

## STRATFORD'S FIRES OF 1594 AND 1595 REVISITED<sup>1</sup>

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Stratford had more than its fair share of fires in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; one in 1594, another the following year, a third in 1614 and a fourth in 1641.<sup>2</sup> For the second two, there is contemporary evidence for their precise dates, 9 July and 10 March respectively.<sup>3</sup> For the first two, no such evidence has hitherto been cited, though since the 1930s they have come to be dated to 22 September 1594 and 21 September 1595. It is the main purpose of this note to correct this customary dating, a minor matter maybe but an illustration of the maxim that nothing should ever be taken on trust, and leading on, in this case, to a more general consideration of the reliability and motivation of contemporary moralists.

The customary dating of the earlier fires was cited most recently in 1993, but it is to be found in several earlier works, including Philip Styles's admirable chapter on Stratford, published in 1945 in the *Victoria History of the County of Warwick*.<sup>4</sup> It is based, it would seem, on statements made by Edgar Fripp in his *Shakespeare Man and Artist*, published posthumously in 1938.<sup>5</sup> Fripp gives no reference for his claim, for there was, in fact, no direct evidence to cite. It is instead a deduction, though this is not made clear, from two pieces of evidence. The first is a passage to be found in the third edition of Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Pietie: Directing a Christian how to Walke*, published in 1613: this Fripp took, as will become clear, to establish that both fires occurred on a Sunday, separated by precisely twelve months. The second pointer was the earliest contemporary evidence that the 1594 fire had occurred, namely by Tuesday 24 September: from this Fripp deduced that the fire itself must have been on Sunday 22 September and, again relying on Bayly, that the 1595 fire could be dated exactly (or almost exactly) a year later.

New evidence has now come to light which establishes a quite different date for the 1594 fire and, by implication, that of 1595. But before examining this, it would be as well to demonstrate that neither of the pieces of evidence which Fripp used can bear the interpretation which he put on them. The first, then, is the following passage from the third edition of Bayly's *Practise of Pietie*, dating from 1613:

Many fearfull examples of God's judgements by fire have in our daies been shewed upon divers towns where the prophanation of the Lord's day hath been openly countenanced. Stratford upon Avon was twice, on the same day twelve-moneth (being the Lord's Day) almost consumed with fire: chiefly for prophaning the Lord's Sabbaths, and for contemning his Word in the mouth of his faithfull Ministers.<sup>6</sup>

Bayly, born around 1575 and almost certainly in Carmarthen, had been appointed to the living of Shipston-on-Stour in 1597, moving to Evesham in 1600. He might therefore be thought to have had a fair knowledge of events, having arrived in the area very soon after the first two fires.<sup>7</sup> However, what he alleged cannot have been strictly true as it would have been impossible for the same date in two successive years to have fallen on a Sunday. Moreover, he was improving on what he had written, in 1612, for the second edition of the same work:

Many fearefull examples of God's iudgements by fire according to his thretening, *Ierem. 17.27.* have in our dayes beene shewed vpon diuers Townes of the land. Stratford vpon Auon was twice within the twelue moneth almost consumed with fire on the Lords day, chiefly for prophaning the Lords Sabbath, and for contemning the Word of the Lord in the mouth of his faithfull ministers.<sup>8</sup>

