

'The Entertainemntte of the Righte': An analysis of noble visits to Bristol in the Sixteenth Century

Throughout the Early Modern period, the provision of hospitality and the exchange of gifts 'offered a basic means of expressive political connection' between urban centres and potential noble patrons.¹ Corporations throughout England made extensive use of hospitality and gift giving in order to further their relationships with influential noblemen, and the arrival of prominent visitors presented civic leaders with opportunities to gain benefits for their towns and cities.² The final decades of the Sixteenth Century witnessed a number of visits to Bristol by various prominent members of the nobility. The Bristol Mayor's Audit Books of 1586, 1587 and 1597 record the expenses laid out by the Bristol Corporation for the receiving of Henry Herbert, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke; Robert and Ambrose Dudley, Privy Council members and the Earls of Leicester and Warwick; and Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth I's renowned favourite, respectively. The arrival of these noblemen into Bristol offered clear opportunities to the Bristol Corporation, who hoped to secure the future benevolence of their guests through their generous provision of entertainment, hospitality and gifts. The burgesses of Bristol welcomed the nobility into the city with celebratory displays of military might, musical performances, lavish feasts of expensive meats and gifts of highly regarded traded commodities, and consequently placed significant strain on the city's treasury. An examination of the expenses related to these visits, as recorded by the city's chamberlain in the Mayor's Audit Books, will throw light on the ways in which the Bristol Corporation sought to develop its relationship with prominent members of the nobility, and the perceived importance of these individuals to the city's needs.

Before these sources are analysed, it is necessary to assess the relevant historiography. Catherine Patterson's seminal work, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England*, provides helpful scholarship on the functions of urban patronage in late-Sixteenth Century England. Using the records of various provincial borough corporations, Patterson demonstrates the ways in which English corporations sought to further their relationships with potential noble patrons. Patterson's work provides valuable insight into the ties of honour, hospitality and gift giving, which bound members of the nobility to the various localities. Nevertheless, though her study

¹ C. Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite and the Crown, 1580-1640* (Stanford, 1999), 16.

² Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, 16.

ambitiously covers the provincial boroughs of Chester, Dover, Ipswich, Exeter, Leicester and Great Yarmouth, the city of Bristol has been sadly neglected. The absence of Bristol from Patterson's study is very surprising, due to Bristol's status as the provincial capital of the Western region of the realm, and undoubted participation in the system of urban patronage in the Sixteenth Century. Both Mary Hill Cole and Franky Wardell have considered the financial implications and political motivations behind *royal* visits to Bristol in the Sixteenth Century, providing a useful framework for the analysis of visits by members of the aristocracy. Wardell's examination of the expenses related to Queen Elizabeth I's visit to Bristol in 1574 reveals how the Bristol Corporation stretched their physical and fiscal resources to ensure their success as civic hosts to the Crown.³ In a similar manner to visits by the nobility, royal visits represented a reciprocal engagement that provided a valuable opportunity for towns and cities to further their own provincial agendas.⁴ This study will use the methodological framework provided by Cole and Wardell's analyses of *royal* visits to Bristol in order to examine *noble* visits to the city, and to place Bristol back into the system of Sixteenth-Century urban patronage that has been identified by Patterson.

Providing a methodological framework for the analysis of financial sources such as the Mayor's Audit Books, both Cole and Wardell divide the costs incurred by visits to Bristol into 'temporary' and 'permanent' categories. 'Temporary' costs are defined as those with no direct visual, financial or social benefit to the city. Payments for entertainment, food and gifts all fall into this category, and are likely to have been justified by the expectation of some form of reciprocation by the visiting patron at a later date.⁵ 'Permanent' costs are defined as payments which not only facilitated the visit, but were also long-term investments in the city's future. These costs were 'less of an expense than an investment in the Corporation'.⁶ This method of categorisation reveals an interesting characteristic of the noble visits - all of the costs recorded in the Mayor's Audit Books in relation to the noble visits would be categorised as 'temporary'. In other words, the costs incurred by the visits were of no visual, financial or social benefit to the city, and the Corporation will therefore have expected the success of the visits to justify their costs. Unfortunately, the Mayor's Audit Books do not reveal the extent to which the Corporation's financial commitment was reciprocated by the visiting nobles,

³ F. Wardell, 'Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol in 1574: An Examination of Expenses', *Early Theatre*, Vol. 14, No. 1(2011), 112.

⁴ C. Britton, 'Entertaining the Queen: Queen Anne's Royal Progress to Bristol in 1613' (Undergraduate Dissertation, University of Bristol 2011), 3.

⁵ M. Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Massachusetts 1999), 99.

⁶ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 100.

and therefore present a skewed view of patron-client relations. As in many cases regarding finance, the records do not necessarily provide full, accurate accounts of the events. Nevertheless, an analysis of the expenses related to noble visits is still achievable, and questions regarding the civic expectations and outcomes of the visits can be addressed with the support of the Calendar of State Papers and the Ordinances of the Common Council of Bristol.

Firstly, the Mayor's Audit Book of 1586 records the expense of a visit to Bristol by Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, who came 'with his gentlemen and others ... to vewe and see the Muster of the Citizens'.⁷ Throughout the 1580s, extensive defensive preparations were organised across the country in order to face the threat of war with Spain, and such preparations included a program of building up the Trained Bands.⁸ Grand inspections of the newly formed Trained Bands were carried out by England's Lord-Lieutenants, both to check the equipment of the soldiers and to obtain an accurate idea of the number of troops that would be available for the imminent campaign against King Philip of Spain.⁹ Since the Earl of Pembroke was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Bristol in 1584, Pembroke's visit to Bristol in 1586 was clearly one of duty, his intent being to inspect Bristol's Trained Bands at the muster. The Mayor's Audit Books contain one entry related to the earl's view of the muster:

Item paid for ii mens worke to carry sayles into the marshe, and to make a tentte over my Lorde in the marshe to keepe the raigne from him whiles he tooke the vewe of the Musters – **is. xiii d.**¹⁰

Interestingly, however, the expenses 'laide forthe for the entertainment of the Earle of Penbrooke' do not include those incurred by any preparation for the muster, or for a militarised welcoming for Pembroke, as is recorded in Latimer's *Annals of Bristol*:¹¹

The earl, who arrived with a guard of thirty-two horsemen, was received with many demonstrations of respect. A large body of citizens in arms were in waiting, and thirty-two cannon fired a salute, whilst he was welcomed by the authorities.¹²

⁷ Appendix, 18.

