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**Entertaining the Queen:
Queen Anne's Royal Progress to Bristol in 1613**

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Entertaining the Queen:
Queen Anne's Royal Progress to Bristol in 1613

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CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Chapter 1) Expenditure	7
Chapter 2) Content	18
Conclusions	27
Appendix - Documents relating to Queen Anne's visit	29
Bibliography	36

INTRODUCTION

This study will evaluate how and why the Bristol Corporation aimed to further their relationship with the Crown during Queen Anne I's royal visit to Bristol in 1613. It will examine whether the costly spectacle presented by Bristol civic officials can be interpreted as a political manoeuvre infused with contemporary comment.

In June of 1613 Queen Anne, having briefly visited Bath to take the waters there, travelled to Bristol. She stayed in the city for several days where she enjoyed numerous speeches by members of the civic elite and a vast mock sea-battle which took place in the Bristol docks. The battle depicted an assault by two formidable Turkish galleys upon an English vessel, which eventually resulted in the Turkish pirates being brought before the Queen for her judgement. The Bristol entertainments made an appeal to Queen Anne and dazzled her with orations and displays of naval strength through this elaborate mock sea-battle. The message conveyed by the city of Bristol to the Queen was a promise of their loyalty and the event certainly had been inspired their own civic agenda.

Indeed, by the seventeenth century, royal progresses to provincial towns and cities were a well-established mode of communication between monarch and subject. Through civic displays the monarchy was able to present itself in its most resplendent form, which glorified the royal guest.¹ Additionally, progresses to towns and cities across the country allowed the king or queen to satisfy their own personal and political needs on a public stage, thus advancing their royal goals.² What is more, the civic visit was a reciprocal engagement that provided a valuable opportunity for towns and cities to further their own provincial agendas. In a society where most towns were royal creations, dependent upon the Crown for the guarantee of liberties and privileges, the royal visit was a way of achieving a reaffirmation of these rewards, while also boosting local pride.³ Previous rewards from royal visits to provincial towns ranged from economic aid to royal favour in the form of knighting the hosts or members of their family. At Basing in 1601, eleven men were knighted by Queen Elizabeth I and during her progress to Worcester in 1575 she granted the city's requests for the protection of its guilds and cloth trade.⁴ Evidently, royal visits were of value to both the

¹ R. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion*, (London, 1973), 23.

² M.H. Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony*, (United States of America, 1999), 1.

³ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 2.

⁴ M.H. Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion: An Overview of Elizabethan Progresses', in J. Archer, E. Goldring, and S. Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, & Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, (New York, 2007), 38.

Crown and the provincial host as personal and public benefits could be derived for both parties.

The royal visit thus represented an opportunity for the royal visitor and the host to further their political, economic or royal agenda. However, historical study of this topic has neglected the political dialogue found within royal visits.⁵ In existing literature, historians who have written about Queen Anne's progress to Bristol have tended to examine it as part of a broader discussion of the development of pageantry and early modern English drama. Sydney Anglo's study on pageantry and Tudor policy is just one case.⁶ Nevertheless, Anglo's study does offer a valuable guide to the development of iconography, religious symbolism and celestial influences common in many early modern pageants, however, it does not include an extensive analysis of Queen Anne's visit to Bristol, nor does it acknowledge the political aspect of these events. John MacAloon, in his study of cultural performance, asserts that pageantry is the combination of collective myth and history, which he defines as a form of 'cultural catharsis'.⁷ Although his study is useful for assessing the importance of Bristol's cultural and social identity, it again neglects the political dimension of the civic visit.

A cultural approach to royal visits was expounded by historians in the 1980s and 1990s, many of whom emphasised the concepts of symbolic anthropologists. The literature produced by Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz highlights the ruler's use of ritual and social hierarchies. Geertz has argued that the monarch became an emblem of messages to their viewers and held an air of sacred authority.⁸ Malcolm Smuts has built upon Geertz's examination of royal progresses by focusing on the 'social and religious conventions deeply embedded within English culture,' which he argues has defined the concept of monarchy.⁹ This focus on the conception of ritual for all levels of society is relevant to my own analysis of Queen Anne's progress to Bristol.

The most relevant historiography available comes from a selection of studies on royal progresses by Mary Hill Cole and Franky Wardell. Cole has addressed the cost of Elizabethan progresses, by creating a framework for examining financial sources, such as the

⁵ Strong, *Splendour*, 4.

⁶ S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, And Early Tudor Policy*, (Oxford, 1996), 357.

⁷ J.J. MacAloon, *Rite Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, (United States, 1984), 1.

⁸ C. Geertz, 'Centers, Kings and Charisma', in S. Wilentz (ed.), *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, (United States, 1999), 13-41.

⁹ M. Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma', in M. Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court & Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, (Great Britain, 1996), 66-8.

Mayor's Audit Book. Cole separates costs into 'temporary' and 'permanent' categories, with temporary costs relating to transient improvements connected to the Queen's visit and permanent costs being those that are lasting and direct investments in the city.¹⁰ Wardell, in his study of Queen Elizabeth I's royal visit to Bristol in 1574, has adapted this structure to cover military costs.¹¹ This is a useful framework for examining the city's expenditure relating to Queen Anne's visit, an aspect of the event which has hitherto been neglected by historians.

The only historian to look specifically at Queen Anne's progress to Bristol in any detail is Mark Pilkinton although he, like many writing on this topic, has tended to use Queen Anne's visit as part of a wider discussion of the development of early English drama. While a valuable source recording the orations and accounts of the visit, it does not allow for a discussion of the political impact of the 1613 pageant.¹² By addressing this element of royal progresses which have been so far neglected, this dissertation will offer an original insight into the value of royal visits in the seventeenth century. It will acknowledge that although royal progresses have tended to be studied as an eccentric relative of early modern English drama, they are equally a political act. Through an examination of the sources available it will explore how the royal visit was funded by the Bristol Corporation, what message was conveyed by the entertainments, and what was hoped to be achieved by co-ordinating such a costly spectacle.

To demonstrate that the royal visit helped to further the relationship between the civic host and the Crown this dissertation will use a wide-range of primary sources, including original untranscribed documents. There is a selection of useful printed sources, produced by Mark Pilkinton, which will be intermittently used.¹³ However, for the most part, the sources will come from records transcribed personally (see appendix). One of the most important documents is the *Mayor's Audit Book*, which is a record of the city accounts. The central problem with using this type of source is that it cannot be proven that all expenditure was recorded by the Corporation; certain costs may have been deemed unimportant, simply forgotten or may have been deliberately unrecorded because the accounts were intended both to inform and be read by a wider audience. In addition, while the reader might wish that a

¹⁰ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 99.

¹¹ F. Wardell, 'Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol: An Examination of Expenses' (Special Field Project Bristol, 2010).

¹² M. Pilkinton, *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, (Toronto, 1997), 45

¹³ Pilkinton, *Early English*, 173-94.

scribe had been more specific, that is not the style of the accounting; the level of contraction used throughout the civic records confirms the city's desire to document only what was deemed necessary.¹⁴ These surviving documents therefore contain short-hand notes which may obscure the more complex picture of the event; a limitation which prevents the historian from enumerating the complete cost of the visit.