This clearly is not quite the same as his claim in the 1613 edition that the fires occurred on the same calendar day. Finally, we should note that he was probably further embellishing a remark in an earlier work, *The Theatre of God's Judgment*, by Thomas Beard, first published in 1597, who clearly had Stratford in mind when he wrote: 'a whole town hath bene twice burnt, for the breach of the Sabbath by the inhabitants'. In this account the fires are not even claimed to have occurred on a Sunday. But Bayly had his own point to make. His book, *Practise of Pietie*, was based on sermons he had preached at Evesham. The theme of the sermon in which the reference to Stratford occurs is clearly reflected in the title, 'Meditations of the true manner of practising Pietie on the Sabbath day'. One section of this is entitled, 'Tenne Reasons demonstrating the commandement of the Sabbath to be Morall', the tenth being a list of evidences of how God has punished Sabbath-breakers. And it is amongst these examples, drawn from the Bible (God's commandment to Moses to stone to death a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath), popular folklore (the son of a nobleman born with a head like a dog as a punishment for his father's profanation of the Sabbath) and recent disasters (the collapse of a scaffold in the Paris beargarden, London, killing eight spectators at a Sunday bear-baiting in 1582/3) that the reference to Stratford is to be found. Bayly, of course, was not writing history. He was looking for evidence to substantiate a theological argument which in turn would reinforce the influence of his church. But by Fripp's day, a more sceptical reader should perhaps have been on his guard when pondering whether Bayly's propaganda could automatically be accepted at its face value. Fripp, himself a Unitarian minister, was not best placed to take such a dispassionate view.<sup>9</sup> Now that the context of his statement, and its evolution from earlier and less precise ones, is clearer, it should carry even less weight. In passing, we might also note that Fripp, somewhat casually, took Bayly's reference to 'his faithful

ministers' to refer quite literally to Stratford's vicar in the mid 1590s, John Bramhall (or Bromhall), whom he therefore described as a strict Sabbatarian and fervent preacher on the subject.<sup>10</sup> Bramhall certainly was a Puritan and his period of office coincided with a drive against abuse of the Sabbath.<sup>11</sup> However, he was dead by January 1597, when his successor as vicar of Stratford, Richard Bifield, was presented, and is therefore very unlikely to have been known to Bayly, then living in Wales and a man of only twenty.<sup>12</sup>

The other piece of evidence in Fripp's argument was the first mention of the 1594 fire in contemporary records: this is to be found in the Corporation minute book under the date 24 September.<sup>13</sup> This was a Tuesday in 1594; hence Fripp deduced (following Bayly) that the fire must have occurred on the previous Sunday, 22 September. He further argued that the second fire occurred on 21 September 1595, not quite twelve months to the day but, out of deference to Bayly, the nearest Sunday available. Again this argument will not bear close examination. What the Corporation was discussing on 24 September was which of its number should be sent to which parts of the country in order to petition for financial assistance. Collecting money outside one's own county, however, was not something the Corporation could give itself permission to do: instead, it could only take place after a printed 'brief' had been obtained from the crown. These briefs were not issued lightly.<sup>14</sup> First, an estimate of the damage had to be prepared; this estimate had to be certified by local Justices of the Peace, and the application then submitted to, and allowed by, the Lord Chancellor. The brief would then have to be printed before collection could begin. Several months, not two days, would thus be the normal interval between the date of the fire and the dispatch of collectors into the provinces with the necessary briefs. A comparison with the sequence of events after the 1614 fire is instructive. Here we know from copies of the surviving brief that the fire was on 9 July and the brief issued on 1 December.<sup>15</sup> For the 1594 fire no copy of the relevant brief, though authorised, has survived, and its date has therefore not come down to us; but we know that the customary process was observed, since ten Justices of the Peace signed the certificate supporting the Corporation's claim.<sup>16</sup> This could not possibly have been organised in the space of the two days between Fripp's suggested date for the fire and the evidence of 24 September that collectors were being appointed. A fire several months before is what should really have been expected.

Evidence has now come to light to establish just such an earlier date. In what is known as 'Dr Taylor's Manuscript', preserved at Shrewsbury School and comprising an ambitious 'Chronicle of England' from 1372 to 1603, we read, under the date 13 May 1594: 'In Stratford upon Avon there was burnt by mischance of fire above 100 houses and barns.'<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately for Bayly's case, as stated in 1613, this was a Monday (and in 1595 a Tuesday); but as has already been shown, earlier statements about the fires had not included the impossible claim that the fires of 1594 and 1595 had both occurred on a Sunday *and* on the same calendar day, nor that they had even been on Sunday. One is therefore tempted to conclude that Bayly had further massaged the evidence to make his particular point. It is also possible, of course, that the Shrewsbury annalist had made a slip, or that an informant had misled him,

and this is discussed below. Nevertheless, an interval of four months between the fire and the dispatch of collectors outside the county is exactly what we should expect.

