than one type of performer, all entries for a given type (whether singular or plural in number) are grouped together in chronological order. The performer type is only repeated within that grouping to indicate a change in the patron title by which the company is named (see, for example, Henry Stanley under 'Derby'). Each group of entries is then listed according to the earliest year in which that company appears in the Records. If two or more companies first appear in the same year, alphabetical order is followed. In this section, the annotations 'Possibly' and 'Probably' indicate that the attribution of the performance itinerary item to the particular patron is not definite, and, where applicable, a cross-reference is given to other possible or probable patrons.

The reader may also wish to refer to the index for additional references to some of the patrons and to various unnamed companies and their players.

## Abbreviations:

acc	acceded	gov	governor
adm	admiral	JP	justice of the peace
bef	before	jt	joint (three or more)
bet	between	kt	knighted
br	brother	lieut	lieutenant
capt	captain	m.	married
comm	commissioner	MP	member of parliament
cr	created	parl	parliament
custos rot	custos rotulorum	PC	privy councillor
d.	died	pres	president
da	daughter	succ	succeeded
gen	general	summ	summoned



## Companies Named by Patron

### Abergavenny

Henry Nevill (26 Nov 1527–10 Feb 1586/7), succ as 6th baron of Bergavenny June 1535. Seats at Birling, Kent, and Abergavenny Castle, Monm, Wales.

players 1571–2 (81)

### Bath

John Bouchier (c 1499–10 Feb 1560/1), styled Lord FitzWarin 1536–9; succ as 3rd earl of Bath and 6th Lord FitzWarin 30 Apr 1539 and as 2nd earl of Bridgwater and Lord Daubeney 8 Apr 1548. Sheriff Somers 8 Nov 1519 and Wilts 7 Nov 1526; JP Wilts 1523, 1525, 1529, 1531–2, 1535, 1537–9, 1543, 1547, 1558, Salisbury, Wilts, 1535, and Somers 1539; PC 1553; comm of array Somers 1556. Seat at Tawstock, Devon.

players 1543–4 (54)

William Bouchier (1557–12 Jul 1623), son of John Bouchier, 3rd earl of Bath *qv*; succ as 4th earl of Bath 10 Feb 1560/1. JP Somers 1584, 1608. Seat at Tawstock, Devon.

players 1576–7 (114)  
1578–9 (117)

### Berkeley

Richard Berkeley (c 1531–1604 or 1605), entered upon inheritance 4 July 1552; kt 21 Aug 1574. JP Glouc 1562, 1564, 1570–1; member Council in the Marches of Wales 16 Dec 1590; lieut of the Tower by 22 Sept 1596. Seat at Stoke Gifford, Glouc; lands in Glouc.

players 1574–5 (110)

Henry Berkeley (26 Nov 1534–26 Nov 1613), succ as 7th Lord Berkeley at birth. Keeper of Kingswood Forest, Glouc, and Filwood Forest, Somers, for life 26 June 1559; JP Glouc 1562, 1564; comm of oyer and terminer Berks, Glouc, Heref, Oxf, Worc, and Monm, Wales, 1564; jt comm of musters Glouc 1569; lord lieut Glouc, 13 Aug 1603 until death; vice adm Glouc 14 Nov 1603 until death. Principal residences at Yate Court and Berkeley Castle, Glouc, and Caludon Castle near Coventry, Warw; lands in Glouc, Somers, and Warw.

players 1556–7 (62)  
1577–8 (116)  
1579–80 (119)

### Chandos

Edmund Brydges (by 1520–11 Mar 1572/3), succ as 2nd Baron Chandos 12 Apr 1557. Jt constable Sudeley Castle, Glouc, 15 Oct 1542–57; jt steward Winchcomb and hundreds of Gretton, Holford, and Kiftsgate, all in Glouc, 15 Oct 1542–57, and sole 1557 until death; MP Wootton Bassett, Wilts, 1545 and Glouc Oct 1553; JP Glouc 1547, 1554, 1562, 1564 until death, Wilts 1554, 1562, 1564 until death; comm of musters Glouc 1557–8, 1569–80; steward

and keeper of manors of Cricklade, Highworth, Long Compton, Staple, Winterbourne Bassett, and Wootton Bassett, all in Wilts, 22 May 1557 until death, and of the hundred of Slaughter, Glouc, 25 Oct 1567 until death; lord lieut Glouc 10 May 1559 and 20 Nov 1569; vice adm Glouc 22 Jul 1561; steward manor of Hailes, Glouc, 4 June 1563; keeper Braydon Forest, Wilts, 4 June 1563; comm of gaol delivery Berks, Glouc, Heref, Oxf, Worc, and Monm, Wales, 1 Feb 1564. Principal seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc; lands in Glouc, Wilts, and Worc. bearward 1571-2 (81)

William Brydges (after 1548-18 Nov 1602), succ as 4th Baron Chandos 21 Feb 1593/4. MP Cricklade, Wilts, 1572, and Glouc 1584 and 1586; member Council in the Marches of Wales May 1594; keeper Braydon Forest, Wilts, and steward Cricklade, Wilts, 1594; lord lieut Glouc 9 Sept 1595 until death. Seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc.

players

1599-1600 (155)

### Clinton

Edward Clinton (or Fiennes) (1512-16 Jan 1584/5), succ as 9th Lord Clinton and Say 7 Aug 1517; cr 16th earl of Lincoln 4 May 1572. Keeper castle and parks of Maxstoke, Warw, 11 June 1544; chief capt of Boulogne, France, 1548-25 Apr 1550; pc 4 May 1550, Apr 1557, and 1558; lord high adm 14 May 1550-Oct 1553 and Feb 1557/8 until death; constable of the Tower 7-19 July 1553; lord steward of the household 1572-84. Lands in Heref and Worc.

players

1576-7 (114)

### Cobham

William Brooke (1 Nov 1527-6 Mar 1596/7), succ as 10th Lord Cobham 29 Sept 1558. Lord chamberlain of the household 8 Aug 1596 until death. Seat at Cobham Hall, Kent.

players

1569-70 (78)

### Compton

Henry Compton (14 July 1544-bef 22 Nov 1589), succ in 1544; cr 1st Lord Compton 8 May 1572. MP Old Sarum, Wilts, 1563; sheriff Warw 14 Nov 1571. Seats at Compton Wynyates, Warw, and Tottenham, Midd; lands in Somers and Warw.

players

1573-4 (85)

1574-5 (110)

1576-7 (113)

### Cromwell

Edward Cromwell (c 1560-27 April 1607), succ as 4th Baron Cromwell 20 Nov 1592.

players

1599-1600 (155)

### Darcy

John Darcy (c 1530-18 Oct 1602), succ as 2nd Lord Darcy 28 Aug 1558. Seat at Aston, Yorks WR.

players

1590-1 (140)

**Daubency**

Henry Daubency (Dec 1493–8 Apr 1548), succ as 2nd Baron Daubency 22 May 1508; cr 1st earl of Bridgewater 19 July 1538. JP Somers 1512–14, 1521–2, 1524, 1526, 1529, 1531–2, 1538, 1540–1, 1543–4, 1547; comm of array Somers 1513; comm of oyer and terminer Somers 1540; warden Neroche Forest, Somers, 24 Apr 1542. Seats at Ingleby, Linc, and South Petherton, Somers; lands in Somers.

singers 1532–3 (44)

**Derby**

Edward Stanley (10 May 1509–24 Oct 1572), probably styled Lord Strange until he succ as 12th earl of Derby, 11th Lord Strange, 4th Lord Stanley, and lord of the Isle of Man 23 May 1521. PC 9 Aug 1551, 17 Aug 1553, and 24 Nov 1558. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc, and Knockin, Shrops; lands in Oxf.

players 1532–3 (43)

Henry Stanley (Sept 1531–25 Sept 1593), son of Edward Stanley, 12th earl of Derby, *qv*; styled Lord Strange until summ to parl as 12th Lord Strange 23 Jan 1558/9; succ as 13th earl of Derby, 5th Lord Stanley, and lord of the Isle of Man 24 Oct 1572. PC by 20 May 1585; lord steward of the household after Sept 1588–93. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc, and Knockin, Shrops.

players (as Lord Strange) 1564–5 (71)

1569–70 (77)

players 1578–9 (117)

bearward 1579–80 (120)

William Stanley (c 1561–29 Sept 1642), son of Henry Stanley, 13th earl of Derby, *qv*, and br of Ferdinando Stanley, 14th earl of Derby, *qv* under **Strange**; succ as 15th earl of Derby 16 Apr 1594; confirmed in the lordship of the Isle of Man 7 July 1609. PC Mar–May 1603; member Council in the Marches of Wales by 1617. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc.

players 1595–6 (147)

1596–7 (150)

**Dorset**

Henry Grey (17 Jan 1517–23 Feb 1554), styled Lord Grey until he succ as 6th marquess of Dorset, 9th Lord Ferrers, 9th Lord Harington, 4th Lord Bonville, and possibly Lord Astley 10 Oct 1530; cr 7th duke of Suffolk 11 Oct 1551; attainted and beheaded 23 Feb 1554. JP Somers 1539–40, 1543–4, 1547, Warw 1539, 1542, 1545, 1547, Wilts 1539, 1543, 1547; PC 11 Dec 1549–53; chief justice in eyre south of Trent 2 Feb 1549/50–3; steward royal honours and lordships Warw 1551. Seats at Chewton, Somers, and Bradgate and Groby, Leic; lands in Somers and Warw.

bearward 1532–3 (43)

1535–6 (46)

1540-1 (51)  
 1543-4 (54)  
 1539-40 (49)

players

**Dudley** *see* Ambrose Dudley *under* **Warwick** and Robert Dudley *under* **Leicester**.

### Essex

Walter Devereux (16 Sept 1539-22 Sept 1576), succ as Viscount Hereford and 5th Lord Ferrers 27 Sept 1558 and as Lord Bouchier 28 Jan 1570/1; cr 18th earl of Essex 4 May 1572. Member Council in the Marches of Wales June 1574; chief justice and chamberlain in South Wales by 16 July 1574. Seats at Chartley, Staff, and Lamphey, Pemb, Wales; lands in Wilts.

players

1572-3 (83)

Robert Devereux (19 Nov 1566-25 Feb 1600/1), styled Viscount Hereford until he succ as 19th earl of Essex, 6th Lord Ferrers, and 9th Lord Bouchier 22 Sept 1576. Master of the horse 1587-97; pc 25 Feb 1592/3. Seats at Chartley, Staff, and Lamphey, Pemb, Wales; residence at Essex House, Midd.

players

1576-7 (114)  
 1583-4 (126)  
 1585-6 (128)  
 1589-90 (135)

### Fortescue

Henry Fortescue (by 1515-by 6 Oct 1576), succ 8 Aug 1517. Gentleman usher by April 1553; esquire of the body by 1559. Seat at Faulkbourne, Essex.

players

1566-7 (74)

### Hales

Probably

John Hales (by 1516-26 Dec 1572). Servant of Cromwell after 1535; clerk of the first fruits 3 Feb 1537-40; keeper writs of the King's Bench 1537-40; deputy clerk of the hanaper by 1541; jt clerk of the hanaper 25 Oct 1545-57 and 1559 until death; jP Warw 1547, 1551, and Coventry, Warw, 1551. Seat at Hales' Place, Coventry, Warw, and residence in London; lands in Glouc and Warw.

players (as Sir John Hales)

1565-6 (72)

### Hastings

Henry Hastings (c 1536-14 Dec 1595), br of George Hastings, 21st earl of Huntingdon, *qv* *under* **Huntingdon**; styled Lord Hastings 1544 until summ to parl as 5th Lord Hastings 23 Jan 1558/9; succ as 20th earl of Huntingdon and 8th Lord Botreaux 23 June 1560. jP Warw 1562, 1564. Lands in Oxf, Somers, and Warw.

bearward

1557-8 (63)

**Hening**

Possibly

Thomas Henneage (d. by 18 Nov 1553), br of John and Robert Henneage, *qv*. Gentleman of the privy chamber by 1536; chief gentleman of the privy chamber by 1540 until death; kt 18 Oct 1537; comm of oyer and terminer Warw 1547. Lands in Glouc and Somers.

or

John Henneage (d. by 2 Nov 1558), br of Thomas and Robert Henneage, *qv*, and father-in-law of Robert Lane, *qv*. Comm of oyer and terminer Warw and Coventry, Warw, 1543–5, 1547, 1554. Seat at Benniworth, Linc.

or

Robert Henneage (d. by 22 Feb 1557), br of Thomas and John Henneage, *qv*. Master of forests beyond Trent in the new court of augmentations and revenues 1 Jan 1547.

players (as Mr Hening)

1543–4 (54)

**Hertford**

Edward Seymour (22 May 1539–6 Apr 1621), styled earl of Hertford 1547 until his father's attainder 12 Apr 1552; restored 1553 or 1554; cr Baron Beauchamp and 9th earl of Hertford 13 Jan 1558/9; imprisoned 1561; released after 27 Jan 1567/8. Jt comm of musters Wilts 1579; lord lieut Somers and Wilts 24 Apr 1601 until death; comm of custos rot Wilts June 1603; jf Somers and Wilts 1611. Seat at Elvetham, Hants.

players

1591–2 (142)

*See also* Edward Seymour *under* Somerset.