Despite the limitations of this source, an analysis of the expenses related to the 1613 visit is still achievable. The *Mayor's Audit Book* is the most exhaustive account of the expenses incurred by the Corporation for hosting the Queen and its limitations may also indicate which investments were deemed as important or conservative enough to be recorded in a public account. This dissertation will also use a second body of sources from Pilkinton's printed collection of accounts, which includes *Common Council Proceedings* from 1613, *Ricart's Calendar* and a poem by Robert Naile. These are valuable sources because they can be used to cross-check the quantitative and qualitative evidence.¹⁵ For example, if an item is recorded in both the *Mayor's Audit Book*, *Ricart's Calendar* and *Robert Naile's poem* then this should help validate the article in question.

In light of this, this study will take the following form. The first section will examine the expenses related to Queen Anne's visit in 1613 and will explore how and why the city financed such a magnificent spectacle. The second chapter will provide a more focused analysis of the content of the 1613 pageant. It will primarily illustrate the message conveyed by Bristol to the Queen through the entertainments provided.

¹⁴ Pilkinton, *Early English*, 67.

¹⁵ Pilkinton, *Early English*, 173-94.

CHAPTER ONE: EXPENDITURE

By the seventeenth century, royal visits to provincial towns were a well established method of propaganda that underscored the contract which bound the monarch to the urban community.¹⁶ Naturally, any town that hosted a royal visit incurred great expense, which supplemented the monarch's contribution to their own maintenance. Civic hosts were required to fund and plan a welcoming event that was designed to persuade the monarch to act sympathetically to their city. In turn, the reaffirmation of privileges or the acquisition of royal favour would justify the cost of the pageant.¹⁷ In anticipation of Queen Anne I's visit in 1613, Bristol officials were primarily concerned to smarten up the appearance of the town and to organise a successful programme of entertainment that would establish the ceremonial dialogue with the Queen.¹⁸

The cost of the royal visit was borne by the Mayor and the Commonalty and disbursed from the town's treasury.¹⁹ The expenses relating to the visit have been recorded in the *Mayor's Audit Book* and examining these receipts provides the most accurate picture of the expenses incurred. An examination of these accounts will firstly build upon Cole and Wardell's methodology to demonstrate that temporary costs were indirect investments that were not lasting assets for the city. Instead, they were transient improvements that were of no direct visual, financial or social benefit with the size of these costs indicating that this type of expenditure was likely to have been justified by the expectation of some form of reciprocation or reaffirmation of privileges by the Crown at a later date. The examination of 'permanent' costs will reveal that refurbishments occurred across the city, fostering local pride and ensuring that the pageant was received well by the Queen. By separating the costs related to military expenditure this dissertation will illustrate that civic officials responded to the anxieties of the Crown as a way of securing royal favour by emphasising their loyalty.

¹⁶ L. Attreed, 'The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Later Medieval English Towns', in B.A. Hanawalt and K.L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, (United States, 1994), 209.

¹⁷ Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion', 31.

¹⁸ Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion', 31.

¹⁹ 'Common Council Proceedings, 29 May 1613', in, Pilkinton, *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, (Toronto, 1997), 175-6.

Temporary Costs

Temporary costs are defined by Cole as visual, physical or financial parts of the event that would demonstrate Bristol's allegiance to the Queen.²⁰ Although this study will analyse the expenditure relating to the mock sea-battle separately, it is evident that considerable expense was incurred in preparing the city to hold the spectacle. Payments covering receiving, hauling and spreading of sand in preparation for the event comprise a significant element of these costs. In total, Bristol incurred just over £3.

Item paide for fower lighters of sand for the streetes	ii li. xii s.
Item paide for hallinge it a broade	i li. xix s. xi d.
Item for spreadinge itt	x s. v d.
Item for hallinge gravell at St. Austyns backe and for labourers to spred it and mend the waies	v s.
Item for 12 loade of sand out of Glousterway, tenne loade out of Barton hundred and sixteene loade from Master Coles Corner	xii s.
Item for seaven men to digge and carry sand with Barrowes	ix s. ix d.

21

The expenditure here demonstrates that preparations for the mock sea-battle were a city-wide activity, with sand spread across three distinct areas. Although labour costs for transporting the sand are recorded in detail, the remaining entries are much less specific in terms of the volume of labour required to complete the task.²² Moreover, the absence of names increases the possibility labour figures were not recorded in detail because labourers formed such a large group. The absence of such detail from the Mayor's account could suggest that a great number of community workers were required to complete these preparatory tasks.

The temporary costs also covered items that were specifically chosen to appeal to the Queen and reinforce Bristol's loyalty.²³ One complementary item of particular cost was for

²⁰ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 99.

²¹ Appendix, 32-3.

²² Appendix, 32-3.

²³ F. Heal, 'Giving and Receiving on Royal Progress', in J. Archer, E. Goldring, and S. Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, & Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, (New York, 2007), 48.

purchasing eighteen yards of red cloth to decorate the instruments used during the entertainments:

Item paide for 18 yarde of Reddcloth for the drums and fifes at 7 s. per yarde	vi li. xii s.
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24

The use of royal colours to decorate the instruments was a symbolic gesture of civic loyalty to the Crown which also indicated prosperity. The cloth was a significant investment at £6 and 11 shillings in total, which demonstrates that symbolic gestures intended to exemplify loyalty formed a significant part and cost of the royal visit. In addition, there are several expenses for the decoration of a dwelling or bower, which was constructed to house the Queen as she watched the entertainments; with the main costs concerning the construction of a bower demonstrated here:

Item paide to laborers for digginge aboute the bower and for helpe	ii s. vi d.
Item paide to a laborer that attended all daie	i s.
Item paide for Oaken bowes	iiii s. ii d.
Item paide for carrienge of tymber and bordes thither by land	i s.
Item paide for Rushes packthrid Roses and flowers to dresse the bower	x s. vi d.
Item paide for Rosewater & sweete water to sprinkle the bower	ii s.
Item paide to a couple of maydes for dressinge the bower	i s.
Item paide the yeomen of the wardropp for the bower	i li. x s.

25

The significance here is that the Corporation had spent £2 and 14 shillings constructing and decorating a bower or dwelling, which probably would have been a short-

²⁴ Appendix, 35.

²⁵ Appendix, 34-5.

²⁶ Appendix, 34-5.

term construction designed to accommodate Queen Anne as she watched the entertainments.²⁶ From Naile's account it is known that the Queen:

Where placed in her Royall Tent, bedeckt with Flora's pride,
She did attend to see the end of this braue combat tride'²⁷

What is interesting about this construction is how it fits into the broader picture of Queen Anne's visit. Other texts regarding her progress to Bristol emphasise the level of care taken to ensure the Queen's security while visiting the city.²⁸ It was the first time in Bristol's pageantic history that obvious precautions had been put in place to ensure the security of their royal guest and the Common Council took unprecedented action. They provided three captains with three companies of men to protect Anne and military equipment was not permitted to be fired until she was safely inside the dwelling.²⁹ The construction of a bower is indicative of how civic officials responded to the anxieties of central government, which had been considerably heightened following the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. In alleviating the fears of the 'centre' and submitting to the desires of the Crown the 'local' was also able to better pursue its own agenda, a balance that reflects how the royal visit was of value to both the Crown and the host.

Although these temporary expenses formed a much less costly part of the accounts, especially compared to the military expenditure, this does not mean to say that all temporary expenses were so minor. Felicity Heal's study of giving and receiving on royal progresses explores the role of gift-giving, which she defines as part of a three-fold process. The metaphor illustrated is that of the Three Graces, whose joined hands can be seen as a symbol of the function and form of exchange. The Three demonstrated that foremost men ought to be bountiful to each other, receive benefits courteously and finally requite them graciously.³⁰ Heal argues that the gift served as a lasting reminder of the loyalty of the city, which kept the giver in the permanent consciousness of the receiver.³¹ Cole also recognises the significance of gift-giving on royal progress, which she concludes was a way for the city to demonstrate their civic generosity, by defining themselves against a broader society at large.³² Examining

²⁷ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 178-94.

