## What light do the Mayor's Audit Books throw on the nature and evolution of the St James Fair during the sixteenth century?

The great fairs of medieval Europe were glorified open markets, held once a year, and lasting anywhere from three days to as long as six weeks.<sup>1</sup> They have long been recognised by historians as an important element within the economic life of the country as much of the inland trade was carried on within their limits; while weekly markets catered for the local trade in agricultural produce and fish, the annual fair was for the large-scale trade in livestock, raw materials and manufactured goods, often brought from great distances. While the 'great fairs' did suffer some decline in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this was mainly in the international arena; many of them continued to be locally and regionally important.<sup>2</sup>

Fairs frequently had close ties to the church, as they were often connected with pilgrimages or local festivals, in particular the feast-day of the patron saint of the local parish church.<sup>3</sup> St James Priory was established by Robert, Earl of Gloucester as a cell of the Abbey of Tewkesbury in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> This endowment included the right to hold a fair, 'every year, once a year... for the whole week of Pentecost'<sup>5</sup> or Whitsun, seven weeks after Easter. However, due to this being a moveable feast, it seems to have been moved to the end of July at some point during the later medieval period.<sup>6</sup>

Since the St James fair had been granted to the Priory, it was this establishment that received the profits from the tolls, taxes, and the fees from the booths and stalls set up in the graveyard and surrounding church land, until the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries. St James Priory was dissolved at the same time as its mother church, the abbey of Tewkesbury, which was surrendered to the commissioners of the king in January 1539. After the dissolution its lands were purchased by Henry Brayne, and the profits of the fair passed into lay hands.<sup>7</sup>

Previous historical work on fairs has mostly focussed on their economic importance in the medieval period, particularly focused on their income, and their periods of growth and decline;<sup>8</sup> little work seems to have been done regarding the sixteenth century other than brief mentions in passing. Barry stated in 1990 that 'much remains to be discovered about how markets and fairs...adapted to change',<sup>9</sup> and the religious changes of the sixteenth century and how that was reflected in changes in the activities in and around the fairs may prove fertile ground. Little has been written so far specifically on the St James's Fair in Bristol. A local history booklet was written about the fair by Joseph Bettey, and it has been briefly mentioned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.F.Salzman *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (London: 1964) p.142

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Craft 1086-1348* (Abingdon: 1995) p.166-175

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Salzman, *English Trade* p.142

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Joseph Bettey, St James's Fair, Bristol, 1137-1837 (Bristol: 2014) p.10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> E.W.W. Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol, Text (Part 1)* (Bristol: 1933) p.102 'singulis annis semel per annum ut per totam septimanam Pentecostes'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bettey, St James's Fair, p.10-11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bettey, St James's Fair, p.21

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For example Ellen Wedemeyer Moore *The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study* (Toronto, 1985)
<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Barry 'Introduction' in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688* edited by Jonathan Barry, p.1-34 (London, 1990) p.11

in a number of other works which examine the subject more widely, but other than the dissertation by Rosemary Meredith discussed below, the fair has not been the subject of much academic discussion, which presents the opportunity for this essay.

An analysis of the Mayor's audit books, held in the Bristol Record Office, forms the basis of this study. The Mayor's Audit Books (BRO F/Au/1/1-156), also known as the Great Audit Books, were drawn up annually by the City Chamberlain to set out the Bristol Corporation's financial affairs, recording receipts and payments. Each audit of accounts was drawn up around Michaelmas (29 September) to cover the preceding year up to that date, which was the date upon which a new mayor of Bristol took up his year in office (called a mayoral year). Thus, for example, receipts in the volume for 1532 commenced at the beginning of October 1531 and finished at the end of September 1532.<sup>10</sup>

I have examined the Audit books from 1532 to 1586, (BRO F/Au/1-12 Inclusive) and transcribed all references to St James's Fair, St James's tide, and others which may be relevant. Unfortunately the Audit books do not provide a continuous run of data. The audits for 1534, 1537-9, 1544-5, 1547, 1549-50, 1554-5, 1582 and 1585 are missing; the record for 1535 ends at the third week of the final quarter of the year, missing the weeks in which the fair usually took place, while that for 1559 is fragmentary and heavily damaged. Additionally the audit books are not always laid out in the same format, being written by different Chamberlains over the years; for example the accounts for 1541 were divided up into quarters but not weeks, and given thematically within the quarters.

Due to time constraints I could not transcribe the entirety of the documents. I therefore concentrated on the sections most likely to contain references to the fair: the fourth quarter from the first to the eighth week, as this covered the period from the end of June to the middle of August, which would include the dates surrounding the Feast of St James on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July and any preparation and subsequent charges; and the period around Whitsun. In order to find the latter more easily, I prepared a table containing the dates of Easter during the sixteenth century and the dates of Whitsun calculated from those (see Appendix 1). I transcribed only those entries which seemed likely to relate to the fair.

## The timing of the Fair and its possible decline

Rosemary Meredith's work on the Crown Commission of 1572<sup>11</sup> has suggested that the fair was not held for some years between the 1530s and the early 1570s, due to questions in the commission regarding "wherther there was eny fayer in Brystowe in the whitsonweeke" and "how longe synce that any fayre was kept there in that week"<sup>12</sup>, and witnesses who 'overwhelmingly suggested the Fair had ceased to regularly exist years before 1570'.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Roger Price, Bristol Burgesses 1525-1557 (2010)

http://www.bafhs.org.uk/resources/bristol\_burgesses\_1525-1557.pdf (accesssed 22/03/2015) p.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rosemary Meredith 'Claiming '*prise wynes during Whitsonweek*': A Methodological Investigation into Bristol's 1572 Crown Commission' (MA dissertation, University of Bristol, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Meredith 'Prise wynes' p. 33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Meredith 'Prise wynes' p. 17-18

The first point must be to clarify exactly at what time of year the fair was held during the sixteenth century, as there seems to have been some confusion over the date, a fact recognised by Meredith<sup>14</sup>. The date of the fair is of some importance to the question, since the prisage on wine which was the subject of the Commission was levied at Whitsun, but the fair was not necessarily held at the same time. Jean Vanes states that St James's Fair was held on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July and for nine days afterwards<sup>15</sup>, while other writers place it on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July which was the Feast of St James the Great.<sup>16</sup> Sacks firmly avers that it was held at Whitsun in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> though later refers to it as being in July when discussing the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> Rev. Hulbert, whose typescript MA dissertation is also held at the Bristol Record Office, believed that there may have been two fairs at St. James, one at Whitsun and another in July,<sup>19</sup> which suggestion is also followed by the St James Priory Project's history and education boards;<sup>20</sup> however neither give any evidence for this idea. A grant of 1461, in the Great White Book of Bristol, does state 'an annual fair to be held on 20<sup>th</sup> June and nine days after', and makes no mention of Whitsun,<sup>21</sup> though this is of course no proof that a fair was not also held at Whitsun in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Looking at the Mayor's Audit books, it can be seen that the only entries referring to Whitsun are payments for sermons and preaching (examples are given in the transcriptions in Appendix 3); there is nothing said about a fair at this time. After 1542 even this type of entry ceases, with a brief resurgence between 1553-1558, and only references to maintenance work on 'Whitson eve' or 'the thursdaie in whitson weke' give us any notice of this feast. I would suggest that this evidence points towards the fair having ceased to be held at Whitsun before 1532, and given the reference above in all probability before 1461, and from this time onwards being held solely in July. There are numerous references to St James's tide and to St James's fair made in the fourth quarter, after midsummer (usually considered to be the 24<sup>th</sup> of June) and as the table in Appendix One shows, the vast majority suggest that the fair was held during the fifth week after that date, which can be calculated to be the week between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and the 30<sup>th</sup> of July.

Regarding the theory that the fair went into a decline between the 1520s and the 1570s, table 1, which can be found in Appendix 2, sets out all the references to both St James's fair and St James's tide (combining entries containing the words 'tide, 'eve', 'day', 'night' or 'week'). It can be seen from this that while the fair itself was not mentioned in every year, it certainly occurred twice in the 1540s, in 1561, and then every year from 1565 onwards, with the

<sup>20</sup><u>http://www.stjamesprioryproject.org.uk/sites/default/files/Item%202.3%20Lectern%20graphic%20panel%2</u>

<u>O1.pdf</u> The suggestion is that in the fourteenth century the Whitsun fair belonged to the Priory, and a fair in July was set up for the people of the parish, however they do not discuss who owned the rights and profits of this posited second fair.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Meredith 'Prise wynes' p.17, see note 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jean Vanes, The Port of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century (Bristol, 1977) p.19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For example Bettey, *St James's Fair*, p.11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> David Harris Sacks, The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700 (Berkeley 1991) p.78

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, p.290

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> BRO P. St J/HM/6 Rev. N.F. Hulbert, *History of Somerset and Bristol* Fairs, unpublished. Undated, but references Potto Hicks, 1932, and part was published in SANHS 1936, so presumed to be from between those dates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Ralph (ed.) The Great White Book of Bristol (Bristol, 1979) pp.108-9

exception of 1572 and 1575. In 1572 the word fair is not written, however the reference to a booth at the correct time of year suggests that the fair did still take place. The entries for 1575 also contain no reference the fair, yet interestingly enough, Latimer mentions a plague which 'broke out immediately after the great fair in July' in 1575,<sup>22</sup> proving that lack of reference in the audit books does not necessarily mean that the fair was not held.

The references to activity at St James's tide are somewhat unclear as to whether they refer to the fair or not. This type of entry is more frequent before 1565 than those to the fair, occurring ten times out of the twenty-one years we have records for, as opposed to three regarding the fair. After the fair begins to be written about every year, in 1565, the 'tide' is only referred to once, in 1566.

As can be seen in table 2, in order to consider whether any of these references might apply to the fair I have divided the entries into three categories, those of entertainment, preparations and repairs, and stock. Preparation and repair work has been combined due to the frequency of repairs being mentioned as being *'against* St James's tide'.

Table 2 shows that entertainment was the subject of the bulk of the early references, occurring in 1532, 1536 and 1541 but thereafter not at all. There is an entry in 1546, a payment for a bear-baiting which follows immediately after two entries for cleaning and other preparation on St James's eve, however this has not been included here since it does not refer to the timing specifically. Bettey certainly considers the entertainment at Saint James tide as being provided 'for those attending St James's fair'.<sup>23</sup> It seems highly likely that such entertainment was indeed held in order to 'increase its attraction and induce more people to attend',<sup>24</sup> and will be discussed further in the next section. The entertainment at St James's tide often took place in the Marsh (now Queen's Square) and the 1546 preparation work of 'casting abrode rubbell at ye Butte in the marshe under the towene wall and for making clene the marshe' was no doubt for the purpose of making the open space ready, and more solid and stable, for the attending crowds. This can be seen more clearly from the entries from 1532 where there are several payments for dressing and mending the wrestling place in the marsh, coming just before the payment to the wrestlers on St James's Night.

The charges in 1548 and 1552 are for repair work on pipes: in 1548 this is work 'against Saint Jamis weke', while in 1552 the work is simply 'in Seynt Jamys weke'. Whereas other entries have referred to St James's tide, eve/night or day, presumably meaning the feast of St James and the evening preceding it, the fact that these entries refer to the whole week raises the possibility that it is the week of the fair that is being alluded to.