**Hopton**

Ralph Hopton (c 1510–14 Dec 1571), half br of Owen Hopton, *qv*; kt 30 Sept 1544. Knight marshal of the household 26 Aug 1542–11 May 1556 and Dec 1558–60; MP Somers Mar and Oct 1553, and possibly 1555, Heytesbury, Wilts, 1559; jf Somers 1559, 1562, 1564; jt marshal of the household from 20 May 1560 until death. Seat at Witham Friary, Somers; lands in Somers.

players

1562–3 (69)

Owen Hopton (c 1519–bet 22 July and 20 Dec 1595), half br of Ralph Hopton, *qv*; kt 1561. Lord lieut of the Tower of London by Nov 1569–90. Seats at Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, and Blythburgh, Suff; lands in Berks and Somers.

players

1570–1 (80)

**Howard**

Charles Howard (c 1536–14 Dec 1624), succ as Baron Howard 11 or 12 Jan 1572/3 and cr 10th earl of Nottingham 22 Oct 1597. Chamberlain of the household 1 Jan 1583/4–July 1585; pc by 5 Mar 1583/4 until death; lord high adm 8 Jul 1585–27 Jan 1618/19; constable Windsor Castle, Berks, 5 Dec 1588 and high steward Windsor 15 Jan 1592/3, both until death; chief justice in eyre south of Trent 15 June 1597 until death; lord steward of the household 24 Oct 1597–Nov 1615; queen's lieut and capt-gen in the south of England 10 Aug 1599 and 14 Feb 1600/1; JP Somers 1608. Seat at Effingham, Surr.

players	1577–8 (116)
players (as lord admiral)	1589–90 (136)
players	1599–1600 (154)

**Hunsdon**

Henry Carey (4 Mar 1525/6–23 Jul 1596), cr 1st Baron Hunsdon 13 Jan 1558/9. pc 16 Nov 1577; lord chamberlain of the household Jul 1585 until death; chief justice in eyre south of Trent 1589 until death; chief justice itinerant royal forests south of Trent 20 Dec 1591 until death; high steward Oxford, Oxf, for life 2 Mar 1591/2. Seats at Buckingham, Bucks, and Hunsdon, Herts; lands in Wilts.

players	1565–6 (72)
player/s	1582–3 (124)

**Huntingdon**

George Hastings (c 1540–30 Dec 1604), br of Henry Hastings, 20th earl of Huntingdon, *qv* under **Hastings**; succ as 21st earl of Huntingdon, 6th Lord Hastings, 9th Lord Botreaux, 14 Dec 1595. Seats at Erwall and Dale, Derb, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Donnington, Gopsall, and Loughborough Castle, Leic; lands in Wilts.

players	1599–1600 (155)
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**King**

Henry Tudor (28 June 1491–28 Jan 1547), son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York; cr prince of Wales 18 Feb 1503; acc as Henry VIII 22 Apr 1509; crowned 24 June 1509.

minstrel/s	1518–19 (30, 31)
minstrels	1543–4 (55)
players	1534–5 (45)
	1535–6 (46)
	1539–40 (49)
	1540–1 (51)
bearward	1541–2 (52)
	1543–4 (54)
bearwards	1545–6 (56)

Philip Habsburg (21 May 1527–13 Sept 1598), son of the Emperor Charles V and Isabella of

Portugal; king of Naples and Jerusalem and king of Spain from 16 July 1556; m., 25 July 1554, Mary I, *qv* under **Queen**; styled king of England from 27 July 1554.

player/s 1556–7 (61)

James Stuart (19 June 1566–27 Mar 1625), son of Henry, Lord Darnley and Mary Stuart, queen of Scots; acc as James VI of Scotland 24 July 1567 and as James I of England 24 Mar 1603; crowned 25 Jul 1603.

trumpeters 1614–15 (201)

1617–18 (208)

1619–20 (214)

children players 1620–1 (216)

Charles Stuart (19 Nov 1600–30 Jan 1649), son of James I, *qv*, and Anne of Denmark, *qv* under **Queen**; cr duke of Albany 23 Dec 1600 and duke of York 6 Jan 1604/5; succ as duke of Cornwall 6 Nov 1612; cr earl of Chester and prince of Wales 4 Nov 1616; acc as Charles I 27 Mar 1625; crowned 2 Feb 1625/6; beheaded 30 Jan 1649.

players (as prince) 1617–18 (207, 208)

players 1629–30 (232)

1630–1 (234)

revels 1635–6 (241)

*See also* Edward Tudor *under* **Prince**.

### Lady Elizabeth

Elizabeth Stuart (mid-Aug 1596–13 Feb 1662), da of James VI (of Scotland) and I (of England), *qv* under **King**, and Anne of Denmark, *qv* under **Queen**; m., 14 Feb 1612/13, Frederick V, elector palatine; crowned queen of Bohemia 7 Nov 1619.

players 1612–13 (173)

1620–1 (216)

### Lane

Robert Lane (7 Jan 1527–c 1588), succ father 26 Sept 1540, and mother 1559; kt 2 Oct 1553. Comm of oyer and terminer Warw 1564. Seat at Horton, Northants; lands in Somers.

players 1659–70 (78)

### Latimer

John Nevill (c 1519/20–22 Apr 1577), succ as 4th Lord Latimer, 2 Mar 1542/3. Seat at Snape Castle, Yorks NR.

players 1563–4 (70)

### Leicester

Robert Dudley (24 June 1532 or 1533–4 Sept 1588), br of Ambrose Dudley, *qv* under **Warwick**; imprisoned July 1553; attainted 22 Jan 1553/4; pardoned 18 Oct 1554; restored in blood 7 Mar

1557/8; cr baron of Denbigh, Denb, Wales, 28 Sept and 14th earl of Leicester 29 Sept 1564. Master of the horse 1559–87; pc 23 Apr 1559; lord lieut Warw 10 May 1559, Berks 1560?, and Worc 20 Nov 1569–15 Nov 1570; lieut forest and castle of Windsor, Berks, 24 Nov 1559; constable Windsor Castle, 23 Feb 1562 until death; jp Heref, Warw, and Worc 1562, 1564, 1584; high steward Windsor, Berks, 9 Sept 1563; high steward the bishopric of Ely, Berks, 1565, Reading, Berks, by 1566, Abingdon, Berks, 1566, Wallingford, Berks, 1569, Bristol 1570 until death; comm of custos rot Warw 1568; lord steward of the household 1 Nov 1584–8; warden and chief justice in eyre south of Trent 25 Nov 1585 until death. Seats at Kenilworth, Warw, and Wanstead, Essex; residence at Leicester House, Midd; lands in Oxf, Warw, Worc, and Wales.

players (as Lord Robert Dudley)	1559–60 (66)
players (as Lord Dudley)	1561–2 (68)
players	1569–70 (78)
	1573–4 (85)
	1577–8 (115)
	1586–7 (129)
	1587–8 (133)
bearward	1572–3 (83)
	1573–4 (85)
	1576–7 (113)

### Lisle

John Dudley (c 1504–22 Aug 1553), restored in blood 1512; succ as 7th Baron Lisle c 1530; cr 7th Viscount Lisle 12 Mar 1541/2, 19th earl of Warwick 16 Feb 1546/7, and 1st duke of Northumberland 11 Oct 1551; imprisoned in the Tower 25 July 1553; beheaded 22 Aug 1553. Jt constable Warwick Castle, Warw, 16 Mar 1532; jp Warw 1532, 1547, Worc 1540, 1547, Glouc, Heref, Shrops 1547; vice adm Feb 1537–Jan 1543; comm of oyer and terminer Worc 1540; lord high adm 26 Jan 1543–17 Feb 1547 and 28 Oct 1549–14 May 1550; pc 23 Apr 1543–July 1553; steward manors of Bromsgrove, Clifton, Droitwich, King's Norton, and Oddingley and lordship of Feckenham, all in Worc, and keeper forest of Feckenham, Worc, 3 Aug 1543; lord chamberlain of the household 17 Feb 1547–1 Feb 1550; lord pres Council in the Marches of Wales 1549–50; lord lieut Warw 1550; lord steward of the household 20 Feb 1550–3; lord pres of the privy council Feb 1550–July 1553; earl marshal 20 Apr 1551. Seats at Halden, Kent, Chelsea and Syon, Midd, and Dudley Castle, Staff; residence at Durham House, the Strand, Midd; lands in Heref, Warw, and Worc.

players	1531–2 (40)
	1532–3 (43)
	1535–6 (46)

**Lord Admiral** *see* Charles Howard *under* Howard.

### Lord Chamberlain

Thomas Radcliffe (c 1525 or 1526–9 June 1583), styled Lord FitzWalter 27 Nov 1542–53; succ as 8th earl of Sussex, and 3rd Viscount and 9th Lord FitzWalter 17 Feb 1556/7. Chief



justice in eyre south of Trent 3 July 1557 until death; *pc* 30 Dec 1570; lord chamberlain of the household 13 July 1572 until death. Seats at New Hall and Woodham Walther, Essex.

players (as earl of Sussex)	1569-70 (79)
	1572-3 (82-3)
players	1574-5 (110)
	1575-6 (112)
	1578-9 (118)

George Carey (1547-8 Sept 1603), son of Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon, *qv* under **Hunsdon**; succ as 2nd Baron Hunsdon 23 Jul 1596. Knight marshal of the household 8 Oct 1577; *pc* and lord chamberlain of the household 17 Apr 1597-4 May 1603. Seats at Hunsdon, Herts, and Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight; house at Blackfriars, London.

players	1596-7 (150)
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### Lord of Cinque Ports

Probably

Arthur Plantagenet (c 1480-3 Mar 1541/2), natural son of Edward iv; *cr* 6th Viscount Lisle 25 Apr 1523; imprisoned in the Tower 19 May 1540; pardoned Feb 1541/2. Warden and keeper forest and parks of Clarendon, Wilts, and forest of Grovely, Wilts, 26 Nov 1524; vice adm 1525; gov Calais 23 Mar 1533-40; warden Cinque Ports, Kent and Sussex, 1536 until death; *pc* 1540. Lands in Warw and Wilts.

players	1539-40 (49)
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**Lord Marquess** *see* under **Dorset**.

### Lord President

Either

Ralph Eure (24 Sept 1558-1 Apr 1617), succ as 3rd Lord Eure 12 Feb 1593/4. Lord pres Council in the Marches of Wales and lord lieut Heref, Worc, and Wales 12 Sept 1607-17. Seats at Ingleby Greenhow, Malton, and Stokesley, all in Yorks NR.

or

Edmund Sheffield *see* under **Sheffield**.

players	1609-10 (171)
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**Master of the Ordnance** *see* Ambrose Dudley under **Warwick**.

### Morley

Edward Parker (c 1551-1 Apr 1618), imprisoned Apr 1573; succ as 12th Lord Morley 22 Oct 1577. JP Somers 1584, 1608. Lands in North Tuddenham, Norf.

player/s	1582-3 (124)
players	1599-1600 (155)

**Mountjoy**

James Blount (c 1533–20 Oct 1581), succ as 6th Lord Mountjoy 10 Oct 1544. JP Wilts 1562, 1564; comm of oyer and terminer Somers and Wilts 1564; shareholder in the company of Mines Royal in various counties including Glouc, Worc, and Wales 28 May 1568. Seat at Apethorpe, Northants; house in London.

players 1566–7 (73)

**Norfolk**

Thomas Howard (10 Mar 1537/8–2 June 1572), styled earl of Surrey; restored in blood and honours 2 Sept 1553; succ as 9th duke of Norfolk and 15th earl of Surrey 25 Aug 1554; imprisoned in the Tower 8 Oct 1569–3 Aug 1570; recommitted to Tower by 20 Oct 1571; attainted 16 Jan 1571/2 and beheaded 2 June 1572. Hereditary earl marshal 25 Aug 1554; pc Nov 1562. Seat at Kenninghall, Norf; residence at the Charterhouse, Midd.

bearward 1568–9 (76)

**Oxford**

John de Vere (c 1516–3 Aug 1562), styled Lord Bolebec 1526 until he succ as 16th earl of Oxford 21 Mar 1539/40. pc 3 Sept 1553. Seat at Hedingham Castle, Essex; manor at Earls Colne, Essex; lands in Somers and Wilts.

players 1556–7 (62)  
1557–8 (63)  
1559–60 (65)

Edward de Vere (12 Apr 1550–24 June 1604), son of John de Vere, 16th earl of Oxford, *qv*; styled Lord Bolebec until he succ as 17th earl of Oxford 3 Aug 1562; imprisoned in the Tower c Mar–8 June 1581. Lord great chamberlain 3 Aug 1562. Seats at Hedingham Castle, Essex, and Hackney, Midd.

players 1580–1 (122)  
1582–3 (123)

**Palsgrave**

Frederick Wittelsbach (26 Aug 1596–29 Nov 1632), son of Palsgrave Frederick iv and Louisa Juliana of Orange-Nassau; succ as palsgrave of the Rhine 19 Sept 1610; m., 14 Feb 1612/13, Elizabeth Stuart, *qv* under **Lady Elizabeth**; crowned king of Bohemia 4 Nov 1619; deposed 8 Nov 1619.

players 1617–18 (207)

Charles Louis Wittelsbach (22 Dec 1617–28 Aug 1680), son of Frederick Wittelsbach, *qv*, and Elizabeth Stuart, *qv* under **Lady Elizabeth**; exiled in England by 28 Nov 1635–Mar 1649; restored as elector palatine 1648. Residence at Somerset House, the Strand, Midd.

players 1630–1 (234)

**Pembroke**

Henry Herbert (after 1538–19 Jan 1601), styled Lord Herbert 1551 until he succ as 21st earl of Pembroke and Baron Herbert of Cardiff, Glam, Wales 17 Mar 1569/70. Jr keeper Clarendon Forest, Wilts, and bailiff of the water of the Avon from Harnham Bridge, Wilts, to the sea 26 June 1553; JP Salisbury, Wilts, 1569, Wilts 1570, and Worc 1584; comm of musters Wilts by 1569, 1573, 1574; lord lieut Wilts 4 Apr 1570, Somers 3 July 1585, and Heref, Worc, and Wales 24 Feb 1587; warden of Pewsham and Blackmore Forests, steward of the manor of Devizes, and keeper of parks of Holm and West Park in the manor of Corsham, all in Wilts, and constable and keeper of Bristol Castle 15 May 1570; constable of St Briavel's Castle, keeper of the forest of Dean, and bailiff of the manor of Lydney, all in Glouc, for life by 18 Nov 1577; high steward Salisbury, Wilts, by 16 Dec 1582; lord pres Council in the Marches of Wales Mar 1586 until death; vice adm of South Wales c 1586. Seat at Cardiff Castle, Glam, Wales; residences at Ludlow Castle, Shrops, and Wilton, Wilts.

players	1596–7 (150)
	1597–8 (152)
	1598–9 (154)
	1599–1600 (155)

**Prince**

Edward Tudor (12 Oct 1537–6 July 1553), son of Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**, and Jane Seymour; acc as Edward VI 28 Jan 1546/7; crowned 20 Feb 1547; Edward Seymour, 5th duke of Somerset, *qv* under **Somerset**, appointed protector.

players	1540–1 (50, 51)
bearward	1543–4 (54)
bearward (as king)	1547–8 (57)

*See also* Charles Stuart *under* **King**.

