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**Merchants of the City: Situating the London Estate of the
Drapers' Company, c. 1540-1640
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Merchants of the City:
Situating the London Estate of the Drapers' Company, c. 1540-1640

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Volume I of II

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Merchants of the City:

Situating the London Estate of the Drapers' Company, c. 1540-1640

Abstract

Through a case study of the Drapers' Company, this thesis examines the role London's livery companies played in the built environment of the early modern City.¹ Broadly, it is concerned with tracing institutional topographies of the urban environment and examining the city's development in relation to these systems of governance. Specifically, it investigates the Drapers as administrators, landlords and landowners in a critical period of livery company history. Much of the extant literature on the London guilds sidelines their significant role in the spatial processes of the post-Reformation city and fails to engage with their extensive property records. However, my research situates the companies as increasingly active agents in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century built environment.

Pushing against the 'Elizabethan silence' of this period as perceived by architectural historians, I demonstrate that the accelerated acquisition of buildings, anxiety about their condition and canny negotiations with tenants for rebuildings reveal a Company proactively seeking to maintain corporate honour and profit through their valuable urban estate. At the same time, it explores how this transition, and the erosion of their original base of authority in the trade of drapery, was expressed or suppressed in corporate spaces such as the Company Hall. The thesis therefore contributes to debates surrounding the survival of London's guilds in the face of substantive internal change by writing the livery companies back into the story of city space.

Notably, the starting point for the research was an unusual book of accounts relating to thirty-six dinners held in the sixteenth century Hall. The 'Dinner Book' served as an unconventional entry point into an exploration of over 300 diverse documents in the Drapers' Archive. Taking such a holistic approach to the Archive, the study is more widely about what can be achieved in utilising the records of London's livery companies as a source for urban architectural histories as it is about the guilds' role as co-producers of city space. In giving voice to the architecture of the early modern city and its inhabitants, it challenges

¹ The capitalised 'City' here refers to the City of London and its liberties, the area governed by the City Corporation. However, the term is often used in this thesis interchangeably with the more general (and therefore uncapitalised) 'city', which implicates the idea of the developing metropolis regardless of jurisdictional boundaries.

architectural historians in particular to re-assess their view of appropriate methodologies and legitimate evidence in relation to the urban environment.

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Given its unconventional beginning and the peculiarity of such a topic within an architecture department, credit must be given to the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at the University of Westminster for granting me a three-year scholarship and taking a chance on me and my subject. Harry Charrington and my colleagues at Westminster have been unfailingly encouraging throughout my studies. The Stapley Trust also financially supported my first year of study, for which great thanks is due.

In the course of my research I have found there to be nothing more thrilling than to be sat in the basement of the Drapers' Hall, next to the Archive, with a pile of documents on my desk waiting to be scoured. On a regular basis for more years than I care to remember, I have been welcomed by the Drapers' Company to undertake this work. Over such time Company Archivist, Penny Fussell, has been incredibly patient with me. She has had the misfortune (and no doubt amusement) of observing my first blundering attempts to understand early modern documents and the culture in which they were produced. Since those early days she has proved a steadfast ally.

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This thesis is dedicated to George Cartney, whose big love and hearty laugh still rings in my ears.

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Abbreviations

BL – British Library

CCA – Clothworkers' Company Archive

DCA – Drapers' Company Archive

GH – Guildhall Library of London

KHLC – Kent History and Library Centre

LMA – London Metropolitan Archive

MCA – Mercers' Company Archive

TNA – The National Archive UK

Conventions

Throughout this thesis I have used new style dating (i.e. the new year begins on 1 January). All quotations originally in early modern English have been modernised. Capitalisation has also been regularised and modernised without note.

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Introduction and Research Methodology

This thesis is a study of the built environment of early modern London written from the perspective of its guilds. Drawn primarily from the evidence located in the Drapers' Company Archive, its focus is a detailed architectural account of one mercantile guild as it increasingly came to acquire and manage properties within the City. Moreover, it seeks to locate and contextualize individual experiences of this corporate estate. The study is bracketed by the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries at one end and the Civil War at the other, from Reformation to revolution.

The Drapers' Company, originally the 'Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of the Drapers of the City of London', is one of the 'Great Twelve' livery companies in the City of London, ranked according to importance and wealth.² These multifaceted bodies are now principally focused on maintaining professional networks and managing charitable assets from their London halls. However, the original impetus for the formation of the Drapers' Company was a Royal Charter in 1364 which granted the regulation of the trade of drapery to an organised group of citizens involved in the production and exchange of woollen cloth. From this starting point the Company has endured for more than 600 years and current membership extends to around 740 men and women. The Company is still sub-divided by an internal hierarchy which begins with the lowest-rank of the Yeomanry (or Bachelors), stepping up to the Liverymen until reaching the Company governors, known as the 'Court of Assistants'. Leading this elite Court and annually elected are four Wardens and the Master of the Company (see figure 0.1). In fact this structure is not unique to the Drapers. It is mirrored with moderate variations across more than one hundred livery companies which are at present operating out of the City. Whilst each retains varying degrees of connection to the associated trades or occupations of their namesakes, all hold a share in the political governance of the City through the election of freemen, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Lord Mayors

² In order of precedence the 'Great Twelve' consist of: 1. Mercers, 2. Grocers, 3. Drapers, 4. Fishmongers, 5. Goldsmiths, 6. Merchant Taylors/Skinners (alternates annually), 7. Skinners/Merchant Taylors (alternates annually), 8. Haberdashers, 9. Salters, 10. Ironmongers, 11. Vintners, 12. Clothworkers.