²⁸ 'Ricart's Calendar, 4-8 June 1613', in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 177.

²⁹ Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 44.

³⁰ Heal, 'Giving and Receiving', 49.

³¹ Heal, 'Giving and Receiving', 53.

³² Cole, *Portable Queen*, 101.

Bristol's gift to Queen Anne in 1613 illuminates the function that the gift played and how it was funded by the city. The Common Council Proceedings record that it was agreed that:

their shalbe a purse and one hundred peeces of gould in yt called vnites of xxii s. a peece presented and geven to the Queenes Maiestie as a gifte from the Mayor and Comunaltye of the Cytie...³³

The accounts show that a purse was purchased and filled with one hundred coins worth just over £100 in value.³⁴ Cities and towns had a long experience of the duty to greet royal visitors and they exercised a degree of control over how much was spent on the gift they planned to present. During Queen Elizabeth's progress to Southampton and Lichfield each welcomed her with £40. While on progress to Northampton, she was presented with a purse worth £6 filled with £20 worth of coins.³⁵ The sum offered by Bristol in 1613 therefore appears to be a considerably generous offering; this generosity is reinforced by the nature of the gift. It was a temporary cost, with no direct social, economic or visible gain for the city and the surrender of such a large sum of money endorses an investigation into what the city hoped to gain from such a munificent gesture. Historians studying this aspect of the royal visit tend to agree that the gift was justified by its great value as a mnemonic device, which ensured that the royal receiver could be reminded of their civic generosity at any time.³⁶

The cost of the gift was to be disbursed from the city treasury and the significant expenditure involved further emphasises the importance attached to gift-giving as a sign of loyalty to the Crown. Naturally, one might suppose that the cost of the purse and gold coins would be recorded in the *Mayor's Audit Book*, which provided a record of the expenses connected to the Queen's visit. However, there is no evidence of this in the accounts, which highlights a limitation of the source as evidently some expenses have not been recorded. It is unusual that such an essential and valuable part of the royal visit would not have been recorded and this could therefore imply that either some of the items purchased in preparation of the Queen's visit were simply forgotten or perhaps they were funded in an alternative way. Both possibilities underscore the limitation of the *Mayor's Audit Book* as a source, but perhaps it could also suggest that additional financial commitment was required from outside of the city's treasury to fund the gift. In any case, the cost of the gift which represented the

³³ 'Common Council Proceedings, 29 May 1613', in, M. Pilkinton, *Early English*, 175.

³⁴ 'Common Council Proceedings, 29 May 1613', in, Pilkinton, *Early English*, 175.

³⁵ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 101.

³⁶ Heal, 'Giving and Receiving', 57.

direct handover of £100 to the Queen indicates how ‘temporary’ costs with no direct social, economic or visible gain for city were likely to have been justified by their role in advancing the possibility of reciprocation in the form of royal favour at a later date.

Permanent Costs

Cole has categorised ‘permanent’ costs as lasting investments in the city’s future and her examination of the permanent expenditure incurred by hosts receiving Queen Elizabeth I indicates that the royal visit set a deadline for broad regeneration projects that boosted local pride by bringing to mind the splendour of the event.³⁷ Contrary to this view, Wardell has indicated that the permanent costs incurred by Bristol during Queen Elizabeth I’s visit were not just general civic upkeep but, rather, were dictated by the locations where the Queen was to be entertained and therefore comprised an extremely selective set of improvements.³⁸ Examining the permanent costs recorded in the *Mayor’s Audit Book* for Queen Anne I’s progress to Bristol highlights that the city fulfilled both a broad regeneration project and a more selective set of improvements targeted at the key contact points between host and monarch. Prior to Queen Anne’s visit, civic officials ordered a general revamp of the city to be completed.³⁹ The very first few entries recording the costs incurred from the royal visit in the *Mayor’s Audit Book* are some of these broad improvements:

Item paide for pitching the streete at the end of the steps in Horsestreet	iii s. vi d.
Item paide for hallinge 27 vates of stones to temple Causeway at iiiid <i>per</i> vate and three vates to Newewalls at vi d.	x s. vi d.
Item paide twoe labourers for 11 daies and one laborer for 2 daies to helpe the pitcher to carry and digg stones, and filling the Causeway with earth	i li.

40

Item paide Humphrey Clovells noate for powder gildinge the sworde and mace	xviii li. xv s. x d.
Item paide for fillinge vpp the pitt at <i>Master</i>	i s. iii d.

³⁷ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 101.

³⁸ Wardell, ‘An Examination’, 4.

³⁹ Appendix, 30-1.

⁴⁰ Appendix, 30-1.

The payment here of just over £20 to complete the refurbishment of numerous locations across the city demonstrates that the preparations for Anne's visit to Bristol were less selective than the measures taken prior to Queen Elizabeth I's stay in 1574.⁴² It is true that greater emphasis was placed on refurbishing the key areas of the city where the Queen would visit, but the accounts show that civic officials also ordered a more general sprucing up of the city landscape. The records confirm that Horsestreet and Temple district were modified as part of a clean-up that stretched from the north to the south of the city and this gives a strong indication that the refurbishment was not exclusively focused on important landmarks. The considerable sum of £17 and 15 shillings for gilding the sword and mace proves that in certain cases the Queen's visit did set a deadline for more lasting investments to be made that would remain there after the Queen had departed and evoke the memory of her presence. Perhaps, as Cole suggests, these permanent improvements served to remind the Bristol community of the magnificent event for years to come.⁴³

On the other hand, some of the expenses do appear to correlate with Wardell's view that permanent costs were shaped by the queen's movement within the city.⁴⁴ The decision to repair Lawford's gate where the Queen was greeted by Laurence Hide, the Recorder of the City, and the Mayor, Frances Knight, is significant because it was at this location that a brief oration was made to Queen Anne I and a welcoming speech was presented by the Mayor.⁴⁵ In total, £1 and 7 shillings was spent on repairing the gate and aside from the cost of the mock sea-battle, it forms one of the largest singular 'permanent' expenses recorded in the account. Since a significant amount of Bristol's expenses relate to improving the condition of these key contact points, the permanent costs can be seen as evidence that civic officials intended to establish a ceremonial dialogue with the royal visitor and it is possible that such large sums were spent on the selective 'permanent' improvements to achieve this goal. Other 'permanent' costs were similarly shaped by the Queen's movement through the city:

⁴¹ Appendix, 32-3.

⁴² Wardell, 'An Examination', 2-5.

⁴³ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 99.

⁴⁴ Wardell, 'An Examination', 5.

⁴⁵ Ricart's Calendar, 4-8 June 1613', in, Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 177.

Item paide for takeinge away the Misken at St Augustyns backe before the Queenes lodginge, the mixen in the Castle ditch, the mixen at the wyche by Newgate, and makeinge Cleane all thereaboutes	ii li. x s. x d.
Item paid Thomas Symons his noate for pitchinge at the gauntes pipe and dyvers holes at the key, settinge a stone with an iron ringe and other thinges	xii s.
Item paid for tyles, lyme and heare, tyllinge hallinge and other stuffe at the Gauntes Churche <i>per</i> Thomas Symons his noate	xvii s. iiiii d.

46

Item paide for sweepinge the sand away, hallinge it, bringe Cloth for the gauntes pipe and a labourer <i>per</i> Thomas Symons	iiii s.
Item paide Thomas Dackers for worcke done at the Gauntes churche and for tallowe clothes at the pipe there	xv iii s.