**Princess** *see* Mary Tudor *under* **Queen**.

**Queen**

Katherine of Arragon (16 Dec 1485–7 Jan 1536), da of Ferdinand V of Castile and Arragon and Isabel of Castile and Leon, Spain; m. 1st, 14 Nov 1501, Arthur, prince of Wales (d. 2 Apr 1502), m. 2nd, 11 June 1509, Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**; crowned 24 June 1509; marriage declared null and void 23 May 1533.

minstrel/s	1518–19 (30, 31)
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Catherine Parr (c 1512–5 Sept 1548), da of Thomas Parr and Maud Green; m. 1st, Edward Borough (d. bef Apr 1533), m. 2nd, 1533, John Neville, 3rd Lord Latimer (d. 2 Mar 1542/3), m. 3rd, 12 July 1543, Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**, m. 4th, 1547, Thomas Seymour, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, Glouc.

players	1547–8 (57)
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Mary Tudor (18 Feb 1516–17 Nov 1558), da of Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**, and Katherine of Arragon, *qv*; acc as Mary I of England 19 July 1553; crowned 1 Oct 1553; m., 25 July 1554, Philip, king of Naples and Jerusalem, and king of Spain, *qv* under **King**, from 16 Jan 1556.

players (lady princess)	1532–3 (42)
player/s	1556–7 (61)

Elizabeth Tudor (7 Sept 1533–24 Mar 1603), da of Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**, and Anne Boleyn; acc as Elizabeth I 17 Nov 1558; crowned 15 Jan 1559.

players	1559–60 (65)
	1561–2 (67)
	1562–3 (69)
	1565–6 (72)
	1566–7 (73)
	1568–9 (76)
	1571–2 (81)
	1582–3 (124)
	1585–6 (128)
	1586–7 (131)
	1587–8 (133)
	1589–90 (135)
	1590–1 (140)
	1591–2 (142)
	1593–4 (145)
	1595–6 (148)
	1596–7 (150)
	1597–8 (151)
bearward	1569–70 (78)
	1570–1 (80)
	1574–5 (110)
	1575–6 (112)
	1576–7 (114)
	1579–80 (119)
tumblers	1587–8 (133)
	1589–90 (135–6)

Anne of Denmark (12 Dec 1574–2 Mar 1619), da of Frederick II of Denmark and Norway and Sophia of Mecklenburg; m., 20 Aug 1589, James VI of Scotland (later James I of England), *qv* under **King**; crowned queen of England 25 July 1603.

revels	1612–13 (173)
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### Rich

Robert Rich (*c* 1537–27 Feb 1580/1), son of Richard Rich, 1st Baron Rich; succ as 2nd Baron Rich 12 June 1567. Seats at Leighs Priory and Rochford Hall, Essex.

players	1567–8 (75)
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**Richmond**

Henry Fitzroy (c 1519–22 Jul 1536), natural son of Henry VIII, *qv* under **King**; cr 1st duke of Richmond, 4th duke of Somerset, and 9th earl of Nottingham 18 June 1525. Lord high adm 16 Jul 1525 until death. Residences included Sheriff Hutton, Yorks NR, and Pontefract, Yorks WR.

bearward	1531–2 (41)
bearwards	1534–5 (45)
	1535–6 (46)
players	1532–3 (42)

**Russell**

John Russell (c 1485–14 Mar 1554/5), cr Baron Russell 9 Mar 1538/9; 3rd earl of Bedford 19 Jan 1549/50. Sheriff Somers 16 Nov 1527; PC 1536 until death; comptroller of the household 18 Oct 1537–9; chief steward and receiver manors of Curry Mallet and Stoke sub Hamden, Somers, 23 Feb 1538; pres Council in the West, 12 Apr 1539; JP Somers 1539–41, 1543–4, 1547, Berks 1540, 1543–4, 1547, Oxf 1540, 1542, 1544, 1547, Wilts 1540, 1543–4, 1547, Glouc 1542, 1544, 1547, Warw 1542, 1544–5, 1547, Worc 1542, 1544, 1547, Heref 1543, 1547, and Monm, Wales, 1543–4; lord high adm 28 July 1540–17 Jan 1543; comm of oyer and terminer Somers 1540–5, Berks, Oxf, and Wilts 1541–5; lord keeper of the privy seal 3 Dec 1542 until death; comm of array Glouc, Somers, and Wales 1545; lord lieut Somers 1545 and 1549–53. Seats at Chenies, Bucks and Berwick, Dors; residence at Russell House, the Strand, Midd; lands in Berks and Somers.

players	1540–1 (51)
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**Sheffield**

Edmund Sheffield (7 Dec 1565–Oct 1646), succ as 3rd Baron Sheffield (of Butterwick, in the Isle of Axholme, Linc) 10 Dec 1568; cr earl of Mulgrave 5 Feb 1625/6. Lord pres Council of the North by 22 July 1603–by 11 Feb 1618/19. Seat at King's Manor, Yorks.

players	1577–8 (116)
	1579–80 (120)

*See also* **Lord President**

**Shrewsbury**

George Talbot (c 1522–18 Nov 1590), styled Lord Talbot 1538–60; styled earl of Waterford and Wexford; succ as 9th earl of Shrewsbury, Sept 1560. Constable Wigmore Castle, Heref, steward lordships and manors Presteign, Presteign Llanandras, Norton, Gatley, Heref, and keeper Wigmore Park, Heref, all for life 14 Dec 1555; chamberlain of the receipt of the exchequer 14 Dec 1555–14 Sept 1587; warden, chief justice and justice in eyre of crown forests, parks, chases, and warrens beyond the North 30 May 1557; custodian of Mary, queen of Scots 2 Feb 1568/9–6 Sept 1584; PC 12 Dec 1571; lord high steward for the trial of the duke of Norfolk

16 Jan 1571/2; earl marshal of England 2 Jan 1572/3–14 Sept 1587; trier of Mary queen of Scots 6 Oct 1586. Seat Sheffield Castle, Yorks.

bearward

1566–7 (73)

### Somerset

Edward Seymour (c 1500–22 Jan 1551/2), cr 1st Viscount Beauchamp 5 June 1536; cr 8th earl of Hertford 18 Oct 1537; cr Baron Seymour 15 Feb 1546/7; cr 5th duke of Somerset 16 Feb 1546/7; deprived of all offices and imprisoned in the Tower 14 Oct 1549–6 Feb 1549/50; pardoned 16 Feb 1549/50; imprisoned in the Tower 16 Oct 1551; beheaded 22 Jan 1551/2. Jt constable Bristol Castle 15 July 1517; JP Wilts 1525–6, 1529, 1532, 1538–9, 1543, 1547, Somers 1538–41, 1543–4, 1547, Berks, Glouc, Heref, Oxf, and Worc 1547; steward manors of Charlton and Henstridge, Somers, 5 Mar 1528/9; PC 1537 and 10 Apr 1550; lord high adm 28 Dec 1542/3; lord great chamberlain 16 Feb 1542/3–17 Feb 1546/7; councillor of regency and lieu of the realm 9 July 1544; protector of the realm 12 Mar 1546/7; lord treasurer of the exchequer 10 Feb 1546/7; earl marshal 17 Feb 1547; lord lieu Berks 10 May 1551. Seats at Hatch, Somers, and Wolf Hall, Wilts; residence at Somerset House, Strand, Midd; lands in Berks, Glouc, Herts, Oxf, Somers, and Wilts.

players (as earl of Hertford)

1539–40 (49)

players

1550–1 (59)

### Stafford

Edward Stafford (17 Jan 1535/6–18 Oct 1603), succ as 12th Baron Stafford 1 Jan 1565/6. MP Banbury, Oxf, 1554; JP Glouc by 1573/4; vice adm Glouc 1587; member Council in the Marches of Wales Aug 1601. Seat at Stafford Castle, Staff.

players

1598–9 (153)

### Strange

Ferdinando Stanley (c 1559–16 Apr 1594), son of Henry Stanley, 13th earl of Derby, *qv* under Derby, and br of William Stanley, 15th earl of Derby, *qv* under Derby; styled Lord Strange from 1572; summ to parl as Lord Strange 28 Jan 1588/9; succ as 14th earl of Derby and lord of the Isle of Man 25 Sept 1593. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc, and Knockin, Shrops.

players

1580–1 (121, 122)

1591–2 (142)

1592–3 (144)

*See also* Henry Stanley *under* Derby.

### Suffolk

Charles Brandon (c 1484–22 Aug 1545), cr 5th Viscount Lisle 15 May 1513 and 4th duke of Suffolk 1 Feb 1513/14; surrendered viscounty 20 Apr 1523. PC bef 15 May 1513 until death; steward various manors in Glouc, Oxf, Warw, and Worc, 6 June 1513 and 27 June 1515; earl marshal 21 May 1524–20 May 1533; JP Berks 1525–6, 1530, 1538, 1541, 1543–4, Oxf 1526,

1531, 1536-7, 1541-2, 1544-5, Glouc 1531, 1537, 1539-40, 1542, 1544, Heref 1531, 1538, 1540-1, 1543, Somers 1531, 1538-41, 1543-4, Warw 1531-2, 1537-9, 1542, 1544-5, Wilts 1531-2, 1537-9, 1543, Worc 1531-2, 1537, 1538-40, 1542, 1544, Oxford, Oxf, 1541, and Monm, Wales, 1543-4; pres privy council Feb 1529/30 until death; comm of gaol of delivery Oxford Castle, Oxf, 1530; chief justice in eyre south of Trent 27 Nov 1534 until death; lord steward of the household bef 13 Apr 1540 until death; comm of oyer and terminer Glouc, Heref, Somers, and Worc 1540; comm of array Berks, Heref, Oxf, Wilts, and Worc 1545. Seat at Tattershall Castle, Linc; lands in Wilts.

bearward

1531-2 (40)

### Suffolk (duchess)

Katherine Willoughby (22 Mar 1518/19-19 Sept 1580), *de jure suo jure* 12th Baroness Willoughby de Eresby (of Eresby, Linc); m. 1st, c 7 Sept 1533, Charles Brandon, 4th duke of Suffolk d. 22 Aug 1545), *qv*, m. 2nd, probably early 1553, Richard Bertie; fled England 5 Feb 1554/5; returned summer 1559. Residence at Westhorpe, Suff, from c 1528; principal seats at Grimsthorpe and Tattershall Castle, Linc.

players

1560-1 (66)

1562-3 (68)

### Sussex

Robert Radcliffe (c 1483-27 Nov 1542), restored as 7th Lord FitzWalter 3 Nov 1505; cr 1st Viscount FitzWalter 18 June 1525 and 6th earl of Sussex 8 Dec 1529. *pc* by 5 Feb 1525/6; chamberlain of the exchequer 3 June 1532 until death; lord chamberlain for life 3 Aug 1540. Seat at Attleborough, Norf; lands in Somers.

players

1541-2 (52)

Henry Radcliffe (by 1533-14 Dec 1593), br of Thomas, 8th earl of Sussex, *qv* under **Lord Chamberlain**; succ as 9th earl of Sussex, 4th Viscount and 10th Lord FitzWalter 9 June 1583. Seat at New Hall, Boreham, Essex.

players

1586-7 (131)

1590-1 (140)

Robert Radcliffe (12 June 1573-22 Sept 1629), son of Henry, 9th earl of Sussex, *qv*; styled Lord FitzWalter until he succ as 10th earl of Sussex, 5th Viscount and 11th Lord FitzWalter 14 Dec 1593. Family estate at Attleborough, Norf.

players

1608-9 (168)

*See also* Thomas Radcliffe *under* **Lord Chamberlain**.

### Vaux

William Vaux (bef 14 Aug 1535-20 Aug 1595), succ as 3rd Lord Vaux by Oct 1556; im-

prisoned in the Fleet 18 Aug 1581; probably released bet Oct and Dec 1588. Seat at Harrowden, Northants.

bearward	1558-9 (64)
	1563-4 (70)

### Warwick

Ambrose Dudley (c 1528-21 Feb 1589/90), br of Robert Dudley, *qv* under **Leicester**; styled Lord Ambrose Dudley from Oct 1551; imprisoned and attainted 1553, pardoned 22 Jan 1554/5, and restored in blood 7 Mar 1557/8; cr Baron Lisle 25 Dec, and 21st earl of Warwick 26 Dec 1561. Constable Kenilworth Castle, Warw, and keeper of the park there 20 Dec 1549; master of the ordnance, for life 12 Apr 1560; JP Warw 1562, 1564; lord lieut Warw and Coventry, Warw, Nov 1569-Nov 1570 and by 9 Oct 1587 until death; comm of musters Warw 1569, 1579, 1580, Berks, Oxf 1579, 1580; PC 5 Sept 1573. Seat at Warwick Castle, Warw; lands in Warw and Worc.

players (as Lord Andrew Dudley, master of the ordnance)	1559-60 (65)
players	1561-2 (68)

### Wentworth

Thomas Wentworth (1501-3 Mar 1550/1), *de jure* 6th Lord le Despenser; cr 1st Lord Wentworth 2 Dec 1529. Member royal household Mar 1526/7; PC on or before 9 Oct 1549; lord chamberlain of the household Feb 1549/50 until death. Seat at Nettlestead, Suff.

players	1543-4 (55)
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### Westmorland

Ralph Neville (21 Feb 1497/8-24 April 1549), styled Lord Neville 1498-9; succ as 4th earl of Westmorland 6 Feb 1499. PC bef 5 Feb 1525/6; member Council of the North 14 Jan 1536/7. Seat at Brancepeth, Durham.

bearward	1531-2 (40)
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### Worcester

William Somerset (c 1527-21 Feb 1588/9), styled Lord Herbert until succ as 8th earl of Worcester 26 Nov 1549. Member Council in the Marches of Wales Nov 1553 and from 1576; JP Glouc, Heref, and Worc 1554, and Monm, Wales, 1562, 1564; comm of musters Monm, Wales, 1579-80. Seat at Raglan, Monm, Wales; residence at Hackney, Midd.

players	1562-3 (69)
	1563-4 (70)
	1567-8 (75)
	1568-9 (76)
	1570-1 (79)
	1572-3 (82)
	1573-4 (85)
	1574-5 (111)



Edward Somerset (c 1550–3 Mar 1627/8), son of William Somerset, 8th earl of Worcester, *qv*; styled Lord Herbert until succ as 9th earl of Worcester and Baron Herbert 21 Feb 1588/9. Member Council in the Marches of Wales 16 Dec 1590; *pc* 29 June 1601; lord lieut Glam and Monm, both in Wales, sole 17 July 1602 and *jt* 3 Dec 1626 until death; comm of custos rot Monm, Wales, June 1603; *jp* Worc 1608, 1626, Somers 1626; lord keeper of the privy seal 2 Jan 1615/16 until death. Seat at Raglan, Monm, Wales; residence at Hackney, Midd.  
 players 1597–8 (152)

## Companies Named By Location

### Coventry, Warw

players 1570–1 (79)

### Hereford, Heref

waits 1579–80 (121)

### London

players 1532–3 (42)



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# Glossaries: Introduction

The purpose of the glossaries is to assist the reader in working through the text. The criteria for the selection of glossary entries are discussed below under the headings Latin Glossary and English Glossary. The glossaries include words found in records printed or quoted in the Records, Introduction, Appendixes, and Endnotes. Definitions are given only for those senses of a particular word which are used in the records printed in this collection. Within references, page and line numbers are separated by an oblique stroke. Words occurring within marginalia are indicated by a lower-case 'm' following the page and line reference. If the glossed word occurs twice in a single line, superscript numerals are used after the line number to distinguish the occurrences. Manuscript capitalization has not been preserved; however, if proper names are glossed, they are capitalized in accordance with modern usage.