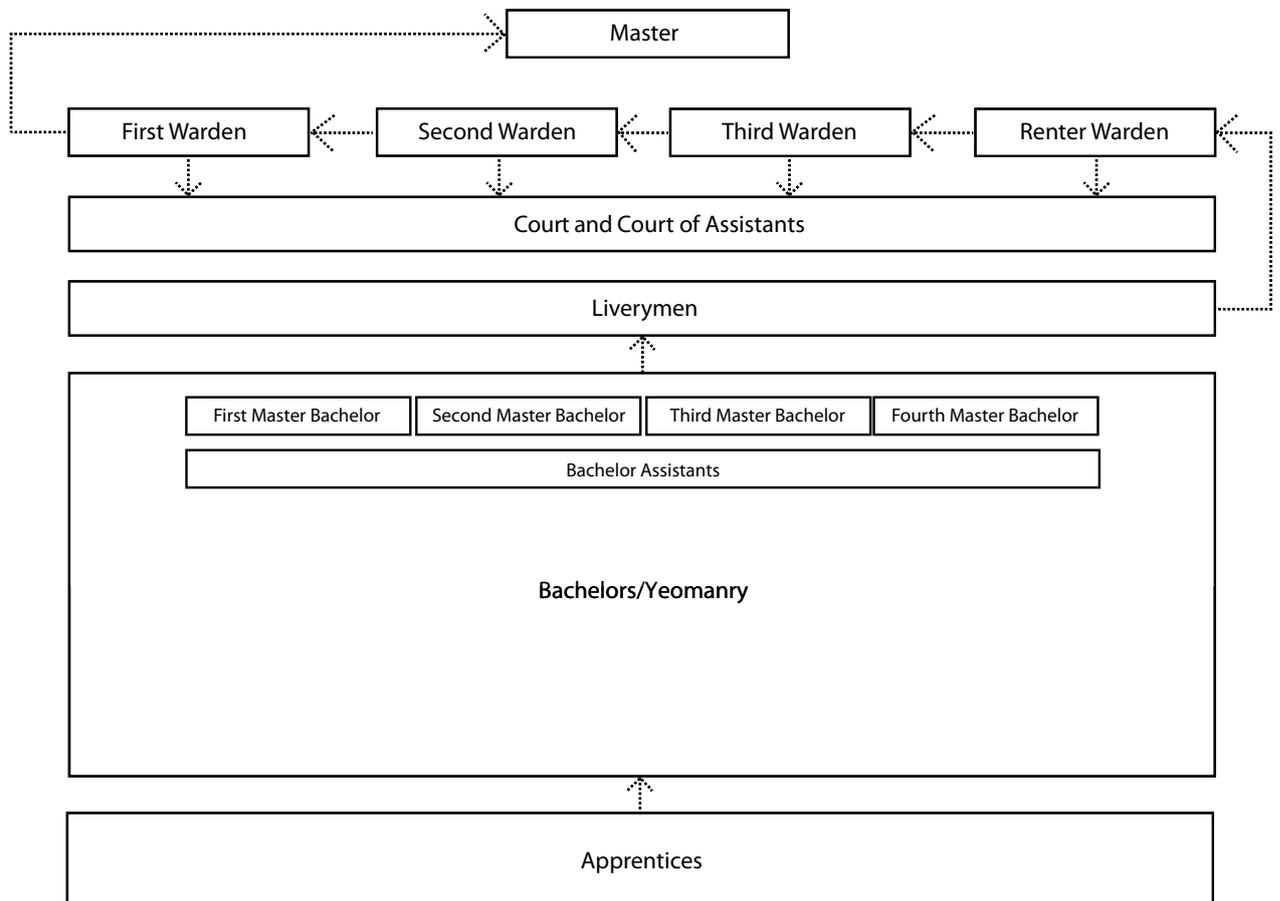


Figure 0.1. Diagram of the corporate structure of the Drapers' Company

MASTERS, WARDENS AND THE COURT: Since the Charter of Henry VI, the Company as a whole was governed by a Master and four Wardens, annually elected at first by the corporate body. After 1454-5 however, these five men were nominated only by the outgoing group of Wardens and the 'Council' and presented to the Yeomanry for approval. The Council itself was usually formed of five to seven former Masters and Wardens at this time and acquired the title 'Court of Assistants' in 1516. The Court of Assistants was an advisory group which could balance out any potential instability resulting from the changing roster of Masters and Wardens. Although former Masters may elect not to serve as a more active 'Assistant', they would never lose their place on the 'Court'. In the sixteenth century the number in the Court swelled to between fifteen and thirty-five members – but this number did not reflect the distinct variation in the amount of involvement each chose to have in the life of the Company.

In spite of the fact that the 'Master' was a prestigious role, Johnson noted that "the office...was almost entirely an honorary one" in that he was expected to preside over meetings but perform little more on account of his title. Wardens therefore bore the brunt of Company governance and business, conducting searches, controlling admissions, distributing alms and arranging Dinners. In this work they were supported by Company employees called the Clerk, the Beadle and the Renters. They were ranked from one to four, moving up over time. Originally, if elected to the role of a Wardenship, men were not eligible for re-election for five years. However the increasing difficulty of identifying suitable and willing men for these positions in the later sixteenth century prompted the Company to dissolve the rule, allowing ambitious men to climb up the Company ladder even faster than before. The fourth 'Renter' Warden was often referred to as the 'youngest' indicating that this position was given to a Draper who had not yet served as a Warden and was likely less advanced in his career, being selected out of "the younger sort of the livery". This Warden also was especially responsible for the keeping of the Company Accounts and liaised with an employee called the Renter, who was in charge of collecting rents and fees. Although there was some variation in this set-up in the sixteenth century which shall be discussed in Chapter Five. The Third Warden too was often a man who had not yet served in office. First and Second were more likely to go on to serve as Company Master within a few years of holding these offices.

LIVERYMEN: A group of individuals of some distinction and wealth, admissions to the 'Livery' were made by the Master, Warden and Council. In 1493 there were 124 liverymen and 119 members of the Company 'out of the livery' (Yeomen or Bachelors). This number of liverymen was never matched until 1793-4 when a total of 120 was recorded. More often this group totalled around 40-70 men. Liverymen held the privilege of wearing the 'clothing' of the Company, which was required on all public occasions.

APPRENTICES AND BACHELORS: An apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which the young man was 'bound' to his master, professionally and in many ways personally. After finishing his apprenticeship and entering his trade as a small-scale retailer, the man could be admitted into the Company as a Freeman in the Yeomanry or Bachelors. This group became increasingly well defined from the end of the fifteenth century, when its organisation was formalised through the appointment of four Wardens to preside over them and lead their own ceremonial activities. This greater need for structure at this lower level was prompted by the larger numbers of men in this group. A total of 119 has already been noted for 1493 but by 1574 there were 487. Frustratingly these are the only points in time for which figures were recorded until the later seventeenth century.

Refs: Johnson, History, Vol. 1, p.111, p.147, p.149, p.151, p.153; Johnson, History, Vol. 2, p.194-6

from within their ranks, leading official photographer for the City in 2016 to comment that “the City is a very modern place but it’s also very feudal”.³

Most historians agree that it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that many of the ‘Great Twelve’ companies like the Drapers became dislocated from their original trades and crafts as a result of large-scale economic and cultural change. But little attention has been paid to the ways in which many of these same companies also experienced significant growth in their role as landowners and landlords in the aftermath of the Reformation.⁴ Few livery companies publish details of their finances today but since 2006 the Mercers’ Company have made their annual review publicly available, revealing the continued importance of property to the running of the Company. In 2012 the Mercers held total net assets of £570m with 69% of this value invested in property.⁵ Given the broadly comparable prestige and wealth of the Drapers’ Company, it is likely that it is not terribly far behind the Mercers in this context. This thesis investigates the range of individual and corporate agendas worked out through the Drapers’ Company estate as their property portfolio developed - for these historical episodes still have a bearing on the actions of the Company today. Furthermore, this research demonstrates how the Drapers’ Archive can be deployed more widely as a rich source of information regarding the developing early modern city, with potential to particularise general suppositions about the urban environment. After Soja, such a perspective of sixteenth and seventeenth century London treats the socialization of the city, structured by its guilds, as inextricable from the spatialisation of the city.⁶ The investigation seeks to be self-conscious about the ways in which it constructs a particular narrative of the built

³ Martin Parr quoted in Lanchester, John. ‘The men are in their counting house’, *The Guardian Weekend*, February 20, 2016, p.30. As a result of his two year tenure, Parr’s ‘Unseen City’ project was displayed in the Guildhall Art Gallery from 4 March – 31 July 2016.

⁴ The enforced management of the company Ulster Estates in the early 1600s is outside the scope of this thesis. For other studies of this particular context see: Curl, James Steven. *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-1914: The History, Architecture, and Planning of the Estates of the City of London and its Livery Companies in Ulster* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1986); Robinson, O. ‘The London companies as progressive landlords in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., 15, no. 1 (1962) pp. 103-118.

⁵ The Mercers' Company, *Annual Review* (2013) <http://www.mercers.co.uk/sites/default/files/Mercers%20Company%20Annual%20Review%202013.pdf> [Accessed online 9 April 2016].

⁶ Soja, E. ‘Taking Space Personally’ in B. Warf and S. Arias (ed.) *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2009) pp.11-35, p.21.

environment, articulating the process of a city becoming something ‘other’ than what it was through primarily qualitative research in the Drapers’ Company Archive.⁷ Consequently, the thesis makes contributions to debates surrounding the survival of London’s guilds in the face of substantive change and apparent decline in the period by writing the livery companies back into the story of city space.

A broad methodological research question is thus: In what ways can livery company archives offer access to the everyday developing built environment of early modern London?

Regarding the Drapers, three further specific enquiries drive this research:

1. How did the Drapers’ Company estate grow in significance in the post-Reformation period? If the Company came to hold and manage a sizeable urban estate, what was it like in nature? How was it managed?
2. What relational tensions arose as a result of their expanded role as landlords and landowners? Who was the growing estate most beneficial to and why? Considering individual building negotiations between corporation and tenant, to what extent can the so-called ‘Great Rebuilding’ of the sixteenth century be traced through its records?
3. To what extent was the Company’s Court aware of the growing importance of its estate? Did it seek to represent the corporate change it was experiencing in its cultural and spatial practices?

Led by these aims, the work that follows places greater weight on the evidence of the Drapers’ Archive than any previous revisionist scholarship in order to centralize the growing guild estate in London. Seen through the eyes of Company leaders, it argues that the ‘great’ livery companies became increasingly preoccupied with the business of managing and regulating the urban environment in the sixteenth century and were therefore important agencies of change in the making of city space. It seeks to map this transition and trace the corporate systems which facilitated a shift in the main business attended to by the governing courts of the mercantile guilds, from trade-related petitions and disputes to property-related petitions and disputes. This research considers both the Company Hall and the patchwork of properties administered out of it, examining the Drapers’ Company in relation to its land-holdings in order to reveal more about the complex relational dynamics of architectural

⁷ This change has been broadly characterised as ‘pre-modern’ or ‘proto-industrial’. See: Epstein, S. R. *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

development and urbanisation. For, in approaching questions about the nature of urban space, it is not only interested in the material and spatial qualities of the buildings of London in isolation, but how the livery company estate was lived in by living, breathing and thinking citizens.

The period of focus is demarcated by two moments of re-calibration in the English landscape. Both the Reformation and the Civil War represented periods of disturbing destruction and readjustment in the built environment. It is the transitional century between these two traumas that is the focus of this thesis.⁸ It builds on previous scholarship which suggests that the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries in the 1530s and 40s fostered a fundamental shift in the spatial and cultural organization in London.⁹ Correspondingly, in relation to landownership, historians have proposed that the Reformation prompted “the largest turnover...since at least the Norman Conquest” and also that this “seismic transition” had “profound social and economic ramifications”.¹⁰ The Civil War on the other hand is notable not for its impact on land-holding but instead for the suggestion that building-work and architectural production ground to a relative halt as the City clashed with the Crown.¹¹ This timespan neatly coincides with what Mark Girouard identified as the ‘rise and fall’ of Elizabethan architecture between the years of 1540-1640 and also Ian Archer’s assertion that 1640 marked the end of a particularly prosperous period for the city guilds.¹² Outside the scope of the investigation are the post-war years leading up to the Great Fire and the rebuilding that ensued after it. This decision was taken in part because the seventeenth

⁸ Howard, Maurice. *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre, 2008) pp.1-2.