⁸ J. Nolan, 'The Muster of 1588', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1991), 389.

⁹ Nolan, 'The Muster of 1588', 389-91.

¹⁰ Appendix, 18-19.

¹¹ Appendix, 17-21.

¹² J. Latimer, *Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol 1908) p.80

This discrepancy appears at first to reveal a possible limitation of the Mayor's Audit Books - the absence of significant expenses related to the earl's visit. Nevertheless, it can be explained by the probability that expenses for the muster and expenses for Pembroke's entertainment will have been accounted for separately. The muster was not organised specifically for the entertainment of Pembroke, but rather, was required by Trained Bands across the country, and funded by a taxation of the burgesses, ordered by the Common Council of Bristol in 1585:

'It ys ordered ... that everye burgesse of this cytie of Bristoll asseassed in the last subsidye booke towards the chardges of the muster and trayninge of men within this cytie, and other expenses to be dispursed concerninge that buyssines ...'¹³

Pembroke's visit for the inspection of the Trained Bands not only required Bristol to display its military prowess and readiness for war, but also provided the Bristol Corporation with the perfect opportunity to further its relationship with Pembroke, through their provision of the appropriate hospitality. The Mayor's Audit Books record the expense of a dinner for Pembroke, hosted after the muster at the house of Master Kitchin, a notable Alderman of Bristol. Pembroke quenched his thirst amongst Bristol's elite with gallons of claret wine and sack, at a cost of over £7 to the Corporation, and feasted on a lavish banquet of 'veale, lambe, pigge, capons, hennes, rabbette, pigions, chekins & other things'.¹⁴ Including payments to the cooks at Master Kitchin's house, the evening of entertainment amounted to a grand total of £51 11s. 8d.¹⁵ Not only do the Mayor's Audit Books reveal the huge financial commitment made by the Bristol Corporation to Pembroke's visit, but also the level of physical commitment made – feeding the earl and his gentlemen appears to have been a considerable organisational challenge. Preparation occurred in the kitchen, the bakery and the boiling house, and distribution fell to the larder, pantry, and laundry. With significant additional costs relating to accommodation for Pembroke's men and horses, and 'a Breakefast provided ... for my Lorde and his gentlemen on the Mondaye Morninge at his goinge away', the total expense of the Corporation's hospitality during Pembroke's visit amounted to the enormous sum of £79 18s. 4d. Given the 'temporary' nature of

¹³ M. Stanford (ed.), *The Ordinances of Bristol, 1506-1598*, (Bristol 1990), 88.

¹⁴ Appendix, 17-18.

¹⁵ Appendix, 18.

these costs, the level of expenditure laid out by the Corporation demonstrates the perceived importance of Pembroke's visit, and the extent to which the Corporation sought to further its relationship with the earl.

In addition to the provision of hospitality by the Corporation, Pembroke was presented with a gift 'for his welcome to the cittie, in token of the good wills of the mayor and the whole cominaltye'.¹⁶ The Corporation offered Pembroke an expensive gift of highly regarded traded commodities. Marmalade, barrels of conserves, loaves of fine white sugar, comfit, and botargoes (a Mediterranean delicacy of salted fish roe) were 'boughte and provided for my Lords dyatte', at a total cost of £10 16s. 7d. to the Bristol Corporation.¹⁷ Felicity Heal has emphasised the significance of food gifts in urban contexts, asserting that the offering of commodities of trade, considered to be of high status and worth, was a means by which civic leaders showed deference and sought patronage.¹⁸ In Tudor society, the offering of food was a means of 'constructing a distinctive bond between the giver and receiver', due to its role in commensality, hospitality and the relief of need.¹⁹ Furthermore, in the offering of gifts, civic hosts of royals and nobles often hoped that visual reminders of the occasion would incline the recipients to favour the town or city in future dealings.²⁰ The Bristol Corporation, in addition to their expensive donation of traded commodities, funded the construction of 'one greate box of marmilett wheron was picktured the Queens Armes verie fayer', and 'one pannier of gilte Marmilett whereon was pictured my Lords owne Armes', at a cost of £4 1s. 10d.²¹ This visually personalised gift, with its implied association to royalty, will have served as an important mnemonic device, ensuring that Pembroke would be reminded of Bristol's generosity in the future.

Although the account in the Mayor's Audit Books relating to Pembroke's visit does not include preparatory expenses or any significant expenses related to the muster held that day, it is clear that Pembroke's visit to Bristol placed significant strain on the city's treasury - the cost of hospitality and gift giving during the visit amounted to the enormous sum of £99 1s. 10. This huge financial commitment, made by the Corporation to the earl's visit, demonstrates their desire to further their relationship

¹⁶ Appendix, 20.

¹⁷ Appendix, 20-1.

¹⁸ F. Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 199 (May 2008), 45.

¹⁹ Heal, 'Food Gifts', 44.

²⁰ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 99.

²¹ Appendix, 21.

with Pembroke, and the perceived importance of this individual to Bristol's needs. Nevertheless, the Mayor's Audit Books do not reveal the Corporation's specific motivations behind their expenditure, and it is difficult to calculate how far the banquet and treats given by the Corporation were reciprocated. The costs recorded in the Audit Books fall into Cole's 'temporary' category, being of no visual, financial or social benefit to the city, and the Corporation will therefore have needed positive political inducement in order to justify the expenses, since no other investment in the city's future was being made.