## Latin Glossary

Words are included in the Latin Glossary if they are not to be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*), now the standard reference work for classical Latin. Words listed in the *OLD* whose meaning has changed or become restricted in medieval or Renaissance usage are also glossed. If a word is found in the *OLD* but appears in the text in an obscure spelling or anomalous inflectional form for which the *OLD* provides no cross-reference, that word has been included and its standard lexical entry form indicated, without giving a definition. If the spelling variants or anomalous inflectional forms have been treated as scribal errors and more correct forms given in textual notes, the forms thus noted are not repeated in the glossary. Adverbs formed regularly from adjectives listed in the *OLD* whose meaning is unchanged from the CL senses of those adjectives are not included in the Latin Glossary, for instance, 'detestabiliter' from *OLD* 'detestabilis.'

Most of the Latin words used in the Records are common classical words whose spelling has changed, if at all, according to common medieval variations. The results of these common variations are not treated here as new words, nor are forms of glossed words resulting from such variations cross-referenced. These variations are:

- ML c for CL t before i
- ML cc for CL ct before i
- ML d for CL t in a final position
- ML e for CL ae or oe
- ML ff for CL f, common in an initial position
- ML addition of h

ML omission of CL h

ML variation between i and e before another vowel

ML n for CL m before another nasal

Intrusion of ML p in CL consonant clusters mm, mn, ms, or mt

ML doubling of CL single consonants

ML singling of CL double consonants

No attempt has been made to correct these spellings to classical norms; rather, scribal practice has been followed in such cases. Where the same word occurs in spellings which differ according to the list above, the most common spelling (or the earliest, when numbers of occurrences are roughly equal) is treated as standard and used for the headword. However, the practice of the *OLD* has been used as regards 'i/j' and 'u/v' variation: in this glossary only the letter forms 'i' and 'u' are used. The genitive singular of first declension nouns appears only as the ML '-e.' All listed variant spellings will be found under the headword, at the end of the definition, set apart in boldface type. Where the variant spelling would not closely follow the headword alphabetically, it is also listed separately and cross-referenced to the main entry.

It is difficult to know in some cases whether certain words are being used in a CL sense or in one of the modified senses acquired in Anglo-Latin usage during the Middle Ages. In these circumstances, the range of possibilities has been fully indicated under the appropriate lexical entry. Unclear, technical, or archaic terms, especially those pertaining to canon or common law, performance, and music, are usually given a stock translation equivalent but receive a fuller treatment in the glossary.

As a rule, only one occurrence of each word, or each sense or form of each word, will be listed; 'etc' following a reference means that there is at least one more occurrence of that word, sense, or form in this collection. The one occurrence listed is either the sole occurrence or the first chronologically. Multiple occurrences of each sense may be listed for words defined in more than one sense.

All headwords are given in a standard dictionary form: nouns are listed by nominative, genitive, and gender; adjectives by the terminations of the nominative singular or, in the case of adjectives of one termination, by the nominative and genitive; verbs by their principal parts.

### English Glossary

The English Glossary is not meant to be exhaustive but only to explain words, senses, or spellings apt to puzzle users not familiar with markedly provincial Late Middle and Early Modern English. Accordingly words and senses given in *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (NSOED)* have nearly always been passed over as have their obvious derivatives. Abbreviations have also been omitted if they are still current or widely known as have forms whose only difficulty is a false word division, errors corrected in the footnotes, and matter corrected and replaced by the original scribe. No attempt has been made to gloss words left incomplete by damage to the source texts. Readers are also expected to recognize such spelling variations as 'au/a,' 'c/s,' 'e/e,' 'ic/c(e),' 'i/j,' 'i/y,' 'o/oo,' 'o/ou,' 'o/u,' 's/z,' 'sch/sh,' 'u/v,' and the presence or absence of final 'e' in the contexts where they commonly occur in older literature. They are presumed to have read enough old-spelling texts to know the values of 'þ,' '3' and 'y' used for 'þ' and to recognize commonly occurring forms that are nearer to their Old English or Old French originals than the modern standard spelling, such as 'gretter,' 'hider,' 'raunson,' and 'vawtyng.' Thomas Churchyard used his own peculiar system of phonetic spelling but his most common habit – placing an 'e' right after another vowel where normal spelling would have either employed a double vowel or put the 'e' at the end of the word – has

been assumed to offer no difficulty after the first few encounters and is here ignored. Nor are his spellings glossed when they suggest fairly well either the modern pronunciation of the word in question (eg, 'sottell' 96/23) or one that was in wide and common use at the time (eg, 'harold,' 180/14).

A fuller treatment has, however, been given to certain words and phrases likely to hold special interest for users of a REED volume. These are chiefly names of musical instruments (eg, 'rebicke') and the specialized vocabularies of civic government (eg, 'chambre'), popular custom and pastime (eg, 'dedycacion day'), and the performing arts (eg, 'pagent'). Additional information on social history has been provided in a very few places where it seemed helpful (eg, 'Barbarians') but wherever possible this has been placed in the Endnotes instead.

Normal headword forms are the uninflected singular for nouns, the positive for adjectives, and the infinitive for verbs but nouns occurring only in the plural or possessive, adjectives occurring only in comparative or superlative forms, and verbs occurring only in one participial or finite form are entered under the form that actually occurs. A verbal noun is subsumed under the infinitive when other parts of the same verb are also entered (eg, 'baryn' under 'ber').

The capitalization of headwords conforms to modern usage. A word appearing in several noteworthy spellings is normally entered under the one most often found in the text or else – when two noticed spellings are equally or nearly equally common – under the one nearer modern usage. Occasionally, however, the spelling of the earliest occurrence is preferred if it is close to the most common spelling, to limit the number of variants given. Other noticed spellings are mostly entered in alphabetical order and cross-referenced to the main entry but to save space, some restraint has been applied; the user is expected, for instance, to seek inflectional forms such as 'playnge' under 'play' and to take 'pleye *see* play' as a notice that 'pley(e)ng' will also be found there. As a rule only the earliest occurrence is cited for each inflectional form entered and further occurrences are represented by 'etc,' unless the reader needs to be alerted that the sense in question applies in particular later passages. Two citations given without 'etc' mean that the form or sense in question occurs only twice.

Where the definition repeats the headword in a different spelling, the latter is normally the entry spelling in *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* and further information can be found there. When that form is itself an archaism or ambiguous, a further brief definition usually follows. Any further citation of an authority or other succinct account of the glossarian's reasoning appears within square brackets at the end of the entry.

### Anglo-Norman Glossary

There is no glossary for the Anglo-Norman document found under 1391–2. Although sufficiently involved to qualify for translation by REED guidelines, the vocabulary is found in standard reference works for Anglo-Norman.

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### Abbreviations

abbrev	abbreviation	m	masculine
abl	ablative	Matt	Matthew
acc	accusative	ML	Medieval Latin
adj	adjective	n	noun
adv	adverb	nt	neuter
AL	Anglo-Latin	OE	Old English
art	article	OF	Old French
CL	Classical Latin	ON	Old Norse
coll	collective	pa	past tense
comm	common gender	pass	passive voice
comp	compound	phr	phrase
compar	comparative	pl	plural
conj	conjunction	poss	possessive
cp	compare	pp	past participle
dat	dative	pr	present tense
e	English	prep	preposition
f	feminine	pron	pronoun
gen	genitive	prt	present participle
imper	imperative	sbst	substantive
interj	interjection	sg	singular
intr	intransitive	subj	subjunctive
Isa	Isaiah	tr	transitive
L	Latin	v	verb
LL	Late Latin	vb	verbal

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# Latin Glossary

ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

**accedo, -dere, -ssi, -ssum** *v intr with 'ad' + acc* to come to, attend, visit 5/36

**adherens, -ntis** *sbst comm* follower, adherent 4/38

**Altissimus, -i** *sbst m* the Most High, used as a divine title 6/27

**Anglice** *adv* in the English language 134/1, etc

**annuatim** *adv* yearly, on an annual basis 6/38

**annus, -i** *n m* year; see **dominus, gracia, per**

**apostolus, -i** *n m* apostle, one of the first followers of Jesus 6/24; as part of the name of a Bristol church 3/28, etc; see also **festum**

**apparatus, -us** *n m* gear, outfit, clothing; *here in idioms duplex apparatus* literally double clothing, hence two outfits or sets of clothing 55/20, etc and *singularis apparatus* literally single clothing, hence one outfit or set of clothing 157/15;

**apparatus** 74/23

**apprenticia, -e** *n f* (female) apprentice, one bound to a craftsman or other master for a term of years in order to learn certain skills 152/31

**apprenticiatus, -us** *n m* the period or term of being an apprentice, apprenticeship 219/1

**apprenticius, -i** *n m* (male) apprentice, one bound to a craftsman or other master for a term of years in order to learn certain skills 55/17, etc; *by extension* **apprenticius curie** literally apprentice of the court, hence a junior barrister 6/28–9

**archidiaconus, -i** *n m* archdeacon, cleric appointed by a bishop to assist him principally in administering justice and in supervising parochial clergy 5/8, etc

**ars, -tis** *n f* skill, craft, especially that associated with a particular trade or guild 55/18, etc

**articulum, -i** *n nt* article, part of a series of charges or allegations upon which witnesses are questioned 164/33

**balliuus, -i** *n m* bailiff, a civic officer 6/38

**beatus, -a, -um** *adj* blessed, as the title of a saint, especially the Virgin Mary 4/40, etc

**benedicchio, -onis** *n f* blessing 5/9

**breue, -is** *sbst nt* (legal) writ; **breue de priuato sigillo** a writ issued under the royal privy seal 204/6

**Bristolia, -e** *n f* Bristol, name of a city 3/6m, etc

**burgensis, -is** *n m* burgess, one enjoying the privileges, or freedom, of a city 6/26

**cantaria, -e** *n f* chantry, an altar or chapel established by an individual for the singing of masses for his own soul and those of his friends or family 5/33 [ODCC]

**capellanus, -i** *n m* chaplain, a priest having charge of a chapel, here a chantry chapel 5/32, etc

**carcer, -eris** *n f* gaol, here a prison within the royal castle 4/15, etc; see also **custos**

**carmen, -inis** *n nt* poem, song, here one in honour of a supposed martyr 5/1, etc

**castrum, -i** *n nt* (royal) castle 3/24, etc

**cathedralis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to the see of a bishop or his church; see **ecclesia**

**celebro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to celebrate the eucharist or another divine service 5/34

**chithera, -e** *n f* literally a lyre, in *AL* usage, often a harp, possibly used generically for other plucked-string instruments 6/31

- cimiterium**, -ii *n nt* churchyard 3/28, etc
- clericus**, -i *n m* cleric, one in holy orders 3/26
- clerus**, -i *n m* clergy as opposed to laity 5/21
- cohercio**, -onis *n f* for *coercitio* [OLD]
- comitatus**, -us *n m* county 3/5, etc
- comunnia**, -e *n f* commonalty, corporate body made up of the freemen of a borough 3/5m
- complex**, -icis *sbst comm* accomplice (to a crime) 3/24, etc
- composicio**, -onis *n f* writing, composition, here of a poem, apparently one intended to be sung 5/14
- confuga**, -e *n m* fugitive 3/27
- congregacio**, -onis *n f* gathering, meeting, assembly 5/37
- congrue** *adv* fittingly, suitably, appropriately 5/19
- conquestus**, -us *n m* Norman conquest 6/25
- consideracio**, -onis *n f* consideration, here in *idiom* in **consideracione** + *gen* in consideration of, in return for 133/39
- constabularius**, -ii *n m* constable, a royal officer in charge of a castle and its fortifications 3/23, etc
- contrauenio**, -ire, -i, -tum *v tr* to violate or contravene (eg, an order or decree) 3/13
- coronator**, -oris *n m* coroner, a royal officer whose responsibilities included jurisdiction over cases of accidental or violent death 3/8; see also **uisus culpabilis**, -e *adj* guilty (as a plea or verdict in a court) 3/10
- curia**, -e *n f* law court; see **apprenticius**
- custos**, -odis *n m* literally guardian, keeper; hence as a title of office: **custos carceris** keeper of the gaol, gaoler 4/15
- damisella**, -e *n f* a young woman, damsel 6/31
- datum**, -i *sbst nt* date (of a document or letter) 55/19
- decanus**, -i *n m* a rural dean, a priest supervising a deanery, an administrative division of a diocese which also functioned as a court division for the diocesan courts 5/8
- decollacio**, -onis *n f* beheading 3/20, etc
- decollator**, -oris *n m* one who beheads, hence a headsman 4/14m, etc
- deferro**, -rre, -tuli, -latum *v tr* 1. bring or bear (something) back 4/2; 2. **deferre in publico** 5/2 (or **in publicum** 5/13) to make (something) public or known
- denarius**, -ii *n m* a penny 133/39
- depono**, -onere, -osui, -ositum *v tr* to depose, make a formal statement or give evidence before a court 164/33, etc
- Deuonia**, -e *n f* Devon, name of a county 58/34
- diuisim** *adv* individually, separately 5/23
- dominus**, -i *n m* lord, here as a divine title in *idiom* **annus domini** year of the Lord, AD 6/24, etc
- duplex**, -icis *adj* double; see **apparatus**
- ecclesia**, -e *n f* 1. specific church or church building 3/27, etc; **ecclesia cathedralis** cathedral, a bishop's seat 3/21–2; 2. the church as a corporate or spiritual body 5/20
- ecclesiasticus**, -a, -um *adj* ecclesiastical, of or pertaining to the church; see **immunitas**
- enormis**, -e *adj* literally, exceeding the standard, excessive, hence outrageous, awful; *nt pl* as *sbst* outrageous actions, criminal acts 3/25, etc
- enormiter** *adv* excessively, outrageously, terribly 3/25
- episcopus**, -i *n m* bishop, member of the highest of the major orders of clergy, the other two being deacon ('diaconus') and priest ('presbyter' or 'sacerdos') 3/21
- error**, -oris *n m* error, mistake, here by extension error in doctrine or faith 5/18
- Essexia**, -e *n f* Essex, name of a county 55/16
- examino**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to examine (a person or a case) judicially, used of a judge 164/33
- excessus**, -us *n m* excessive behaviour, acts of misconduct, crime 3/20
- extraccio**, -onis *n f* fact of dragging out or away, removal 4/37
- extraho**, -here, -xi, -ctum *v tr* to draw (something) out of 4/1, etc
- extunc** *adv* from then on, thenceforward 55/19, etc
- festum**, -i *n nt* festival, feast, hence a specific feast day or festival (secular or religious): **festum sancti Bartholomei apostoli** feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle, 24 August 6/24; **festum**