The question arises, of course, as to how this information found its way into the Shrewsbury School manuscript. The compiler of this chronicle was a Shrewsbury man who, for material up to the 1570s, drew on earlier sources for the events he records, but thereafter, for Shrewsbury material, on his own experiences or, for the rest, largely on material supplied directly to him.<sup>18</sup> In this particular case it is possible that the news was brought by a traveller. Stratford-upon-Avon was not particularly well placed on the road network of the period, and the antiquarian, Simon Archer, in the middle of the seventeenth century, identified only two important roads in Barlichway hundred, in which Stratford lay; but one of these, from London, linked Stratford to Kidderminster, and John Ogilby later shows just such a road continuing on to Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury.<sup>19</sup>

If news of Stratford's fire reached Shrewsbury along this route, then, Bayly's claim that it had occurred on a Sunday night might still be worth considering: for it would only have been a minor slip by the Shrewsbury annalist, or his informant, to have dated it to Monday 13 May rather than Sunday 12 May. This, again, however, is straining the evidence. Research has established that all, or nearly, all of the non-Shrewsbury material in Dr Taylor's manuscript was derived by the author from contemporary printed broadsheets and ephemera, identified either from surviving copies or, for ones where no copy now exists, from likely entries in the Stationers' Registers.<sup>20</sup> One possibility, therefore, is that the chronicler had access to the printed brief that the collectors would have taken with them in September when they set out on their mission. As we shall see, his account of the fire includes other information about the fire which such briefs sometimes contained. This cannot be substantiated, however, as no copy is known to have survived, although we know that Shropshire was amongst the counties where collection was authorised.<sup>21</sup> Another possibility, more likely perhaps in view of what has been established concerning the source for many other of the chronicler's entries, is that a broadsheet concerning the fire was printed. There was then, as now, huge interest in catastrophes and freakish events, rooted in a natural morbid fascination but also seized upon by moralists as illustrative of divine judgment. A fire at Shifnal in 1591 was graphically described in *The Lamentable Ruines of the Towne of Shifnal, alias Idsall, in Shropshire, by Fire*. A Tiverton fire of 1598 was given similar treatment in *The True Lamentable Discourse of the Burning of Teuerton*. A reading of the annalist's account of Stratford's fire (see appendix), with its reference in particular to the 'negligence of an old woman' and its pious conclusion, suggests a similar origin, even though no such broadsheet has survived, nor evidence that such an item was ever printed.

We need now to consider whether Bayly, having been proved untrustworthy in his claim that one of the fires at least was on a Sunday, can be relied upon in his statement that the two fires were separated by exactly twelve months; indeed, as we have seen, he himself had only claimed this in the third

edition of his work. In other words, if the 1594 fire can now be dated to 13 May did the second fire occur on 13 May 1595? If we confine ourselves to strictly contemporary evidence, we know that it had taken place by 16 November.<sup>22</sup> An interesting legal case of June 1596 also provides us with a date for the authorisation of the brief for the collection after the second fire, namely 24 November 1595.<sup>23</sup> We have seen in the case of the 1594 and 1614 fires that an interval of four or five months between the fire and the issuing of the brief was typical. This would suggest that the 1595 fire is more likely to have been in July than May. In support of this there is circumstantial evidence of September 1595, a payment by Richard Quiney, on behalf of the Corporation, for entertaining two local justices, Fulke Greville and Thomas Lucy.<sup>24</sup> This might well have been the occasion when they visited the town to verify the losses, two months after the fire being far more likely than four.