47

Again, by looking at these areas in relation to the Queen's movement, the costs are explained. From *Ricart's Calendar* it is known that Queen Anne travelled, 'to the Cathedrall Church of St Augustines, where [she] heard the Sermon preached by *Master* doctor Robson deane there' who delivered the service.⁴⁸ Gaunt's lands and church were adjacent to the Abbey and that they were refurbished prior to the Queen's visit suggests that, to a certain degree, her movement through the city dictated this cost. Inexpensive costs recorded in the *Mayor's Book* reinforce the view that key contact points were selected for development:

Item paide Mr Meagh for makeinge cleane the key and to others for carrieng away the mixen and riddinge away thinges there	xviii s. iiiii d.
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49

⁴⁶ Appendix, 30-1.

⁴⁷ Appendix, 32-3.

⁴⁸ *Ricart's Calendar*, 4-8 June 1613', in, Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 177.

⁴⁹ Appendix, 30-1.

Item paid for removing of anchors and other things from the key

i s. ii d.

50

Even these smaller charges highlight how certain places were singled out for particular attention. The cost of cleaning and removing obstructions from the Key was justified by its central place in the proceedings as it was located in close proximity to Cannings Marsh, the chosen setting for the mock sea-battle. The particularity of these smaller expenses demonstrates that there were elements of the ‘permanent’ costs that were shaped by direct contact with the Queen. However, as shown from the examination of all permanent costs, Wardell’s view that they were exclusively dictated by the queen’s movement through the city is not applicable to Queen Anne’s visit. In fact, there was a general sweeping renovation of the city which occurred alongside a specific refurbishment of areas integral to the pageant. It is possible that the permanent costs served a dual purpose. Firstly, the general improvement of the city landscape fostered local pride by acting as a lasting reminder of the Queen’s visit and helped to enhance civic identity. Separate from this internal investment, the more specific permanent costs highlight how important Bristol felt the ceremonial dialogue between Crown and hosts to be.

Military Costs

The last expenses to be examined concern how the civic hosts exhibited their military capability and loyalty to the Crown through the entertainments planned for Queen Anne. Although the mock-battle was not quite as elaborate as the three-day entertainments for Queen Elizabeth in 1574, it had a similar character with a highly dramatic plot accompanied by a series of speeches. In the expenses account there are numerous payments relating to the mock sea-battle, with the costs totalling just over £69. Compared to the expenditure of £210 for Queen Elizabeth I’s visit, these costs seem fairly minor.⁵⁰ However, the sum total of military expenditure for 1574 was dominated by the cost of gunpowder, which is estimated to have totalled just over £142.⁵¹ Interestingly, there is no corresponding record of gunpowder in the 1613 accounts; in fact, the expenditure relating to ammunition or explosives is rather moderate. The absence of these costs from the accounts could indicate that there was far less emphasis on presenting military loyalty through a display of ammunition and explosives. This view would tie into the precedence placed upon creating a welcoming and safe

⁵⁰ Appendix, 32-3.

⁵¹ Wardell, ‘An Examination’, 9.

environment for the Queen by the Corporation; a decision that would ensure the pageant was well received by the visitor.⁵⁰ With the Gunpowder Plot engraved in Stuart memory, the omission of these types of explosives highlights how ‘local’ officials in Bristol were responding to the anxieties of the ‘centre’ as a way of demonstrating loyalty while also highlighting the role provincial towns played in protecting the Crown.

Gunpowder was of course just one aspect of the pageant and the accounts reveal that a significant sum was spent on the naval aspect of the event. The accounts show purchases of muskets, ordnance and two galleys.⁵¹ The galleys alone totalled just over £20 and the water-sports were recorded as costing a further £20. It appears that Bristol officials planned a style of entertainment that would appeal to the Queen and reflect their mercantile identity.⁵² The Corporation may have chosen this type of entertainment, based on the water, to make a statement about current naval issues or as a way of demonstrating how the Crown was bound to the city due to the importance of its merchant marine. Indeed, the Crown would have been sensitive to the role Bristol ships played in patrolling and securing the coastline and therefore the display of naval power was an appropriate way of establishing the dialogue between Queen Anne I and the city because it affirmed loyalty and indicated the host’s indispensability to the Crown.⁵³ It is understandable then why the Corporation chose to spend such a significant amount of money to militarise this aspect of their entertainment, while keeping other parts more restrained in terms of ammunition and explosives. Taking these careful steps ensured that the pageant submitted to central anxieties, while also furthering the city’s own relationship with the Crown.

In conclusion, the analysis of temporary, permanent and military costs incurred by Bristol has illustrated that hosting a royal visit was an immense responsibility that required both physical and financial commitment. Furthermore, the costs recorded in the *Mayor’s Audit Book* demonstrate that the establishment of a ceremonial dialogue with the Queen dictated the type of investments made. Civic officials planned and organised permanent investments in the city landscape, which were justified because they indicated civic prosperity and pleasure at hosting the Queen, but the Corporation also authorised expenses which had no direct, physical or social benefit to the city. The total payments made for this

⁵⁰ Ricart’s Calendar, 4-8 June 1613’, in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 177.

⁵¹ Appendix, 32-3.

⁵² E. T. Jones, ‘The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century’, (PhD Thesis, Edinburgh, 1998), 101-28.

⁵³ Jones, ‘Bristol Shipping’, 101-28.

quarter in 1613 amounted to £295 with over £115 of it going towards Queen Anne's visit.⁵⁴ This sum, which excludes the cost of the embroidered purse or gold coins, demonstrates the immense financial commitment made by the city in 1613. This chapter has illustrated that to further the 'local' agenda Bristol officials had to respond to the desires, anxieties and expectations of the Crown and that a significant proportion of the costs were dictated by the desire to establish a ceremonial dialogue with the Queen. What is more, the numerous items that bore no lasting relevance to the city, such as the gift, which represented a direct handover of around £100 indicates the level of commitment Bristol made when they hosted the event in 1613.

⁵⁴ Appendix, 35.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTENT

The previous chapter demonstrated the financial responsibility that hosting a civic visit entailed, but the city was also required to plan and present a programme of entertainments as a way of illustrating their hospitality. For Queen Anne's stay in Bristol the Corporation devised a number of events to demonstrate their pleasure at hosting such a special visitor. Upon entering the city, the Queen received a convivial reception from the Mayor and aldermen of the city which preceded a specially prepared sermon at St Augustine's Church.⁵⁵ Following these initial gestures the entertainment developed into an elaborate mock sea-battle pageant, which depicted a brutal assault upon an English vessel by two formidable Turkish galleys. As the entertainment drew to a close, the defeated Turkish pirates were brought before the elated Queen for judgment.⁵⁶

Sea-displays were not an uncommon feature of Bristol's dramatic history. During Elizabeth's visit in 1574 the city had planned a similar type of entertainment that depicted an allegory of War against Peace on the water, which lasted for three days.⁵⁷ These forms of royal spectacle have tended to be interpreted by historians as a way for the provincial host to assert their military and naval power by reviving the lost festival forms of the *naumachia* or water festival.⁵⁸ One historian that has studied Bristol's revival of this antique form is David Bergeron, who has criticised the Bristol entertainment for 'generally lacking inherent dramatic theme' due to the absence of 'an allegorical mould which could give shape.'⁵⁹ This chapter aims to show that while the meaning conveyed by the entertainments can be interpreted in many ways and certainly would have attracted different responses from people of different social strata, when placed within the context of seventeenth century Bristol the meaning is clarified. In addition, this section will analyse whether the Bristol pageant of 1613 can be interpreted as a form of political communication between the city and the Crown. Despite Roy Strong granting that Menestrier, the seventeenth century theoriser of the court fete, was correct when he defined the royal pageant as '*Allegories de L'Estat des temps*' or events designed for both enjoyment and contemporary comment, there is little consideration by historians as to the political element of these events.⁶⁰ In light of this, this chapter will

⁵⁵ Ricart's Calendar, 4-8 June 1613', in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 177.