Later entries mentioning St James tide, in the 1560s, also carry suggestions that they do indeed relate to the fair. The first in 1560 is regarding a payment for hauling of rubble 'to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> John Latimer, *Sixteenth Century Bristol* (Bristol: 1908) p.62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bettey, *St James's Fair*, pp18, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bettey, *St James's Fair*, p.18

wey at Gybtayler<sup>25</sup> and casting it abroad 'agaynste Saint James tyde', which may imply merely that the road was in need of repair and this was an opportune time to mend it; however the phrasing, containing the word 'against', again implies preparation and could therefore be due to expectations of a larger than usual amount of traffic on this road, or a greater weight of goods passing along it, both of which would have been expected at the time of the fair.

In 1561 the entry which actually mentions the fair is directly followed by a purchase of lathes 'withe halinge and caring in to the store howse at St James tide'. A few lines further on another entry refers to cleaning the quay 'agaynste Saint James tyde' and the following week the last reference seems to be about changing money at St James tide. As will be seen later, the corporation seems to have often made purchases of stock items at the fair, while money changing would perhaps have been a necessity for travelling merchants. Cleaning the quay may well have been done in the expectation of large numbers of visiting ships.

In 1562, the relevant entries are firstly a payment to a glazier for mending 'Casements in the Tolsy agaynst St James tyde'; the Tolsey being where the piepowder court for the fair would have been held;<sup>26</sup> and secondly more nails bought for the store, which we have already seen, along with hauling of gravel from the back. More nails were purchased in 1563 at St James tide, and the final entry of this type, in 1566, was regarding the mending of the hutch door "agaynst Sent James tide". The OED suggests that a hutch might be a pen, not only for small animals such as rabbits but also for cows, which could certainly suggest activity at the fair; however the town hutch could also be the chest in which records and archives were kept, and in that case may also perhaps appertain to the piepowder court.

I would propose that the majority of these entries suggest that the fair was held during more years than is initially obvious, and certainly in several years between 1532 and 1552 and from 1560 onwards. Of most interest is the fact that is no entry of either type of reference between 1553 and 1559; at no other point is there no mention of the fair or tide for more than one year at a time. Although we have already shown that lack of mention in the audits cannot conclusively prove lack of existence, it might be that the fair was smaller or absent during this period, and it is very tempting to suggest that this tallies very closely with the period of the reign of Mary I. This was a time of great social tension and of particular concern to the merchants of Bristol was the revival of clerical power.<sup>27</sup> It has already been noted that the Whitsun sermons were revived at this point; it is possible that there was some dispute over the rights of the former priory, by then in lay hands, which led to there being some confusion over who should receive the profits and be responsible for any outlay.

It can seen from the evidence presented here that, although St James's fair was at one time held at Whitsun, by 1532 it was almost certainly only being held in July, probably at the feast of St James, although the organisation of the audit books makes the exact dates unclear. It may be assumed therefore that when the 1572 commission asked 'how longe synce that any

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A large post or crane situated on the quayside at the confluence of the Frome and the Avon; P Fleming, *Time, space and power in later medieval Bristol* (UWE: 2013) <u>http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/22171/;</u> Bristol Post, Oct
4<sup>th</sup> 2010 <u>http://www.bristolpost.co.uk/Lifting-lid-Bristol-s-cranes/story-11255233-detail/story.html</u>
<sup>26</sup> David Harris Sacks *Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol 1500-1640 Vol. I* (London: 1985) p.30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> K.G. Powell, *The Marian Martyrs and the Reformation in Bristol* (Bristol: 1972), p.16

fayre was kept there in that week', they were referring only to a fair in the week of Whitsun, the date to which the prisage continued to relate,<sup>28</sup> and not as to whether there was an annual fair at all. As to whether the fair did fall into abeyance, there is some evidence from the audit records to suggest that it might not have occurred during perhaps the late 1540s and almost certainly the 1550s. This gap coincides rather neatly with the death of King Henry VIII and the period of religious and political upheaval associated with the minority government of Edward VI and the return to Catholicism under Mary I, and particularly with the latter reign.

## The Evolution of fair 1532-1586

The second question to be considered is whether any evidence of change can be seen in the payments made for the fair over the period from 1532-1586. As with table 2 discussed above, I have divided up the expenses into the categories of 'standings, 'entertainment', 'preparation and repairs', 'stock' and additionally a 'policing' category. Again, since repairs are often stated to have been made 'against' the fair, I have combined them with preparation in one column. The costs have been entered in pence for ease of comparison and the chart formed from this data is shown in Fig. 1.

## 'Standings'

Stalls and booths are clearly the most obvious indication of trading activity taking place at the fair. No stranger could buy from another stranger except at the time of the Fair, but at this time visiting merchants rented stalls or 'standings' for the duration of the fair on which to display their wares.<sup>29</sup> The majority of these stalls would have been set up in and around the priory and on nearby priory land, with the fees from these being received by the prior or the lay owner after the Reformation. However, by the sixteenth century the fair had become so popular that stalls and standings had spread from the original location into the streets of Bristol and the fees from these belonged to the sheriffs.<sup>30</sup>

What is interesting in the costs from the audit books is that the chamberlain on behalf of the corporation is paying for one or several booths to be built, including paying the sheriffs for the rent of the space. This is only twice seen in the records before the middle of the sixteenth century; in 1541 when a carpenter was paid for 'the stondying over the gowte at S. Jamys back' and again 1542 for 'the stondynge in Saynt James feyrer". This type of entry is not seen again until 1566, when once more there is a payment to 'set up the Bowth in St James fair over the gowte yt goyth into Frowme'. An entry of this sort is then seen every year thereafter up to 1586 with only one exception, in 1575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Bettey, *St James's Fair*, p.22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Vanes, Port of Bristol, p.16-19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Bettey, St James's Fair, p.18; Ralph, The Great White Book of Bristol, p.75

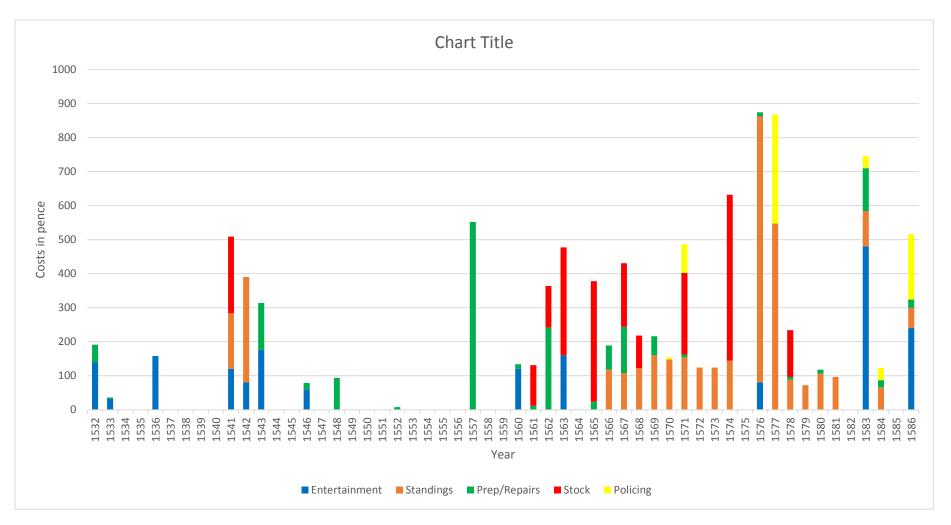


Figure 1: Costs of the fair divided into categories, in pence, by year.

The Ordinances of Bristol from 1572 confirm the fact that the sheriffs collected the rents of the booths in the streets, but were limited to how much money they could charge to the freemen of the city, with particular mention of the allowance to 'the Chamber' of 'ij standinges as heretofore hath byn used'.<sup>31</sup> 1572 was also the year in which the meal market was constructed in Wyne Street for the protection of the meal and flour from wet weather,<sup>32</sup> where from 1576 the Goldsmiths seem to have been given preferential treatment for the placing of their stalls. Indeed all of the entries after this date regarding stalls related to the Goldsmiths' standings in the meal market, including paying the Sheriffes to keep a space in front of the meal market clear to enable people to get in more easily and so that the Goldsmiths' wares 'shoulde be the better seene'. This very obviously caused a large increase in the costs at this time, very noticeable on the chart for 1576 and 1577, though thereafter this seems to return to normal levels. It seems that the costs in those two years were for new stalls, 8 in 1576 and 6 more in 1577, which required an initial outlay for wood and fittings, while in the following years the payments were for the setting up and hauling of materials to and from the storehouse, further lessened after 1583 due to the arrangement to store the booths in the meal market rather than the storehouse.

The emphasis on the goldsmiths' business may have been due to the downturn of the trade in cloth and wine, so important during the medieval period, and its replacement with that in metal and smaller, luxury items.<sup>33</sup> This also seems to confirm the theory that fairs in the sixteenth century had become less international, since it was illegal to export precious metals such as gold,<sup>34</sup> while yet asserting the continuing importance of the fair on both a local and national scale, since high value items such as goldsmiths' wares must have appealed to wealthy purchasers from London and elsewhere; Latimer suggests that the goldsmiths themselves were from outside of Bristol.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that part of the reason the Corporation covered such large expenses as these was the prestige and financial value of attracting of such visitors to Bristol.

#### Entertainment

Since they were only held once a year, and brought people and money together, fairs were the perfect opportunities for entertainment as well as for trade.<sup>36</sup> While a number of historians such as Harvey and Barker have assumed that the entertainment was a part of St James's fair, it has been noted that prior to 1642 there is no evidence to connect the entertainment to the fair directly, though its occurrence probably did encourage the attendance of performers.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Maureen Stanford (ed.) The Ordinances of Bristol 1506-1598 (Bristol: 1990) p.53

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Latimer, *Sixteenth-Century Bristol*, p.58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, p.713-18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Evan Jones, *Inside the Illicit Economy : Reconstructing the Smugglers' Trade of Sixteenth Century Bristol* (Farnham: 2012) p.217

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Latimer, Sixteenth-Century Bristol, p.58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> R.H. Britnell *The commercialisation of English society 1000-1500* (Cambridge: 1993) p.89

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Mark C. Pilkington (ed.) Bristol: Records of Early English Drama (Toronto: 1997) p.xxxii

It is certainly true that the references in the audit books to entertainments at this time of year refer to St James's tide rather than specifically to the fair, and presumably due to this fact, Pilkington's study of Bristol's entertainment does not consider the changes to the performances which took place around the time of the fair.

As noted above, early references to the fair or St James's tide seem to be largely focused on the entertainment, with the majority of entries between 1532 and 1546 being associated with this. Indeed even the entries referring to repair in 1532, 1543 and 1546 all relate to work done on the marsh. The marsh provided an ideal location for wrestling, since despite its name and the fact that it was surrounded on three sides by water, it was well drained and often used for grazing.<sup>38</sup> It also contained a bowling green, and from frequent references to the 'buttes' was evidently useful for archery practice.