⁹ The criticality of this period has been substantiated by Robert Tittler for example: Tittler, Robert. *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰ Ibid. p.13; Tittler, Robert. *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England, Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) p.98.

¹¹ Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, 9th edn. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993) p.151, 153. Also see: Porter, Stephen. ‘The Economic and Social Impact of the Civil War on London’ in S. Porter (ed), *London and the Civil War* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996) pp.175-204.

¹² Girouard, Mark. *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre, 2009); Archer, Ian. ‘The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’ in I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (ed.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002) pp.15-28, p.15.

century has received comparatively more scholarly attention to date, but more importantly because the extent of change experienced in the years after 1640 required a level of interrogation and archival research that would have taken this study in a quite different direction and resulted in an altogether thinner treatment of the under-researched sixteenth century.

The research that follows is significant for two principal reasons. Firstly, in foregrounding the role of an influential livery company in the context of the built environment, the thesis seeks to contribute to a more holistic understanding of how city space was socially produced as a result of shifting relationships, loyalties and motivations played out within corporate structures. Secondly, in electing to work within an institutional archive which is mostly concerned with the management, improvement and administration of a wide-range of urban properties, it challenges the prevailing tendency of early modern architectural histories to focus on a design process centred on the figure of the architect and/or their elite clients. This point will be expanded upon later in this chapter.

Recent Scholarship in Early Modern London

London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been characterized as a place both of immense change and of immense struggle. After the impact of the many medieval outbreaks of Black Death, historians have argued there was a dramatic spatial re-filling of the City in these centuries.¹³ Even conservative estimates of the rising population within the walls attest to the rapid development the city experienced at the same time as social and religious unrest. Vanessa Harding has suggested the population numbered around 40 000 in 1550, increased to around 70 000 in 1631, and reached c. 100 000 on the eve of the 1666 fire. This represented a doubling in the density of people per acre inside the City walls from 100 to 200 across the same period.¹⁴ Consequently, a contemporary commentator compared the city blocks to “Hives of Bees” in respect of their intense inhabitation and industry.¹⁵ Meanwhile the city’s most notable sixteenth-century historian, John Stow, remarked on the ways in

¹³ And yet, the worst bout of plague was in 1563, when 24% (nearly a quarter) of London’s population died. See: Sutherland, I. ‘When was the Great Plague? Mortality in London, 1563-1615’ in D. Glass and R. Revell (ed.) *Population and Social Change* (London: E. Arnold, 1972) pp.287-320.

¹⁴ Harding, Vanessa. ‘City, capital and metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London’ in J. F. Merritt (ed.) *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp.117-143, p.124.

¹⁵ Howell, J. *Londinopolis: An Historical Discourse or Perustration of the City of London* (London, 1657).

which the City over-spilled its medieval boundaries with alarming speed to form “continual building[s]” and “continual street[s]” where there had only been singular dwellings before.¹⁶ The population growth London experienced was indeed exceptional within Europe, but so too were the political, cultural and economic implications of such a tremendous influx. Spurred on by the social and religious upheaval of the Reformation and the fall of the great mart of Antwerp, London repositioned itself as a prosperous urbanised city of international importance.¹⁷ But the economic success and population increase the city enjoyed seems to have been matched by heightened levels of anxiety with regards to how to effectively govern this change and maintain civic order.¹⁸

As critical nodes in city life, the guilds were inevitably caught up in these large-scale shifts and the response of the Court of Assistants to what has often been framed as a ‘crisis’ has been the source of intense revisionist debate since the 1980s. And yet conflicting narratives of success and crisis in relation to the city have been closely intertwined with similar contestations of the guilds.¹⁹ Two leading contemporary scholars identified the sixteenth century as a period of particular prosperity for the livery companies, stretching as far as to call it a “golden age”, in contrast to the more conventionally held view that the early modern period represented one of “continuous decline” for these bodies as existing City economic structures were superseded.²⁰ Whether or not the rhetoric of decline or prosperity is subscribed to, all agree that the companies changed significantly in the early modern period.

¹⁶ Stow, John. *A Survey of London, reprinted from the text of 1603, 2 Vols.* C. L. Kingsford (ed.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908) Vol. I, p.127; Vol. II, p.70-1, p.98.

¹⁷ Miskimin, H. A. *The Economy of later Renaissance Europe, 1460-1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977) pp.24-28; Schofield, John. ‘The Topography and Buildings of London, ca. 1600’ in L. Orlin (ed), *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) pp.296-321, p.296; Howell, M. *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.6.

¹⁸ Rappaport, S. *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.378.

¹⁹ For example: Beier, A. L. and Finlay, Roger. (ed.) *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London and New York, Longman, 1986); Inwood, Stephen. *A History of London* (London and Basingstoke, Carroll & Graff Publishers, 1998); Porter, Roy. *London: A Social History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994).

²⁰ Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.213: “in most respects the sixteenth century was the golden age of the livery companies”; Archer, ‘The Livery Companies and Charity’, p.15. These two studies stand in contrast to earlier publications, for example, Unwin, G. *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London: Methuen, 1908) regards that the Western gilds “expired in giving birth to progress” (p.4).

It is the chronology and nature of this transition that has been hotly debated and re-framed.²¹ Challenging many earlier histories of the companies, Steve Rappaport argued that the liveries remained a relevant and positive force in a metropolis that was not as chaotic and uncontrolled as had previously been held. At the same time he also minimized the internal divisions between different company hierarchies which some held were becoming more stratified.²² Ian Archer supported Rappaport's broad hypothesis that this period did not represent the death of the guilds but rather a shift in their central purpose and activity. However he took issue with the way in which Rappaport's account underestimated the sense of instability experienced both internally between members and externally between the governors and the wider city population.²³ Both studies were written 'out of' a number of craft and mercantile guild archives but neither sought to locate their studies spatially nor make use of the extensive property records held by the companies. Responding to a similar thematic thread, Joseph Ward's 1997 *Metropolitan Communities* argued that, although internally conflicted and with a lesser grip on their respective trades, the material benefits of guild membership ensured the companies remained vital to the structure of a changing city.²⁴ If the great companies came to hold and manage significant urban estates, to what extent were these used to benefit their members and how? Could the ability to let houses in crowded city centre areas to guildsmen at preferential rates have contributed to their continued relevance? For Ronald Berger, who took the Mercers' Company in Coventry as his starting point, the term "decline" was a misnomer for "it ignored the structure of urban systems."²⁵

After Rappaport, Archer and Ward's important contributions to revisionary scholarship, Gadd and Wallis' 2002 essay collection marked the beginning of a further re-examination of the role of the guilds in the city through careful excavations of many other largely unexamined

²¹ A point noted by Jenner, Mark. 'Guildwork' in I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (ed.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002) pp.163-170, p.163.

²² Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.184.

²³ Archer, Ian. *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, paperback edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.8.

²⁴ Ward, Joseph P. *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

²⁵ Berger, Roland M. *The Most Necessary Luxuries: The Mercers' Company of Coventry, 1550-1680* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993) p.xv.

guild archives. Interestingly this publication was sponsored by the companies themselves in a return to an earlier pattern of historical scholarship which was written with decided closeness to their subjects. Many authors of the first wave of company histories in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (which mostly supported the rhetoric of decline) were members or previous leaders of the guilds they reported on, essentially producing ‘in-house histories’.²⁶ But this new historical endeavour more than a century later re-established a symbiotic partnership between professional historians and guilds, one that engaged in critically assessing previously established narratives of company history. Gadd and Wallis’ volume broadened the range of social and economic perspectives to the themes of order and chaos in the early modern city. Significantly the editors emphasized the idea of process in their commentary noting for example that livery companies were “in a real sense social structures in motion”.²⁷ In his essay in the volume Mark Jenner also introduced a concept with especial resonance to the methodology of this thesis, that of ‘guildwork’. In proposing this term as useful to future research, he called on historians to expend more energy on: “the myriad of cultural and material practices, ranging from the sending out of summonses and invitations to feasts, to the keeping of records and the management of property, by which livery companies have remained *in process and in being*.”²⁸ This present study responds to Jenner’s call by paying attention to the everyday experience of how change occurred in the built environment through the administrative mechanisms of the Drapers’ Company.