⁵⁶ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 178-94.

⁵⁷ Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 43.

⁵⁸ Strong, *Splendour*, 21.

⁵⁹ Bergeron, *English Civic*, 99.

⁶⁰ Strong, *Splendour*, 4.

begin by demonstrating that Bristol civic officials planned a form of entertainment that reflected the danger that Bristol shipping faced from Turkish piracy during this period. An analysis of the plot or storyline will draw attention to how its content correlates with other occasions during the sixteenth century where Bristol had declared to the Crown that their shipping was in jeopardy as a way of gaining royal favour. Secondly, this section will examine how the pageant allowed the city to display their loyalty and allegiance to the Crown. It will analyse the militarisation of the entertainments to show that in this case, Bristol officials wanted to illustrate military obedience, loyalty and constraint. In doing so, the city aimed to allay the anxieties of the Crown, particularly in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, by assuring Queen Anne that they were reliable supporters of the monarchy. Finally, this chapter will investigate how the development of pageantry under Queen Elizabeth I allowed the Bristol pageant-masters to incorporate political instruction and advice to the Queen. Consequently, the entertainment was a way for Bristol to vent its frustration at the state of piracy in 1613 but it also created an opportunity offer a political remedy, which they presented as mutually beneficial for both the city and the Crown.

The 'Turkish' Enemy

The entertainment devised for the Queen's visit was recorded by a local apprentice, Robert Naile, who, following his participation in the event documented the event in a lengthy poem. His depiction of the skirmish between the English and Turkish vessels during the pageant was particularly suitable in a city that during the seventeenth century had faced an increased threat to their shipping from Turkish pirates operating along the Continental trade routes.⁶¹ During this period, Bristol's economy was driven by a successful international shipping trade that had focused almost entirely on the Mediterranean, Biscay and south-west Iberia.⁶² The dangers related to international shipping were heightened during the seventeenth century as merchants not only faced threats from English and Irish pirates but also from formidable Turkish corsairs. Each year around £500 was raised by the merchant community to deal with home-grown pirates and prevent any significant damage to trade.⁶³ Dealing with the Turkish corsairs, who originated from Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli was, however, another

⁶¹ P. McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers and Bristol Shipping in the Early Seventeenth Century*, (Great Britain, 1950), 69.

⁶² Jones has examined the Bristol customs accounts from 1540-46 to demonstrate that Bristol merchants dominated the Continental trade. The key component of this trade was wine, the demands of which were so high that at times of the year a great quantity of shipping was required in a short space of time. Jones, E.T., 'The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century', 33.

⁶³ McGrath, *Merchant Venturers*, 71.

matter.⁶⁴ Turkish pirates were a considerable threat because they targeted the Mediterranean and Iberian Peninsula, which were the city's prime trade routes and this accounts for the heavy Bristol losses recorded during this period.⁶⁵ The *Book of Trade* records the Bristol ships lost from 1610 to piracy, which indicates that twenty-six out of forty-five ships were taken by Turkish corsairs; clearly the threat from this type of piracy was acute.⁶⁶ Describing the Turkish menace to English shipping, Naile writes:

This water fight (by fame diuulg'd) full many thousand
drew,
Both farre and neere for to behold, and take a perfect view,
Of Turkes and turkish gallies both, describ'd in liuely wise,
By worthies Brutes who oft haue seene, their habit, forme,
and guise:
Nay, many a Christian Marchant man, hath too often
known,
(Though by constraint) to Christ his flock their loue and
kindnesse shewen
When with the losse of all their goods, (O barbarous
cruelty!)
These cursed Turkes (more deere then life) from them their
liberty
With endless bondage haue restrain'd, for gally-slaues
condemned,
There bound in chaines for to remaine till death their liues
doth end:⁶⁷

The scene set by Naile here was not therefore pure fantasy, but was in fact a reflection of the genuine concerns of Bristol society. Evidently, Bristol officials planned to blur the line between fantastical entertainment and reality, which allowed them to present a pageant that entertained but also had a genuine social and moral purpose. As explained earlier, the seventeenth century was a time of increased risk for merchants due to the rise in Turkish piracy, with the most severe threat to ships operating along the Continental trade routes.⁶⁸ As much of Bristol's trade depended upon business with Mediterranean and Iberian merchants it is clear that the rise of piratical activities in this area would have been disconcerting for the city. Once this context is acknowledged, it appears that the 1613 pageant was not lacking in

⁶⁴ McGrath, *Merchant Venturers*, 71.

⁶⁵ McGrath, *Merchant Venturers*, 71.

⁶⁶ Printed source can be found in P. McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers*, 78.

⁶⁷ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in, Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 188.

⁶⁸ McGrath, *Merchant Venturers*, 71.

an ‘allegorical mould’ as Bergeron claims, but was in fact extremely thematic, coherent and relevant to the city.⁶⁹

A close reading of Robert Naile’s account ¹⁵⁸² infers that the choice of entertainment presented to the Queen in 1613 was not exclusively motivated by a desire to exhibit military and maritime strength. In fact, the Bristol pageant ¹⁵⁸⁴ differed in this way because the pageant depicted an intimidated English vessel rather than one that was all powerful. Casting an eye back to previous forms of political communication between Bristol and the Crown reveals that 1613 was certainly not the first time that Bristol had depicted their shipping as under threat and during the sixteenth century they chosen this image as a way of reminding the Crown of the defensive value of their merchant marine.⁷⁰ Indeed, Bristol possessed a long history of mobilising merchant ships in defence of the realm. In April 1404, five Bristol ships were mobilised and equipped to repel hostile French squadrons from attacking the Welsh towns of Caernarfon and Harlech and by the fifteenth century licences were issued to Bristol merchants as a way of securing their support during times of instability.⁷¹ Peter Fleming, historian of late medieval and early modern England, in his examination of Bristol’s role during the War of the Roses, emphasises the importance of Bristol merchants in defending the coast during the doomed war effort of 1449-53; for which they were rewarded by Edward VI who granted them four royal charters between October 1461 and August 1462.⁷² That Bristol men were aware of the importance of their shipping to the Crown is also demonstrated in James Lee’s survey of shipping from 1513 which illustrates that Bristol merchants used the image of their naval fleet in danger to negotiate favourable deals from the Exchequer.⁷³ The link between Bristol shipping and maritime defence manifests itself in numerous communications between Bristol merchants during the sixteenth century. Cases of particular significance are the 1582 and 1584 petitions that Bristol submitted against the establishment of a Head Port at Gloucester, which they claimed would increase the number of ‘smale sorte [of vessels] more profitable for the merchaunts’ at the detriment of Crown security, as these ships would be too small to be mobilised for war.⁷⁴ It is highly likely that Bristol civic

⁶⁹ Bergeron, *English Civic*, 99.

⁷⁰ E.T. Jones (ed.), ‘Bristol Petition that Gloucester cease to be an Independent Port, 25 May 1584’, *Smugglers’ City Sourcebook* (Bristol, 2010).