In fairness to Bayly, this second fire may well have occurred on a Sunday, giving his statement at least some basis in truth. On the other hand, to suit his line of reasoning, it seems more likely that he had taken Beard's earlier comment, that the two fires were God's punishment for abuse of the Sabbath, on which to build a more impressive and beguiling argument, firstly, by 1612, that the fires themselves had both been on a Sunday, and secondly, by 1613, that God had left a calculated and precise interval between them in order to make his displeasure clear. Whether or not such moral interpretations of disasters were rooted in their authors' genuine belief, or were merely their means of retaining influence over a susceptible audience is a matter of debate. But this case certainly suggests that Bayly had more interest in making what moral capital he could out of Stratford's fires than in worrying about accuracy.

The Shrewsbury annalist's account of the fire is helpful in more respects than just the dating. The extent of each of the fires of 1594 and 1595 has hitherto been difficult to estimate because the only evidence available has concerned their combined effect. In 1597 or 1598, for example, when the Corporation was petitioning against proposed restrictions on the malting trade, the claim was made that the two fires had destroyed 120 houses, causing £12,000 worth of damage.<sup>25</sup> By September 1598, in a petition for remission of taxes, the number of houses has increased to 200 but with the estimated damage remaining at £12,000.<sup>26</sup> These figures cannot, of course, be satisfactorily reconciled, but are nonetheless suggestive when set against exactly contemporary evidence. It would be reasonable to surmise, for instance, that the first fire, by a contemporary account said to have destroyed 100 houses, was bigger than the second, which may only have affected twenty. This cannot easily be tested on the ground; for, although documents of the time contain many references to particular buildings damaged by fire, they all post-date both fires, thus making the attribution of specific damage to a particular fire almost impossible. There is one reference, however, albeit from 1599, which refers to Widow Burdett's house having been damaged in 1594.<sup>27</sup> This property can be identified as having stood on the south side of Wood Street, on the site of the present nos. 8/9.<sup>28</sup> By plotting on a map all other properties known to have been affected, together with those, which either from architectural or documentary evidence would appear to have escaped damage, two

areas can indeed be identified (see Figure 1). One fire, the larger, including 8/9 Wood Street and thus to be dated 1594, took out much of the town centre (the Shrewsbury's annalist's 100 houses); the other, much smaller, of 1595, affecting an area to the north of the town.

The origin of the fire, and the reason for its rapid spread, are also worth noting. Blacksmiths, bakers, cobblers, tallow chandlers, maltsters and brewers all required fire in the normal course of their business. The danger this posed was made worse by the need to stockpile fuel, wood and furze, nearby. In 1583, the Stratford Corporation took a step in the direction of reducing this hazard by requiring all inhabitants to 'make sufficient chymneys in their several habitacons or romes for the better preservinge thenhabitantes ... from the danger of the fyer'.<sup>29</sup> The implication is that this requirement did not extend to business premises, borne out by the reason recorded by the Shrewsbury annalist for Stratford's fire eleven years later ('the negligence of an olde woaman put in trust to tennde the fier of a brue house') and the subsequent bye-law of 1612 which only then introduced the requirement that buildings used for brewing, baking, dressing meat and drink or washing should only have fires lit in chimneys, 'sufficiently walled with stone or brick'.<sup>30</sup>

The rapid spread of the fire was attributed to the wind ('by reason the winde that daye was somewhat bigge') as it was again in 1614<sup>31</sup>, the point being, of course, that burning thatch could be more easily carried from one property to the next. For this reason, thatch was legislated against for all houses in the town centre, by the same order of 16 July 1612 which had stipulated the need for brick chimneys.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, it is interesting to note the description of Stratford-upon-Avon as 'one of the chyffist townes in Englaund for malt makeinge'. Malting, the roasting and grinding of corn, usually barley, was carried out as near as possible to where the crops grew, untreated grain being bulky and expensive to transport.<sup>33</sup> The Feldon, the open lands immediately to the south of Stratford, were famed for their productivity; hence the importance of the industry in the town's economy.<sup>34</sup> Three years later the Corporation were petitioning against the proposed restrictions against malting, one of the government's measures to combat the food shortages of the mid 1590s, in which it was claimed that 'O'f towne hath the noe other especiall trade haveinge therbye onlye, tyme beyownde mans memorye, lyved by exersyseng the same, o' howses fytted to noe other uses'.<sup>35</sup>