Continuing to utilize livery company records in the Guildhall library, two essay collections followed the 2002 contribution and shifted the debate towards *conceptions* of the City as represented in many of the same documents as a complement to the contested realities claimed for it through the deployment of these same texts.²⁹ Paul Griffiths among others argued that the number one priority of his archival research in the corporate archives was

²⁶ For example: Heath, J. B. (previous Master) *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers* (London: privately printed, 1829); Wadmore, James Foster. (previous Master) *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1902); Atkins, S. E. (Master of 1889) and Overall, W. H. (Clerk) *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers* (London: privately printed, 1881).

²⁷ Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds*, p.5.

²⁸ Jenner, ‘Guildwork’, p.167 (emphasis added).

²⁹ Griffiths, Paul., Jenner, Mark. (ed.) *Londinopolis, c. 1500-1750: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Merritt, *Imagining Early Modern London*, 2001.

pursuit of the “*perception and appearance* of troubling flux [in the City], even if it turns out to be...hyperbole”.³⁰ Collectively these scholars contended that historical evidence in the archives should be approached with both the actuality of the city and the idea of it in mind. Moreover, if the city is examined as a concept, it can be understood and ‘read’ from multifarious perspectives, none of which could possibly contain its whole. Just as there is no single story of the livery companies, diverse within themselves, there can be no single story of London. Sympathetic to this view, this thesis takes the position that through the documents in the Drapers’ Archive something of the past City can be truly known, in spite of their mediated nature, but also that the perceptions of the governing Court are of value in and of themselves.

In parallel to the new social and economic approaches to early modern urbanity, the last decades have also seen a flowering of studies concerning sixteenth and seventeenth century material cultures. These lines of enquiry have returned to the specific space of the home as an important environment in the negotiation of changing occupational and social identities.³¹ In relation to the Drapers, the Company Hall might usefully be framed in this way as a sort of corporate home as well as an administrative headquarters. For London, this material and cultural approach has been exemplified in two publications edited and written respectively by influential Shakespearean scholar Lena Cowen Orlin. Firstly, a rich edited essay collection, *Material London c. 1600*, ranged across subjects, disciplines and paradigms, driven by a desire to ‘spatialize’ the city and situate its material culture within it. Secondly, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* explored the experience of one middling-class family in the late sixteenth-century city by examining developing conceptions of public and private in both domestic and corporate spaces. It is especially relevant to this study owing to the fact that the male head of Orlin’s family became Master of the Drapers’ Company in 1570. Orlin granted some attention to the Company Hall interpreting its architectural expression through

³⁰ Griffiths, Paul. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime and Control in the Capital City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.9 (emphasis added).

³¹ For example see: Buxton, Anthony. *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015); Findlen, Paula. *Early Modern Things: Objects and their histories, 1500-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Hamling, Tara. and Richardson, Catherine. *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Richardson, Catherine. *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The material life of the household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

the lens of authority and spatial control.³² In this way she saw her work contributing to Foucault's proposed project of 'a whole history' of spaces which would also necessarily be the 'history of powers'.³³ She was however not confined to this political interpretation of space, instead binding economic, gender and political threads together in her search for the 'lived-in' space of the Barnham family.³⁴ Her work in relation to the Drapers was focused on a relatively narrow window of time, mainly the 1560s and 70s, but acts as an impressive exemplification of what can be achieved when the documents are read closely with spatial concerns in mind. However, the book also traversed across hospital records, court depositions, personal papers and city corporation journals for the same decades. In contrast to this approach, this thesis is drawn far more tightly from research undertaken in one archive, the Drapers', and therefore allows for a far longer chronology of such spatial developments and contestations to be examined from a more coherently corporate perspective.

City-ness and the Great Rebuilding

An important driver behind these new concerns, the 'spatial turn' of the late twentieth century saw both Lefebvre (1974, translated 1991) and Foucault (1986) prompt significant innovations in conceptualizing the socialization of urban space. These theorists drew attention to the inherently constructed and contingent nature of space, perceiving its production through the lens of the social. Foucault stated that "we do not live in a kind of void...we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another".³⁵ Lefebvre too argued that the "urban is social centrality". Pursuing the birth of capitalism, he drew attention to its condition as transitory and fluid, a convergence of information, goods and people. To Lefebvre, this

³² Orlin, Lena Cowen. *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, paperback edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³³ Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

³⁴ Foucault, Michel. 'The Eye of Power' in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. and trans. C. Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) pp.146-165, p.149.

³⁵ Foucault, Michel. 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias' in *Architecture/Movement/Continuite* (October, 1984) trans. J. Miskoiec (unpublished translation).
<http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf> [Accessed online 2 July 2016] p.3.

messy clustering of exchanges was the 'city-ness' of cities.³⁶ The city was therefore conceived as a project in which all occupiers were key participants and negotiators. The theoretical models proposed by such thinkers of the 'spatial turn' have fostered new directions into urban studies of space led by discussions of dichotomies such as public/private, elite/non-elite and male/female as exemplified by Orlin's work.³⁷ Indeed, nearly fifty years on, the influence of this 'spatial' orientation in the making of the built environment, rather than an aesthetic orientation, is continuing to be being felt in historical circles. It was identified as one of four key future issues directing scholarship in social history forward in 2006.³⁸

For architectural historians, these concerns contributed to the authentication of a wider-range of perspectives on familiar environments and especially challenged preoccupations with the isolated architectural object. Such ideas lent validity to the possibility of a more democratic view of the production of spaces, extending some disciplinary interest into the workings of whole societies as a means of understanding how urban 'spatialization and socialization' worked out in practice.³⁹ And yet it was primarily in fresh interpretations of the English country house that the spirit of re-assessment, regarding what was significant in early

³⁶ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) p.145. Also see: Clarke, Linda. 'Urbanisation as a production process' in *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London: Routledge, 1992) pp.7-25.

³⁷ For example on gender see: Gowing, Laura. 'The Freedom of the Streets: Women and Social Space, 1560-1640' in P. Griffiths and M. Jenner (ed.) *Londinopolis, c. 1500-1750: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) pp.130-51; Flather, Amanda. *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007); Shoemaker, R., 'Gendered Spaces: Patterns of Mobility and Perceptions of London's Geography, 1660-1750' in J. F. Merritt (ed.) *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp.144-165.

³⁸ Stearns, P. 'Introduction' in *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (Spring 2006) p.611. Evidenced by the subheadings of the journal, the other three issues were: power and the state, social structure, dissemination.

³⁹ See for example: Beier and Finlay, *London 1500-1700*, 1986; Clark P. and Morgan, P. *Towns and Townspeople, 1500-1780* (The Open University Press: 1977); Clark, Peter. and Slack, Paul. (ed.) *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Girouard, Mark. *Cities and People: A social and architectural history* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985); Girouard, Mark. *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (New Haven: Yale University, 1990); Girouard, Mark. *Town and Country* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

modern architectural history, took root in the 1970s and 80s.⁴⁰ Malcolm Airs' and Mark Girouard's classic contributions were marked with a desire to locate and consider all sorts of design agency in the making of Elizabethan prodigy 'power-houses', balancing their discussions with more conventional questions of style and taste. Original in methodology, Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* began with a request for his readers' indulgence as he ventured outside the traditional remit of his discipline to produce, in his own words, "essentially a pioneering work" which was based on close examinations of a range of archival documents.⁴¹ Whilst the achievements of the group of architectural historians influenced by Girouard and Airs were extremely important, urban buildings have to date remained under-attended to and elite spaces of architectural patronage still tend to be prioritised in part because more documentary and built traces remain.⁴²

In electing to re-examine Elizabethan country houses (and for good reason), Girouard and Airs centralized rural landscapes which allowed for the main building to be more easily examined as an independent structure with a clear origin. In contrast, the dense relational overlaps of the city environment more often fostered houses and halls that developed incrementally over time. Maurice Howard remarked that whilst Elizabethan country houses were "increasingly isolated within great parks", civic and public buildings instead existed "in

⁴⁰ Airs, Malcolm. *The Making of the English Country House 1500-1640* (London: Architectural Press, 1975); Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Howard, Maurice. *The Early Tudor House: Architecture and Politics* (London: George Philip, 1987); Friedman, Alice T. *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁴¹ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p.v.