Between 1546 and 1560 there are no further mentions of entertainment at the usual time of the fair, coinciding with the possible decline of the fair discussed above. After 1560, entertainments resume, however the occurrences appear to be less frequent. Whether this is due to a decline in entertainment per se or that the Corporation is taking less of the responsibility for paying it is impossible to tell from this source alone, however it has been suggested that after the Reformation, the prevailing Protestantism was 'associated with a godly life-style' and attempted to suppress the 'sports, drinking and good cheer' of the popular culture of the old religion.<sup>39</sup>

In order to consider changes to the types of entertainment over the period in question, I have created a separate table (in appendix 2) from which the chart in figure 2 was created, dividing the performances into the categories of 'bearbaiting', 'wrestling', 'players', and 'other'. The changes become immediately obvious; the entertainment between 1532 and 1546 is dominated by wrestling and bear-baiting; while after 1560 it is travelling companies of players which receive the majority of payments from the Corporation. There are two instances of entertainers not performing, but being paid anyway: Lord Russell's players in 1541, because 'the tyme was busy'; and the Queen's players in 1586. This latter instance was due to the council passing an ordinance forbidding plays in the Guildhall, presumably due again to the Protestant ideas of morality, although in 1613 the common council outlawed players at St James tide due to fear of the plague, which may also have been a concern in the later sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

The 'other' category includes an entry from 1576 for a tumbler, which, although not specifically referred to as being for or at the fair, does follow the list of payments for the standings in the fair. Likewise the two entries from 1541 and 1568, both for the 'wherelegeg' or 'whirligig' also in this category are not labelled as being at St James, but seem to fall around the correct time. While the term whirligig usually refers to a child's toy, the OED states that it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Pilkington, *Bristol*, p. xxxvi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Jonathan Barry, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century Bristol' in Barry Reay (ed.) *Popular Culture in Seventeeth-Century England* (London: 1985) p.70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Pilkington, *Bristol*, p.xxxv



Figure 2: Entertainment costs, by category

can also be a roundabout or merry-go-round (or possibly an instrument of punishment).<sup>41</sup> Edward Bulwer-Lytton writing in 1853 described 'rotatory entertainments commonly seen in fairs, and known by the name of "whirligigs", or "roundabouts",<sup>42</sup> and the attractions of St Bartholomew's fair in London in the 1700s also included a whirligig, as described by Ned Ward in 1703.<sup>43</sup> The situation of the whirligig in 1568 on 'mighell hill', presumably St Michael's hill, may suggest an association with the fair since the base of this hill lies immediately to the north-west of St James. However, given that these are infrequent occurrences they do not particularly detract from what can be seen as the prevailing trend of change, from bearbaiting to plays. Pilkington states that there was a rapid increase in visits of companies of players in Elizabeth's reign<sup>44</sup>, which is borne out by these results. However he found bear-baiting in the Marsh continued until 1580, so it is harder to understand why it seems not to have taken place at the fair after 1546, as this change cannot have been due solely to the Reformation. Entertainment at the fair was either becoming less frequent and less diverse, or it was simply the case that the Corporation was no longer covering the costs, either due to a more commercial focus, or possibly for reasons of entertainment as charity being more associated with pre-Reformation popular culture.

## **Preparation and Repair**

The costs for preparations and repairs between 1532 and 1546 occasion only small sums, mostly for work done in the marsh, including hauling and casting of rubble, cleaning the marsh and repairing the butts or wrestling place. The entries from 1548 and 1552 are for repairs to the pipes as discussed above. There is a larger outlay in 1557, again for repairs to the butts and the marsh, though here there is no mention of the fair so this is not necessarily pertinent.

Payments after 1560 remain relatively small, and differ in that, though the marsh is still occasionally mentioned during the first decade, it is the way or road in the marsh that is being repaired, as well as cleaning the quay. Again in 1566 and 1567 pipes needed repairing, as did windows in the Tolsey, presumably after breakages. After 1569 the repairs almost exclusively took place at the Tolsey, the Guildhall, and, from 1576, in the meal market, where holes from the stalls were filled in, the surfaces re-pitched and stonework repaired.

The changes in these entries again suggest a shift of focus of the fair from entertainment in the marsh to commercial activity in the streets and markets, though the occasional repairs in the Guildhall could be to impress visitors and attendees of plays there. It would perhaps be interesting to compare repairs around the time of the fair to instances during the rest of the year to see if there are more general patterns of change to the responsibilities of the mayor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> "whirligig, n.". OED Online. Oxford University Press, March 2015

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228470?rskey=0G1E6U&result=1 (accessed April 22, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *My Novel*, (London: 1853) Chapter VIII <u>http://www.gutenberg.org/files/7714/7714-h/7714-h.htm</u> (accessed April 22, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ned Ward, *The London Spy Compleat*, (London: 1703) p.263

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>http://grubstreetproject.net/works/T119938?image=267</u> (accessed 22 April 2015)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Pilkington, *Bristol*, p.xxxiv

## Stock

There is only one reference to the purchasing of stock in the early part of the period, in 1541 when a list of provisions for the store bought 'at Saynt Jamys ffeyer' is given; this may be due to the slightly unusual lay-out of the accounts for this year. This type of entry is fairly common after 1561; though not always stated that the goods were purchased at the fair, large quantities of materials bought for the storehouse at this time of year, listed with entries regarding the fair, rather suggest that origin. The supplies are usually nails in the thousands; in 1574 40,000 were purchased. It may be the case that these accounts actually represent the settling of accounts rather than a bulk purchase at one time, since it has been suggested that the Bristol fairs were the natural points of the year for merchants to both place orders and pay their debts.<sup>45</sup>

## Policing

A brief entry in 1570 records 6d paid for 'watching the first & last night', lumped together with a payment for nails for the booths, but there are no other reference to guards or watchmen until 1583, when a new cost appears; that of payments to a Thomas Lyne to attend the fair to 'fynde oute ydell rooges & suspicious personns'. However the same entry states that 'heretofore he was usually paid vj d per day', which suggests that this had been a cost in preceding years, possibly being the responsibility of other officials prior to this date since it was not previously recorded by the chamberlain. Nonetheless, the payments for his service were the same in 1584 and 1586, but in 1586 William Grey was hired as well as Thomas Lyne, as well as an extra four unnamed men, which considerably increased the costs of this form of policing.

The entry for 1571 records a payment for a man to go to Oxford to warn the inhabitants there 'to forbeare commynge to the ffayer because their citie was visited with the plauge', while in 1577 there is a payment to the town's attorney for a commission of 'Oyer and Termyner' which I have assumed might be related to the piepowder court associated with the fair.

Ships bringing goods to the fair would have been tempting prizes to pirates, and although there is no direct reference to St James in the entry for 1584, the fact that there were charges for 'pursewing of pyrates' from the 18<sup>th</sup> of July strongly suggests a correlation with the fair since that event would probably have started on the 20<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup> of that month; and although the costs continued until at least the 4<sup>th</sup> August this may reflect not only the desire to see the action through but also to protect merchants leaving at the end of the fair. I have not included the costs for this in the chart in figure 1 above since it seems to have been an irregular occurrence, and the sums involved came to over £60, which greatly outweighs any of the usual charges associated with the fair; however this does go to show the great expense of dealing with this threat. Measures had to be taken against pirates on a number of occasions during the sixteenth century; Bettey cites the capture of Breton pirates in 1537, who had come ashore while their ships were lying in wait for ships coming to the fair, as well as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Sacks, The Widening Gate, p.78

three pirates hanged in 1572 for robbing a ship on the way to the fair.<sup>46</sup> Appleby refers to the complaint of Caernarvon merchants who were robbed on their way to the fair in 1592.<sup>47</sup> Hill's 2013 dissertation states that 'pirates attacked Bristol's shipping...increasingly from the late 1560s'<sup>48</sup> which may not only be the reason for the appearance of such entries in the 1580s but may also explain the increase in the policing described above, if the 'suspicious persons' they were searching out were pirates attempting to sell their stolen goods at the fair.

## CONCLUSION

The Mayor's Audit books are clearly rich sources for examining the changes in Bristol's economy. St James's Fair can be shown to have retained its importance throughout the sixteenth century; if it did go into abeyance, it was only for a short time. The interactions of the Corporation and St James' Fair seem to have become increasingly commercial over time. Due to lack of space it has only been possible to look at broad trends, but it can be seen that the references to entertainment such as wrestling and bear-baiting around the time of the fair disappear, along with repairs to the natural arena of the marsh, to be replaced by the building of booths and standings and lists of hardware purchased to replenish the stock in the storehouse. Towards the very end of the period examined, in the 1580s, entries for a kind of policing appear for the first time, and the concerns over pirate attacks may have become more pressing. These changes must be viewed in the context of the period, shifting from the social and ceremonial activities of pre-Reformation Catholicism to the solid prosperity of Elizabethan Protestantism, when Bristol fair was yet described in 1577 as one of the greatest in England, and 'not inferior to the greatest marts in Europe'.<sup>49</sup>

WORD COUNT: 5494

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bettey, *St James's Fair*, p. 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> John Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Gloucestershire, 2009) p. 229

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Isabella Hill, *Bristol and Piracy in the Late Sixteenth Century* (BA dissertation, Bristol: 2013) p.7
<sup>49</sup> William Harrison, 'Description of Elizabethan England, 1577' from Internet History Sourcebook, <a href="http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1577harrison-england.asp">http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1577harrison-england.asp</a> (accessed 22/04/2015).

#### APPENDIX ONE

Book	Year	Date of Easter <sup>50</sup>	Date of Whitsun	Quarter/Week of Fair(s)
F/Au/1/-				
1	1532	31 March	19 May	4/5
1	1533	13 April	1 June	no reference
-	1534	5 April	24 May	-
2	1535	28 March	16 May	no reference
2	1536	16 April	4 June	4/5
-	1537	1 April	20 May	-
-	1538	21 April	9 June	-
-	1539	6 April	25 May	-
2	1540	28 March	16 May	no reference
2	1541	17 April	5 June	not dated
3	1542	9 April	28 May	4/5
3	1543	25 March	13 May	no reference
-	1544	13 April	1 June	-
-	1545	5 April	24 May	-
3	1546	25 April	13 June	4/4
-	1547	10 April	29 May	-
4	1548	1 April	20 May	4/4
-	1549	21 April	9 June	-
-	1550	6 April	25 May	-
3	1551	29 March	17 May	no reference
5	1552	17 April	5 June	4/8
6	1553	2 April	21 May	no reference
-	1554	25 March	13 May	-
-	1555	14 April	2 June	-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Taken from Petko Yotov, 'Side-by-side Easter calendar reference for the 16th century' (2007) <u>http://5ko.free.fr/en/easter.php?y=16</u>

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5	1556	5 April	24 May	no reference
7	1557	18 April	6 June	no reference
5	1558	10 April	29 May	no reference
5	1559	26 March	14 May	no reference
8	1560	14 April	2 June	4/3
8	1561	6 April	25 May	4/4-5
8	1562	29 March	17 May	4/4-5
8	1563	11 April	30 May	4/6
8	1564	2 April	21 May	no reference
9	1565	22 April	10 June	4/5
9	1566	14 April	2 June	4/5
9	1567	30 March	18 May	4/4
9	1568	18 April	6 June	4/5
9	1569	10 April	29 May	4/5
10	1570	26 March	14 May	4/4
10	1571	15 April	3 June	4/6
10	1572	6 April	25 May	4/5
10	1573	22 March	10 May	4/5
10	1574	11 April	30 May	4/6
11	1575	3 April	21 May	no reference
11	1576	22 April	10 June	4/5
11	1577	7 April	26 May	4/5
11	1578	30 March	18 May	4/6
11	1579	19 April	7 June	4/6
12	1580	3 April	21 May	4/5
12	1581	26 March	14 May	4/5
-	1582	15 April	3 June	-
12	1583	31 March	19 May	4/5
12	1584	22 March	10 May	4/6
-	1585	11 April	30 May	-
12	1586	27 Mar	15 May	4/5