We are thus indebted to the diligence of the anonymous Shrewsbury annalist for information on Stratford's 1594 fire which, as far as is known, is not recorded in any other surviving source. In some respects, it merely confirms what was known - Stratford's fame as a malting town, for instance, and the risk attendant upon open fires. In other areas, it adds considerably to what was known - the cause of the fire, its extent (and by implication the extent of the sister fire of 1595) and the precise date. It is this last fact which is the most revealing, for it not only corrects the customary dating (which on a closer examination turns out, anyway, to be a seriously flawed assumption) but also undermines the credibility of a near contemporary moralist, who, eager to impose on events as dramatic a gloss as possible, had not been too

careful in checking his facts: indeed, for the general good of his contemporaries' spiritual welfare, he may not have thought such checking necessary. Certainly, events later in Bayly's later career enabled his critics to accuse him of perjury, incontinence and 'foul language'.<sup>36</sup> Such accusations, typical of this age of zealous reform and religious controversy, mean little in absolute terms. They do, however, serve as a reminder that religious writers were engaged in a war of words, not an impartial chronicling of events.

## APPENDIX

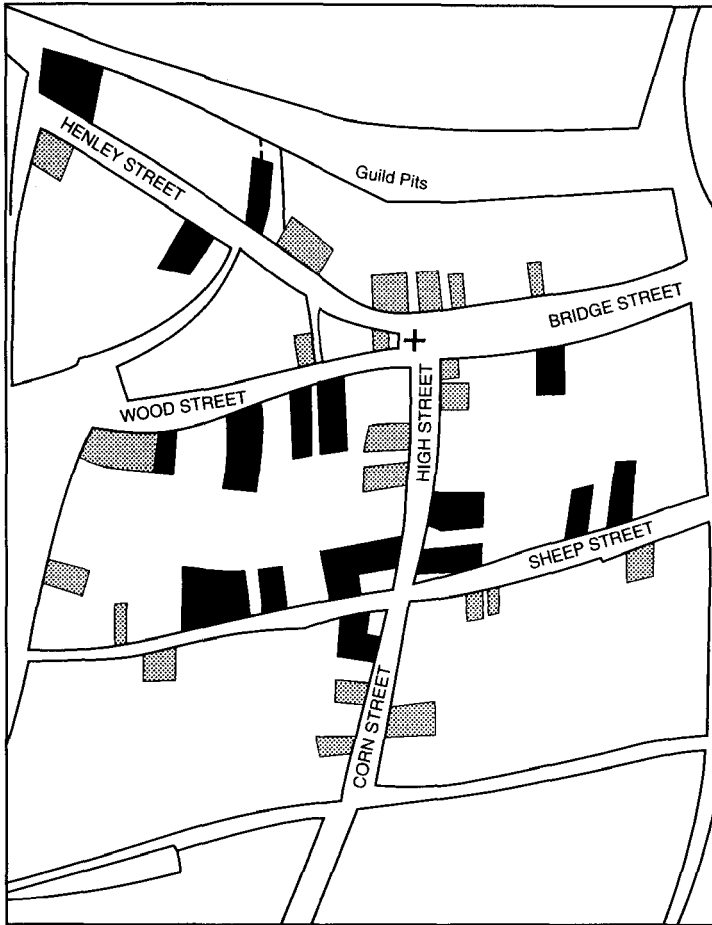
*Account of a fire at Stratford-upon-Avon,  
from 'Dr Taylor's Manuscript', Shrewsbury School:  
reproduced by kind permission of the  
Chairman and Governing Body of Shrewsbury School.*

[fo. 196v]