A common motivation for Corporation expenditure relating to noble and royal visits was the potential for connection to the centre of power. In the case of Pembroke's visit to Bristol, however, Latimer's emphasis on 'the earl's pique at being refused the office of Lord High Steward' indirectly reveals that the Corporation's expenditure is unlikely to have been motivated by a desire to gain access to the Crown.²² The office of High Steward was a significant element of urban patronage, and became increasingly important to town corporations after 1580.²³ The main purpose of the office, from the localities' point of view, was to provide an advocate for the Corporation with the Crown, or any other central authority with which the Corporation had dealings.²⁴ The Ordinances of the Common Council of Bristol show that in 1570, following the death of Pembroke's father, 1st Earl of Pembroke and High Steward of Bristol, the Bristol Corporation controversially chose Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as their High Steward, rather than Pembroke.²⁵ This decision was in keeping with a second ordinance, which stated that 'at all times whensoever the saide office shall be voyde, the same office shall be given to one of the Privie Counsell commonly attendinge upon the Courte aboute the Queenes person'.²⁶ The Corporation recognised the importance of having a formal patron with direct access to the Crown, and refused the office to Pembroke due to his lack of connection to the centre. Although Pembroke was certainly an influential nobleman, as implied by the Bristol Corporation's huge fiscal commitment to his visit, he was not a Privy Council member, and did not have direct access to the Crown. The refusal of the office of High Steward to Pembroke for these reasons in 1570 suggests that the Corporation's expenditure in 1586 was unlikely to have been motivated by the possibility of gaining access to the centre.

²² Latimer *Sixteenth-Century Bristol*, 80.

²³ Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, 10.

²⁴ Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, 31.

²⁵ Stanford, *Ordinances*, 40.

²⁶ Stanford, *Ordinances*, 40.

A more probable motivation for the Bristol Corporation's vast expenditure during the visit of 1586 is Pembroke's new status as the Lord President of Wales. In March 1586, around the same time as his visit to Bristol, Pembroke succeeded his father-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, as Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches.²⁷ The acquisition of this position by Pembroke was of significance to the Bristol Corporation, due to their long-term grievance at having been included within the jurisdiction of the Council of Wales and the Marches. In 1562, the Bristol Corporation procured a royal clarification that, since Bristol formed a separate county (outside of Gloucestershire), the city's representatives were not required to follow orders from the Lord President to appear before the Council in the Marches at Ludlow.²⁸ Nevertheless, despite Bristol's exemption by royal proclamation, the Corporation may have seen it beneficial to remain on good terms with all future Presidents of the Council, and to confirm the certainty of their exemption from the Council's jurisdiction with any new Lord President. In 1587, the Mayor's Audit Books record a journey made by the city clerk to Pembroke's residence in Ludlow:

Item paid to Master Orrenge for another gorney ridinge to Ludlowe to understand the certentye of the discharge of our exemption of this Cittye from the jurisdiction of the marches of walles *with* a gift given – **iii £ iii s.**²⁹

It is therefore likely that the Corporation's attempts to gain favour from Pembroke during his visit to Bristol in 1586, through their extravagant provision of hospitality and gift giving, were rooted in a deep concern for Bristol's independence from external interference, and a desire for confirmation of the city's exemption from the jurisdiction of the Council of Wales and the Marches by the new Lord President of Wales.

The Mayor's Audit Books of 1587 record a similar level of financial and physical commitment made by the Bristol Corporation to visiting members of the nobility. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth I's famous favourite, and his brother Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, came to Bristol from Bath on Easter eve, resulting in one of the greatest extravagances laid out by the Bristol Corporation with the exception of royal progresses. Firstly, the Mayor's Audit Books record expenditure by

²⁷ C. Steel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales: A Study in Local Government During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London 1904), 114.

²⁸ M. Pilkinton (ed.), *Bristol – Records of Early English Drama* (London 1997), xv.

²⁹ Appendix, 25.

the Bristol Corporation in preparation for the earls' visit, on what Cole would call a 'civic facelift'.³⁰ These costs amounted to just over £1, and included 'layinge abroad the Robell about the walkes in the marshe against my Lords comminge hither', and 'making cleane the key alonge to the Tower againste my Lords cominge'.³¹ These costs were a minor drain on the civic treasury, with wages and materials for cleaning and tidying the city amounting to only a few shillings. However, they were important in contributing to the city's reputation, and maintaining positive relationships of reciprocation between the Bristol Corporation and visiting members of the nobility.

At a much higher cost to the city's treasury were the payments 'laide forthe at the receavinge and for the Entertainementte of the Righte'.³² The Mayor's Audit Books record an expensive celebration and spectacular display of military might upon the earls' entry into the city. Whereas Pembroke's visit in 1586 was clearly one of duty, his intent being to inspect Bristol's Trained Bands at an obligatory muster, the visit of Leicester and Warwick appears to have warranted a celebratory muster itself. Indeed the 1580s saw the organisation of defensive preparations across the country, but 1587 in particular witnessed increased military activity all across England, following news of the preparation of a massive Armada in the ports of Spain.³³ Since Leicester was the country's most famous and experienced general, and had the ear of the Queen in military matters, the Bristol Corporation will no doubt have wanted to flaunt Bristol's military prowess and readiness for war upon Leicester's arrival into the city. The Corporation funded the provision of barrels of gunpowder, match and brown paper, 'which was delivered to the corporalls of the cittye for the souldyers to meet the Lords and to skymishe before them at their cominge into the Cittye', at a cost of almost £15.³⁴ The Corporation also paid two Master Gunners, 'for the shootinge of -x caste peces in the marshe close when they were in the cittye'.³⁵ The hiring of musicians for the occasion helped to add to the celebratory atmosphere appropriate for Leicester's visit, and to create a positive image of Bristol. The Mayor's Audit Books record payments to several trumpeters, drum players and fife players 'for warning the citizens for the Mosteringe and for receavinge of them into the cittye', and overall, the total cost of the day's activities amounted to the substantial sum of £17 10s. 4d.³⁶ Although

³⁰ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 99.

³¹ Appendix, 23-4.

³² Appendix, 25.

³³ Nolan, 'The Muster of 1588', 388.

³⁴ Appendix, 27-8.

³⁵ Appendix, 28.

³⁶ Appendix, 28.

military and musical entertainments were obviously of the fleeting moment, and did not represent lasting investments in the city's future, they played an important role in creating a sense of appreciation for Leicester and Warwick.