Year	Fair	Time <sup>51</sup>
1532	-	Yes
1533	_	-
1536	_	Yes
1540	_	-
1541	Yes	Yes
1542	Yes	-
1543	-	-
1546	_	Yes
1548	_	Yes
1551	_	-
1551	-	Yes
1553	_	-
1556	-	_
1557	-	_
1558	-	_
1559	_	_
1560	_	Yes
1561	Yes	Yes
1562	-	Yes
1563	_	Yes
1564	_	-
1565	Yes	_
1566	Yes	Yes
1567	Yes	-
1568	Yes	_
1569	Yes	_
1570	Yes	_
1571	Yes	_
1572	-	_
1572	Yes	_
1574	Yes	_
1575	-	_
1576	Yes	_
1577	Yes	_
1578	Yes	
1578	Yes	_
1579	Yes	
1580	Yes	
1581	Yes	-
1585	Yes	
1584		-
1200	Yes	-

#### **APPENDIX TWO**

Table 1: References to the fair and to St James's 'tide', by year

Year	Entertainment	Prep/	Stock
		Repair	
1532	Yes	Yes	-
1536	Yes	-	-
1541	Yes	-	-
1546	-	Yes	-
1548	-	Yes	-
1552	-	Yes	-
1560	-	Yes	-
1561	-	Yes	Yes
1562	-	Yes	Yes
1563	-	-	Yes
1566	-	Yes	-

Table 2: Entries regarding St James's tide and what they relate to, by year

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Reference to St James 'tide', 'eve', 'day', 'week' etc

Year	Entertainment	Standings	Prep/Repairs	Stock	Policing
1532	140	0	51.25	0	0
1533	32	0	4	0	0
1534	-	-	-	-	-
1535	0	0	0	0	0
1536	158	0	0	0	0
1537	-	-	-	-	-
1538	-	_	-	-	-
1539	-	_	-	-	_
1540	0	0	0	0	0
1541	120	164	0	224.5	0
1542	80	310	0	0	0
	176	0	138	0	0
1543					
1544	-	-	-	-	-
1545	-	-	-	-	-
1546	60	0	19	0	0
1547	-	-	-	-	-
1548	0	0	94	0	0
1549	-	-	-	-	-
1550	-	-	-	-	-
1551	0	0	0	0	0
1552	0	0	8	0	0
1553	0	0	0	0	0
1554	-	-	-	-	-
1555	-	-	-	-	-
1556	0	0	0	0	0
1557	0	0	552	0	0
1558	0	0	0	0	0
1559	0	0	0	0	0
1560	120	0	14	0	0
1561	0	0	12	119	0
1562	0	0	242	122	0
1563	160	0	0	317	0
1564	0	0	0	0	0
1565	0	0	24	354	0
1566	0	118	71	0	0
1567	0	108	135.75	187	0
1568	0	122	0	96	0
1569	0	160	56	0	0
1570	0	148	0	0	6
1571	0	154	8	240	84
1572	0	124	0	0	0
1573	0	124	0	0	0
1574	0	144	0	488	0
1575	0	0	0	0	0
1576	80	782	12	0	0

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1577	0	547.5	0	0	320
1578	0	88	8	138	0
1579	0	72	0	0	0
1580	0	106	12	0	0
1581	0	96	0	0	0
1582	-	-	-	-	-
1583	480	104	126	0	36
1584	0	66	21	0	36
1585	-	-	-	-	-
1586	240	60	24	0	192

Table 3: costs by year, in pence

Year	Bearbaiting	Wrestling	Players	Other
1532	60	80	-	-
1533	32	-	-	-
1535	-	-	-	-
1536	80	80	-	-
1540	-	-	-	-
1541	80	-	40	12.5
1542	80	-	-	-
1543	80	-	96	-
1546	60	-	-	-
1548	-	-	-	-
1551	-	-	-	-
1552	-	-	-	-
1553	-	-	-	-
1556	-	-	-	-
1557	-	-	-	-
1558	-	-	-	-
1559	-	-	-	-
1560	-	-	120	-
1561	-	-	-	-
1562	-	-	-	-
1563	-	-	160	-
1564	-	-	-	-
1565	-	-	-	-
1566	-	-	-	-
1567	-	-	-	-
1568	-	-	-	6.25
1569	-	-	-	-
1570	-	-	-	-
1571	-	-	-	-
1572	-	-	-	-
1573	-	-	-	-
1574	-	-	-	-
1575	-	-	-	-
1576	-	-	-	80
1577	-	-	-	-

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1578	-	-	-	-
1579	-	-	-	-
1580	-	-	-	-
1581	-	-	-	-
1583	-	-	480	-
1584	-	-	-	-
1586	-	-	240	-

Table 4: Types of Entertainment – costs in pence

#### APPENDIX THREE

#### St James' Fair – references from Bristol Mayor's audit books.

#### EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

Each entry is preceded by a heading with the MS reference, the year, and page number. I have retained lineation, spelling, capitalisation and punctuation. Abbreviations have been expanded with italics to indicate letters supplied by the editor, apart from those in common use today or those typical of money, weights and measures (e.g. 's', 'd', 'li', '&', 'ob' and 'lb'; see below). Superscript letters have been lowered except where they are used with numerals. Where entries have been omitted from a section (for lack of relevance) this is indicated by '.....'. Where a word has been inserted above the line, this has been indicated with <sup>r</sup>...'. Marginal notes are included in brackets.

#### NOTES ON ABBREVATIONS

ob = half pence
li = pound
di = half, often half a day
ddi = dozen
ml = thousand

#### F/Au/1/1 1532-33

1532	The iii quarter			
p.79	The ix <sup>th</sup> weke			
Item paid for the iij sermons at redcliffe	in the Whiston <sup>52</sup> weke	blank		
Item more for conuydyng of the preche	re to m <i>aste</i> r maier	blank		
Item in like manner for rynggyng of the	belle	blank		
	The iiii <sup>th</sup> quarter			
p.89	The iii <sup>de</sup> weke			
In primis paid to iij laborers at Master mairys commannde-				
mentt for casting Awey the Robell and o	oyes from			
the Backe where the pyaardes lyeth iij c	laies	iij s.		

<sup>52</sup> Whitsun

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The	e Smugglers' City 2014/15			
It <i>e</i> m paied to Edmu <i>n</i> de perse for his botte full of					
stonys to Sayntt Aus	tens side before the gibbe	xx d.			
It <i>e</i> m more p <i>ai</i> d to th	ne duke of Richemondes berward				
At Master mairys co	<i>m</i> manndementt	V S.			
	Sum this side xxij s.	jd. ob			
p. 90	The v <sup>th</sup> weke				
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to iiij labor	rers to ffille the vates with stonys sande				
and robell that laye	apon the keye	xvj s.			
p.91					
Item paid for halying	g away of the said robell sand				
and gravell that laye	e apon the keye at Sayntt Jamy tide:				
First to Thomas dyo	o For A dosen haling	viij d.			
Item to William Johr	nys for a dosen	viij d.			
Item to john Stokes	for a dosen di	Xij d.			
ltem to John ynyon f	for viij vats	iiij d.			
Item to Richard ynyd	on in like man <i>ner</i>	iiij d.			
Item more paied to .	John Stokes for halying of iiij dos <i>en</i> di				
Of stonys that ley ap	oon the key and so the ley the at				
Phelipp furburs hous	se yende aft <i>e</i> r viij d. the dosen amont	iij s.			
Item more paied to .	John depe And to his s <i>er</i> uanntt				
for mendying of the	pale yn the marshe at the				
wrestlyng place A da	aye di Amou <i>n</i> tt	xvij d.			
lt <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d for iiij lery	pipis to dresshe the same	ijs.			
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d for C di bo	rdde nailys	vij d. ob			
Item paid for spikes	and cawfoot <sup>53</sup> naylys	iij d.			
Item more delvverd	to dresse the said Wrastlyng place				

Item more delyverd to dresse the said Wrastlyng place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Coffret nails, small nails used in making or adorning coffrets (?); William Cooke, 'English Glossary' in Pilkington (ed.) *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: 1997) p.331

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15			
liij peac <i>es</i> of the stor	liij peac <i>es</i> of the store tymber				
Item paid to the wras	stlers in the marshe apon				
sayntt Jamys Night		vj s. viij d.			
1533	The iii quarter				
p. 208					
	The XI <sup>th</sup> Weke				
Item Payde for the ii	j Sermondes at Redclyffe				
yn the Whyttson wel	ke	XX s.			
Payd to M <sup>r</sup> Meyare fo	or the convydyng off the				
same p <i>re</i> chears		iij s. iiij d.			
Payde for leyings of f	oremis cusshuns and ryngyngs				
off the belle		xviij d.			
	The iv quarter				
p.218	The V <sup>th</sup> Weke				
p <i>ai</i> d for mendynge o	f the pale yn the marshe	ii d.			
p <i>ai</i> d for calfootte na	ylles and bordenayyles to the same	ii d.			
p <i>ai</i> d on Sataday bein	g Seyntte Anne <sup>54</sup> ye daye to mast <i>er</i> spencers				
allmis folke		viij s.			
	The Vith week				
p <i>ai</i> d by the com <i>m</i> an	dmentt of Mr Maire to my lorde markes				
Bereward		ii s. viij d.			

F/Au/1/2 1535-1541

## 1535

.....

1536	The iii <sup>rde</sup> quart <i>er</i> ffrom our Lady Daye to	o Myddesomer
p.128		
	The xi <sup>th</sup> Weke	
<b>Item payde</b> for iij se <i>r</i> mo	nd <i>es</i> In the Whitson	
weke at Redclif		xx s.
p <i>ai</i> d to M <i>aste</i> r mayer fo	r convydyng of the p <i>re</i> chers	iij s. iiij d.
p <i>ai</i> d for settynge the foc	prindes & cosshyns And	
Rynggynge of the bell		xviij d.
	The laste quart <i>er</i> from	
	Myddesomer to Myggellmasse	
p.134	The iiij <sup>orth</sup> Weke	
Payd to a berrewarde		ii s iiij d
Paid to ii laborers for the	e clenssyng of a gowte in	
Jno gervis house		xiii d
Payd to Mr SPensers Alle	emesfolke on Sat <i>ur</i> day	
The xxiii day of July		viii s
p.135	The V <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item Payd to the Wrasty	llers on Saynt Jamys	
daye In the marshe		vi s viij d
Payd to the <del>Erle</del> dewke o	of Richemon is berrewarde	

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& to the mark <i>es</i> <sup>55</sup> dorsset his bereward		vi s viij d
1540	The iii <sup>de</sup> quarter frome o <i>ur</i>	
1340		
	Lady day to Mydsomer	
p.210		
	The vij weke	
Payd for iij sermonte	s At Redclyfe	xx s.

Payd to master meyre for convytynge of the prechers	iij s. iiij d.
Payd to the sexten for Ryngynge of the bell settynge	
Of the furinyes layinge of the banketes & cussyons	xviij d.

#### 1541 (following Officers fees on 'our Ladis eve', at the end of the third quarter).

p.342 <sup>56</sup>
---------------------

Sum total costis for rewarde

Sum total costis for provision

Sum total coste for a standynge in the feyre

p.343

#### Rewardes to greate mens servantis

iii s. iiij d.

vi s. viij d.