⁴² Some exceptions to this are: Power, M. J. 'East London Housing in the Seventeenth Century' in P. Clark and P. Slack (ed.) *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) pp. 237-62; Power, M. J. 'The East and West in Early-Modern London' in E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (ed.) *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S.T. Bindoff* (London: 1978) pp. 167-185; Power, M. J. 'Shadwell: the development of a London suburban community in the seventeenth century' in *London Journal* 4 (1978) pp.29-46. Also: Brown, F. E. 'Continuity and change in the urban house: developments in domestic space organization in seventeenth-century London' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986) pp.558-90; Kelsall, A. F. 'The London house plan in the later seventeenth century' in *Post-Medieval Archeology* 8 (1974) p.80-9; Guillery, P. *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: a Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); Cherry, Bridget. 'John Pollexfen's House in Walbrook' in J. Bold and E. Chaney (ed.) *English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1993) pp.80-105.

dialogue with the urban space around them.”⁴³ Such a statement helpfully draws attention to the scale of the task for urban architectural historians which necessitates a multi-layered reading of the city and its buildings, attending to their social and cultural ‘lives’ as well as their physical construction and geographical locations. A reluctance to recognize the validity of interdisciplinary studies in the field of architectural history has however reflected on a discipline that has perhaps lacked confidence in its own purpose. A disciplinary “project of crisis” can be in part attributed to the difficulty of relating wide-scale historical observations with very specific studies of individual buildings without spreading itself too thinly, the dividing line between history and architectural history has proven a point of some contestation.⁴⁴ Any questions surrounding the disciplinary legitimacy of the investigations at the heart of this thesis should be addressed in the light of architectural history’s self-consciousness of its own instability and claimed dynamism. After the innovations of Girouard *et al.* which aligned architectural observations more closely with trends in historical research, Mark Swenarton stated that architectural history had retreated once more into an internalised disciplinary “backwater” in contrast to other disciplines which were productively moving towards holistically connecting subjects together.⁴⁵ As editor of the journal *Architectural History* from 1975-85, John Newman too recognized the need for a “more varied” approach to be exemplified in architectural publishing. In this he was responding to Swenarton’s criticism that articles in the journal were indeed ‘antiquarian’ in their focused interest in the documentation of ‘polite’ architecture.⁴⁶ Since then voices of dissent and concern have consistently bemoaned the distance between mainstream history and the architectural history ‘niche’. Most recently Simon Thurley challenged architects and architectural historians to “fall back in love with history” holding that their focus on stylistic analysis and building as object had hindered the project of writing a history of English

⁴³ Howard, Maurice. ‘Classicism and Civic Architecture’ in L. Gent (ed.) *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) pp.29-50, p.33.

⁴⁴ Watkin, David. *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: Architectural Press, 1980) p.183; Blau, Eve. ‘A Question of Discipline: Plenary Address, Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting, Richmond, Virginia, 18 April 2002’ in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (Mar., 2003) pp. 125-129, p.126.

⁴⁵ Swenarton, Mark. ‘The Role of History in Architectural Education’ in *Architectural History* 30 (1987) pp.201-215, p.212.

⁴⁶ Newman, J. ‘A Reply to Mark Swenarton’ in *Architectural History* 31 (1988) pp.206–7.

building. The relationship between the built environment and its wider historical context is “still too often” problematically under-examined.⁴⁷

Returning to London, with these social concerns in mind, there is some resonance between the architectural treatment of the early modern city and Donald Lupton's 1632 declaration that "She is grown so great, I am almost afraid to meddle with her."⁴⁸ Defining the built environment of London, how might the complex kaleidoscope of relationships giving it form be articulated and examined? Because the city “annihilates” authorship, it mostly dissolves singular architectural ‘moments’ of design and challenges disciplinary boundaries.⁴⁹ But this is no comfort to the architectural historian in search of origins and architects, who have been noticeably absent in recent discourses surrounding the urban condition of the early modern city. Certainly, architectural history, like much art history, has found dissatisfaction in anonymity to the extent that works of art whose makers are unknown have been marginalised on account of their namelessness.⁵⁰ In these respects, the city is frustratingly and wonderfully impure, it is always ‘commencing’, reconstructed and reconstituted by a multitude of parts.⁵¹ The inherent ‘between-ness’ of early modern London defines its ‘citiness’.⁵² If the reality of the built environment and the mentalities which perceived it are twin preoccupations of this research, Eve Blau’s critique that “we need to think about

⁴⁷ Thurley, Simon. *The Building of England: How the History of England Has Shaped Our Buildings* (London: William Curtis, 2013) p.7. For further comments: Saint, Andrew. *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School-Building in Post-War England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1987) p.x; Forty, Adrian. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000) p.203; Borden, Iain and Rendell, Jane. ‘From chamber to transformer: epistemological challenges in the methodology of theorised architectural history’ in *The Journal of Architecture* 5, no. 2 (2000) pp.215-228, p.217.

⁴⁸ Lupton, Donald. *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred* (London: 1632).

⁴⁹ Bremner, Lindsay. *Writing the City into Being: Essays on Johannesburg 1998-2008* (Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books, 2010) p.46.

⁵⁰ See Richards, J. M. ‘The Condition of Architecture and the Principle of Anonymity’ in *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (London, 1937) pp.184-6, p.184. For discussion in relation to art history see: MacGregor, Neil. *A Victim of Anonymity: the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993).

⁵¹ Like architecture itself. See: Wall, C. *An Architecture of Parts: Architects, Building Workers and Industrialisation in Britain 1940 – 1970* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁵² Citiness as used by Seamon, D. ‘Toward a Phenomenology of Citiness: Kevin Lynch's Image of the City and Beyond’ in *The National Geographical Journal of India* 37, pts 1-2 (March-June, 1991) pp.178-188. Also see Bremner’s use of Simmel in Bremner, *Writing the City*, p.42.

architectural history in a way that acknowledges the inherent multidisciplinary of what we do..." presents a way forward.⁵³ Her endorsement correlates with Fernand Braudel's argument that historians should be willing to examine even the largest global phenomenon without disciplinary limitations, driven by the problem under consideration and following it in spite of geographical or other boundaries. For, he declared, "there is no historical problem...that is separated by walls, that is independent."⁵⁴ In agreement with Braudel and in pursuit of the socialised and spatialised city, whilst clearly addressing architectural history, this thesis is therefore sympathetic to Anne Myers' recent ambition to be 'predisciplinary' rather than 'multi-disciplinary'.⁵⁵

Exemplifying the fruits of such an approach, one of the most productive areas of investigation in the area of the early modern built environment has accumulated around a broad conceptual thread known as 'the Great Rebuilding'. Drawing together economic history, architectural history and archaeology since the 1950s, the dialogue began by prioritizing the process of making provincial houses through a closer reading of the economic circumstances which shaped them.⁵⁶ Based on detailed archival searches and site observations, economic historian W. G. Hoskins' assessment of housing in the South of England resulted in the persuasive proposal of a wide-ranging "housing revolution" across upper and middling social groups between 1570-1640.⁵⁷ Seeking to situate his case studies in a broad-ranging meta-narrative, Hoskins commended a new history of landscape that chimed with the political shifts which social and economic history was experiencing. Moreover he considered that many of his contemporaries, when considering these houses of the middling-class, were "woefully ignorant of the documentary side of their field of study" with the unfortunate consequence that the human concerns behind architectural developments and the buildings

⁵³ Blau, 'A Question of Discipline', p.127.

⁵⁴ Braudel, F. 'En guise de conclusion.' in *Review* 1, no. 3/4, (1978) pp.243-53, p.245. Quoted and trans. in Cheng-Chung, Lai. 'Braudel's Concepts and Methodology Reconsidered' in *The European Legacy* 5, no. 1 (2000) pp.65-86, p.77.

⁵⁵ Myers, A. *Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013).

⁵⁶ Hoskins, W. G. *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955); Salzman, L. F. *Building in England Down to 1540, A Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

⁵⁷ Hoskins, W. G. 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640' in *Past and Present* 4, no. 1 (1953) pp.44-59, p.44.

themselves were only “dimly understood”.⁵⁸ Following up on the sweeping assertions of Hoskins, Robert Machin’s 1977 rigorous re-assessment of the rebuilding tested the thesis within a wider geographical and chronological framework. In it he commended economic and social historians to “reconsider the role of architectural history” in relation to a series of cyclical rebuildings he identified, of which Hoskins’ proposal for the south of England in the late sixteenth century was only one.⁵⁹ Machin judged that there needed to be a better understanding of the iterative processes by which buildings were successively expanded, upgraded and redeveloped in consecutive waves. On the other hand, archaeologist Matthew Johnson later tempered Machin and Hoskins’ strong economic perspectives by emphasising the social interactions which produced these rebuildings and their embodied meanings. Utilising a limited number of surviving inventories alongside existing material evidence, he appealed for a deeper understanding of the cultural reasons driving such redevelopments in the built environment, particularly drawing attention to the increased desire for privacy. In this investigation he held that the ‘life’ of buildings, the activities worked out within them and the intentions for them, needed to be re-examined with a new attunement to textual evidence. This was in opposition to a reliance on the physical evidence his discipline more often prioritised. In his view only documents could “breathe life” into spaces.⁶⁰ Supporting the scholarly attention paid to the concept of the Great Rebuilding, Colin Platt continued to extend Machin’s broadening of the periodisation and geographical extents of the phenomenon whilst asserting that Hoskins’ initial thesis had “not survived the test of later criticism” due its evidentiary limitations. Hoskins had “used a broad brush”, yet his idea still held enough weight for Platt to title his book after it.⁶¹ In fostering a dialogue between the particular (based on specific documentary and built evidence) and the general (through interdisciplinary links to wider economic, cultural and social phenomenon), the Great Rebuilding remains a useful connective paradigm through which to view the development of the English early modern built environment. Significantly however, scholarship has not yet suitably interrogated the working out of this proposed rebuilding in larger cities. Hoskins’ primary

⁵⁸ Hoskins, W. G. *Fieldwork in Local History* (London: Faber, 1967) p.94.