Similar to Pembroke, Leicester and Warwick were hosted by Alderman Master Kitchin, following their extravagant welcoming into the city. The chamberlain's account concerning 'the provision of bothe Lords diattes in the tyme of theire beinge here' demonstrates further financial commitment made by the Corporation to hospitality for the nobility.³⁷ That night, Leicester and Warwick were treated to a lavish feast of 'capons, Rabbette, hennes, chicken ... bakon, lambe, veale, pheasanttes, pigge, salmons ... *with sondrey other particuler thinges*', costing the Corporation £91 11s. 3d.³⁸ The commitment of such a substantial cost indicates the extent to which the Bristol oligarchy valued Leicester's visit, and the seriousness with which they cultivated his patronage and their own reputation. The occasion of the visit on 'Easter eve' raises the possibility that the expense and extravagance of the feast was in part in celebration of the religious festival, rather than simply an attempt to gain benefits for the town – Heal has emphasised the opportunity for enjoyment offered by the religious calendar, and the provision of extravagant banquets in Lent and on Palm Sunday by the Corporation of York.³⁹ Nevertheless, the Corporation's willingness to spend vast amounts of money on all aspects of the earls' visit (care for the earls' gentlemen and horses during their visit cost the Bristol Corporation almost £25), shows the clear desire of Bristol's oligarchy to further their relationship with both Leicester and Warwick.⁴⁰

Furthermore, in keeping with Early Modern English standards of hospitality, and the customs of urban patronage, the Earls of Leicester and Warwick were presented with lavish gifts by the Bristol Corporation, which were taken to them at Bath before their visit to Bristol in 1587.⁴¹ Leicester was presented with a gift of highly valued traded commodities – barrels of figs, loaves of white sugar, marmalade, candied fruits and botargoes – at a cost of £8 11s. 11d. to the Corporation.⁴² Additionally, at Leicester's request, the Corporation sent a luxurious bed from Bristol to Bath for the earl to lie in:

³⁷ Appendix, 29.

³⁸ Appendix, 29.

³⁹ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford 1990), 324.

⁴⁰ Appendix, 30.

⁴¹ Appendix, 26.

⁴² Appendix, 26.

'Item paide to Master Blande for a feildebedd with a Cannapyne and curtyns all of grene saie belonginge unto him – **iiij £**'

'for a new bedcorde – xvi d. for one new stafe with a hooke at thende – x d. to ii laborers For fetchinge yt to Master Kitchins howse – iiiii d. which bedd with thappurtennce was sentt to bath to my Lord of Leicester to lye in, who desyred to have one for his Bathbedd' ⁴³

Warwick, too, was presented with a small gift of traded commodities, at a cost of just over £2 to the Corporation.⁴⁴ However, from the expenses, it is clear that the Corporation favoured Leicester as Bristol's formal patron. The total expense of Leicester's visit to Bristol, as recorded by the Mayor's Audit Books, amounted to the huge sum of £150 18s. 9d., demonstrating the perceived importance of the visit to Bristol's needs, and the seriousness with which the Bristol Corporation sought to develop their relationship with Leicester.

Although the Mayor's Audit Books do not record the exact motivations behind the Corporation's vast expenditure, or the direct outcome of the visit, the appointment of Leicester as High Steward of Bristol in 1570 demonstrates that the Bristol Corporation valued Leicester's central authority as 'one of the Privie Counsell commonly attendinge upon the Courte aboute the Queenes person'.⁴⁵ With direct access to Queen Elizabeth I as her long-term favourite, Leicester offered a logical outlet for a corporation that wished to connect itself more closely with the centre in order to gain benefits for the city.⁴⁶ One important benefit that Leicester was able to provide for the Bristol Corporation was central support for the city's trading interests. As High Steward of Bristol, Leicester had consistently displayed concern for the state of West Country trade - for example, in 1576, Leicester petitioned to the Queen on behalf of Bristol 'for some reliefs in consideracion the losse of xiiij shippes and v barges' - and since the prosperity of Early Modern Bristol depended in large measure upon its overseas trade, central support for the city's trading interests exists as a probable motivation behind the Corporation's vast expenditure in 1587.⁴⁷ On 6th April 1587, days before his visit to Bristol, Leicester wrote from Bath to both Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's principal

⁴³ Appendix, 27.

⁴⁴ Appendix, 26.

⁴⁵ Stanford, *Ordinances*, 40.

⁴⁶ S. Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester 2002), 202.

⁴⁷ J. Vanes (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century* (Bristol 1979), 33.

secretary, and to Burghley, Lord Treasurer, telling them of the 'great decay of trade and distress in the country'.⁴⁸ Leicester wrote that 'Bristol and other of the best towns are fast falling to decay', and emphasised that 'measures must be taken for the revival of trade'.⁴⁹ So whereas the financial commitment made by the Corporation to Pembroke's visit in 1586 appears to have been rooted in a deep concern for the city's independence from external influence, rather than their desire to gain access to the centre, the dating of this letter, days before Leicester's visit to Bristol, suggests that the entertainment, hospitality and gifts provided for Leicester in 1587 were rooted in the Corporation's concern for the declining state of the city's trade towards the end of the Sixteenth Century. With direct access to the Queen, and the ears of Walsingham and Burghley, Leicester was able to complain on behalf of Bristol of the decline of the city's trade, and petition for central relief.

Finally, the Mayor's Audit Books record a visit to Bristol by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in 1597. By the 1590s, Essex had been established as Elizabeth's constant young companion and final court favourite. As Master of the Horse and member of the Privy Council, Essex became a hugely influential figure in Elizabethan politics, and enjoyed a public profile which 'came second only to that of the Queen'.⁵⁰ Considering his position at court, one would expect from Essex's visit to Bristol an extravagant reception by the Corporation, in keeping with their reception of Pembroke, Leicester and Warwick in previous years. Indeed, the Mayor's Audit Books record the expenses of certain preparations for the earl's visit, which included 'ridinge the streetes of filthe againste my Lordes coming', at a cost of just over £2 to the Bristol Corporation.⁵¹ However, the remaining relevant costs recorded in the Mayor's Audit Books barely amount to 5% of the expense of Leicester's visit 10 years earlier.⁵² The Audit Books record the provision of a small dinner for Essex at the house of Master Haviland, ex-Sheriff of Bristol, at a cost of 38s. 2d. to the Corporation. However, there is no mention of any form of hospitality provided for Essex's men or horses, nor any mention of gifts presented to Essex, and in total, the Corporation spent only £4 16s. 19d. during the earl's visit to Bristol.⁵³ Considering Essex's level of influence at court, the lack of

⁴⁸ Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, Elizabeth 200/5

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ P. Hammer, 'Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex (1565-1601)', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>, [accessed 15 April 2015]

⁵¹ Appendix, 31.

⁵² Appendix, 31.