- sancti Georgij martiris** feast of St George the Martyr, 23 April 7/3
- festus, -a, -um** *adj* festive, festal, hence **dies festi** holidays 134/13
- filius, -ii** *n* *m* son: 1. *literally* 6/26, etc; also used as name element **Nicholas filius Neel**, Nicholas fitz Neel 4/6; 2. *by extension* (describing the relationship between the Persons of the Trinity) the Son 6/23; 3. describing a symbolic or spiritual relationship between a bishop and the clergy of his diocese, especially his administrative subordinates 5/8; **fillius** (sense 1) 157/12
- furrura, -e** *n* f garment made from or trimmed with fur 6/41
- Gloucesteria, -e** *n* *f* Gloucester, name of a county 3/5, etc, and an archdeanery in the diocese of Worcester 5/8
- gracia, -e** *n* *f* 1. grace, a divine gift operating in human beings to sanctify, regenerate, and strengthen (often used in conventional salutation at opening of a letter) 5/9; 2. grace, divine favour 3/21; 3. *in idiom* **annus gratie** year of grace, equivalent to AD 3/22
- gratus, -a, -um** *adj* agreeable, pleasant; see **habeo**
- guinterna, -e** *n* *f* gittern, a type of small lute 6/31 [see *New Grove gittern, figure 1*]
- habeo, -ere, -ui, -itum** *n* *tr* 1. to have, possess 125/1; 2. to regard, consider (something as) (*with n + predicate adj*): **gratam habere** to regard (an action) as pleasant, hence, to be pleased at 4/19; **ratam habere** to regard (an action) as valid or established, hence, to approve it 4/37
- immunitas, -atis** *n* *f* immunity, exemption, here *in idiom* **ecclesiastica immunitas** ecclesiastical immunity, the church's freedom from secular jurisdiction over the clergy and consecrated buildings or other spaces 3/25
- infortunium, -ii** *n* *nt* misfortune, accident 3/7 [Black's]
- instrumentum, -i** *n* *nt* musical instrument 59/37, etc
- intromitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v* *tr* *literally* to admit to or introduce, here *in idiom* **se intromittere** (*with 'de' + abl*) to involve oneself in, engage in 5/36
- itineratio, -onis** *n* *f* *literally* travelling, journey, here *as legal term*, **eyre**, one of the regular law circuits of the country made by royal justices, called justices in eyre; forerunner of the assizes 3/5 [Black's]
- iuramentum, -i** *n* *nt* oath; see **presto, uis**
- iuratus, -a, -um** *pp* sworn: used of the oath required of an accused party in an ecclesiastical court 4/6, etc
- iusticiarius, -ii** *n* *m* judge, justice, here a justice in eyre 3/5
- kalendas, -arum** *n* *f* *pl* kalends, the first day of a month: in the Roman dating system, all other days of a month were designated by counting backwards from three fixed points, its nones (the fifth or seventh day), its ides (the thirteenth or fifteenth day), and the calends of the following month 3/22, etc [Cheney, pp 75–81]
- la, le** forms of the Romance definite article used to signal the beginning of an English word or phrase in an otherwise Latin passage: **vnum le trumpet** 125/15; here often found as name element, eg, **la Gayte** 4/9, etc; **le Forester** 4/17, etc
- laicus, -i** *n* *m* layman, one who is not in orders of any kind 4/3, etc; **laycus** 4/11, etc
- legalis, -e** *adj* lawful, *in idiom* **legalis monete Anglie** (abbreviated here to **legalis etc**) (a sum) of legal English currency 59/37
- libertas, -atis** *n* *f* liberty, freedom, hence used of the liberties of a borough, ie, its privileged legal and administrative status, and especially its right to self-government and its own courts, enjoyed only by those residents who were burgesses 59/37, etc
- ludibrium, -ii** *n* *nt* playful or frivolous behaviour, usually derisive or insulting; here apparently some scurrilous or otherwise improper performance 5/37
- ludo, -dere, -di, -sum** *v* *tr* to play, sport, engage in a pastime 3/7

- ludus**, -i *n m* game, sport, pastime 3/9, etc
- magister**, -tri *n m* master, one having authority over and responsibility for a servant, employee, or apprentice 125/1
- maior**, -oris *n m* mayor 6/38, etc
- marca**, -e *n f* mark, currency denomination equal to 13s 4d 6/41, etc
- martirium**, -ii *n nt* martyrdom 5/12
- memor**, -oris *sbst f* recollection, memory 6/27
- mercatum**, -i *n nt* fair, market 5/35
- mercimonium**, -ii *n nt* commercial transaction, *in coll pl* trade, commerce 5/36
- ministrallus**, -i *n m* literally a servant (ultimately from LL 'ministerialis'); minstrel, performer, musician 7/1 (apparently used of the city waits); **mynstrellus** 55/17
- ministro**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to serve a church or chapel (used of clergy), hence to perform liturgical services 5/34
- miraculum**, -i *n nt* miracle, wondrous act or sign 5/2
- mynstrellus** *see* ministrallus
- mysterium**, -ii *n nt* trade, guild 133/38
- negocium**, -ii *n nt* (legal) business, lawsuit 3/22
- notorie** *adv* infamously, notoriously 5/20
- obuio**, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* (+ *dat*) to meet (someone) 4/29
- occasio**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to interfere with (someone), hence to prosecute 3/13
- officiarius**, -i *n m* officer, a functionary in the service of a town, court, or household 6/39
- officium**, -ii *n nt* literally office, position of responsibility; here by extension a bishop's judicial office or court 3/23
- operalis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to work: **dies operalis** working day 134/13
- ordinacio**, -onis *n f* ordinance, regulation, order 5/34
- parochia**, -e *n f* parish, the smallest distinct unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Christian ministry, each parish having its own church, priest, wardens, and tithes 152/30m, etc
- pater**, -tris *n m* father: 1. literally 125/2, etc; 2. by extension (describing the relationship between the Persons of the Trinity), the Father 6/23
- peniteo**, -ere, -ui *v intr* to be repentant, possibly here to have performed an act of penance 5/19
- pensio**, -onis *n f* pension, regular payment for services 7/2
- per** *prep with acc* 1. by, by means of 5/3, etc; 2. by, by reason of 3/7, etc; 3. used with verbs of holding or taking, of parts of the body by 4/4, etc (eg, **per brachium** by the arm 4/9-10); 4. in idiom **per annum** by the year, annually 56/29, etc
- personalis**, -e *adj* in person, personal 5/33
- phalleratus**, -a, -um *adj* decorated, embellished 6/30 [OLD phalerae, phaleratus]
- plenarie** *adv* fully, completely 3/9
- pono**, -nere, -sui, -simum *v tr* to put, place, here in idiom **ponere se(ipsam) apprenticium** (or **ponere se apprenticiam** 152/31) to place oneself as an apprentice, become an apprentice 55/17, etc
- populus**, -i *n m* people: 1. crowd of people 4/13; 2. lay people as opposed to clergy 5/21
- porta**, -e *n f* 1. gate, entry through a city wall 12/40; 2. by extension gateway of a fortified building, eg, a castle 4/29
- presentes**, -cium *sbst comm pl* the present document or letter 55/19 [OLD praesens]
- presto**, -are, -iti, -atum *v tr* to furnish, provide, in idiom **iuramentum prestare** to swear or take an oath 3/26, etc
- presumo**, -ere, -psi, -ptum *v tr* to take upon oneself (to do something), used of violators of rules or orders 5/13
- priuatus**, -a, -um *adj* private, personal; *see* sigillum
- processus**, -us *n m* (legal) process, proceedings 3/20
- ratus**, -a, -um *adj* valid; fixed, certain; *see* habeo
- recipio**, -ipere, -epi, -eptum *v tr* 1. to receive, get 133/39; 2. to receive (someone) back into full church fellowship after excommunication 5/19
- recordator**, -oris *n m* recorder, a judge, usually an expert jurist, appointed by a borough to preside in its courts and offer legal advice 6/39

- rector, -oris** *n m* rector, priest having responsibility for and authority over a parish and entitled to enjoy its tithes 4/40, etc
- regnum, -i** *n nt* reign 6/25
- regracio, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to give thanks to, thank 6/27
- residencia, -e** *n* fact of dwelling or residing, residence 5/33
- rex, -gis** *n m* king, current monarch 3/5, etc
- salus, -utis** *n f* 1. *in cl.*, health, often used in conventional good wishes in epistolary salutations; in Christian usage, salvation; used in salutations in a play upon both senses 3/6, etc; 2. (physical) safety 4/38
- santus, -a, -um** *adj* holy or blessed 6/23; *with names as a title* Saint 12/40, etc; *m sg as sbst* holy one, saint 5/11; *see also festum, spiritus*
- scandalum, -i** *n nt* scandal, discredit 5/18
- scarletum, -i** *n nt* the colour scarlet, hence scarlet-coloured cloth 6/40
- sigillum, -i** *n nt* seal: **sigillum priuatum** privy seal (of the Crown); *see breue*
- signum, -i** *n nt* sign, symbol: personal sign used by an illiterate person instead of a signature; in some cases these signs may be initials 134/3, etc
- singularis, -e** *adj* single; *see apparatus*
- solidus, -i** *n m* shilling, one-twentieth of a pound 6/29
- solomodo** *adv* for solummodo [OLD]
- Somersetia, -e** *n f* Somerset, name of a county 59/4
- somma, -e** *n f* for summa [OLD]
- spectaculum, -i** *n nt* spectacle, show, usually unspecified but probably dramatic 5/37; the hostility shown to 'spectacula' in canonical and related sources probably arises from the term's associations with gladiatorial shows and the like
- spiritus, -us** *n m* spirit: *here in idiom Spiritus Sanctus* the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity 6/23
- Staffordia, -e** *n f* Stafford, name of a county 129/12, etc
- statutum, -i** *n nt* statute, regulation, law, *here in coll pl* statute book 6/29
- sterlingi, -orum** *n m in coll pl* sterling, used of currency 55/20, etc
- supradictus, -a, -um** *pp* abovesaid 4/32
- taberna, -e** *n f* literally a shop, usually in *AL* a tavern, alehouse, inn 5/35
- teneo, -ere, -ui, -tum** *v tr* 1. *literally* to hold, hold on to 4/6, etc; 2. *in pass idiom in bonds and the like* to be bound, held accountable (for a sum of money) 125/2
- terminus, -i** *n m* term, a set period of time, eg, that for which an indenture runs 55/19, etc
- totalis, -e** *adj* total, complete 89/6
- transgressor, -oris** *n m* violator, wrongdoer 5/15
- Trinitas, -atis** *n f* Trinity 6/23 [ODCC]
- truncatus, -a, -um** *pp* literally, having been cut off or amputated, *here by extension* having been beheaded: **funus truncatum** a headless corpse 4/27, etc
- uaco, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to be empty, void, *here referring either to rent* to be unpaid or to rental property to be untenanted 42/24m, etc
- uvalor, -oris** *n m* value, worth, *found in gen of price or value* 27/19m, etc
- uerto, -ere, -si, -simum** *v tr* of legal proceedings, to arise, be started 3/23
- uiccomes, -itis** *n m* sheriff, a civic officer 6/39
- uicis (gen)** *n f (nom sg lacking)* part or function filled by a person, hence authority 5/23, etc
- uilla, -e** *n f* town 3/24, etc
- uillata, -e** *n f* vill, township 3/11
- uirga, -ae** *n f* yard, unit of measurement for cloth 6/40
- uis, uis** *n f* power, strength, ability; *in idiom in uim iuramenti* by virtue of one's oath 164/33
- uisus, -us** *n m* 1. *literally* view, sight 165/20; 2. *in idiom uisus coronatoris* view of coroner, a coroner's inquest held to determine culpability in cases of accidental or violent death 3/8
- Westburia, -e** *n f* Westbury, name of a deanery in the diocese of Worcester 5/9
- Wilticiria, -e** *n f* Wiltshire, name of a county 59/4
- Wygornia, -e** *n f* Worcester, name of a diocese 3/21