⁵⁹ Machin, R. ‘The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment’ in *Past and Present* 77 (1977) pp.33-56, p.55-6.

⁶⁰ Johnson, Matthew. *Housing Culture: Traditional architecture in an English Landscape* (London: UCL Press, 1993) p.124.

⁶¹ Platt, Colin. *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London: UCL Press, 1994) p.vii.

sources dealt almost exclusively with an environs far removed from metropolitan conditions such as London. Indicating the lack of surviving buildings in these contexts, he admitted “the rebuilding of towns is less well evidenced” and that it is “a more complex movement”, leaving it wide open for future research that has not been yet forthcoming to any great extent.⁶² This thesis addresses this gap.

From the discipline of architectural history, most recently Maurice Howard supported Hoskins in arguing that there was indeed a great ‘transformation’ of buildings. His 2008 book *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* emphasised the adaptations and remakings of the early modern landscape which affected such change, finding a developing complexity in the ways the built environment was being understood.⁶³ Specifically he held that it was not only the Reformation that was spurring change but the “generally poor state” of city buildings - as well as a shift in the relationships between them.⁶⁴ In the same year as Howard’s publication, Orlin observed in her own highly original work that although empirical evidence for Hoskins’ supposition can often be underwhelming, in the face of anecdotal evidence his thesis was still “profoundly suggestive”.⁶⁵ The strand of inclusivity in Hoskins’ work, which highlighted the agency of middle-class yeoman, also found its way into Orlin’s account which in part set out to present “a case study of urban and middling-sort experiences of the great rebuilding”.⁶⁶ In doing so she sought to “localise the rebuilding in London and carry the story forward.”⁶⁷ Her work marked a move into assessment not only of individual impulses to rebuild but began to consider corporate motivations too. Related to this approach, Robert Tittler interrogated the notion with more specificity in towns and cities through the halls of city governments, whilst Mark Girouard identified evidence of a similar impulse in the London Inns of Court.⁶⁸ Of course, in London, any rebuilding of this period has

⁶² Hoskins, ‘The Rebuilding of Rural England’, p.44-45. On towns see: Beier and Finlay, *London 1500-1700*, 1986; Clark and Morgan, *Towns and Townspeople, 1500-1780*, 1977; Clark and Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, 1972.

⁶³ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p.3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.6.

⁶⁵ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.73.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.112.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.113.

⁶⁸ Tittler, Robert. *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c. 1500-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Girouard, Mark. ‘The Halls of the Elizabethan and Early Stuart

been overshadowed by the extensive redevelopment in the wake of the Great Fire of 1666. The temptation to focus on this moment of clear destruction and rebuilding goes some way in explaining why architectural scholarship of the far less coherent rebuildings of these earlier centuries has been so limited.

The Livery Company Hall and Estate

The Drapers' Archive does of course offer access to this critical moment in the history of London but it is not the concern of this research. The extents of the estate of the livery companies remained largely unchanged as a result of this destructive event and by this time any acquisition and growth had in the main tailed off. A study situated within the instability of the preceding centuries offers an alternative way in to how the city environment was redefined, affected by everyday re-developments and rebuildings in connection with changing mercantile and corporate culture. Given the focus of research on the Drapers' estate within the City of London, a key question must be addressed. How extraordinary is this perspective, one which prioritises the livery companies as landholders, of the early modern City? To what extent was the environs of London defined by livery company estates and what evidence remains of them?

Addressing London's livery companies, Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding observed that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the livery companies "owned a large proportion of the land within the city" in the period under consideration.⁶⁹ At the same time surveying 1550-1700, urban planner William Baer estimated that "three-quarters of London households were tenant occupants".⁷⁰ Livery company archives demonstrate that most buildings within the estates were let out and so, if Keene, Harding and Baer are to be believed, it follows that many inhabitants of London were inevitably tenants of livery companies. Furthermore, Rappaport has reported that three-quarters of all male city-dwellers in the sixteenth century were members of a company.⁷¹ Relationships between landlords and tenants, and

Inns of Court' in J. E. Archer, E. Goldring, S. Knight (ed.) *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010) pp.138-156, p.142.

⁶⁹ Harding, V., Keene, D. 'Introduction' in *A Survey of Documentary Sources 22* (London: London Record Society, 1985) pp.xi-xv. *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol22> [Accessed online 27 January 2016].

⁷⁰ Baer, W. C. 'Landlords and Tenants in London, 1550-1700' in *Urban History* 38, no. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp.234-255, p.254.

⁷¹ Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.47.

membership of guilds, were therefore important components of city experience with a significant overlap between the two.⁷² This observation is borne out in the Drapers' Archive, where most tenants appear to have been members of a guild even if it was not that of the Drapers' Company.

If so many company members were also tenants, how more accurate can we be in our estimates of how significant the livery companies were as landlords? What proportion of city properties fell under their jurisdiction? It is impossible to be categorical in response to such a question but there are further traces which suggest that their role was far from inconsiderable. Baer's sample survey of 603 landowners presenting their claims regarding land in the wake of the Great Fire found that 'institutions' accounted for almost 40% of the cases, in spite of their known under-representation in such courts.⁷³ This statistic included church, city and livery company lands, but, as a result of their extensive documentary research, Harding and Keene would likely counter that livery company lands in fact accounted for the majority of this figure. Their survey of primary sources noted the "mass of documentation" on the history of property holding in medieval and early modern London. Drawing on substantial research in the field of urban history, they commented that "few European cities, if any, are richer than London in such records" and noted the opportunity this information held to 'totalize' our understanding of city properties by connecting developing buildings with specific inhabitants.⁷⁴ Laying down the groundwork for further anticipated scholarship, three key categories of property sources were identified: namely, title deeds, estate management documents, and finally administrative and judicial records. These records were spread across a range of locations and were produced in a variety of contexts from local and national governments, to livery companies, parishes, courts and religious houses. Helpfully in this context Harding and Keene observed that although the Great Twelve companies held a diverse range of properties across the parishes within and

⁷² On the medieval property market see: Keene, Derek. 'Landlords, the property market and urban development in medieval England' in F. Eliassen and G.A. Ersland (ed.), *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European Towns* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); Bellemy, Liz., Williamson, Tom. *Property and Landscape: A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London: George Philip, 1987).

⁷³ Baer, 'Landlords and Tenants in London, 1550-1700', p.244.

⁷⁴ Keene and Harding, *A Survey of Documentary Sources* 22, pp.xi-xv.

without the walls, in contrast, lesser companies might have held only one or two properties, or none at all.⁷⁵

Testing the hypothesis that the largest London companies came to own a patchwork of city lands, cumulatively constituting a series of significant urban company estates, the Clothworkers' Archive has been the site of a concentrated pool of recent research. A one-year research project led by Matthew Davies of the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) in 2010 entitled '*People, Property and Charity, 1500-1688*' produced a detailed survey of all the Clothworkers' London-area properties. This study stands as the only attempt by historians to grapple with the growth of one livery company estate as a whole and in detail. The project focussed on the estate in relation to a shift in the nature and practice of charitable giving after the Reformation. It was interested both in the increase of property bequests to the company and in the distribution of charity from these trusts. In this it recognized the especial importance of the 1530s in company history, noting that the 'charitable turn' which took hold in this decade was presently as well as historically significant. The study observed that "most companies continue to administer these late medieval and early modern gifts of properties, monies and other goods."⁷⁶ The buildings of the Clothworkers' estate have received most attention to date due to a remarkable survival in its Archive, namely a plan book produced by surveyor Ralph Treswell which surveys the entirety of the Company's London estate. In recent years archaeologists and historians alike have begun to utilize these ground-floor surveys of Treswell to offer rare insights into the inner workings of everyday urban houses.⁷⁷ His plan studies prioritise the interior and make no distinction between size and form of properties in their treatment, providing an extraordinary sample of London buildings in both detail and range. The majority of his drawings situate the Clothworkers' properties centrally on the page, often critically contextualized by indications of the ownership of sites adjacent to them. So alongside reflecting the arrangement of interior spaces, his plan book also presents a certain snapshot of the land ownership in the city. This offers an additional way into the question of how far livery company estates defined city space.

⁷⁵ Ibid. pp.12-36.