⁵³ Appendix, 31-4.

financial and physical commitment made by the Bristol Corporation to his visit in 1597, in comparison to earlier noble visits, is very surprising.

Nevertheless, the lack of financial commitment made by the Corporation to Essex's visit to Bristol could be explained as part of what Heal has identified as 'a general decline in feasting towards the beginning of the Seventeenth Century', resulting from English corporations' acknowledgement of the financial strains of hospitality, and changing attitudes towards extravagance.⁵⁴ Heal argues that towards the end of the Sixteenth Century, feasts and treats became prime candidates for economies as town oligarchies became 'reluctant to assume burdens of expenditure which the collective purse could no longer sustain'.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Heal argues that urban elites were beginning to question the use of excessive display and lavish entertainment, and modifying the forms through which they celebrated status.⁵⁶ Alternatively, the paucity of details related to Essex's visit to Bristol, and the absence of any expenses related to gift giving, could represent a limitation of the Bristol Mayor's Audit Books. Considering the centrality of gift giving to the system of urban patronage, it is probable that the Mayor's Audit Books do not record all of the expenses related to Essex's visit. The expenses related to gift giving may have been left out of the account, either deliberately or by mistake. This possibility is supported by the findings of Charlotte Britton, who found that a lavish gift of £100 worth of gold coins, presented to Queen Anne upon her progress to Bristol in 1613, was not recorded in the Mayor's Audit Books.⁵⁷ Such discrepancies could imply that some of the items purchased in relation to noble visits were simply forgotten, or perhaps funded in an alternative way.

To conclude, the Bristol Mayor's Audit Books reveal much about the ways in which the Bristol Corporation sought to further their relationships with visiting members of the nobility. In 1586, the Bristol Corporation spent almost £100 on hospitality and gift giving during the visit of the Earl of Pembroke, demonstrating the perceived importance of the visit, and the value of Pembroke's favour to the Corporation. Although the Audit Books do not reveal the motivations behind the Corporation's vast expenditure, the refusal of the office of High Steward of Bristol to Pembroke in 1570 suggests that the Corporation's expenditure was not motivated by a desire to gain access to the centre. More likely, the expenses were rooted in the Corporation's desire for confirmation of

⁵⁴ Heal, *Hospitality*, 339.

⁵⁵ Heal, *Hospitality*, 340.

⁵⁶ Heal, *Hospitality*, 342.

⁵⁷ Britton, 'Entertaining the Queen', 11.

judicial independence from the Council of Wales and the Marches, since Pembroke had recently acquired the position of Lord President of Wales. In 1587, the Earls of Leicester and Warwick visited Bristol, costing the Corporation over £150. The financial and physical commitment made by the Bristol Corporation to the visit shows the desire of the Corporation to further their relationship with Leicester and Warwick, and the perceived importance of these men to the city's needs. Through showering the earls with gifts and celebrating their arrival in Bristol, it is likely that the Corporation were hoping to gain central support for the city's trading interests, considering Leicester's direct access to the centre of power. The case of the Earl of Essex's visit in 1597, which incurred only £4 to the Bristol Corporation, is surprising, due to the level of central influence had by the nobleman. Nevertheless, this drop in the level of financial commitment made to noble visits could be explained by changing attitudes towards extravagance, the limiting of Bristol's entertainment budget for fiscal purposes, or alternatively, the possibility that the Mayor's Audit Books do not record all of the expenses related to the visits. Despite limitations, this analysis of the Bristol Mayor's Audit Books has thrown light on the relationship between Bristol's elite and the politically influential aristocracy, and has placed Bristol back into the system of Sixteenth Century urban patronage by demonstrating the financial commitment made by the city to entertaining visiting members of the nobility.

Appendix

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/12

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/13

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/14

This layout has been reproduced as accurately as possible. The transcriptions follow the spelling, capitalisation and punctuation of the original documents, which are contained within the Bristol *Mayor's Audit Books*, held at the Bristol Records Office. Reconstructions of suspensions are in italics, eg. '*paid*' for 'p'd'. Definitions have been provided by the Oxford English Dictionary online.

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/12:

The Provision and the Chardges

Laide forthe for the Entertainement of the Earle of Pembrooke with his gentlemen
and others at his beinge here, to vewe and see the Muster of the Citizens here

In *primis* paid to John Clarcke for i hoggshead of clairett wyne – iiiij £. x s. and to Christopher Woodwarde

For *xxxi* gallons of secke at . ii s. iiiij d. *per* gallon – ii £. xi s. viii d. and to the saide *John* Clarcke

For xii gallons of secke more at ii s. iiiij d. *per* gallon. xvi s. iiiij d. broughte to *Master* Kitchings howse

vii £. xvii s. xii d.

Item paid Thomas Griffith merchanntte upon his byll for veale, Lambe, Pigge, Capons, hennes

Rabbette, Pignons & chekins & other things provided & boughte by him – iii £. vii s. i d. and

Paid to Walter Shepparde for veale, mutton and lambe bought of him – v £ iii s. vi d.

Paid to Christopher Redginge for sondry sortes of spices fruite and suger – v £ ii d. to The

Masson baker for fiftye dosson of bread – ii £. x s. for Samons and divers sortes

of Freshe fishe and salte fishe with butter, hennes, Eggs, Crame and divers and

sondrye other things – xix £. xi s. to *Misses* Kitchinge for bere, Ale, wood and cole

Spentt of hers – iii £. iii s. vii d. *amountte* all to the some of xxxviii £ xv s. iii d.

xxxviii £. xv s. iii d.

Item *paid* by *Master Mayor* and *Thaldermens* *agreementt* to Harry Goodwyne Cooke for his paynes
in dressinge of my *Lords* *Dynners* and *Suppers* there at *Master Kitchins* – iiii £. To
Master Mayors Cook for his paynes there – x s. to ii under cooks for iiii daies – x s.
to a Pooreman for for turninge the spitt there – xx d. and to a woman to helpe in the kitchin
also xx d. *amountte* all to –

iiii £. xviii s. iii d.

Item *paid* by *Master Mayor* and *Thaldermens* *agreementt* for and towards *Master Mayors* chardges for
a Breakefast *provided* by him for my Lorde and his gentlemen on the Mondaye
Morninge at his goinge awaye. The some of -

iiii £. xviii s. iii d.