⁷¹ D. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History*, (Cambridge, 1992), 14-23.

⁷² P. Fleming, *Bristol and the War of the Roses: 1451- 1471*, (Bristol, 2005), 12.

⁷³ J. Lee, ‘Political Communication in Early Tudor England: The Bristol Elite, the Urban Community and the Crown, c 1471- 1553’, (PhD, University of the West of England, 2006), 44.

⁷⁴ E.T. Jones (ed.), ‘Bristol Petition that Gloucester cease to be an Independent Port, 25 May 1584’, *Smugglers’ City Sourcebook* (Bristol, 2010), 85.

officials, generally drawn from the merchant class, would have been aware of the way in which the strategic importance of their merchant marine could be used to increase their own political strength when negotiating with the Crown. The 1613 pageant also fits within this interpretation as it can be seen as a form of ceremonial negotiation and indeed, Bristol officials did evoke the image of a maritime fleet under threat. Describing the encounter between the English vessel and the formidable Turkish pirates, Naile writes:

But when by swiftnesses of their Oares they did approach them nigh,
Amaine, amaine, your top-sailes strike, these fained Turks did cry:
Oh! hoy! so! hoy! From whence your ship? Of England. Whither bound?
For Bristoll port. What will yee yeeld, or else sinke and be drown'd?⁷⁵

Naile's commentary is significant because it indicates that the theme of entertainment was relevant to the city because it reflected the risks Bristol merchants faced when they engaged in trade during the early seventeenth century. In addition, the Crown would have been aware of the strategic importance of the city's merchant marine and by depicting this as under threat, Bristol civic officials were calling upon the Crown for support in this matter. It is evident that at certain times during the royal visit, 'local' desires and the needs of the 'centre' overlapped. The protection of Bristol's shipping was mutually advantageous for both parties; the Crown would remain secure, with a strong merchant fleet ready to defend the English coast and the city would achieve the support and protection of their trade from the Crown. Indeed, by 1613 pageants had developed from prioritising the desires of the local community to presenting a more balanced view of the relationship between the centre and the localities. During the sixteenth century a custom had been established that indicated the corresponding needs of the 'local' and the 'centre', a change in tradition that shaped the political message conveyed by the entertainments in 1613.⁷⁶ The next section of this chapter will examine how the balance between city and Crown was developed further during the Bristol entertainments in 1613.

Military Loyalty

The stage constructed for the entertainments was located near the city docks and an impressive bower was designed to house the Queen, which according to the financial

⁷⁵ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in M. Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 190.

⁷⁶ C.E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque', in J. Archer, E. Goldring, and S. Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, & Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, (New York, 2007), 105.

accounts was dressed with 'rosewater & sweete water' and decorated with 'Rushes packthrid Roses and flowers.'⁷⁷ Once seated, Anne watched a band of soldiers 'who marcht along on Bristols Key, with Ensignes braue displaid.'⁷⁸ In keeping with this type of royal spectacle, the Queen was designated the most visually prominent seat and the presentation of military strength reflected order, unity and control under the authority of the Crown. The military restraint presented during the 1613 visit shows how the hosts responded to the anxieties of the Crown, which enabled the city to symbolise its loyalty. Naile's poem also reflects the precedence placed upon security following the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605. The military strength and force presented during the entertainment in 1613 was unusually constrained in comparison to Elizabeth's visit in 1574.⁷⁹ Naile writes:

No thundring shot not ratling drums throughout the streets were herd
Whiles that her grace to Court-ward went, most strictly was obserued
The Proclamation former made, wherein did plaine appeare,
The reuerend Counsels Prouidence, the Souldiers Loue and Fear⁸⁰

The message sent out by Bristol was clear, an assurance of military force that was under the command of the Crown. By responding to the Queen's unease the Bristol hosts were able to avoid their royal guest from finding the entertainment objectionable while also highlighting their loyalty to the Crown. The militarisation of the pageant was therefore not an exercise in warfare but was, rather, a display of constraint, order and loyalty. As Naile's account illustrates, the military aspect of Queen Anne's pageant was far more reserved than the Elizabethan pageants, which militarised civic entertainments as a way of developing soldiers' skills. Given the conditions of the 1570s, the commitment to militarisation of pageants during Elizabeth's reign is clarified.⁸¹ However, by 1613 England had enjoyed numerous years of peace, which made the tradition of militarised pageants much less relevant. Instead on 5 November 1605, the Crown had faced an internal enemy which appears to have resulted in the civic host choosing to demonstrate military loyalty over strength to the Crown. This technique was reflected by the mock-battle itself, not just by ensuring that the Queen had the most visually prominent seat, but also by having Queen Anne be the ultimate

⁷⁷ Appendix, 33-4.

⁷⁸ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 183.

⁷⁹ Appendix, 31-4.

⁸⁰ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 183.

⁸¹ C.E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque', 114.

judge of the Turkish captives at the close of the entertainments.⁸² In doing so, the Bristol Corporation added to the ceremonial dialogue by calling on the Queen to remedy the predicament that the entertainments conveyed. The next section of this chapter will examine the function of civic entertainments as a form of political instruction.

Political Instruction

Civic pageantry was a remarkably versatile instrument in the service of royal propaganda and civic politics because as John Meagher argues, ‘in a pageantic show, a city would create a privileged meeting place between itself and its king and define the real relationship between them in ways that transcended both the neutrality of convention and the tact of silence’.⁸³ Meagher is correct in his assertion that pageants created unique spaces for establishing a dialogue between the host and the royal guest. Indeed, Bristol designed a pageant that allowed them to publicly declare their frustration at the state of piracy in 1613 but they also intended to negotiate a settlement of this issue with the Queen. This function of the civic visit was derived from a tradition established during Elizabeth’s reign, which allowed the provincial host to instruct and advise the monarch through pageantic entertainments.⁸⁴ Certainly, civic interests had been expressed through the medium of pageantry for many years and this aspect of civic pageantry became increasingly sophisticated under Tudor and Stuart rule.⁸⁵ In 1547, the king was entertained by a complex pageant that depicted his own person seated upon a ‘sumptuous Throne’ supported by Regality, Justice, Mercy, and Truth. These virtues explained that providing that the king ruled according to their values, his sovereignty would ‘endure permanently’.⁸⁶ These notions were developed further in the pageants designed for Elizabeth where they not only praised her character but also gave instruction on good governance. During her provincial tour of Bristol in 1574, Elizabeth was presented with an allegory of War in conflict with Peace and she was required to take on the role of adjudicator to negotiate a peaceful settlement.⁸⁷ The Bristol pageant for Queen Anne I in 1613 appears to have followed this tradition. What is more, past-experience attested to the importance and success of this form of ceremonial dialogue. In his

⁸² Pilkinton, *Early English*, 193.

⁸³ J.C. Meagher, ‘The First Progress of Henry VII’, in *Renaissance Drama*, (Chicago, 1968), 48.

⁸⁴ During Elizabeth’s entry into London in 1559 the pageant was devised to instruct her on the art of governing the realm. The purpose was not merely to entertain the Queen but to offer advice and instruction which often came in the form of a plea from the civic host. Anglo, S., *Spectacle*, 353.

⁸⁵ Anglo, *Spectacle*, 354.

⁸⁶ Anglo, *Spectacle*, 355.