# English Glossary

WILLIAM COOKE

- a bied** *v pr 2 pl* abide 100/19  
**abroed** *adv* abroad, outside the country 100/8  
**abroetch** *adv* abroad, astir 107/18  
**accacion** *n* occasion 163/30  
**accoumpt daye** *n comp* account day, day when accounts were rendered 166/16; *see also* **counte day**  
**a due** *n and interj* adieu, farewell 108/16, 109/14  
**advertyement** *n* notification 176/20 [*OED* Advertisement 2]  
**aer** *conj* ere, before 108/11  
**alle** *n* ale 15/30, etc; **alee** 48/2, 48/3  
**alowid** *v pa 3 sg* allowed (as a recoverable expense) 92/24  
**althere** *pron pl poss in phr* their **althere** of them all 32/23 [*OED* All D4]  
**anewitie** *n* annuity 209/6, 211/31  
**angelett** *n* a gold coin worth 7s 6d (later 5s) 42/32, 88/39; **angelettes** *pl* 87/41, etc  
**angell** *n* angel, a gold coin worth 10s 167/3; *see also* **aungellys**  
**aproetch** *n* approach 102/29  
**aproetch** *v* approach; **aproetch** *pr 3 pl* 100/18; **aprotched** *pa 3 sg* 103/30  
**arcabouzes** *see* **hargaboz**  
**a sid** *adv* aside 94/31; **a sied** 96/36  
**atchiued** *pp* achieved 137/21; **atchiued** 179/2  
**aungellys** *n pl* angels 8/8; *see also* **angell**  
**ayenst** *prep* against, ie, in anticipation of 9/37; **ayeniste** 10/29  
**baess** *n* bass, lowest part in music 106/37  
**baillyfes, baliffes** *see* **bayliffes**  
**bandes** *n pl* bonds 175/35  
**bandore** *n* bandora, a plucked stringed instrument in the bass register, with six or seven courses of metal strings and a scalloped body, invented by John Rose in 1562 211/15, 215/1  
**banquet** *n* banquet 108/9  
**bar** *see* **ber**  
**barare** *n* bearer 37/1  
**Barbarians** *n pl* peoples of the Barbary Coast in North Africa, comprising the present countries of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia 223/23  
**baryn, baryng** *see* **ber**  
**basha** *n* pasha, Turkish official in charge of a province or large city 223/12, 223/20  
**bashs** *n pl* bases, the smallest kind of cannon used in the 16th and 17th centuries 117/25 [*OED* Base sb<sup>6</sup>]  
**bayliffes** *n pl* senior municipal officers serving under the mayor 203/20, 210/7; **baillyfes** 9/36; **baliffes** 10/40; *see also* **waterbailifs**  
**bayllys** *n poss* bailiff's 16/15  
**beare** *see* **dowbble beare** under **dowbyll**  
**bee** *pp* been 12/1  
**beere** *see* **ber**  
**beest** *adj superl* best 57/3  
**beff** *n* beef 20/35, etc; **bef** 16/19; **beffe** 18/7  
**bell salte** *n comp* salt cellar in the shape of a bell 198/31, etc  
**belman** *n comp* town officer paid to go round the streets with a bell, making public announcements 120/13  
**ber** *v* bear 35/31; **beere** 27/39, 28/37; **bereth** *pr 3 pl* 12/7; **bar** *pa 3 sg* 11/1, 11/2; **bere** 36/32,

- etc; **bere** *pa* 3 *pl* 34/21, 45/19; **baryng** *vb* *n* 35/12; **baryng** 40/2; **bereyng** 46/38; **beryn** 35/33
- bere baytinge** *n comp* bearbaiting, setting dogs on bears for sport 84/4; **bere betynges** *pl* 31/21
- bererd** *see* **bereward**
- beres** *n pl* bearers 15/36, etc; **beras** 42/13; **berres** 15/10
- bereward** *n comp* bearward, one who leads a bear about 43/20, etc; **bererd** 52/16; **berward** 40/39, etc; **berwarde** 54/35; **berewardes** *pl* 29/14, etc; **berrards** 165/16; **berrewerdes** 46/12
- bereyng** *see* **ber**
- bers** *n pl* bears 51/4; **bereys** 43/9
- beryn** *see* **ber**
- bethe** *adj* both 34/19; *see also* **boyth** [ON *bæði*]
- bisshop** *n* bishop, ie, boy bishop, a boy chorister chosen to dress up and officiate as a bishop on St Nicholas' Day 9/27, 9/28; **bisshops** *poss* 9/23, etc
- blaed hit** *v phr* blade it, ie, wield a blade 106/31
- bloeshe** *v pr* 1 *sg* blush 102/12
- bole** *n* bull 7/19
- bondfyer** *n comp* bonfire 153/20
- borlees** *see* **horly borlees**
- bosum snakes** *n comp pl* bosom snakes, snakes hidden in one's bosom, ie, secret, treacherous foes 99/4
- bothes** *n pl* booths 27/32
- botvr** *n* butter 18/13
- boucher** *n* butcher 7/19
- bowys** *n pl* boughs 17/25, etc; **bowes** 22/24, etc
- boyth** *adj* both 18/33, etc; *see also* **bethe**
- brall** *v* shout 105/7 [OED *Brawl* *v* 1 *c*]
- brenne** *v* burn 33/12
- brethern** *n pl* brethren, fellow members of a corporation 9/9, etc; **bredern** 30/29; **bretherne** 55/4, etc
- broche turner** *n comp* broach-turner, ie, turnspit 16/1
- broke** *v imper* *sg* brook, ie, bear, endure 144/29
- broute** *pp* brought 57/16
- browes pot** *n comp* brewis-pot, pot of soup made with meat broth 100/26
- bruet** *n* noise 94/5, 105/7; **bruets** *pl* 102/1
- Brutes** *n pl* Britons 188/8, etc
- Brytaigne** *see* **Mor Brytaigne**
- buckados** *n pl* error for botargoes, roes of mullet or tunny, salted and pressed into rolls like sausages and eaten as an appetizer 130/10
- burgesse** *n* burgess, citizen of a borough possessing full municipal rights 116/27, etc; **burges** *pl* 14/10; **burgesez** 10/40; **burgesse** 14/8; *in comp*
- burgesse money** money payable on becoming a burgess 123/26
- by sides** *prep* besides 40/39
- cakebrede** *n* cakebread, ie, fine bread resembling cake 9/13
- cannapyne** *n* canopy 130/27
- cardmakers** *n comp pl* makers of iron combs or wire brushes, used to comb out or card wool fibres or raise the nap of cloth 126/7
- cast peccis** *n phr pl* pieces of artillery made by founding 97/28; **caste peces** 131/7
- causay wey** *n comp* causeway 11/3; **causey wey** 11/5
- cawfoot naylys** *n comp pl* coffret nails, ie, small nails used in making or adorning coffrets(?) 41/13
- cedule** *n* schedule, ie, itemized list 27/26, etc
- cemitaurs** *n pl* scimitars 190/28, 190/39
- certeygne** *adj* certain, sure 13/4
- cessed** *see* **sess**
- chambre** *n* treasury of a municipal corporation 27/8, etc
- chambreayn** *n* treasurer of a municipal corporation 33/3, etc
- chapell** *n* choir; *here*, boy choristers accompanying a boy bishop 9/28, 9/29 [OED *Chapel* *sb* 7]
- cheareges** *n pl* charges, ie, expenses 146/37
- chekyns** *n pl* chickens 20/40; **sccekyns** 15/1
- chesse** *n* cheese 33/33, etc; **schesse** 35/39; **schys** 35/21
- citterne** *n* a stringed instrument resembling a lute but always played with a quill plectrum 199/22; **citters** *pl* 246/12
- cloce** *adj in phr with cloce visaged* with disguised faces 10/17 [blend of 'close-visaged' and 'with close visages'; *see* OED *close a* and *adv* 4a]
- cloes** *n pl* clothes 102/39
- clothers** *n pl* clothmakers 28/12

**cloths** *see* **steyned clothes**

**colle** *n* coal 15/35; **collys** *pl* 18/16

**comedyantes** *n pl* comedians, comic actors 164/10

**communalte** *n* commonalty, a town or city regarded as a community 175/28, 175/30; **cominaltie** 128/22; **comminalty** 148/24; **commonaltye** 176/31; **commynaltye** 27/7, 27/11; **commynalty** 177/34; **comunalte** 175/24; **comynaltie** 129/2

**compt(e) day** *see* **counte day**

**comytties** *n pl* commissioners, persons to whom some duty is committed 132/33 [*OED* Committee 1]

**conservas** *n* preserves 130/16 [*plural of OED* Conserve, apparently used as a singular]

**corne powdre** *n comp* granulated gunpowder 87/26, etc; **corne powldre** 121/17

**cortain** *n* curtain wall, the wall of a fortification connecting two bastions, towers, or gates 107/41; **corttayns** *pl* 108/2

**corvysers** *n pl* shoemakers 7/9

**costes** *n pl* sides (of meat) 18/7, etc [*OED* Coast *sb* 1c]

**couent** *n* convent, ie, monastic community 14/1

**couerlid** *n* coverlet 197/12, 197/17

**count dynner** *n comp* account dinner, a dinner held in conjunction with a rendering of accounts 194/35; **cownt dyner** 121/4–5

**counte day** *n comp* account day, day when accounts were rendered 156/5, etc; **compt day** 172/28; **compte day** 202/12, 202/13; **cownt daye** 146/36; *see also* **accountpt day**

**counter** *n* mayor's court or hall of justice 9/25; *see also* **hand counter**

**cownt dyner** *see* **count dynner**

**cranedge** *n* craneage, ie, hoisting by crane 174/17

**croppis of moton** *n phr pl* crops of mutton, ie, sheep's stomachs as food 20/9

**curteys** *adj* courteous 103/15

**daunsyng mony** *n comp* dancing money, money gathered by dancing 7/27, etc

**dedycacion day** *n comp* a parish festival, held to honour the patron saint or title of the church 8/24

**dener** *n* dinner 16/30; **dennar** 55/30; **denore** 143/12; *see also* **count dynner**

**deuien** *adj* divine 94/12

**di** *abbrev for* L *dimidium*, used in *v* context for a half 21/11, etc

**diers** *n pl* cloth dyers 28/13

**disbursh** *v* disburse 169/27

**dobell all** *see* **dowbyll**

**dom** *adj* dumb 95/1

**doson** *n* dozen 18/6; **dossen** 23/3; **dosyn** 15/1

**dowbyll** *adj in phr* **dowbyll ale** ale brewed to twice the usual strength 34/24; **dobell all** 35/21; **dowbble beare** *in same sense* 126/1

**dowches** *n* duchess 66/28

**draughte** *n* load for haulage 132/11, etc;

**draughtes** *pl* 131/10

**drawing boxe** *n comp* a box for weaving 200/5 [*OED* Drawing *vbl sb* 4]

**draaving** *vb n* driving 165/2 [*OE* *dræfan*]

**dresshe** *v* dress 41/11

**drynkyng** *vb n* drinking; particularly, a convivial drinking feast or bout 20/13, etc; **drynckyn** 36/20, 37/2; **dryngken** 50/15; **drynken** 38/34; **drynkyne** 19/12, 19/14; **drynkynges** *pl* 9/12; *in comp* **drynkyng day** a day appointed for a convivial drinking feast 25/27, etc; **dryngyn day** 35/19; **drynkyng day** 36/35, 38/8; **drynkyng daye** 36/14

**due** *see* **a due**

**dulcimar** *n* dulcimer, a musical instrument with metal strings of graduated length over a trapezoidal soundbox, struck with hammers 246/20

**dwke** *n* duke 42/31

**ear** *see* **how ear**

**earrell** *n* earl 70/16

**ellis** *adv* else 10/12

**Emanuell** *n* Emmanuel, a name of Christ; *here, used as a pious way of beginning a letter* 143/37 [*Isa* 7:14, *Matt* 1:23]

**embastars** *n pl* ambassadors 105/17

**emplementes** *see* **impelmentes**

**enbraest** *pp* embraced 104/30

**enforse** *v* urge 109/36

**ernyst pens** *n comp* earnest money, pence paid down as earnest 18/1

**escheker** *n* exchequer 27/36

- eschewe *v* spare, allow to avoid 13/28  
**establisshementes** *n pl* legal enactments 32/13,  
 etc  
 evyne *n* even; *particularly*, the eve of a church festival,  
 kept with a vigil 19/24
- fachyng** *vb n* fetching 49/6  
**falshed** *n* falsehood 107/14  
**fannes** *see* vanes  
**fates** *n pl* vats 87/3, etc  
**faynes** *see* vanes  
**feat** *n* business, trade 28/9  
**ffelde bedd** *n comp* field bed, camp bed 130/27  
**fflock bedd** *n comp* flock bed, mattress or sleeping  
 bag stuffed with flocks of wool 197/12; **fflocke**  
**bed** 197/17  
**ffrenghe** *n* fringe 89/2  
**ffreze** *n* friar 20/12; **ffreze** *pl* 11/4; *see also* **frederys**  
**fith** *player* *n comp* fife player 121/20; **fifth** *players*  
*pl* 131/11  
**fiveth** *adj* fifth 211/4, 211/6  
**floers** *n pl* flowers 26/38; **flvrys** 35/31, 36/1  
**foels** *n pl* *poss* fools' 105/21  
**fornayes** *n* furnace 100/24  
**fowrnes** *n pl* forms, ic, benches 122/26  
**fraunches** *n* franchise, territory within which a  
 civic corporation exercised its jurisdiction and  
 privileges 11/3  
**frederys** *n pl* friars 19/28 [OF *fredres*]  
**freke** *n* person 109/29  
**ffreze** *see* **ffreze**  
**frind** *n* friend 97/34  
**fryst** *adj* first 19/22  
**furberer** *n comp* furbisher 219/19  
**furre** *n* a fur neckpiece or robe trimming, worn as  
 a mark of dignity 10/1, etc
- gaiell** *n* gaol 102/3  
**galound** *n* gallon 43/27; **gallondes** *pl* 46/20<sup>1</sup>,  
 46/20<sup>2</sup>; **gavons** 34/31; **gawlons** 34/24  
**Gaskyn** *adj* Gascon 56/40  
**gasskyns** *n pl* gaskins, a kind of wide breeches or  
 trunk hose 88/28  
**gavons, gawlons** *see* **galound**  
**gayen** *n* gain 94/32
- geder** *pp* gathered 40/39  
**geesche** *n pl* geese 17/5, 17/6; **geis** 23/5; **gesse**  
 18/9  
**gius** *v pr* 3 *sg* gives 97/22; *see also* **yef**  
**goed** *n coll* goods 101/36  
**gondpowder** *n comp* gunpowder 125/31,  
 125/34; **gonpowlder** 117/24  
**goowns** *n pl* gowns 100/15  
**gowte** *n* drain or sluice(?) 228/20 [*EDD* Gout  
*sb*]  
**goyn** *vb n* going 35/17  
**groes** *adj* gross 108/31
- hallinge** *vb n* hauling 131/10, etc; **haling** 58/8,  
 etc; **halyng** 88/35  
**hallyer** *n* haulier; **hallyers** *poss* 131/9; **hallyers**  
*pl* 88/35  
**hand counter** *n phr* some kind of portable count-  
 ing device, perhaps an abacus 200/6  
**hargaboz** *n* harquebus, a kind of musket or small  
 cannon, always fired from a rest or stand 101/7;  
**arcabouzes** *pl* 87/6  
**harpisicall** *n* harpsichord, a musical instrument  
 having strings laid perpendicular to the key-  
 board and plucked by quill or leather plectra  
 246/20  
**harquebusiers** *n pl* men armed with harquebuses  
 91/40; **harquebussiers** 91/2  
**havle** *n* hall 18/24, 19/5; **howle** 44/8  
**headboroughes** *n pl* parish petty constables 203/21  
**heither** *adv* hither 129/38  
**heyer** *n* hire 33/28, etc; **heyre** 26/40, etc  
**heyryng** *vb n* hiring 26/35  
**heyte** *interj* begone! 165/13 [*OED* Hait]  
**hire** *v* hear 9/19, etc; **hyre** 9/10  
**his** *see* **ys**  
**holy dayes** *n phr pl* holy days, *specifically*, the twelve  
 days of Christmas, from Christmas Eve to the  
 Epiphany 10/14  
**hondyr** *n in phr* a **hondyr** **wod** a hundred of  
 wood, some measure of wood roughly corre-  
 sponding to a hundred logs or billets 18/15  
**horly borlees** *n comp pl* hurly-burlics 103/35  
**horrison** *n* horizon 185/34  
**horsemeate** *n comp* horse fodder 130/21, 130/24