⁷⁶ *People, Property and Charity: The Clothworkers' Company, 1500-1688* (IHR, 2010-2011) <http://www.clothworkersproperty.org/> [Accessed online 12 August 2016].

⁷⁷ Schofield, John. (ed.) *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London: London Topographical Society, 1987); Orlin, Lena Cowen. 'Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London' in L. Orlin (ed.) *Material London ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2000) pp.344-76.

Treswell's plan book contains twenty-nine scaled drawings, each positioned on a separate page. Of these, twenty-six provide information on the ownership of the land surrounding Clothworkers' properties. The reason why this information is recorded for certain sites, and not others, is unclear. As a representation of these ownership conditions, the scaled diagrams in figures 0.2 and 0.3 take Treswell's notations and divides them into three categories of ownership: Clothworkers', other livery companies and finally everyone else. This last category combines land held by individuals, parishes and the crown, for the purpose is to demonstrate the extent of livery company ownership in contrast to any other group. The plans are defined by the extents of the page in the plan book and therefore there is some ambiguity surrounding the precise extents of the lands adjacent to the Clothworkers that are held by these other groups. And yet in spite of these limitations, the collection of block plans evidence something of the mixture of types of landlords within the city and their relative prominence. The frequency of livery companies owning land adjacent to one another is striking. And whilst it is uncertain how usual it was for livery company properties to be clustered together, overall this small sample reflects Baer's findings in the Fire Court that, in the city, livery company estates mattered.

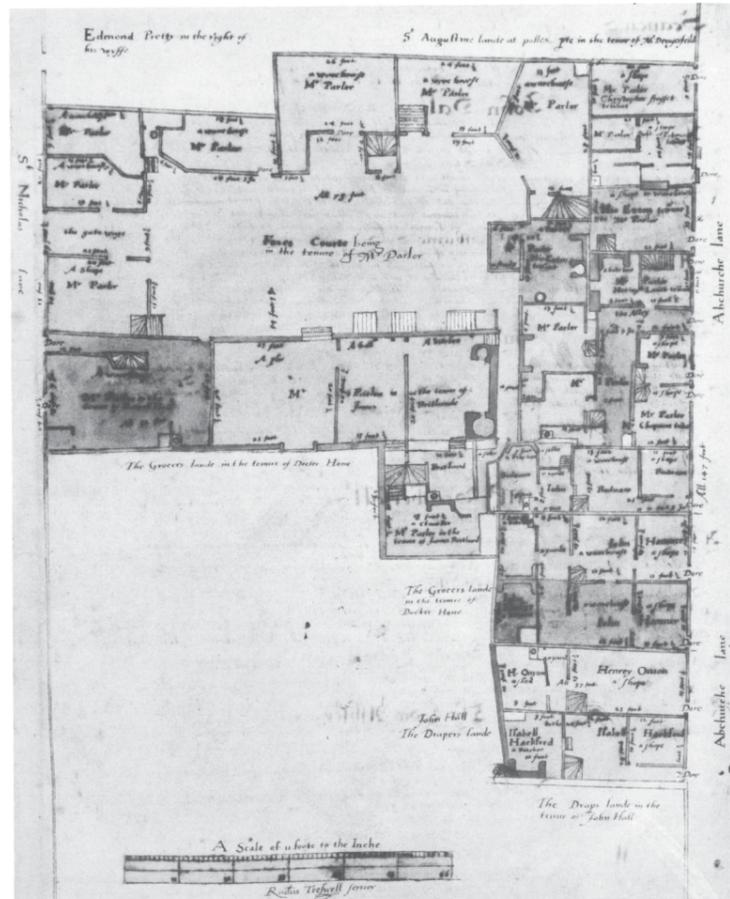
Scholarship which is based so closely within the livery company archives, such as that of Davies and this present study, must be attentive to the danger of ascribing too much authority to the perspectives evidenced in the guild records. This point is raised by Crossick who points out that a limited focus on institutional structures may incline historians to forget the complexity of the city as a site of overlapping social and political structures.⁷⁸ It must be remembered that the stories of the guild archive are a partial and incomplete representation of the life of the city. Even at the level of the individual, Griffiths, Archer and Orlin among others have convincingly demonstrated that London citizens were simultaneously members of a number of communities by default.⁷⁹ For example, the mercantile elite might rise through offices in parish, livery, city and hospital governance systems, occupying many at the same time, whilst those of the lower-sort may more tightly associate themselves with the idea of 'neighbourhood' over 'corporation'.⁸⁰ City space can therefore usefully be read

⁷⁸ Crossick, Geoffrey. 'Past Masters' in G. Crossick (ed.) *The Artisan and the European Town: 1500-1900* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997) pp.1-40, p.5.

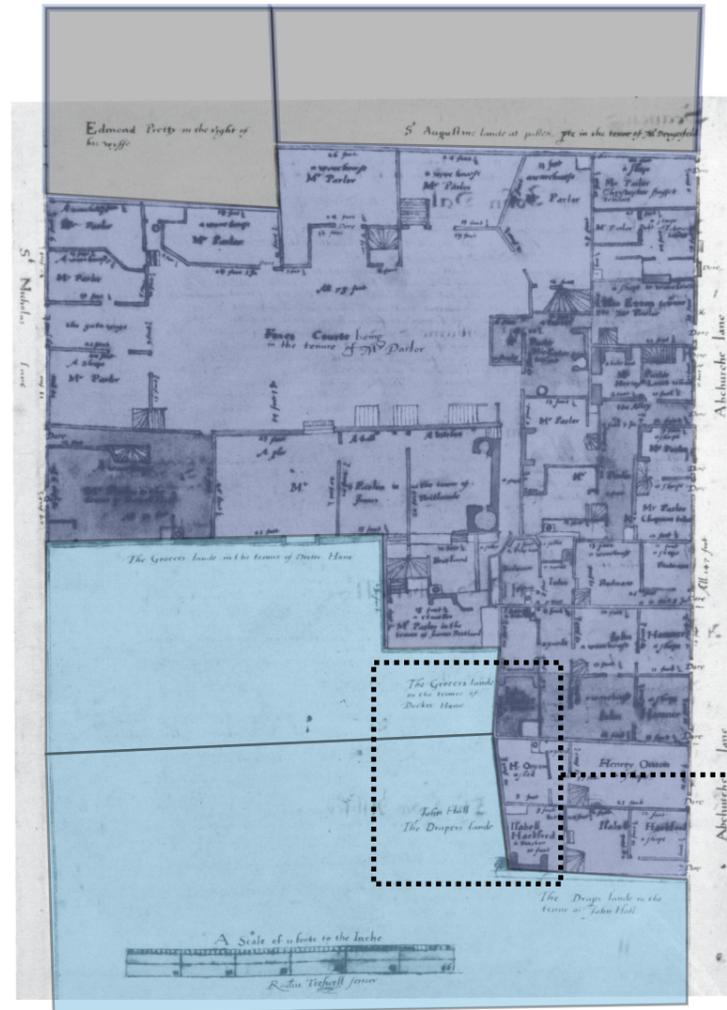
⁷⁹ Griffiths, Paul. *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City: 1550-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Orlin, *Locating Privacy*; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*.

⁸⁰ For the mercantile elite see: Brenner, R. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). For

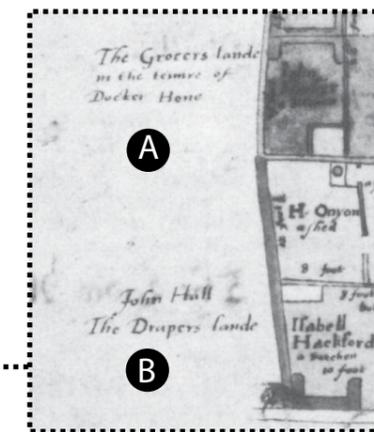
Landownership



23-5 Abchurch Lane



Sample



- A** The Grocers land in the tenure of Ducker Hone
- B** John Hall, The Drapers Land

- Clothworkers
- Other livery companies
- Private individuals or other organisational bodies (i.e. parish, crown)

Figure 0.2. Sample of land-ownership in the City, analysis of Abchurch Lane (from a Treswell drawing of c.1612 (Schofield, *The London Survey's of Ralph Treswell*, London Topographical Society, 1987))