Item one Saynt James eve to my lord Russell*es* pleyers the tyme was busy they dyd not pleye

Item to herry my lord marques dorset servant on

Saynt James day his bere was beytyd

.....

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Marquis of Dorset, Henry Grey, father of Jane Grey

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Appears to be index for following page

2014/15

# Here folowith provision for store

Item paid for iij ml half of hache nayles at Saynt		
Jamys ffeyer at xxi d the thowsannd		
Item paid for ii ml of burde nayles ij s. viij d. le ml mot		
Item paid for a ml tew peny nayles iii s. viii d. le ml mot	iii s. viii d.	
Item paid for ii C Calfoote nayles x d. the hondrith	xx d.	
Item paid for one ml of tack nayles	xviii d.	
Item paid for one ml of a lesser sorte	xv d.	
Item paid for halyng of vii fatis of baleste	vii d.	
Item paid for halyng of viii ffatis of ffyne		
sande to the yelde hall for the key pipe store	viii d.	
Item paid for x dossen of creac At iiii d the dosen	iii s. iiii d.	
Item paid for halyng of vi fatis of fyne sand fro back		
Sum xxiiii s. vii d. ob		
Costes to set up a stondyng at ye feyer		
Item to John carpenter and his ii men for setyng		
up the stondying over the gowte at S. Jamys back		
Item for halyng that tymber and burdes ffrom		
the ylde <del>a</del> hall to the feyer and whome a gayn		
Item paid to maister Sheriffes for that grownd		
Sum xii s. vii d.		
p.357		
Costes in the Marshe		

Item to a carpent <i>er</i> one dayes labur to dresse the whereleg <sup>57</sup>	vi d ob
Item to William Stevyns smyth for a bolt to ye wherelegeg	vi d

# yette the key pipe / the viii th wooke

p.359

<sup>57</sup> Whirligig?

•••••

Ittem to ij laborars one daye to Cover the pipes	
under the wall of Saynt James Church yerd Agaynst ye feyr	x d
Item for halyng of stones from the ffreore to Cover them	iij d

# BRO F/Au/1/3 – 1542-3

1542	The iij <sup>de</sup> quarter	
p.89		
	The ix wooke	
Item paide to the iij prechers in the		
Witsonne wike		xx s.
Item to master maior for the convydyng	5	
of that prechers as it hath ben usyd		iij s. iiij d.
The iiij <sup>or</sup> quarter		
p.97		
	The v weeke	
Item to John Spowell carpenter for		
Settyng up the stondynge in Saynt		
James feyrer and the takyn down of it		iiii s. x d.
Item for all sortis of nayles to that		iii s. vi d.
Item to Robt Roffyn for ii c half of		
elme burdes to cover that stondyng		v s. x d.
Item for halyng all that stondyng		
to and fro		(blank)

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, N	/IA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15
Item to M <i>aste</i> r Sheril	fes for that ground		V S.
	T	The vi weeke	
Item to harry the ber	erd my lord		
Marques Dorsett Ser	uannt at the feyre		vi s. viij d.

1543	The iiij quarter	
p. 198	The iiij <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paid to Richarde Newman of		
Saynt Ans for vj loode of Turves		
For the great Butt <i>es</i> in the marshe		vij s. ij d.
Item paid to ij labourers for ij days		
and a half caring thise Turves from		
the graving place to the Buttes and		
for helping Grene of Burstillon to lay th	nem	xx d.
Item paid to Grene and his man wt hyr	n	
To ripayre thise Butt <i>es</i>		iij s. vj d.
Item paid to the Erle of Bathes pleyers		
the 27 day of July for playing afore		
master in the yelde hall		viij s.
Item paid the same day to my lorde		
maques Dorsette berwarde for showin	g	
pleasure to M <i>aste</i> r Mayor w <i>i</i> th his bea	res	vj s. viij d.

# 1546 The iiij quarter The iiij weke p. 331 ..... Item paid for casting abrode rubbell at ye Butte in the marshe under the towene wall and for making clene the marshe upon Saint James eve xi d. Item paid for making clene the back & Key the same eve viij d. Item yeven to harry coke berwarde vs. .....

#### F/Au/1/4 - 1548

# The Payments

## of the iiij<sup>th</sup> Quarter

.....

#### The iiij<sup>th</sup> weke

#### р. 60

..... Item paid to John Plomer for certen wurk upon alhallou pipe against Saint Jamis weke ijs. Item paid for Rosen and tallow there viij d. Item paid for iiij li of sowder there xd. Item paid to v laborers for iij dais a pece to held the plomer abowte the same pipes iiij s. iiij d. Item paid to ij laborers to helpe John plomer abowte the key pipe iij s. Item paid for Rosen & tallowe oanpud there xij d.

viij d.

#### F/Au/1/3 - 1551

.....

#### F/Au/1/5 – 1552

	Paymentes ffor the		
	ffouerthe quarter		
p.60	The viij <sup>th</sup> Weke		
Item paid to Robert Kachemen for gevyng attendaunce to loke			
to the said pypes in Seynt Jamys weke			

#### F/Au/1/6 - 1553

.....

## F/Au/1/5 - 1556

.....

## F/Au/1/7 – 1557

	The iiij <sup>or</sup> quarter	
p.43	The vi <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paide to John Yevanes for working up	oon the butt <i>es</i>	
in the marshe vj dayes at xij d the daye	vis	s.
Item paide to Richarde Shepperde for wor	kinge at the saide	
Butte vi dayes at xij d the Daye	vis	s.
Item paide to Nicholas Barthet for other v	dayes at the	
saide Butte at xij d the Daye	vis	s.
Item paide to Phillipp Maers for other vi d	ayes at the	
Saide butte at xij d the Daye	vis	s.
Item paide to John Luckock for other vi da	yes at the	
Said butte at xij d the Daye	vis	s.
Item paide to Charles ginke for workinge t	here ij dayes	
after the same rate	ij s	
Item paide to Nicholas Gynkes for working	e v dayes	

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15
At the saide Butt <i>es</i> at xij d the Daye		V S.
Item paide for ij lligh	te of Turves for the saide Butt <i>es</i>	ix s.
Item Paide to Mr Wh	utes Allmes the Last day	
Of July A??		<del>xxi s.</del>
	The vij weke	
Item Paide to Thoma	rs Welche for working at the	
m <i>ar</i> she wall to make	the highway playne the space of	
ij days at xiiij the day Amont		
Item paide to Thomas mynor, Davy morse, Nicholas doowerd		
John Guylmott, John Shepparde, John Davyes Will <i>ia</i> m Griffen,		
John Casshell, John Cormoke, John Gregorie, Dennis Ar???		
Thomas Harborde, Th	homas Rawlyns, Will <i>ia</i> m Thom <i>a</i> s, <i>Christ</i> ofer	
Welton, John Powell	and Thomas Underhill for woorking	
At the marshe bank t	he space of ij days at vij d. the day	xix s. x d.

## F/Au/1/5 - 1558

.....

#### F/Au/1/5 - 1559

.....

F/Au/1/8 - 1560-64

## 1560

The iiij<sup>or</sup> quarter The third weke

p.48

.....

Item paid to my lorde Robart Dudleyes players for

Pleying in the yelde hall at the commandement of Mr maior

.....

Item paid for hallynge of Robell to the wey at gybtayler

x s.

## Jocelyn Davis

# And for Castinge A brode agaynste Saint James tyde

xiiij d.

.....

1561	The iiij quarter	
p. 147	The iiij weke	
Item paid for A yarde and A halfe of ker	rsey for A peyer of hosen	
for the master of the beggers		iij s.
Item paid to the hockemaker for Riddin	ng of Robell from the gowte in	
St thomas strete A gaynst St James feye	er	viij d.
Item paid to John gryffethe trowman fo	or ij ml of lates at iiij s. vi d. the	
m I withe halinge and caring in to the st	tore howse at St James tide	ix s. xi d.
Item paid to John Carewe of bastable for	or a xi m l and iiij C of dene	
boule tyle at v s iiij d the m l Amount to	)	iij li. v s.
Item paid to Mr Russell and to Mr wood	de and to his laborer for halfe	
A day to tell them		xv d.
Item for A laborer to helpe them A land	le and for ij laborers at	
The store howse to cariag them in for h	alfe A day	xi d.

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	/ 2014/15
Item for halinge of xx	x <sup>ti</sup> vates at ii d the vate	iij s. iiij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d for haling c	of ij vates of Roboll from St Gyles yate agaynste	
Saint James tyde to C	Clene the key	iiij d.
	The v <sup>th</sup> weke	
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d for Mr Spe	ncers almes the xxvi day of July den	
Unto them this mont	h	viij s.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to Mr Clem	nente for halfe a dosen of haininge locke	
For store at vij d. the	pece	iij s. vj d.
Item more p <i>ai</i> d for h	alfe A ml lathe nayles	iij s. vj d.
Item for A ml of bord	e nayle and for halfe a ml lathe nayle	vi s. viij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d for <del>iij q<i>uar</i>t</del>	t <del>ers of</del> a nel <del>of</del> & iij q <i>uar</i> ters of Canvas for the key	
pipe at ix d. the Ele		xvj d.
Item for ix li. of tallow	ve	ij s. iij d.
Item for iij li. of Roso	n iiij d. of & for wood for fier ij d. Amo <i>un</i> t	vi d. ob
Item p <i>ai</i> d to the pl <i>u</i> n	ner for his labor for a day & a halfe	xviij d.
Item for his laborer for	or a day & a halfe	xii d.
Item for his boy for a	day and a halfe there	ix d.
Sum of this syde		vi li. ix s. viij d.
p. 148	Yet the v weke	
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d to Thomas	Cobler for casting of balleste into	
the Corner at St Gyle	s ynto for to rede <sup>58</sup> the key	iiij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to John bal	ker for pitching of A xi places in balen strete	
with Corse lyme		xx d. ob
Item p <i>ai</i> d at St James	s tide for the Chaunge of A xi li. of thre	
half pence at iiij d. th	e li	iij s. viij d.

## 1562

# The iiij quarter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> To clear or clean out, to unblock (something that is stopped up or obstructed)

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ijd.

p. 227	The iiij <sup>or</sup> wike		
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d to water myl	les for halying 134 vates of		
Sopers lyme to the way	y in the marshe at j d. ob the vat		
Mr allyne to pay the wa	an half amo <i>un</i> t the chambers po	<i>nr</i> t	viij s. iiij d. ob
Item p <i>ai</i> d to won for to	o fylle the vate for iij dayse		x d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to John cook	e for halyng of lxxviij vates of so	pers	
lyme to ye way at j d. o	b the vate amount the chamber	rs parte	iiij s. x d. ob
Item to Robart bryan fo	or fyllyng the vats amo <i>un</i> t the ha	alf	vij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to swift for ij	dayes to cast of a brode		xij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d for a Reward	to the halyars at dyuars tymes		xij d.
	Som <i>m</i> a of this	ij li. ij s. i d. ob	
p. 228	Yet the iiij we	ke	
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d to Thomas A	ddams for i C ij li. of Ratlyne for	stone	
at iij d. the li			xxviij s. vi d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to John powa	ar Glasyar ffor mendynge ij Case	ments	
In the Tolsy agaynst St	James tyde		xviij d.
	The v <sup>th</sup> wil	ke	
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d to patricke p	ayne ye xxvi day of July for M <i>as</i>	<i>te</i> r spen-	
sers almes dewe unto t	them this monethe		viij s.
Item paid to master Cle	ement at St James tyde for v ml	lathe	
Nayle for store			vj s.
Item for v C robell bord	le nayle		ij s. viij d.
Item for v C sengell bor	rdenayle		ijs.
Item for v C hache nayl	e		xviij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d to water myl	es for halynge of xij vates of gra	vel	
fro the backe at St Jam	es tyde at j d. the vate		xii d.
Item paid for Castynge	abrode of Robell and sopers lyn	ne	
at dyuers tymes at the	wey in the marshe		xij d.