⁸⁷ Wardell, ‘An Examination’, 1.

poem, Naile illustrates one of the political concerns that Bristol civic officials were eager for the Queen to address:

Woe worth the sinnes of Christendom, which haue incenst Gods ire,
In iudgments iust for to lay wast, by famine, sword, and fire,
Europe his chosen Heritage, (which doth Christs name adore)
By letting in proud Ottoman, that Erimanthean Bore,
Whose cursed race, hath rais'd their names by Christian Princes fall,
While mongst themselues they disagree'd through ciuill strife & braule
Witnesses the Graetian Empire lost, by Christian Kings neglect,
To these cursed Infidels whiles each seemes to respect⁸⁸

Here, Naile laments the conquest of Christian nations in Europe by the Ottoman Empire, which he claimed had been expedited by divisions among Christian leaders.⁸⁹ With the invading 'infidels' presented as a united force, the Bristol pageant suggested that disunity within Christendom had facilitated this Ottoman expansion. With the city's wealth based on international trade, a business that works more effectively under peacetime conditions, it is logical why such an image was conveyed. The content of the entertainments indicate that the 1613 pageant was devised not merely to entertain but also to inform and advise the Queen. The political message sent out was clear, an assurance of military strength and loyalty to the Crown with a call for the Queen to maintain peace with Christian nations and fight against Ottoman expansion. In producing this kind of entertainment, Bristol officials emphasised how the Crown and the city were bound together by mutual obligations. On the one hand, the Crown would benefit from continued protection by Bristol's merchant marine and on the other hand, Bristol's economy would be defended from the scourge of Turkish piracy. The 1613 entertainments were therefore infused with a political message for the royal recipient.

This chapter has indicated that the 1613 pageant was highly thematic, relevant and coherent in terms of the seventeenth century context of Bristol's shipping industry. It has examined Robert Naile's account of the event to demonstrate that the city's civic officials used civic entertainment as a way of conveying a strong political message and appeal to the Queen. Local officials were keen to use the event to air their frustration at the state of Turkish piracy during the early seventeenth century and they also used the pageant to make a political appeal for the Queen to unite with other Christian nations against this perceived foe. This

⁸⁸ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 189.

⁸⁹ 'A Relation of the Entertainement, giuen to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne', in Pilkinton, *Early English Drama*, 189.

chapter has proved that David Bergeron's observation that the 1613 entertainments were 'lacking inherent dramatic theme' due to the absence of 'an allegorical mould which could give shape' is erroneous.⁹⁰ In light of this, this chapter has confirmed that it is appropriate to consider royal visits to provincial towns and cities as form of political communication as well as a relative of early modern drama.

⁹⁰ Bergeron, *English Civic*, 99.

CONCLUSIONS

Roy Strong, in his critique of royal spectacle, has argued that history has failed to address the ‘quite specifically political connotations’ associated with this kind of royal event.⁹¹ A study of Queen Anne’s progress to Bristol allows the historian to adopt an approach which has rarely been used. Most historians who have written about royal visits to provincial towns and cities have interpreted this type of royal spectacle as part of the development of early modern English drama. This dissertation has succeeded in evaluating a consistently neglected aspect of history by addressing the financial commitment and political motivation behind civic visits.

This study has evaluated the expenses related to Queen Anne’s visit in 1613 to demonstrate what motivated the city to finance such a magnificent spectacle and what is more, the examination of expenses related to the royal visit illustrated that the costs were chiefly justified by the establishment of a ceremonial dialogue. The evidence indicates that the city was concerned to generate an atmosphere that would complement this form of communication. The total payments made, for the quarter of the year that this study is concerned with, amount to £295 with over £115 of the expenses directly relating to Queen Anne’s visit. This sum is indicative of just how total a physical and financial commitment was made by the city in 1613.

The analysis of the entertainments presented to Queen Anne confirms that David Bergeron’s statement that the 1613 pageant was ‘lacking inherent dramatic theme’ due to the absence of ‘an allegorical mould which could give shape’ is flawed.⁹² This dissertation has revised this interpretation to demonstrate that the content of the entertainment reflected the genuine concerns and fears of the Bristol community, whose trade and shipping faced an increased threat from Turkish piracy during the early seventeenth century. Therefore, making the content of the pageant highly thematic, coherent and relevant to the city; this validated its social and moral purpose. What is more, the content of the pageant, which depicted an English vessel under attack, mirrors previous occasions during the sixteenth century where Bristol officials declared to the Crown that their naval fleet was under threat in order to win favour. Just as it had done in the previous century, this tradition allowed the hosts to highlight how the Crown and city were bound together. Indeed, the protection of Bristol’s shipping was presented through the entertainments as mutually advantageous for both parties; the Crown

⁹¹ Strong, *Splendour*, 16.

⁹² Bergeron, *English Civic*, 99.

would remain secure, with a strong merchant fleet ready to defend the English coast and the city would achieve the support and protection of their trade from the Crown. In a similar fashion, the Elizabethan tradition which allowed the host to instruct and give guidance to their royal guest can also be observed in the 1613 visit to Bristol. In this case, the city presented a clear instruction to the Queen to maintain peace with all Christian nations in order to prevent further expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Coincidentally peacetime conditions also benefitted Bristol's trading economy. It is evident that the chance to entertain the Crown in 1613 was not merely a demonstration of Bristol's dramatic ability it was, rather, a form of political dialogue presented within a structure of ritual and symbolism. This study has succeeded in proving that it is appropriate for historians consider the political context and orientation of civic pageantry and royal visits.

Despite these achievements, there are areas of this dissertation that could be developed to provide more conclusive evidence. As a rule, civic visits were usually financed through the city's treasury and although this is likely to have been the case in 1613 there are indications that Bristol officials may have required external financial assistance and this could be investigated further.⁹³ The *Mayor's Audit Book* alone cannot paint a full picture of the expenses as it is evident that certain costs relating to the royal visit have not been recorded. If such external financial support was investigated in detail, the examination of how the visit was funded by the city would hold more weight and it would also provide a more detailed representation of expenses incurred.

The main benefit of this dissertation is the conclusions it has drawn, but it is also of use to the wider historical community. A number of previously unused documents have been transcribed, in particular three folios from the *Mayor's Audit Book* from 1612/3, which can be found in the appendix. It is hoped that this work on the receipts found within the *Mayor's Audit Book* has shown the value of such documents, the wealth of detail that they can give, and the historical theories that need to be re-examined. This thesis will hopefully inspire further transcriptions and research into the nature of not only Bristol's pageantic history, but also further studies and reassessments of other royal visits in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

⁹³ Wardell, 'An Examination', 10.

Appendix- Documents relating to Queen Anne I's royal visit to Bristol.

Mayor's Audit Book 16, F/Au/1/17.

The transcription follows the spelling, capitalisation and punctuation of the original document, which is located within the Mayor's Audit Books. Reconstructions of suspensions are in italics. The layout is reproduced as accurately as possible, however for ease of reading and interpretation it has been tabulated.