Item *paid* to *Master Hopkins* and *Master Pittes* for their Chardges with their men and for their horse hier
riding to Taunton to the Earl of Pembroke to knowe his pleasuer when he wolde come.

ii £. vi s. iii d.

Item *paid* for ii mens worke to carry sayles in to the marshe, and to make a tentte over my Lorde

in the marshe to keepe the raigne from him whiles he tooke the vewe of the Musters -

i s. xiii d.

Item paid to Master John Sedbeorghe one of my Lords gentlemen for the dyatte of xxxiiti of my Lords

Men at their beinge here by Master Mayor and Thaldermens commandment -

viii £. x s. viii d.

Item paid to Hewgh Jones who was appoynted Overseer where my Lords horses stode

beinge the moste parte at the New Innde & the reste at the White Harte viz. for their

horsemeate at the Newynde – xii £. vii s. vi d. at for the horsemeate at the White Harte

& for mans meate there . xxix s. , for mendinge of saddles – ii s. iiiii d. and to Thomas

Mone Smithe for shoning those horses xii s. ii d. amountte all to -

xiiii £. xi s.

Item paid more for horsemeate at the Beers Inde for certinge of my Lords gent – vi s. viii d.

Item paid to divers servanntte for their paynes taken daie and night for lokinge to the Plate in the buttry

the naperey & the vessells and for buyinge of divers things for my Lords provision

xx s.

A Presente given to the Righte

Honorable the Earle of Pembroke at his being here for his
Welcome to the Cittie in token of the good wills of the Mayor and
the whole cominaltye of this Cittie

Item paid to Master Thomas Aldeworth for vi boxes of marmilade weyinge xvii C & di. at xiiii d.

per ponde – xx s. x d. for v barrels of Conservas weyinge xxi £. At xiiii d. *per* ponde

xxiiii s. xi d. for fower loves of sugar weyinge iii £ at xv d. *per* ponde *amountte* iii £ vi s.

iii d. for ii ponde vi ounces of comfette at xvi £ *per* ponde – iii s. ii d. for ii ponde of

Buckados of marmilett at xviii d. *per* £ - iii s. for iiiii ponde of dry conservas at ii s. *per* £.

– viii s. all these *percells* was boughte and provided for my *Lords* dyatte *amountte* -

vi £. v s. iiiii d.

Item paid him more for vi loves of fyne white sugar weyinge lxxiii £ & di at xv d. *per* £. – **iiii £. xi s. iii d.**

Item paid more for one greate box of marmilett wheron was picktured the Queens Armes

verie fayer weyinge xii £ & di at ii s. *per* £ xxv d. for one pannier of gilte Marmilett

whereon was pictured my *Lords* owne Armes weyinge one ponde x ounces at ii s.

per £ iii s. iii d. . ii other boxes of marmilett weyinge vi £ ii ounces at xiiii d. *per* £.

xii s. I d. for vi barrells of Conservas weyinge xxiiii £ xi ounces at xiiii d. *per* £

xxviii s. vi d. for xi £ of dry Conservas at ii s. *per* £ xii s. for iiiii £ & *di* of Comfitte at

xvi d. *per* £. vi s. *amountte* all to – iiiii £ I s. x d.

iiii £.i s. x d.

Item *paid* for a pannier to putt the drye Conserva in - iii d. for a Suger Cheste to putt all those

other things in iii s. and also for vi £ of potatos to fill up the *sides* of the Cheste ii s.

v s. iii d.

Item *paid* more for ii lofes of Suger weyinge xxv £ xiiii ounces at xv d. *per* £. xxxii s. iii d. for two

boxes of marmilett weyinge – v £ iii *quarters* & for ii barrells of Conserva weyinge viii £. i *quarter*

conter bothe – xiii £. at xiiii d. *per* £. xvi s. iiiii d. *which* was given by *Master Mayor* and the

Aldermens *agreement* to *Master Pennddorke* one of my *Lords* gentlemen *amountte* all to –

ii £. viii s. vii d.

Sume of this syde – Lxxxix £. i s. x d.

Definitions (OED)

Clairrett A white wine grape variety most widely grown in the wine regions of Provence, Rhone and Languedoc in France.

Comfette	A sweetmeat made of fruit/root and preserved with sugar.
Hogshead	A unit of volume. Equal to 63 gallons before 1824.
Naperey	Cloth products (napkins, table cloths etc.)
Pannier	A basket for carrying foodstuffs or other commodities.
Secke	The general name for a class of white wines imported from Spain and the Canaries.

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/13:

Yet the Thyrde weeke

Item paide by *Master Mayor* and *Thalldermens* commandement to my Lorde of Leicesters players who plaid
In the yelde hall before them and others of the Comon Counsell with divers Citizens

xxvi s. viii d.

Item paid to iii Laborers for one daies worke removinge of the Tymber at the Tower of the key and
layinge abroad the Robell about the walkes in the marshe againste my *Lords* comminge hither

ii s.

Item paid to ii laborers for makinge clean of the yelde hall Storehouse removinge the plancks the
stones and the Tymber there and riddinge the robell out of the same xii d. and for beasoms i d.

xiii d.

Item paid Pittes gonner for mendinge divers flax and tuche boxes of the Chambers – **xiiii d.**

Item paid to Edward Nottingham hallyer for hallinge of sondrey thinges for the Chamber viz for xiii vates of
stones halled from the slipp at the back to the marshe at ii d. *per vate* – ii s. ii d. for xxx vates of stones
from *Master Cookes* friers to the pitcher upon the weare at ii d. *per vate* – v s. for iiii vates of robell
from the Jurie – viii d. for hallinge the pillerye to the high crosse and backe againe – iiii d. for ii draughtes
of leade from St Peters plompe to the Plumers – iiii d. for ii draughtes of pilles from the yelde

hall to the marshe – viii d. for one draughte of wood from the back to the high crosse for the bonfyre iiiii d.
 for ii draughtes of Robell from the yelde hall – iiiii d. for one draughte of free stone from the key pype
 heade – xii d. for iii draughtes of planckes from *Master Barnes* storehowse to the yelde hall xii d. for iiiii
 draughtes of tymber from the Sawpitt to storehowse xii d. and for hallinge one greate poste to the
 Castell mylls – iiiii d. *amountte* all to the some of –

xiii s. ii d.