#### The vi wike

Item for halynge a pece of timber from tempull yate

33

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15	
Item paid to Thomas	Griffythe for takynge of the locke		
Of the tolsy and dressynge of the same and makyng a newe key		ij s. viij d.	
Item paid to John Cooke for halynge of xix vates fro St			
Mary stret to the ma	rket plase to mend the wey for the waynes	iij s. ij d.	

1563	Generall paimentes and Reparacions	
From mighelllmas in an <i>no</i> 1563 untill mighellmas then next followinge <sup>59</sup>		
The pamentes of the		
fowerthe Quarter		
p. 313	The vi weke	
ltem p <i>ai</i> d to	o m <i>aste</i> r Clement at St Jams tyde for v c calfot nayle for store	v s. vi d.

Item more for j ml of sengyll<sup>60</sup> tense pryse v s. viij d. the thowsand v s. viij d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Therefore 1563-64, not 1562-63

<sup>60</sup> Single?

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15	
Item more for j ml of	bordnayle at iiij s. ii d. the thowsand	iiij s. ij d.	
Item more for half a thowsand of hachenayle pryce		xviij d.	
Item more for ij thowsand of lathe nayle pryce		ij s. iiij d.	
Item more for vj lockes for store pryce iij s and another vj lockes pryce			
liij s. ij d. so amont th	e dosen withe caring the nayle to the storhowse	vij s. iij d.	
The vij weke			
<b>Item</b> p <i>ai</i> d to the que	nes players for playnge in the yelde hall	xiij s. iiij d.	

.....

#### 1564

р. 368

# General paimentes and Reperationes

# From myghellmas in ano 1564 untill myghellmas then next followinge<sup>61</sup>

.....

## F-Au-1-9 1565-69

1565	The paimentes of the	
	ffowerthe Quarter	
p.45	The v <sup>th</sup> wyke	
Ite <i>m</i> paid at St James feyar for v c of du	dly boordnayle for store	ijs.
Item for j ml of smale nayle		xviij d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Therefore 1564-65, not 1563-64

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15	
Ite <i>m</i> paid to master clement for xI mI of lathe nayle at xij s per mI		xviij s.	
Item more for v x of	great boordnayle	ij s. vj d.	
Item more for v c ca	alfot nayle	V S.	
Item for iij c of boshell nayle		vi d.	
Item paid to A pursy	vant the xxv day of July for ye proclymacion for		
lyght horsis and harnes		ij s.	
The vi <sup>th</sup> wyke			
Item payde to John Nottyngham for halyng of x vatis of			
Sonde fro the back to the wey in the marshe		xij d.	
Item paid to davy moore for castyng of the sond a brode and			
viij vatis of rabell that came frome the key		iiij d.	
Item paid for the makyng of A syne with A paniar to set for			
Castyng of robell at y <sup>e</sup> banke & settyng up of the same		iiij d.	
Item paid to John Nottyngham for halyng of ij vats of Robell owt			
of the storehowse at the yild hall		iiij d.	

The payments of the iiij<sup>th</sup> quarter

p.109

1566

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#### The fourth weke

#### ••••

Item for a gret Gymose for the hutch dore agaynst Sent James tide

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15
Item for nayles to na	yle the said gymose and bothe the stockes	v d.
Item for mending the	e Stock <i>es</i> at Sent Awstens back	viij d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to Ellys deo	dridge the xx <sup>ti</sup> day of Julie for ma <i>ste</i> r Spensers	
Almose dewe to the	house in Lewens mede that month	viij s.
Item paid for kowryn	ng and making clene of xx <sup>ti</sup> long pikes	xx d.
Item paid for j ml of b	bord nayle for the store	iiij s.
	The fytthe weke	
<b>Item</b> for haling vi dra	ughtes of borde and tymbre to set up the	
Bowth in St James fai	ir ov <i>er</i> the gowte yt goyth into Frowme	xij d.
Item for haling iiij dra	aught <i>es</i> home to the yeld hall agayne	viij d.
Item to wilshier for se	etting up the bowth	iiij s. vj d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to Thom <i>a</i> s	bailie for taking the bowth down	vj d.
It <i>e</i> m for the hier of a	mayne corse to cover the bowthe	ijs.
Item paid to a carper	nter for half a day to set up one of the crayne	
Wheles which was su	unck	v d. ob
ltem for iij days iij qu	arters to a carpenter for making a dore to James	
Hurtnalls slaughter 's	stares' and setting up poste & lyntern	iij s. v d.
Item for j days worke	e at newgate to mend lynterns of a wyndowe	x d.
Item for setting up a	shelfe in a cubbord in the tolsey	ij d. ob
Item for j c hatch nay	/le iiij d. ij c frash nayle vj d. for layng owt ye	
borde & piling theym	n in agayne & haling the sayles to & fro iiij d.	xiiij d.
p.110	The syxt weke	
<b>Item</b> paid to John plu	um <i>m</i> or for xv pitch clothes set upon	
The kay pipe betwixt	Saynt James stile & the head	V S.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to two labo	orers for half a days worke	viij d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to John plu	ummer for one days worke	xij d.

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15
Item for newe leading	g a payne of glasse in the counsell	
house in the tolsey &	mending a casem <i>en</i> t w <i>i</i> th j q <i>ua</i> rull di	xiiij d.
lt <i>e</i> m for vij newe qua	rrills in the tolsey wyndows at ij d.	
Item for j kowring of	ij Casemente in the Tolsey	xiiij d.

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### 1567 The payments of the iiij<sup>th</sup> quarter

p.173

#### The fourth weke

Item paid to Thomas Shaull for iiij days worke to amend the short

Butte & the side Butte which werre decayed with the grete drought

Jocelyn Davis University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' Ci	ity 2014/15	
and to digge turfe owt of the trenchys in the marshe at x d. p <i>er</i> day	iij s. iiij d.	
It <i>e</i> m paid to Robert Webster laborer for ij days iij q <i>ua</i> rters there at vij d	xx d.	
Item paid for haling iiij draughte of Tymbre & borde to make the Bowth		
In Sent James ffeyr on the Gowt	viij d.	
Item paid to iiij laborers to set up the Bowth in the ffeyr	iiij s. vj d.	
The fifthe weke		
Item bought of william grove of hales ij ml of borde nayle at iiij s.	viij s	
Item bought of hym ij ml of hutche naye at ij s. vij d. ob	v s iij d	
Item bought ij ml of Lathe nayle at xiiij d. the ml	ij s iiij d	
Item paid for taking down the Bowth x d. haling iiij draughte of borde viij d	xviij d	
Item paid for the hier of a mayne corpse & draplet to cover the bowth	ij s iiij d	
Item paid to Laurence wyne for thalf charge in <code>`a`</code> gutter betwene the Tolsey		
and Saynct Ewens Church	vj d	
Item paid for mending the glasse wyndowe & kowring theym in the Talsey	iij s iiij d	
The sixt weke		
Item paid for setting iij pitch clowte upon the kay pipe at Sent James		
Church stile where the pipe was almoste broken in sunder	xij d	
Item for iij pitch clowtte at the bundell over agaynst erles mede	xij d	
Item paid to the plummer for one daye worke in bothe place	xij d	
Item paid to a laborer for one days worke there	viij d	
Item for pitching over the pipe at St James stile ij yarde di	iij d ob 1/4	
1568		

p.236

The payments of the fourthe quarter

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2014/15

### The fourthe weke

Item for a hewp of Iron for the post wheron the whirligig at	
mighell hill goeth wayng ij lli di at ij d ob p <i>er</i> lli	vj d. q <i>uarte</i> r
The fifthe weke	
Item paid for setting up the Bowthe in Sent James ffeyre	
And taking down the same at the end of the ffeyre	vj s.
Item for haling x draughte of tymbre from and to the	
Store house for the making the same Bowth at ij d.	xx d.
Item for the hier of a mayne corpse & draplet to cover	
the said Bowth during the ffeyrre	ij s. vj d.
Item paid for iiij ml of hatch nayle at ij s per ml	viij s.

1569	The payment of the iiij <sup>th</sup> quarter	
p. 312	The iiij weke	
Item paid to patrick payne for	m <i>aste</i> r Spensers Almose the	
xvi th day of Julie dewe to the	house in Lewens mede	viij s.
Item paid to John Kirry paynte	er for washing and vernyshing of the vj	
Panes of stories and the table	of the quenes armes in the tolsey 'at 8d'	iiij s. viij d.
Item p <i>ai</i> d for j li of Allum iij d	ob for a q <i>ua</i> rt of 'white' wyne to boyle iiij d	vij d. ob

#### The fifthe weke

Item paid for setting up a Bowthe in Saint James ffeyre over the gowt

Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	y 2014/15
in brode meade to iii	j carpenters ij days. v <i>i</i> z ij at xi d p <i>er</i> day and	
ij at viij d p <i>er</i> day amo	<i>ounte</i> th	vj s. iiij d.
Item for haling ix draughte of tymber and bordes thither and		
vii draughte back aga	yne to the store house at ij d.	ij s. viij d.
Item paid for trashe i	nayle and other nayle	vj d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d for the hier	r of a mayne corse to cover the bowthe	iij s.
Item paid for taking t	he bowthe down by ij carpenters di a day	x d.

.....

## F/Au/1-10 1570-74

1570	The payment <i>es</i> of the iiij <sup>th</sup> quarter	
p.39	The fourthe weke	
Item paid to ij carpenters for	setting a Bowth in S <sup>t</sup> James fferre ov <i>er</i>	
the gowt at S <sup>t</sup> Austens James	Back and for taking it down agayne	vj s. iiij d.
Item paid for iij C of trashe na	yle vj d. p <i>ai</i> d for watching the first & last night vj d.	xij d.
Item paid for hier of sayles to	cover the bowthe duryng the ffeyrre	xx d.
Item paid for haling of xv drag	ughte of bordes giste and sayles to make	
the Bowthe in and owt at ij d.	p <i>er</i> draught	ij s. vj d.
Item paid to a laborer for ij da	ays to attend upon the carpenters	xvj d.

The payment*es* of the iiij<sup>th</sup> Quarter

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p. 115	The vi <sup>th</sup> weke		
Item paid for setting up the standinge and covering yt with sayles at the gowt			
in Brode mede in St James ffeyer		xij s. x d.	
Item paid to william grove for ij ml of gr	eate canfote nayle at x s the ml amo <i>unte</i> th	xx s.	
Item paid to Baker for pitchinge iiij yard	e in haliers lane at j d ob p <i>er</i> y	vj d.	
Item paid for a waye course lyme		ij d.	
Item paid to Phillippe Russell for goinge	to Oxford to warne the inhabitanttes		
to forbeare com <i>m</i> ynge to the ffayer bed	cause their citie was visited w <i>i</i> th		
the plauge. I say p <i>ai</i> d hym		vij s.	
1572 The pay	yment <i>es</i> of the iiij <sup>th</sup> Quarter		
p.176	The fifthe weke		
Item paid for charges to set up the bowth on the gowt in Brode meade			
To ij carpenters & to take it down, cove	rting it with sayles haling		
Bordes & tymbre in and owt & for trash	enayle	x s. iiij d.	