More paiementes of the third quarter paide by Thomas Whithead Chamberlaine

Inprimis paide a Chiefe rent to the Lord Stafford for Cidcott	- i s. vi d.
Item paide to the poore of the Almeshouse of Lewyns Meade of <i>Master</i> Spencers Guiste	- viii s. -
Item paide to Parker for Carrienge a letter to <i>Master</i> Hide	- v s. -
Item paide the last of May to the poore of fower Almeshouses of <i>Master</i> Whiteguiste	- xvi s. -
Item paide the three Preachers in Whitson weeke xx s. to the Mayor for their dynners x s. and to the Clarke i s. vi d.	i li. xi s. vi d.
Item paide for Gould lace for the Scabbord	- iii s. viii d.
Item for drinke to the labourers and passage over dyvers tymes at the key aboute busines	- - x d.
Item paide for takeinge away the Misken at St Augustyns backe before the Queenes lodginge, the mixen in the Castle ditch, the mixen at the wyche by Newgate, and makeinge Cleane all thereaboutes	ii li. x s. x d.
Item paide the Pitcher for pitchinge at Redclyfe gate and for twoe wayes of lyme and a laborer for 11 yardes	viii s. iiiid
Item paide the Pitcher his firsttyme at Temple Causeway by Thomas Symons his noate	- xix s. ii d.
Item paide for takeinge vpp the great stones at the Causeway at Laffordes gate and for settinge them againe and for twoe laborers to fill the holes with earth	- ii s. x d.
Item paide for pitchinge the streete at the end of the steps in Horsestreet	- iii s. vi d.
Item paide for hallinge 27 vates of stones to temple Causeway at iiiid per vate and three vates to Newewalls at vi d.	- x s. vi d.
Item paide twoe labourers for 11 daies and one laborer for 2 daies to helpe the pitcher to carry and digg stones, and filling the Causeway with earth	i li. - -
Item paide more for twoe labourers that	- i s. viii d.

wroughte in the same worcke	
Item paide for mendinge of bad places aboute Laffordes gate	- ii s. x d.
Item paide for 29 vates of stones at iiiii d. per vate	- ix s. viiii d.
Item paide Mr Meagh for makeinge cleane the key and to others for carrieng away the mixen and riddinge away thinges there	- xviii s. iiiii d.
Item paid Thomas Symons noate for pitching vnder the penthouse at the key and for stones and lyme there	i li. ix s. vi d.
Item paid Thomas Symons his noate for pitching at the gauntes pipe and dyvers holes at the key, settinge a stone with an iron ringe and other thinges	- xii s. -
Item paid for tyles, lyme and heare, tyllinge hallinge and other stuffe at the Gauntes Churche per Thomas Symons his noate	- xvii s. iiiii d.
Sume of this side is	xiii li. xiii s. o b.

**Yet more paiementes of the third quarter and for the Queenes majesties entertement
at Bristoll**

Item paide to Parker for his Second iourney to Mr Hide	- vii s. -
Item paide Thomas Symons noate for tylers worke at the gaunts pitchinge without Newgate, laienge of keckrells and other items	- xix s. xi d.
Item paide Kirton for three proclamacions in <i>Master Chamberleyn Pitte tyme</i>	i li. vi s. viii d.
Item paide the 11th of June to the poore of Lewyns Meade Almshouse	- viii s. -
Item paide Thomas Symons noate for pitchinge at the key for items and tyme while <i>Master Pitte</i> was sicke	iiii li. x s. ix d.
Item paide Thomas Symons vi s. viii d. for a yeeres rent due at Michaelmass 1612 for Saint Ewens Church	- vi s. viii d.
Item paide for sweepinge the sand away, hallinge it, bringe Cloth for the gauntes pipe and a labourer <i>per</i> Thomas Symons	- iiiii s. -
Item paide Thomas Dackers for worcke done at the Gauntes church and for tallowe clothes at the pipe there	- xv iii s. -
Item paide <i>Master Lewys Minister</i> for midsomer quarter for the Gaunts	- x s. -
Item paide for fower lighters of sand for the streetes	ii li. xii s. -
Item paide for hallinge it a broade	i li. xix s. xi d.
Item for spreadinge itt	- x s. v d.
Item for hallinge gravell at St. Austyns backe and for labourers to spred it and mend the waies	- v s. -
Item for 12 loade of sand out of <i>Glousterway</i> , tenne loade out of Barton hundred and 16 loade from <i>Master Coles Corner</i>	- xii s. -
Item for seaven men to digge and carry sand with Barrowes	- ix s. ix d.
Item for men to keepe the Causeway, and for a man to ride to Bathe and for his horse hyer to bringe newes of the Queenes cominge	- iiiii s. iii d.

Item for hallinge of ordinance from the backe to the key	- x s. -
Item for hallinge of 21 peeces more and placeinge them	- vii s. iiiii d.
Item for lighteridge of ordinance from Hungerode and for dismountinge them	- xii s. vi d.
Item paide Iames Rainstopps noate for the watersportes for the Backe	xx li. xiiii s. x d.
Item paide Edward Williams noate for twoe Galleys	xx li. - xi d.
Item paide for Cranedge of Ordinance	- v s. -
Item paide Humphrey Clovells noate for powder gildinge the sworde and mace	xviii li. xv s. x d.
Item paide for fillinge vpp the pitt at <i>Master</i> Coles Corner	- i s. iii d.
Item paide to lade ordinance on the dray	- i s. x d.
Item paide for removeinge of anckors and other thinges from the key	- i s. ii d.
Item paide for payntinge and whitelymeinge of Laffordes gate and Newgate by order	i li. i s. iiiii d.
Item for 12 loade of stones & 12 tonne of stones from the limekylls	- xii s. -
Sume of this Side is	Lxxx li. xi s. xi d.

More paymentes for the Queenes enterテインement

Item paide sixe seriauts sixe drums and twoe Phifes	iii li. xviii s. -
Item paide the Gonners that shott of the greate Ordinance	- v s. -
Item paide for hallinge Cranadge and lighteridge of some of the Ordinance to replace it agayne	- x s. viii d.
Item paide for Royall paper and match	- vi s. -
Item paide for carrienge of 20 Chambers vpp and downe	- iii s. -
Item paide <i>Master</i> Alderman Whitson for his charges to Bathe 2 Jornes	- vii s. vi d.
Item paide Phelpes for a forme for the Aldermen to mounte on their horses ii s. for a man to helpe to lanche the lighter vi d. and for helpe to dismounte the ordinance in Hungroade iiiii s., and for another mans paines therein	- vii s. vi d.
Item paide for a muskett <i>which Master</i> Barker lost and tarringe the Backe	i li. v s. -
Item paide for the charge of all the ordynance foreplace <i>that</i>	- xvi s. ix d.
Item paide Henry Goodman to make the Bower	- xvii s. -
Item paide for nayles spent thereaboutes	- vs. iiiii d
Item paide for a bondle of Spanishe hoopcs	- ii s. -
Item paide for a boate to carry tymber and bordes	- ii s. iiiii d.
Item paide for drincke at severall tymes to men that wroughte	- i s. ii d.
Item paide for carrienge a cradle of yron to the bower & backe and for charcole	- i s. iiiii d.
Item paide to laborers for digginge aboute the bower and for helpe	- ii s. vi d.
Item paide to a laborer that attended all daie	- i s. -
Item paide for Oaken bowes	- iiiii s. ii d.
Item paide for carrienge of tymber and bordes thither by land	- i s. -
Item paide for Rushes packthrid Roses and flowers to dresse the bower	- x s. vi d.

	- - vi d.
Item paide for pyleinge vpp <i>Master Hookes</i> bordes agayne	
Item paide for Rosewater & sweete water to sprinckle the bower	- ii s. -
Item paide to a coople of maydes for dressinge the bower	- i s. -
Item paide the yeomen of the wardropp for the bower	i li. x s. -
Item paide for vi li. of powder for <i>Capteyne Cole</i>	ii li. xi s. iiiii d.
Item paide for 18 yarde of Reddcloth for the drums and fifes at 7 s. <i>per yarde</i>	vi li. xii s. -
Sume of the Side is	xxi li. iiiii s. vii d.

Sume totall of the paimentes of the fower quarters with the quitt rentes doe amounte vnto	CCxC li. x s. x d.
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