Item paid to the Goldsmith for new dressing and giltinge the handell of one of *Master Mayors* Swordes with
 the crosse of the same againste my Lorde of Warwicke and my Lorde of Leicesters comminge hither

viii s.

Copper Tokens

Item *paid* by *Master Mayor* and *Thaldermens* commandement *with* the consentte of the whole comon Counsell accordinge
 to a proclamation, to divers and sondrey *persons* aswell of the cittye as of the Countrey for divers
 sortes of copper tokens *received* Of them, because they were counterfeited by divers evil disposed *persons*
 and therefore they were not allowed in this Cittie, *which* tokens came unto the some of xiii £ ii s. xi d.

xiii £. ii s. xi d.

Item paide to the poore people of the Almshowse in Lewins meade for *Master* Spencers Almse – **viii s.**

Item *paid* to *Master* Orrenge for another gorney ridinge to Ludlowe to understand the certentye of the discharge of our exemption of this Citty from the jurisdiction of the marches of walles *with* a gift given

iii £. iii s.

Item *paid* by *Master* Mayor and Thalldermens commandment to a Pursivantte to bringe downe a letter from London sentt by *Master* Kitchinge I saie paid him the some of –

xx s.

Item *paid* for viii dosson and iiii quarters of oke for the chambers store at – ii s. per dosson – xvi s. xiii d. and to a laborer for carring them to the yelde hall storehowse – iiii d. *amountte* to –

xvii s.

Item *paid* John Feilde for laborers making cleane the key alonge to the Tower againste my *Lords* cominge – **xvi d.**

Thaccomptt Of the Chardges and Paymentte

Laide forthe at the receavinge and for the Entertainementte of the Righte honorable the Earle of Leicester and the Earle of Warwicke at their beinge here on Easter Eve & Easter daie As followethe –

A present given to the Earle of Leicester

Item paide for one barrell of figges wayinge – I C iiii £ *amountte* to – xxxiiii s. vii d. for iiii oz loves of white suger wayinge – xlvii pound xii ounces at xx d. *per* £. *amountte* to – iii £ xv s. xiii d. for marmilad and suckettes wayinge – xxvii ponde at xvi d. *per* £. *amountte* to – xxxvi £ for xxv ponde of reasons of the same at – iiii d. *per* £ *amountte* to – viii s. iiii d. and for – xxv ponde of other blewe reasons – v s. viii d. for v ponde of Buckados at ii s. iiii d. *per* £ *amountte* to – xi s. viii d. – *amountte* all to the some of –

viii £. xi s. xi d.

A present given to the Earle of Warwicke

Item paid for ii loves of fyne white suger wayinge xxi ponde iii ounces at xix d. *per* £ *amountte* to xxxiii s. vii d. for xiii ponde and a halfe of marmilad and suckettes at xviii d. *per* £ xx s. iii d. and for one barrell of Conservas wayinge iii ponde x ounces at xviii d. *per* £. v s. vi d. *amountte* all to –

ii £. xix s. iiii d.

Item paide for the hier of a horse and man to bringe the pressentt to Bath to my Lorde of Leicester. and for mans meate and horsemeate there – iii s. and for the hyer of v horses for those whome *Master Mayor*

appoynted to ride to Bath to deliver the same unto my *Lord* and to feast with his honor and for mans meate and horsemeate there – xi s. viii d. *amountte* all to the some of –

xiiii s. viii d.

Item paide to *Master Blande* for a feildebedd with a Cannapyne and curtyns all of grene saie belonginge unto him – iiii £ for a new bedcorde – xvi d. for one new stafe with a hooke at thende – x d. to ii laborers For fetchinge yt to *Master Kitchins* howse – iiii d. which bedd with thappurtennce was sentt to bath to my *Lord* of Leicester to lye in, who desyred to have one for his Bathbedd, and paid to a footeposte for bringinge a letter from *Master Kitchin*, to *Master Mayor* concerninge the same xii d. *amountte* all to the some of –

iiii £. iii s. vi d.

Item paide to *Humphrey Clovell* for ii barrells of Gonnepowder wayinge neete two hundred one quarterne and xvii ponde at xii d. *per* £ *amountte* to – xiii £ ix s. and for xxviii ponde of matche – xii s. xi d. and to *Master Langley* for xviii ponde of matche at – iii d. *per* pound – xiiii s., for browne paper to make up the powder into halfe poundes & into quarterns . ii s. iii d. *which was delivered* to the corporalls of the citty for the souldyers to meet the *Lords* and to skyrmishe before them at their cominge into the Citty to iiii trumpeters for soundyng theire trumpettes at my *Lords* cominge in – vi s. viii d. to ii master gonners for shootinge of – x caste peces in the marshe close when they were in the citty xiiii s.

iiii d. to iii laborers for ladinge and unladinge the ornaunces upon the hallyers draye – ii s. and to Nottingham for hallinge them to and fro beinge – xx draughtes – vi s. viii d. to iii drom players and to ii fifth players for v dayes a pece for warning the citizens for the mosteringe and for receavinge of them into the Cittye at xii d. *per daie per pece*. xxv s. for new snares and braces for ii of the chambers droms – ii s, and for a new collar for one of the droms – x d. *amountte* all to –

xvii £. x s. iiii d.

Sume of this syde – Lv £ iiii s. i d.

Definitions (OED)

Appurtence	An Accessory
Draye	A sled or cart without wheels. Used for dragging turf, wood etc.
Fieldebedd	A bed with an arched canopy and covered sides.
Footeposte	A letter-carrier or messenger who travels on foot.
Mostering	A display/exhibit.
Pursivantte	A junior heraldic officer attendant on a herald or nobleman.
Saie	A cloth of fine texture resembling serge; in the C.16 th sometimes made partly of silk.
Suckettes	Candied fruit.
Tuche Box	A box for 'touch-powder' or priming-powder, forming part of a musketeer's equipment
Vate	A cask, tun or other vessel used for holding or storing liquid.