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Jocelyn Davis	University of Bristol, MA essay: SIS / The Smugglers' City	2014/15
1573	Paymentes of the ffourth Quarter	
p.242	The v <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paid for setting	up the bowth and taking of it down ov <i>er</i> the gowt in St James	
Ffeyrre and haling the	e bordes & tymbre in and owt the same of	x s. iiij d.
1574	Paymentes of the ffourth Quarter	
p.310		
	The vi <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item bowght of willia	m Grove xl ml of lath nayles at 14 d p <i>er</i> ml amo <i>unt</i>	xl s. viij d.
Item paid for setting	up the Bowth and takyng yt down ov <i>er</i> the gowte in	
St James fayer and ha	aling the borde and tymbre in & owt. amo <i>unt</i>	xij s.

F/Au/1/11 1575-79

1575

p.97

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# Paymentes of the fowrthe quarter

The V<sup>th</sup> weke

Item paid to John Dasty carpenter for his labor for his mans labor and his boy in setting up	
the standinges in the meale market for the Goldsmythes at St James Ffeyre and for taking	
down the said standinges and shopps 5 s 6 d. for Jones the carpenter that wrought ij days ij s. iiij d.	vij s. x d.
Item for the hier of viij shewe bordes at vj d per borde iiij s	iiij s.
Item paid for iij ddi di of gistes and quarters & rafters for the said standinges	xxiij s. iiij d.
Item paid for j ddi of small quarters at iij s iiij d per dozen	iij s. iiij d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d for j stock of oken bordes yt 200 fote at iiij s viij d p <i>er</i> C for the same shopps	ix s. iiij d.
Item paid for iij C di at 20 fote of oken bordes to make shelves for the said shopps at 4 s per C	x[inkblot) s. x d.
Item paid for j C of trenayles for to beare the goldsythes shelves paid to Tho. Symons	xvj d.
Item paid for haling vj draughtes of tymbre and bordes too the meale market for the shopps	xij d.
Item paid to ij laborers for taking down the sad shopps for carryeng the tymbre & the bordes	
in to the store house and for carryeng home to the cofferars viij shewe bordes	xx d.
Item paid for haling to the store house all the said bordes and tymbre iiij draughtes	viij d.
Item paid for haling iiij fates of sopers ashes to the meale markeet to fill dyverse holes that	

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worre there w <i>i</i> thin the pillers – viij d. p <i>ai</i> d to a	laborer for filling the holes di a day – iiij d.	xij d.
It <i>e</i> m p <i>ai</i> d to one Edmond Jones a Tumbler for s	shewyng before m <sup>r</sup> Mayer and the Aldermen	
certeyn feates of vawting upon a horse and tur	nbling agilitie of his bodie	vj s. viij d.
1577	Payment <i>es</i> of the iiij <sup>th</sup> Quarter	
p.161	The v <sup>th</sup> weke	
(St James Ffeyrre:)		
Item bought ij stock of ynche oken bordes yt v	C xv fote and were 31 bordes at iiij s vj d p <i>er</i> C to	
furnyshe the Goldsmythes standinge in the me	ale m <i>ar</i> ket for St James Ffeyre amo <i>unte</i> th	xxiij s. i d. ob
Item paid for carryeng the said 31 bordes into t	the meale market by laborers and the shewe bordes	xiiij d.
Item paid for the hier of vij shewe bordes and f	for the hurttes which they w?? w <i>i</i> th nayling & cutting	iij s.
Item paid to John Baten carpenter for setting up of vj new standinges and taking theym down and setting		
Up the viij standing <i>es</i> of the last yere and takin	g theym down – viij s for carringe of all the standing <i>es</i>	
at the end of the Ffeyrre into the storehouse. x	xij d. p <i>ai</i> d for nayles for the newe standing <i>es</i> – vj d.	x s. iiij d.
Item paid to master Cole the towns Attorney fo	or the Comyssion of Oyer and Termyner – xxvj s viij d -	xxvj s. viij d.

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Item paid to Leonard Pope for viij fote	upon the Cawsey right before the mealemarket dore	
that in the Ffeyre the way mowght be	large to go into the goldsmythes standinges at vj d.	
p <i>er</i> fote – iiij s. and for other viij fote t	he last yere w <i>hi</i> ch was not put to Accompt – iiij s.	viij s.
1578	Paymentes of the fourth Quarter	
p. 229	The vi <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paid for mending the mattes in the matter is a second s	ne yeld hall agaynst the Sessions vj d. for thred & nayles ij d.	viij d.
Item paid to leonard pope for xij fote upon the Calsey <sup>62</sup> in wyne <sup>r</sup> strete <sup>¬</sup> over agaynst the meale market in		
St James Ffeyre to geve the people row	wme in open strete to go into the goldsmythes	iiij s.
Item paid to laborers for the carringe of the tymbre of the Godsmythes standinges		
to the meale market, the shewe borde	es from the <sup>r</sup> storehouse <sup>3</sup> kay and at the end of the Ffeyre to	
carry all the said tymbre and bordes to	the storehouse & to pile theym in ordre there	iij s. iiij d.
Item paid for ij ml of large dynnypoll tile for the store bought of master kemysse of		
Bedmyster at v s. p <i>er</i> ml – x s. for halir	ng the said ij ml to the store house – viij d.	x s. viij d.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Calsey or cawlsey – causey wey, or causeway? Pilkington, *Bristol*, p331

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Item paid to hughe davis tilar for one daye worke 'to' chuse the said ij ml of dynnypoll to

sort theym and to carrye theym in to the store house & to pile theym there

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1579	Fourth quarter (top of page damaged)	
p. 297	The vi <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paid to laborers for carry	eng from the meale market to the storehouse all the	
Goldsmythes standinge which	werre set up there in St James Ffeyre	ijs.
Item paid to Leonard Pope for xij fote upon the Cawsey over agaynst the dore		
of the meale market which is dewe to the Sheriffe that people might 'have' rowme to go		
in to the goldsmythes standing	ges owt of the ffeyre at iiij d p <i>er</i> fote	iiij s.

.....

## F/Au/1/12 1580-1586

1580	The payment of the iiij <sup>th</sup> Quarter
p.40	

### The v<sup>th</sup> weke

Item paid for 20 stame of welshe bordes for the store at vij d. per stame	xi s. xiij d.
Item paid to John Tailor the pursyvannt for bringyng down a cont & proclamations	
concernyng traitors and fugytyves fled owt the Realm	V S.
Item paid to Leonard pope for master Sheriffes dewtie of xij fote upon the Cawlsey	
In wyne strete up agaynst the meale in St James feyr for xij at iiij d. p <i>er</i> fote	iiij s.
Item paid for bringyng forth and carryeng into the store house in and owt of the	
meale market the Goldsmythes standinges by laborers & to pt theym in ordre	iiij s.
Item paid to Symon Baton mason for new layng before the Ffeyre to hym and	
to his boye a benche stone in the meal market and take a way one that was broken	xij d.
Item paid for si C of trenayles for to beare the shelves of the standing of the goldsmythe	es x d.

1581	Paymentes of the fourthe Quarter	
p. 113	The v <sup>th</sup> weke	
Item paid for carrying the tymb	er of the Goldsmythes standing into the	
meale market at the begynnyn	g of the Ffeyre and at thynd of the Ffeyre to	
take the shoppes down and to	carrie the tymbre into the store house and to	
set the said tymber and bordes	in ordre w <i>hi</i> ch was donne by laborers	iiij s.
Item paid to master Sheriffe for xij fot	e upon the Cawsy in wyne strete for a way to go into ye mealem <i>ar</i> ket	iiij s.
1583 Payme	ntes of the Thyrd Quarter <sup>63</sup>	
p. 173	Yet the iiij <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item paid master Sherriff webb for j yarde & di of brode clothe of the same color his		
Yeomens lyveris were, for the E	Bedell of bridewell to wayte againste St James	
Ffayer on m <i>aste</i> r Mayor at vij s	. the yarde – x s. vj d. – monntes in totall to	x s. vj d
	The ffyfth weeke the xxiiij <sup>th</sup> daie of July	
Item paide to the Queenes maj	<i>es</i> tis Players by m <i>aste</i> r Mayor and the Aldermens appoyr	nte-
-mente for theire enterlude pla	yed before them at the yelde hall – xl s	ij li.

(Goldsmiths standinges):

Item paid John Batten Carpenter for newe framinge the goldsmithes tymber &

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This year the payments only cover Christmas to Michaelmas, so the quarter from Midsummer to Michaelmas is the third, rather than the fourth.

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Bordes for him selfe	one day and di at xij d p <i>er</i> daye – xviij d & for his ij men ij	
Dayes a pece at x d p	oer daye – xx d monntes in totall to – iij s. ij d	iij s. ij d.
It <i>e</i> m spente there j o	dosson and viij yoise <sup>64</sup> of xj foote of lengthe, x oken bordes, beinge	
ij C of borde, and vij	elme borde beinge iij quarters and v foote vij smale bordes being	
xxviij foote and x peo	ces of olde yoistes for to make piles to sett under the shew borde	
with iij shorte quarte	ers of oke for the same, and viij bordes of vir of xiiij foote longe	
a pece and one foot	e brode w <i>hi</i> ch j C and xl foote and more beinge all of the	
Chambers store		(blank)
It <i>e</i> m pa <i>i</i> d for j C of ti	rene nayles for to beare the shelfe bordes – xvi d	j s. iiij d.
p.174.	The Sixthe Weeke the laste daie of Julye	
Item paide Thomas I	yne for his attendannce this ffayer time as heretofore he was	
usually paid after vj	d p <i>er</i> daye for ix daies to fynde oute ydell <sup>65</sup> rooges & suspicious	
personns which mor	ntes to iij s.	iij s.
Item Batten Carpent	er for j dayes worke for himselfe and his ij men takinge down	
the goldsmithes star	ndinges in the meale markett and settinge them up in to ffronnes	
at the further end of	f the same markett place so that the bordes, quarters and Piles	
may be redie to s <i>er</i> v	ve yerely at ev <i>er</i> y ffayer there him selfe xij d. & his ij men – xx d. an	d

to Ramsberry for pitchinge the hooles when the piles were sett – xviij d m*on*tes to iiij s. ij d. It*e*m spente there iiij yoistis of oke of x fote longe a pece, xx canffott nayles, and

xi overlocke nayles and xx borde nayes of the Chambers store ------

<sup>65</sup> Idle?