- hosyn** *n pl* hose, garments like stockings but often also covering the thighs 37/31
- howckes** *n pl* hooks 112/33
- how ear** *conj* howe'er, ie, however 105/21
- howle** *see* **havle**
- hyr** *adv* here 14/38
- hyre** *see* **hire**
- iant** *see* **pagent**
- ieam** *n* gem 98/12
- imagerye** *n coll* clockwork figures 13/39
- imbrodered** *pp* embroidered 177/28, 182/1
- imme** *n* hymn 98/5, 98/6; **immes** *pl* 98/33
- impelmentes** *n pl* implements 171/29;  
**emplementes** 74/30; **impullmentes** 73/4
- indevided** *adj* undivided 240/6, 240/14n
- innuytorye** *n* inventory 73/4
- insterment** *n* instrument 157/15
- interested** *pp* invested with a right or share in something 213/13, 213/19
- in to tyme that** *conj phr* until 7/19
- intred** *pp* entered 117/10
- iornemen** *n pl* journeymen, qualified craftsmen working for wages 62/31
- is** *see* **ys**
- Iug** *n* Jug, nickname for Joan, used as a pet name 144/24
- iuwell** *n* jewel 98/14; **iuwels** *pl* 99/35
- iuystes** *n pl* joists 228/19
- key** *n* quay 91/21, etc; **kay** 178/2, 178/3; **kaye** 175/38, 176/8
- kynred** *n* kindred 198/22
- lakkyd** *pp* been absent 7/40 [OED Lack v<sup>1</sup> 1b]
- leace** *n* leash 102/6
- lease** *adj super* least 213/31
- leaus** *v pr 3 sg* leaves 108/26
- lery pipis** *n phr pl* hollow pipe sections, here apparently used as part of a stockade or possibly for drainage 41/11 [OED Leery a<sup>1</sup>]
- lesse** *n* lease 73/5, 81/4
- lewter** *n* lute player 20/2
- leyser** *n in phr* at your **leyser** conveniently and opportunely situated 11/36 [OED Leisure 1]
- lifed** *v pa 3 pl* lived 11/30
- lighters** *n pl* loads (here, of sand) that could be carried in a lighter 87/1, etc
- lius** *n pl* lives 106/15, 109/13
- lius** *v pr 3 sg* lives 97/20, etc
- loke** *n* lock 37/15
- look** *n* luck 13/35
- loost** *pp* lost 14/12
- lous** *v pr 3 sg* loves 99/13, 101/42
- loytrarrs** *n pl* loiterers, idle ruffians 102/9
- lytht** *n* light 15/22
- maire** *n* mayor, head of a civic corporation 9/8, etc; **maier** 145/30; **mair** 11/1; **mayre** 14/9, etc; **meyar** 46/4; **meyr** 29/32; **meyre** 14/15, etc; **maires** *poss* 40/27; **maircz** 9/25; **mairys** 40/32, 41/3; **mayres** 27/23; **mears** 45/11
- makar** *see* **wex makar**
- makyn** *vb n* making 35/15
- manchettes** *n pl* small loaves of the finest wheat bread 23/38
- markes** *n* marquess 46/13; **marcus** 49/37; **markes** *poss* 43/20
- mase** *n* mace, emblem of civic authority 11/1
- mastiue** *n* mastiff 191/34
- mattier** *n* matter, ie, topic 117/34
- mayre** *see* **maire**
- mayrealtie** *n* 1. mayoralty, mayor's office 27/12; **meyralite** 28/31; 2. mayor's term of office **meyraltie** 28/37
- mears** *see* **maire**
- meerie** *adj* merry 215/31
- mensterellys, menstrels** *see* **mynstrell**
- menteign** *v* maintain 32/2
- meyar, meyr(e)** *see* **maire**
- meyralite, meyraltie** *see* **mayrealtie**
- misken** *n* mixen, dunghill 173/37
- moen** *n*<sup>1</sup> moan 108/23
- moen** *n*<sup>2</sup> moon 100/1
- mommyng** *vb n* mumming, going about in a troupe from house to house in disguise, to act a short traditional play in return for money or food and drink 10/17
- Mor Brytaine** *n phr* Great Britain (as opposed to Brittany) 13/2



**morralles** *n pl* morality plays, plays meant to teach moral lessons, usually employing allegorical characters personifying virtues and vices 203/28

**morthers** *n pl* murders 101/33

**moud** *pp* moved 95/40

**mowster** *n* muster 125/27, 125/30

**musissions** *n pl* musicians 172/39; **musessyons** 143/31

**muskodile** *n* muscatel, a strong, sweet white wine 160/18

**mynstrell** *n* entertainer using music, storytelling, juggling, etc 16/22, etc; **mynstrelles** *pl* 55/27; **mynsterlis** 16/41; **mynstrells** 7/12; **mynstrls** 52/27; **mensterellys** *pl poss* 40/9; **menstrels** 26/35

**mynsshid** *pp* diminished 28/12 [OED Minish *v*]

**nanchett** *n in phr* a **nanchett** an ancient, ie, an ensign 111/31, 113/9; a **naynchet** 83/37

**nesetaeares** *n pl* necessities 74/30

**nete** *adj* net 87/20

**ny3ghte** *n* night, *particularly*, the night before a church festival, kept as a vigil 26/30, etc; **nygh** 55/36, 53/28; **ny3ght** 34/29, 48/31; **ny3gtt** 38/39; **ny3t** 43/39; **ny3th** 17/23, etc; **ny3tht** 36/12, etc; **ny3tt** 38/36, 50/4; **nyth** 48/2, etc; **nythe** 45/20; **neytes** *pl* 26/33; **neyttes** 26/37; **neyttys** 40/6; **ny3thtys** 36/20, etc; **ny3ttys** 19/15, etc; **ny3tes** 46/41, 47/6; **nyhtys** 16/24; **nythys** 16/25; **nytys** 18/34, 35/36

**ob** *abbrev for* l. obolus, *used in E. context for* half-penny 14/39, etc

**offree** *v* offer 9/23

**olifaunte** *n* elephant 13/38

**oraying** *adj* orange 144/24

**ornaunces** *n pl* pieces of ordnance 131/9

**ouchez** *n pl* ouches, clasped pieces of jewellery, often set with precious stoness 12/42

**pachant, pachent** *see* **pagent**

**pachthrid** *n comp* packthread, strong thread for sewing up packs 174/40

**pagent** *n* 1. a portable image or device for parading as a public spectacle 14/31, etc; **pachant**

51/18, 55/26; **pachent** 20/21; **pagann** 246/4; **pagant** 36/10, etc; **pagen** 134/19, etc; **pageng** 16/14; **paggen** 73/6; **pagyant** 53/17; **pagyn** 52/29, 81/5; **pagyne** 73/5; **pagynt** 81/4; **paiant** 39/42; **pajegnt** 35/13; **payante** 157/5; **payentt** 41/42; **pageans** *pl* 49/6; 2. a play or tableau publicly acted on a stage or platform **pageant** 13/35; **pageaunt** 11/6, etc; **pageaunte** 13/37; 3. scenery and properties(?) **pageantes** *pl* 78/1

**paltring** *adj* paltry 99/10

**parchemin** *n* parchment 202/42

**pariche** *n* parish 11/5

**parishnors** *n pl* parishioners 93/10

**payante, payentt** *see* **pagent**

**payer** *n* pair 200/7

**payngting** *vb n* painting 78/1; **peynctyng** 62/33

**payse** *v* peise, ie, weigh 97/10

**payt** *pp* paid 35/14

**pealf** *n* pelf, a disparaging term for wealth 99/31

**peers** *n pl* pears 30/11; 41/27; **peeres** 29/11; **percis** 43/28; **perys** 31/17

**pennant** *n* a kind of gritstone found between seams of coal 228/20

**Pernasoes** *n poss* Parnassus' 98/38

**pesse** *n* piece 68/27; **pesys** *pl* 17/3

**pestlens peall** *n comp* pestilence peal, ringing of bells to warn of plague 101/1

**petticanons** *n phr pl* petty canons, minor members of a cathedral foundation who perform the daily services; *here*, a singing man 240/6, 240/13n

**peynctyng** *see* **payngting**

**pillowebeare** *n pl* pillowcases 197/13, 197/18 [OED Pillow-bere]

**piuish** *adj* peevish 99/31; **piuysh** 102/7

**plaester** *n* medical plaster, wound dressing 100/20

**plaiet** *see* **player**

**plat** *n* plot, piece of ground 78/25, 78/27

**play** *v* 1. play a game **play** *pr 2 sing* 99/10; **pleyeng** *prp* 9/26; **play** *imp sing* 101/23; 2. act a dramatic piece or part **pleye** 51/2, etc; **playd** *pa 3 pl* 49/26, etc; **playyde** 46/3; **playinge** *prp* 140/15, etc; **pleyng** 13/36; **playing** *vb n* 54/34, etc; **playnge** 69/24; 3. perform on a musical instru-

- ment or instruments **playeth** *pr* 3 *sing* 54/20; **playing** *prp* 137/20; **plaieng** *vb* *n* 210/27
- playe** *n* 1. dramatic piece 73/40, etc; **playes** *pl* 9/16(?), 78/1, etc; 2. musical performance **playes** *pl* 9/16(?)
- player** *n* 1. entertainer 234/9; **plaiër** 239/20; 2. actor **players** *pl* 9/15(?), 40/27, etc; **plaiers** 239/9; **pleyars** 46/30, 65/29; 3. musician 77/3, etc; **players** *pl* 9/15(?), 87/28; *see also* **fithe player**, **waiteplaier**
- play house** *n comp* theatre 196/16, etc; **playhowses** *pl* 209/34
- playstring** *vb n* plastering 86/18
- pleyars** *see* **player**
- pleye** *see* **play**
- publik** *adj* public 99/32
- poesh** *n* push 102/14
- popularity** *n* population 186/38
- pottengers** *n pl* porringers, small basins for holding pottage, soup, or other food 197/13
- powldre** *see* **corne powdre**
- practies** *n* practice, *ie*, artifice(?) 103/11
- praty** *adj* pretty 13/36
- prayes** *n* praise 94/5, etc
- preace** *v* press, *ie*, crowd or bear heavily on 108/40
- princes** *n* princess 25/17, etc; **princes** *poss* 42/29
- purviaunce** *n* providence 11/12 [*OED* Purveyance 3]
- pyners** *n pl* pinmakers 40/5
- pyoners** *n pl* pioneers, foot soldiers who go before the main force with spades, picks and similar tools to clear the way 88/17
- qa** *abbrev for* *L* quarterium, *meaning* a fourth part, *used in E context for* farthing 22/29<sup>1</sup>, 22/29<sup>2</sup>
- qweyn** *n* queen 34/38; **quynes** *poss* 57/40
- rabnettes** *n pl* rabinets, small cannon 140/4
- raphill** *n* raffle, a game of chance played with three dice, a win being the throw of a triplet or the highest doublet, *or*, a winning throw at this game 9/27
- reasons** *n pl* raisins; *in phr* **blewe reasons** raisins from blue-purple grapes 130/9; **reasonns of the sonne** raisins from sun-dried grapes 130/8
- rebicke** *n* rebec, a musical instrument with a hollowed-out body and three (or occasionally four) strings, played with a bow 199/41, 246/12; **rebuke** 59/6, 59/38
- recetes** *n pl* receipts 38/25
- reke** *n* rack 15/9; **rekys** *pl* 16/20, 17/2
- remeved** *v pa* 3 *sing* removed, changed abode 10/37
- renne** *v* run 28/14
- retray** *v* return 9/20
- rolodg** *n* Rowland's Lodge(?) *or* horologe, *ie*, dock(?); *see* p 285 (endnote to BRO: P/XCh/ChW/1a f 207v) 92/17, 92/24
- roschys** *n pl* rushes 18/3, etc; **rosches** 40/4; **roschey** 46/40; **rossys** 34/27; **rowcsys** 15/7; **rowschys** 16/16; **rowsschys** 44/2; **rusces** 17/12; **ruscysc** 15/32; **russus** 55/33; **russys** 53/31; **rvoysys** 36/1
- rwe** *n* rue 144/4
- sagbutt** *n* sackbut, the early form of the modern trombone, with a narrower bore and a smaller bell 211/5, 236/25; **sagbutt** 172/13; **shackbutt** 210/27
- samtyme** *adv* sometime, formerly 60/7
- sargant** *n* serjeant; 1. a minor municipal officer responsible for criminal arrests, who might also escort dignitaries 37/14, etc; **sargent** 146/34; **sergant** 40/5; **sarieuntes** *pl* 91/33; **sergantes** 89/25m, etc; 2. an officer of a guild **sargant** 126/8; **sargent** 126/7
- sarmond** *n* sermon 98/4
- sarue** *v* serve **sarus** *pr* 3 *pl* 106/29; **sarued** *pa* 3 *sg* was of service(?) *or for* swerved, *ie*, turned(?) 102/34
- sawtable** *adj* assaultable 107/41 [*OED* Saultable 1]
- sceekyns** *see* **chekyns**
- schamvls** *n pl* the Shambles, the place in Bristol where meat and fish were sold 15/39
- schesse** *see* **chesse**
- schosyn** *vb n* choosing 35/35
- schys** *see* **chesse**
- secke** *n* sack, fortified wine 41/26, etc
- secon** *adj* second 33/32
- seely** *adj* 1. poor, mean 137/39, 139/12; 2. innocent, harmless silly 95/30
- selus** *see* **your selus**
- sens** *adv and prep* since 97/9, etc