Yet the Thyrde Weeke

For my Lords Dyatte

Item paid unto George Snowe and Robert Sheward for divers things boughte by them for and towardes the provision of bothe Lords diattes in the tyme of their beinge here as by their bill of particulers appers amountte to – x [illegible] i £ xviii s. xi d. and x d. also as by an other *particuler* accomptt appers *which* for Capons Rabbette hennes chicken, butter, egge, meate, bakon, lambe, veale, pheasanttes, pigge, salmons, Baking of pyes & hearbes *with* sondrey other *particuler* thinges – amountte to – xxi £ xi s. iii d. to the bakers For iv dossons of bread and manchette – ii £ xvi s. to missers Kitchin for wyne, bere, ale, wood and Other thinges laide out by her accomptt amountte to – xxiii £ x s. x d. to Ralphe Harte and Christopher Reagin for sondrey sorttes of spices, fruite, suger, marmiladd and suckette as by their accomptte xv £ ii s. v d. To John Clarcke vintener for seck and white wine – iiiii £ xii s. iiiii d. and to divers butchers for befe Mutton, veale and lambe bought of them as by their *particuler* bills appers. amountte to x £ xiii s. amountt all To the some of – Lxxxiiii £ xix s. ix d. I saie paid to the saide some of –

Lxxxiiii £. xix s. ix d.

Item paid to Harrie Goodwine Cooke by Master Mayors commandment for his paynes taken there with his men to provide my Lord's diate at Master Kitchens howse – x £. and paide to divers other undercooks, laborers

and poore weemen which did helpe there in the kitchins – xvii s. xi d. *amountte* all to –

v £. xvii s. vi d.

The Horsemeate

Item *paid* to *Master* William Downthall one of my *Lord* of Leicesters gentlemen of his horse for the chardges of his Lordes horsemeate at the Newynde and at the White Lyon *amountte* to –

xiii £. xii s.

Item *paid* to *Master* Bluncoelone of my *Lorde* of Warwicks gentlemen of his horse for the charges of his Lordes horses beinge at the Beares ynde as by the note of his hande appers the some of –

x £. x s.

Item *paide* to *Misses* Kitchine for monney *payd* by her to *Misses* Hopkins for *fish*e boughte of her – **v s. iiij d.**

Definitions (OED)

Manchette Wheaten bread of the finest quality.

Mayor's Audit Book F/Au/1/14:

The viiith weeke

Item *paid* for worke donne in pitching the streetes and sweeping of them againste

The coming of the Earle of Essex to ii pitchers – iiiii s. one laborer -

Xvi d. I other viii d. to ii laborers – iii s. for stones & beasoms i s. iii d. to John

Tovey – iii s. iiiii d. to Mewghe – ii s. to Cox – xii d. Davyd longe – ii s. to

Williams – xii d. to Edwarde – xx d. to howell – iiiii s. to Channler– x s. vi d.

for heavinge the robell aboorde the lyters – iii s. iiiii d. *amountte* all -

xxxix s. i d.

Item *paid* to hewghe Tyler for clensinge of the highe crosse - to hewghe Tiler

V daies & di. v s. iiiii d. his sonne v daies – iii s. iiiii d. his other sonne v

daies – ii s. vi d. *amountte* all to the some of –

xi s. ii d.

Item for wood coles and rushes to *Master* havilandes house i s. ii d. for capons

Lambe and other Fleshe for my *Lords* provision for the *which* I *received* parte backe againe

in monneye reste coste – xxvi s. to a laborer carringe thinge – xii d.

xxxviii s. ii d.

Item *paid* for one dossonne of charcolles for the Tollseye – **vi s. vi d.**

Item *paid* Anthoney vaughan Smithe for worke donne for the chamber as appers – **xxvii s. ii d.**

Item *paid* hewghe Tiler for worke donne upon the Shambles in lentte – **xviii s. ii d.**

Item *paid* for iii newe Turnes for the howse of correction & mendinge the reste there – **viii s.**

Item *paid* for a monneybagge to putt the greate Seale in – **iiii d.**

Item *paid* for worke donne on St George Chappell to hewghe Tiler iiii daies

– iiii s. his sonne iiii daies – iii s. iiii d. his other sonne iiii daies – ii s. for I C

di. of tyle – ii s. for ii wey of lyme and ii bushells here ii s. iiii d. ii ly of

tyle pynnes i s. for nayles iii d. and for vi crestes vi d. –

xv s. v d.

Item *paid* Richard Winter for arrows in the Sherriffes courte iii s. ii d. –**iii s. ii d.**

Item *paid* John Tovey for worke donne on the Shipp at the key – i s. ix d. - **i s. ix d.**

Item *paid* to Edward Yewth for Timber Spentt by John Batten in the Marshe – **xii s.**

Item *paid* more for ridinge the streetes of filthe againste my Lordes cominge – **viii s. vi d.**

Item more for clensinge of a ditche at the Spittle house – **viii d.**

Item paid Robert Shore for engrosing of the evidenses for the enfeoffinge
of the Landes of *Master* Thomas White and other deedes *which* were sealed
by *Master* Sixey And others the some of –

xxxii s.

Item paide to the poore people of the Trinitye Almshouse on St Davide daie – **viii s.**

Item paide unto Adam Beynion for two journeyes to London to the
Lords of the Counsell thone journey touchinge the Souldyers, and an
other journey touchinge John Barrons xvi £ xiii s. x d. unto of the *which*
I was allowed by the *Lord* Treasurer – v £ for the journey for the souldyrs

xi £. xiii s. x d.

Item paid for a journey for my selfe to the *Lords* of the counsell for
the recoverey of the reste of the monneys of the Souldyes accomptt
with monneys given for dispatche – xii £ x s. wherof I was allowed by
my Lorde Treasurer v £. Reste vii £. x s.

vii £. x s.

Item paid for a drum head and settinge of the same heade on the drum – **iiii s. vi d.**

Item paid Thomas phelppes for worke donne in the howse of Corection – **viii s.**

Item paid Edward Cricklande and John Iye hallyer for makinge

cleane the highe streete and for sopers lyme

iii s. iiiii d.

Item paid Anthony Vaughan Smithe for worke donne for the chamber - **xx s.**

Item paid him more for the reste of his accomptt for the chambers worke - **i £. xii s. iiiii d.**

Item paid for looking unto the Markett more – **iii s.**

Item paide John Amorgan for goinge downe to hungroad to staie the Shippes - **v s.**

Sume of this Syde – xxx iii £ xv s. I d.

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