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1584	Paymenttes of the ffourthe Quarter	
p. 252	The iiij <sup>th</sup> weeke	
(A Com <i>m</i> issyon for apprehending of pirat <i>es</i> ):		
Item paid by Master Mayor and the Aldermer	nes appoyntement to a Pursivante for bringinge down a Commission concerninge the	e
Settinge fourthe of a Shipp, or Barcke, for the	apprehendinge of certeyne Pyrattes lyinge aboute the Severne, by Glamorgan	
With a Rit from the Queens Majesties privye of	counsell diverted in that behalfe. I saye paid	xx s.
	The v <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item paid to Dakers plumer for viij tallowe clo	thes sett upon Allhallon pype at iiij d p <i>er</i> clothe – ij s viij d, and for	
one dayes worke there – xij d. m <i>ounte</i> th		iij s. viij d.
It <i>e</i> m paid him more for iij li of led for to yoate	in a Crampe of yron to make faste a ffree stone in the meale markett	iij d.
p. 253	The vi <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item paid to Thomas Lyne for his attendannce	e this St James Ffayer to fynde out ydell p <i>er</i> sons, and begges	iij s.
Item paid to master Sherriffes for xij foote of	grownde, allowid ev <i>er</i> y Ffayer for the Rome before the Meale Markett because	

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The Goldesmithes standinges shoulde be the	better seene	iiij s.	
	The vij weeke		
Item paid the Pitcher for mendinge the Meale	e Markett which was broken with the Goldesmithes standinges	xviij d.	
Item paid to John Batten Carpendar for taking	e down the goldesmithes Standinges and settinge them up againe		
in theire places in the Meale Markett, where	a place was made the laste yere to kepe them there, in ij frames	xviij d.	
p. 254 The x	xviij daye of July A <i>nn</i> o Dom <i>ini</i> 1584		
(Pursewing of Pyrat <i>es</i> )			
The accompte of moneyes by me delivered by Master Mayor, and the Aldermens appoyntement for the Riginge			
Fowrth of a Shipp called the Marye Fflower of Bristowe, to go to followe the Apprehendinge of Certeyne			
Pyrattes nowe beinge in the Channell, for which is appoynted for Master Thomas Gennynge towhome is delivered for			
The Pressinge of Three score Marryners – iij l	i at xij d per man in the presence of Master Mayor, and sondrey the Alldermen	iij li.	
Item the same date delivered William tailor, v	who is appoynted the purveyor of Victualls for - xx marrineres to Rigg ye shipp	ij li. viij s.	
	reason we sould use to some the some Ching		

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It <i>e</i> m paid to John Griffin brewe for iiij tonne of bere for the saide Shipp w <i>hi</i> ch was laden aborde her at – xxxij s the tonne	
Which mounteth to – vj li viij s. and for on barrell of bere sentte downe to the marryners at the riginge of the shipp – iiij s mth	vj li. xij s.
Item paid to Page the Surgion by master mayor and the Aldermens apoyntement to buy salve and other thinges to serve in this	
viage beinge preste to goe in the saide Shippe xx s.	xx s.
DELETED SECTION – HATCHED THROUGH	
It <i>e</i> m paid for a barrell of Gonnpowder weyinge j C j q <i>uar</i> ter & viij li at xj d p <i>er</i> lb w <i>hi</i> ch the purser boughte of a	
Strainger for w <i>hi</i> ch I have paide him in redy money for the same – vj li xv s. viij d	vj li xv s. viij d.
Item paide for one kinterkinn and ij ffirkins of Butter for the same Provision for the Shippe	ij li xij s.
Item paid Pope the baker for ix C and vj lb of Biskett at viij s vj d. per C which mountth to	iij li xvij s.
Item paid to Channdlor Lyterman for xxx tonne of ballas at – ix d per tonne – xxij s vj d and for carringe downe the	
bere, and Biskett in his lyter – iij s and to Bird lyterman for xv tonne of ballas at – ix d per tonne – xj s iij d mountth all	xxxvj s. ix d.
Item delivered to Captainge Sackefeilde by master Mayor and the Aldermens appoyntement x s to presse x marryners more	X S.
Item paid Beese the butcher for x C of beffe at xij s vj d per C which was salted in ij hogges and a barrell, and for	
xxxij li of beefe of odd weighte, which coms to – vj li vij s and for – ijj C & xvij li at an other tyme at xij s vj d	
per C mounteth yo xxxix s. ij d salted and delivered to the Purser for the shipp, mounteth all to	viij li vj s. ij d.
Item paid Pope the baker for – xiij dosson of bread at xij d per dosson spente at the Riginge of the shipp	xiij s.
It <i>e</i> m paid for ix busshells of salte , to salte the Beffe, at xij d pe <i>r</i> busshell m <i>ounte</i> th to	ix s.

Item paid for ij C of Cheese at xiij s per C and for ij C and di les vi li of other Chese at – xiij s per C which iiij d for carriadg ij li xj s. v d. ob Item paide for ij seame of woode with Carriadge to the boate – xvij d. bringinge the befe from the shambles to be Salted, and fechinge the salte – vj d. for one tonne of water Caske – iiij s, ij dosson of candells at – iij s per dosson vj s one drye vate for breade – v s. & one butt, ij s viij d. one hogges – xx d. ij hogges for beffe at – xx d. per hogg – iij s iiij d and one barrell for the same – xij d for hallinge the sayles from the storehouse – iiij d. hallinge ij draughtes of bread – vj d. for xx platters at – ij d. per pece – iij s iiij d. xx Cannes at ij d ob per pece – iiij s ij d. v smale Cannes at ij d per pece – x d. xiiij bread baskettes at ij d per pece – ij s iiij d and vj other at – i d per pece – vj d., ij dosson of Trenchers – ij d, j C of caliver shott x d. for iij mens dynner to caste di C of lead into Caliver shott – ix d. for hallinge the hogges and the barrell of beffe with the Calivers to the key – x d. for x li of matche at – iiij d per lb – iij s. iiij d. j pounde of glewe – iij d on Ell and di of Canvas to make Carterges – xvij d – vj seame of wood more at vij d. per seame – iiij s a Buclett – vj d. ij C of nayles – xij d. xxx li of Okom at j d. ob per lb. iij s ix d. hallinge the bere – vj d. carringe the Powder and shott - xviij d a Ladell to caste shott - vj d. browne threade to sowe the Carterges - iij d. for iij boates hyer to carry downe, bere, breade, wood, shott Powder, and other thinges – vj s. viij d. for iij quier of paper at vj d. per quier xviij d. for brome j d. and for a Locke to hangg on the Stewardes rome – vj d. and for headinge the bread caste -iiij d. All which parcells was laide oute by the Purser as apperthe by his Accompte which mounteth in totall iij li. vj s. iij d. Item delivered & paid the Purser in parte of payment of his wages agreid upon by master Mayor & the Aldermen, which was xl s. of which I have paide him in money - xx s XX S.

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Item paide more for L li of beffe fott by the Purser for the Marryners when the shipp was a Riginge after xij s vj per C	v s. viij d.
Item paid to Goodwyffe Baldewynne for iij hogges of bere after xxxij s per tonne – xxiij s and for iiij hogges at xx d. per pece v s.	xxix s.
Item paid to John A morgan for his horshyer to ride down to hungrode on nighte to warne the pilates to have	
forthe the shipp in to kingrode	viij d.
Item delivered to the Purser to buy iij busshells of salte more for to salte more meate for the marryners – iij s at xij d per	
busshell – and for iiij seame of woode at viij d p <i>er</i> seame – ij s viij d.	v s. viij d.
It <i>e</i> m paid Cole the lyterman for bringinge a Cable to kingrode iij barrell of bere, and – xj long pikes, whereof	
Vj were borrowed of the Owners of the Mynion, and v. were the Chambers, I saye paid	iij s. iiij d.
Item the iiii daie of Auguste paide Beefe the butcher for iii C i quarter and i li of beffe more at xii s. vi d. per C which mounteth to ii li x d	l
to Pope the baker for - x dossen of bread – x s. and to Goodwyffe Baldewynne for iii barrells of Bere xiis	iii li ii s. x d.
(DELETED SECTION - HATCHED THROUGH)	
Item paid a hooper for settinge ii dossen of hoopes upon the Barrells of Powder, Butter, and beefe barrell at vi d	
p <i>er</i> dossen – xii d. and for packinge the beefe into a hogg againe after it came out of the shipp – ii d.	xiiii d.
Item paid the Pylates for bringinge fourth the Mary Fflower into Kingrode as will appeare by his bill	xxiii s. vii d.
Item paid to iii laborers for bringinge iii barrells of Powder of master Langleys, to his storehouse at St. Phillipps	
which came home in the shipp at her Retorne - vi d. for hoopinge iii hoggs which went downe with bere of goodye	
Baldewynnes – xx d. & to Chandlor Lyterman for bringinge the bere, butter, biskye, cheese gunpowder and other	

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things from the shipp – iij s. vj d.		v s. viij d.
Item paid wade the hallyer for hallinge i drau	ghte of Biskye to Pope the Bakers house - ii d. ii draughtes of bere into	
the storehouse at the Key – iiij d. and to Robe	ert Adeane hoop <i>er</i> for setting iii dosson of hoopes upon hogsedes of bere w <i>hi</i> ch	
was deliv <i>er</i> ed backe againe to Griffyne the br	rewer - at viii d. p <i>er</i> dossen - ij s & vj hoopes sett upon a Butt – v d.	ij s. xi d.
It <i>e</i> m paid Dakers Plumer for di C & xvj li of leo	dd to make caliver shott - vj s. vij d. and to another hooper for settinge	
liii dossen and viii hoopes upon iij hogg <i>es</i> whi	<i>i</i> ch came up, and are to be solde at - viii d. p <i>er</i> dossen – iij s. ij d. and to a	
laborer for bringinge the saide iij hogg <i>es</i> from	n the backe to the storehouse - iij d. m <i>oun</i> teth	x s.
Item paid to Master Langley for a barrell of po	owder wayinge in the besides the Caske – vj CC vj li & di at xij d. p <i>er</i> lb w <i>hi</i> ch	
because it was opened he woulde not receav	e them againe m <i>oun</i> teth to - vi li vi s. vi d. and for the wantt of certyne	
powder, and for Carriadge of it to the storeho	ouse - iij s. vij d m <i>oun</i> teth	vi li x s. iiij d.
Summe of this side		lix li xviij s. ij d. ob

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1586	Paymenttes of the ffowrth Quarter	
p. 328	The iiij <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item paid the xxviij daie of July to the Queene	s Pursivanntte for bringinge downe a write	
For the Laste Subsidewe for this Cittie which w	vas grannted at the Laste Parliamentt	vj s. viij d.
Item paid by Mr Mayor and Thaldermens com	manndeementt to the Queenes Maiesties Players	
For that they played <sup>r</sup> not <sup>¬</sup> before Mr Mayor a	nd his Bretheren and others of the Cominaltie	xx s.
p. 329	The v <sup>th</sup> weeke	
Item paid to William Grey Laborer for his atter	ndance this Ffayer to fynde out Idell persons	
And Rogges in this St James Ffayer ij s. and to	Thomas Lyne for his Attendannce there iij s.	V S.
Item paid to Mr Sherriffes for the voide grounde before the Meale Markett dore going in to the		
Goldsmithes standinges their paid to them ev	erye yere	iiij s.
	The vi <sup>th</sup> weeke	

Item paid to Jo. Batten Carpendar for his mens worke takinge downe the standinges in the meale

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markett which the Goldesmithes had and for settinge of them up in theire places againe				
Item paid to Ramsberry the Pitche for pitchinge the hooles in the Meale Markett which was				
Broken at the settinge up of the goldesmithes stanndinges there		ij s.		
p.330	The viij th weeke			
Item paid by Mr Langleys appoyntementt to iiij men for theire attendannce v dayes in St James				
Ffayer to fynde out ydell p <i>er</i> sons and Rogges there. I saie p <i>ai</i> d them for theire paynes xj s.				

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