15. This yeare [1594] and the 13th day of Maii in Stretford uppon haven there was burnt by mischance of fier a bove 100 howses and barnes whiche were lost and burntt besides two thousaund pounds woorth in corne barley and malt beinge one of the chyffist townes in Englaund for malt makinge. The originall of whiche fier cam by the negligence of an olde woaman put in trust to tennde the fier of a brue house and feel a sleepe etc. The whiche fier began at ix of the clocke in the morning [fol. 197r] of the same daye and contynewid untill six of the clocke at night with greate force, by reason the winde that daye was somewhat bigge that for all the helpe of the contrey thereabouts and the hevines of the townes men beinge occupied for the most parte in karrienge owte their stuffe owt of their houses in to the filldes and into the myds of the streete that they could hardly remedy it before night, the god of power defennd other cities and townes from the licke, and gyve people grace to be carefull by others harmes to call uppon God to blesse them in their woorckes and sendd them good successe amen.



Figure 1.  
*Fire damage in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1595, 1596*



Evidence of fire damage



No evidence of fire damage



Plan based largely on references to fire damage, or lack of it, in leases and surveys of Corporation property. Whilst lack of evidence for a particular site would be inconclusive, the cumulative effect is clear. The best survey, in 1599 (SBTRO, BRU 15/12/54), is printed in J.O. Halliwell, *A Descriptive Calendar of the Ancient Manuscripts and Records in the Possession of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon* (London, 1863), 167-73. Other evidence, in the Corporation's minute book and associated documents, is in Fox (ed.), *Minutes and Accounts*. Evidence linking these references to modern-day sites (as listed, for instance, in note 29) is held in a card index at SBTRO.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr James Lawson, Shrewsbury School Library, who first drew to my attention the evidence on which this note is chiefly based and who subsequently provided help and advice, and to Dr Susan Brock, Dr Richard Cust, Professor Ann Hughes and Mairi Macdonald for their helpful comments on earlier drafts.

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent account of all four fires, see S. Porter, 'Fires in Stratford-upon-Avon in the Sixteenth Centuries', *Warwickshire History*, III (1975-8), 97-106. See also A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 137, published after this article was written.

<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office (hereafter SBTRO), ER 1/1/65; BRU 15/3/32.

<sup>4</sup> L. Fox (ed.), *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon 1593-1598* (Dugdale Society, XXXV, 1990), 26; Porter, 'Fires of Stratford-upon-Avon', 98; *VCH Warwick*, III (1945), 223.

<sup>5</sup> E. Fripp, *Shakespeare Man and Artist*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938), I, 402, 419. His earlier work, *Shakespeare's Stratford* (Oxford, 1930), dates the fires by year only.

<sup>6</sup> Lewis Bayly, *Practise of Pietie* (3rd edn., London, 1613), 551.

<sup>7</sup> For Bayly, who went on to become bishop of Bangor, see A.H. Dodd, 'Bishop Lewes Bayly, c. 1575-1631', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, XXVIII (1968), 13-36, drawing on, for his earlier career, E.A.B. Barnard, 'Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (d. 1631) and Thomas Bayly (b. 1657) his son', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1928-9), 99-132. It may well have been Barnard who discovered the entry in Bayly's *Practise of Pietie* referring to the Stratford fires (*ibid.*, 110).

<sup>8</sup> Only one copy of the second edition is known to exist, now in Lambeth Palace Library (*Short Title Catalogue*, I, 71: 1601.5), and was presumably not known to Fripp. The Stratford entry occurs on pp. 240-1. No copy of the first edition has been traced. The text from Jeremiah reads: 'But if you will not hearken unto me to hallow the sabbath day ... then I will kindle a fire in the gates thereof [Jerusalem], and it will devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched'.

<sup>9</sup> For a critical assessment of Fripp's work, see S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford, 1991), 498-503. For contemporary accounts of another disaster which grew in the telling in order to serve the purposes of Puritan propaganda, see Alexandra Walsham, "'The Fatall Vesper': Providentialism and Anti-Popery in late Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, no. 144 (1994), 36-87.