- sentuary** *n* sanctuary 14/5  
**sergant** *see* sargant  
**serpentyne powder** *n comp* gunpowder for firing a serpentine, a kind of cannon mostly used on ships 87/19, 87/33  
**sess** *v pr 1 sg* cease, ie, close (a letter) 144/13;  
*cessed pp* 11/7  
**setton** *v phr* set on, ie, set to, begin 14/12  
**seuennight** *n comp in phr* Saturday come seuennight a week from Saturday 195/14 [OED Sennight b]  
**Seuill** *n used as adj* of Seville, a port in Spain 102/5  
**shackbutt** *see* saggbutt  
**shalme** *n* shawm, a wind instrument resembling an oboe, having a double reed and a loud, penetrating tone 58/25, etc  
**sherman** *n* shearmen 118/14  
**shiref** *n* sheriff 9/8, etc; **shrif** 11/2; **shriffe** 14/9; **shryef** 10/39; **sherives** *pl* 177/22, 178/13; **sheryves** 175/39, 176/29; **shiriffes** 89/24, etc; **shreves** 27/5, etc; **shriefes** 186/16, 186/21; **shriffes** 10/39, etc; **shrifts** 25/38, etc; **shryves** 89/25m  
**shuche** *adj* such 57/17  
**sikernesne** *n* safety 11/38 [OED Sickness 3]  
**silly** *see* seely  
**siroep** *n* syrup 107/3  
**skonce light** *n comp* a kind of lantern or shielded candle, carried by a handle 10/19 [OED Sconce sb<sup>1</sup> 1]  
**skynker** *n* a jug used to draw liquor out of a jar or cask and pour it out for drinking 170/26  
**sleely** *adj* silyly 96/25  
**sleyng** *vb n* slaying 8/7  
**snarr** *v imper sing* snarl 105/6  
**sofrant** *n* sovereign 108/28  
**sollemp** *adj* solemn 98/33  
**sond** *n* ordinance 8/2 [OED Sand sb<sup>1</sup> 1]  
**some** *pp* sworn; *here*, into office 153/5  
**spleeted** *pp* split 187/28  
**spreets** *n pl* spirits 99/41  
**spyche** *n* spice 16/21, 17/8; **spycche** 15/31  
**spysid** *pp* spiced 9/13  
**stamp** *see* stumpe  
**staple** *n* a town authorized by the Crown as a place to buy goods destined for export, or the body of its merchants authorized to do so 27/22, 30/41  
**stayne clothys** *see* steyned clothes  
**stebe** *n* stub, ie, stumpy end of a cut of meat (?) 19/25 [OED Stab sb<sup>2</sup> 2 and Stub sb 9]  
**Sterre Chambre** *n phr* the Star Chamber, a prerogative court of the Crown, so called from the room where it originally met 31/32  
**steyned clothes** *n phr pl* painted cloths 55/39;  
*stayne clothys* 57/18  
**stoer** *n* stout, ie, turmoil 102/16  
**stollon** *pp* stolen 84/25  
**stomp(e), stomt, stovmpe** *see* stumpe  
**stowps** *v pr 3 sg* stoops 101/16  
**straight** *adj* strait, strict 162/23  
**strenketh** *v pr subj 3 sg* strengthen 12/36 [OED Strength v 1]  
**stryves** *n pl* strifes 12/30  
**stumpe** *n* post or short pillar; *here*, as the base of a tableau or torch 20/26, etc; **stamp** 16/31; **stomp** 15/14, 19/3; **stompe** 25/4, 25/29; **stomt** 35/15; **stovmpe** 19/31 [OED Stump sb<sup>1</sup> 7]  
**suen** *v pr 3 pl* follow 8/40 [OED Sue v 1]  
**suffrygann** *n* suffragan, ie, deputy; *here* apparently of a boy bishop 10/29  
**swep** *v* sweep 101/24  
**swett** *adj* sweet 144/29  
**swlldyr of moton** *n phr* shoulder of mutton 15/8  
**targs** *n pl* targes, small, round shields 192/22  
**teym** *n* time 201/31  
**thankking** *prp error or inverted spelling for* thanken *v pr 3 pl* thank 11/24  
**theeus** *n pl* thieves 101/32  
**theld(e) hall** *see* yeldhall  
**therryn** *vb n phr* the hiring 34/22  
**their** *pron pl poss* their 86/8  
**thilde halle** *see* yeldhall  
**throw** *adv* through, ie, completely 96/11, etc; *in comp* **throw out** throughout 104/13, 106/25; *prep* through 99/18, etc  
**thrum cushions** *n comp pl* cushions with a nap, or else made with fringes or tassels or both 244/11 [OED Thrum sb<sup>2</sup> 1 & 7]  
**thylde hall** *see* yeldhall

- tolsey** *n* 1. civic court of justice **tolseid** 6/15<sup>1</sup>, 6/15<sup>2</sup>; 2. the building where the court sat 113/21, etc; **tolzey** 177/24; **towlsej** 119/6, 223/8, etc; **tols** 33/12(?) [*OED* *Tolsel*]
- tomlairs** *n pl* tumblers, acrobats 133/23
- tookers** *n pl* tuckers, those who full and dress cloth; **towkers** *poss pl* 49/13, 50/34
- torh** *n* torch 35/18, 35/36; **torchysthys** *pl* 17/30; **torges** 83/38; **torhys** 35/14; **torhhys** *pl poss* 35/16
- touchstoen** *n comp* touchstone 98/21
- towchis** *n pl* packets or batches of touch powder or priming powder 87/27 [*OED* *Touch sb 21*]
- towkers** *see* **tookers**
- towlsey** *see* **tolsey**
- twen** *n* 'tween, ie, between 105/3
- vanes** *n pl* fanes, ie, banners 55/40, etc; **fannes** 74/31, 83/37; **faynes** 81/4; **vaanes** 61/10; **vannes** 64/3, etc; **vans** 57/19; **vanyis** 60/28, 60/41; **vaynes** 62/33, etc; **wanes** 127/19; **wanhes** 66/22; **wannes** 132/4
- veneger** *n* vinegar 18/12; **wenyger** 15/4
- verges** *n* verjuice 18/12, 22/18; **werges** 15/4
- violin** *n* a bowed stringed instrument, *properly*, one with four strings, tuned in fifths, and with no frets 245/13; **viollen** 134/2
- violl** *see* **vyall**
- virginals** *n pl* a musical instrument, usually having the strings laid parallel to the keyboard; commonly termed a pair on the analogy of an organ 170/6, etc; *sg in comp* **virginall maker** maker of virginals 170/4, etc
- visaged** *see under* **cloce**
- vize** *n* vice, stage jester or buffoon 215/32
- vnites** *n pl* unites, gold coins worth 22s each 175/23, 177/29
- vsse** *n* use 164/2
- vther** *adj* other 158/26
- vyall** *n* viol, a bowed stringed instrument, *properly*, one with six strings, tuned mainly in fourths, and with frets 58/24, etc; **violl** 240/14, 244/19
- wache** *n* the eve of a religious festival, often kept with merrymaking and pageantry 14/32, etc; **wah** 35/18, 35/35; **watsh** 82/15
- wacke** *adj* weak 151/12
- wah** *see* **wache**
- waighters, waighetes** *see* **wayte**
- waiteplaiier** *n comp* wait, musician retained by a civic or other corporation 210/26; **waighete plaiiers** *pl* 238/35; **waighete players** 123/24, etc; **waite plaiiers** 153/2; **waites plaiiers** 214/10; **waites players** 217/33; **wayte players** 214/15, etc; *see also* **wayte**
- waiters, waites** *see* **wayte**
- waltryng** *prp* weltering, ie, rolling, surging 103/3
- wanes, wanhes, wannes** *see* **vanes**
- warde** *suff in phr* to London warde towards London 14/18
- wardropp** *n* wardrobe, the department of the royal household caring for robes, bedding, and hangings 175/3
- warke** *n* work 28/13
- wascote** *n comp* waistcoat 144/9
- wastyn** *vb n* wasting 18/22
- wate** *n* waste 17/9
- waterbailifs** *n comp pl* municipal officials who presumably supervised the town water supply 6/14; *see also* **bayliffes**
- watsh** *see* **wache**
- wayte** *n* wait, musician retained by a civic or other corporation 76/3; **waigheters** *pl* 218/19; **waighetes** 62/23, etc; **waiters** 124/11; **wayetes** 67/31, 75/14; **wayettes** 72/16, 75/38; **wayters** 89/32, 124/32; **waytes** 26/11, etc; **waytors** 126/14; **weightes** 79/40, etc; **weightors** 126/24; **weyghtes** 65/35, 66/40; **weyters** 123/31; **waites** *pl poss* 123/8, 124/26; **weytes** 124/23; *see also* **waiteplaiier**
- well** *n* veal 15/8
- wenyger** *see* **veneger**
- werges** *see* **verges**
- wex makar** *n comp* waxmaker 19/2
- wexe men** *n comp pl* waxmen, ie, bearers of wax torches 62/31
- weyghtes** *see* **wayte**
- weyters, weytes** *see* **wayte**
- whether** *adv* whither 14/5

**wield** *adj* wild 100/28, 101/18

**without that that** *conj phr* not admitting that; a technical legal phrase used when denying some matter of fact without admitting some more general allegation with which it is bound up 163/21, etc [OED Without 15d]

**with that that** *conj phr* admitting that, given the fact that; a technical legal phrase used when affirming some matter of fact as aggravating or palliating some more general allegation 163/42, etc

**wod** *n* wood 15/35, etc; **wodde** 14/3, etc; **wode** 21/23; *see also* **hondyrđ**

**wod** *adj* wood, ie, insane 101/19

**wolus** *n pl* wolves 101/31

**wonders** *adj* wondrous 103/29

**wrowgthe** *pp* wrought, ie, fashioned 89/34

**ye** *n* eye 13/18

**yeald hall** *see* **yeldhall**

**yeeres** *n pl* ears 179/1

**yef** *v* give; **yef** *pr 2 pl* 12/26; **yeoven** *pp* 199/7

**yeldhall** *n comp* guildhall, seat of civic government 32/23, etc; **yeald hall** 148/20, 148/22; **yelde hall** 54/34, etc; **yelld hall** 76/37; **ylde hall** 65/30, 70/16; *in comp* **yeldhalldore** guildhall door 112/34; *in phr* **theld hall** the guildhall 110/35, 117/41; **thelde hall** 62/2; **thilde halle** 82/32; **thylde hall** 83/2

**yoman of ye bottells** *n phr* yeoman of the bottles, a minor officer of the royal household in charge of supplies of drink 87/11

**your selus** *pron reflex pl* yourselves 100/3

**yan** *n* iron 174/35; **yre** 37/13

**ys** *pron poss* his 38/33

**ys** *poss suffix* 's, often written and construed in the 15th–17th centuries as a separate word 15/22, etc; **his** 50/24, etc; **is** 7/11, etc



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# Index

ARLEANE RALPH

The Index combines subjects with names, places, and book or play titles in a single listing. When identical headwords occur in more than one category, the order is as follows: names of persons, titles of nobility, names of places, subjects, and titles of books or plays. Thus 'Wells, Mary' and 'Wells, Somers' precede 'wells' and entries relating to St Ewen, bishop of Rouen, precede those relating to the church of St Ewen.

Place names and given names appear in modern form where that can be ascertained, and titles and family names of nobility and other public figures in forms commonly used by modern historians. Other surnames are usually cited in the most common form occurring in the text, except that capitalization and the use of 'i/j' and 'u/v' have been assimilated to modern usage. Surnames and place names are regularly followed by any variant spellings (in parentheses), but these are given for titles only where clarity requires them. Nobles are entered under their family names with cross-references from any titles which occur in the text or apparatus, and royalty under their regnal or given names. Saints' names are indexed under 'St,' alphabetized as if spelt out. Occupations are given only when considered relevant (eg, 'Johnson, William, musician and town wait').

The chief sources used for identifying persons were *The Dictionary of National Biography*; E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986; rpt 1996). Sources for the identification of royalty and nobility are specified in the headnote to 'Patrons and Travelling Companies,' to which the index refers throughout.

The format for names and titles has been adapted from R.F. Hunnisett, *Indexing for Editors*, British Records Association, Archives and the User No 2 (1977). Members of noble families have usually been distinguished by their family relationships when those are known, but when required for clarity, succession numbers have been used following *The Complete Peerage*. In certain places (eg, 'Bannton,' 'Chrispe') it has been necessary to assign numbers to different persons of the same name and those numbers follow the names in parentheses. Ellipsis dots are used in cases where an individual's given name is not known (eg, 'Awdley,' 'Hale').

Certain items are grouped under broad topics such as 'animals,' 'musical instruments,' and 'guilds and occupations' to aid research. The pertinent members of these classes are then either given as subentries or referred to by cross-references.

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