<sup>10</sup> Fripp, *Shakespeare's Stratford*, 55, elaborated in *Shakespeare Man and Artist*, II, 491 and accepted even more emphatically by E.R.C. Brinkworth, *Shakespeare and the Bowdly Court* (London and Chichester, 1972), 21.

<sup>11</sup> Ann Hughes, 'Building a Godly Town: Religious and Cultural Divisions in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1560-1640', in R. Bearman (ed.), *The History of an English Borough: Stratford-upon-Avon 1196-1996* (Stroud, 1997), 103.

<sup>12</sup> For Bifield's presentation to the living, vacant 'per decessionem Johannis Brumhall', see Worcestershire Record Office, St Helen's branch, 732.4: BA 2337/14, no. 1161. Bramhall does not, however, occur in the Stratford burial register.

<sup>13</sup> *Minutes and Accounts, 1593-1598*, 26.

<sup>14</sup> The procedure is described in C.J. Kitching, 'Fire Disasters and Relief in Sixteenth-Century England: the Nantwich Fire of 1583', *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Res.*, LIV (1981), 171-87; and see generally, W.A. Bewes, *Church Briefs* (London, 1896).

<sup>15</sup> SBTRO, BRU 15/7/106.

<sup>16</sup> *Minutes and Accounts, 1593-1598*, 46-7.

<sup>17</sup> Shrewsbury School, 'Dr Taylor's Manuscript', fo. 196v-197. The full entry is transcribed in the appendix.

<sup>18</sup> For some account of the manuscript, see G.W. Fisher, *Annals of Shrewsbury School* (London, 1899), 244-6; J.A.B. Somerset, *Records of Early English Drama: Shropshire*, 2 vols. (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1984), II, 461. Like Professor Somerset, I am also indebted to James Lawson of Shrewsbury School for his guidance on this matter.

<sup>19</sup> SBTRO, ER 1/62, fo. 4; J. Ogilby, *Ogilby's Road Maps of England and Wales from Ogilby's 'Britannia', 1675* (Reading, 1971), plates 13, 50.

<sup>20</sup> See note 18.

<sup>21</sup> *Minutes and Accounts, 1593-1598*, 46.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1593-1598, 46-7.

<sup>23</sup> SBTRO, BRU 15/4/71.

<sup>24</sup> *Minutes and Accounts, 1593-1598*, 71.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 1593-1598, 133.

<sup>26</sup> SBTRO, BRU 15/7/116; and see BRU 15/5/17, BRU 15/7/109.

<sup>27</sup> SBTRO, BRU 15/12/54, cited in J.O. Halliwell, *Descriptive Calendar of the Ancient Manuscripts and Records in the Possession of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon* (London, 1863), 171.

<sup>28</sup> The proof is too extensive to cite here, but is based on linking successive leases of this property (SBTRO, BRU 8/15/11,24,30,44,53,54,59,67; ER 4/589) until an identification with a present-day site can be made.

<sup>29</sup> E.I. Fripp and R. Savage (eds.) *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1577-1586* (Dugdale Society, V, 1926), 126.

<sup>30</sup> SBTRO, BRU 3/2.

<sup>31</sup> 'The wind sitting ful upon the Towne': SBTRO, BRU 15/7/106.

<sup>32</sup> SBTRO, BRU 3/2.

<sup>33</sup> Alan Dyer, 'Crisis and Resolution: Government and Society in Stratford, 1540-1560' in Bearman (ed.), *The History of an English Borough*, 86.

<sup>34</sup> *VCH, Warwick*, III, 239.

<sup>35</sup> *Minutes and Accounts, 1593-1598*, 133.

<sup>36</sup> Dodd, 'Bayly', 28-9, 32-5. He was still a controversial figure long after his death (P. Bliss (ed.), *Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis*, 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), II, 525, 529-30).