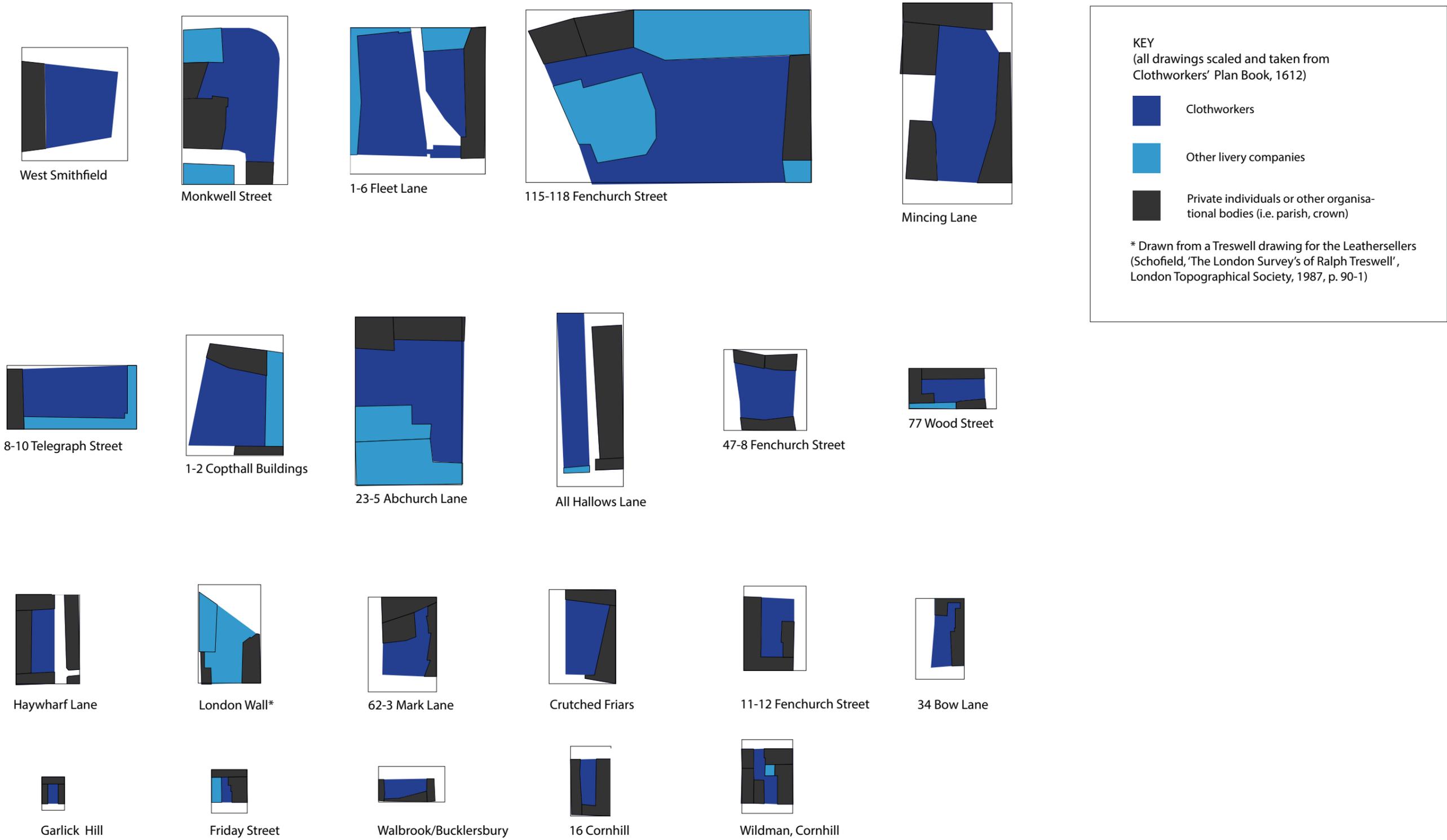


Figure 0.3. Sample study of land-ownership in the City, c.1612

through many organizational paradigms and the records produced by them. Such narratives importantly do not always present views of the city which fit neatly together.⁸¹

Contributing to a holistic understanding of city space which moves beyond studies of the singular building isolated from their wider urban context, some scholarship has begun to meaningfully interrogate different groupings of buildings. One relevant archival approach in the 1980s took a particular geographical area within the city as the focus of study, electing to comprehensively map the properties of a whole neighbourhood. The precursor to a series of projects at the Institute of Historical Research which built on this initial investigation, the '*Social and Economic Study of Medieval London, c. 1100-1666*' bore much fruit and has resulted in more detailed mappings of social change as registered in the built environment. Led once more by Keene and Harding, the study was especially notable for a series of detailed property histories which drew attention to the potential of London's corporate archives for historical reconstructions of ownership and occupation within the city.⁸² By way of dissemination, an impressive historical gazetteer of every property on London's main thorough-fare was produced although spatial analysis was less of a preoccupation in this key publication than it might have been. The '*Historical Gazetteer*' of pre-fire Cheapside remains incomparable in the level of detail and extensiveness of its research into all sorts of properties along London's principal high street and their owners, but architectural analysis is lacking.⁸³ This scholarship should be considered in the light of archaeologist John Schofield's earlier documentary register of London houses and halls from the thirteenth century until the Great Fire of 1666. In his own gazetteer, Schofield described more than a hundred houses located across the city and has to date been unmatched in the breadth of its achievement in

the idea of neighbourhood in civic identity see: Wood, A. *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁸¹For example see: Harding, Vanessa. 'Real Estate: Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England' in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, (2002), pp.549-69, p. 558: 'What was private in that era has to be understood as more conditional and less exclusive and individualistic than it is now. Contemporaries recognized the simultaneous existence of a plurality of interests in one space- some of them deferred, some contingent, and some barely enforceable.'

⁸² '*Social and Economic Study of Medieval London, c. 1100-1666*' (IHR, 1979-c.1990); '*People in Place: Families, households and housing in London: 1550-1720*' (IHR, 2003-2006).

⁸³ Harding, V., Keene, D. *Historical Gazetteer of London Before the Great Fire Cheapside* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1987) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-gazetteer-pre-fire> [Accessed online 25 January 2016].

correlating and mining such a range of evidence.⁸⁴ Especially because it begins to set up a dialogue between building types and is led by archaeological and architectural sources, Schofield's book is a reference point for any study of the early modern built environment. However, it fails to connect information about developing building form to the occupiers and structures of ownership.

In connection with livery company halls and properties, the tendency to record the built environment according to this sort of encyclopaedic pattern began far earlier. The "small mountain" of antiquarian publications of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries concerning the livery companies paid attention to the architecture of the hall in a journalistic manner and still prove to be of some limited use. On the other hand, in contrast to Schofield, Keene and Harding, their lack of references and synthesized narratives obscure almost as much as they illuminate for the present-day historian.⁸⁵ Most of these texts frustratingly worked closely with the grants and records of the companies and demonstrated a clear intimacy with the archives but assumed a lack of interest from their readership in terms of these sources. Further, where attention was paid to company properties, it was mostly in relation to the increasing value of the estate, not its nature or form. So although livery company buildings have been noted in previous gazetteer histories, they have largely been untreated by more critical spatial and social analysis, especially as a grouped 'estate'.

Conversely, recent scholarship has theoretically re-engaged with guild halls, connecting them to corporate and cultural histories of the city. The most coherent contribution to the study of 'corporate' or civic headquarters has however excluded London from any detailed analysis, instead focusing on accounting for the fact that 178 town halls were rebuilt across provincial England between 1500-1640.⁸⁶ Already noted in conjunction with his observations on the impact of the Great Rebuilding within towns, Tittler's work in the early 1990s linked political concerns with the social history of England's civic governments. He took the development of town halls, their internal arrangements and furnishings as case studies to investigate

⁸⁴ Schofield, John. *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre, 1995). Also see earlier work: Schofield, John. *The Building of London: From the conquest to the Great Fire* (London: Colonnade Books, 1984).

⁸⁵ Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, p.2.

⁸⁶ Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, 1991.

architectural responses to the ‘opportunity and concern’ presented by urban growth.⁸⁷ Meanwhile in 2000 archaeologist Kate Giles analysed the Guildhalls of York exploring the 300 years after 1350. Her ‘Archaeology of Social Identity’ drew on Bourdieu’s theories of habitus, combining diverse strands of material and documentary evidence to assess the halls as transformative sites of culturally constructed identities.⁸⁸ Still, due to the geographical focus of these studies, in her 2009 publication Orlin held that London company halls themselves were under-examined as “landmarks in architectural history” and that guild archives were “unexploited resources on spatial processes”.⁸⁹ Following on from Orlin, this thesis offers a methodological case study of what can be achieved in such a spatial examination. It also moves beyond an interpretation of corporate space as exclusive to the livery company hall and instead considers the hall’s position in the context of the developing livery company estate. In what ways did the Hall reflect the Company’s increased role as landowner and landlord? How did the Drapers’ Company understand its position in relation to the built environment of London and how was this reflected architecturally?

The Drapers’ Archive

It is the plentiful property records and building accounts found in the archives of London’s livery companies referred to by Orlin that provide the occasion for this thesis. Whereas many pre-twentieth-century livery company records were deposited in the Guildhall Library from the 1970s onwards, the Drapers, alongside a handful of the largest guilds in London, elected to continue to securely manage their own document storage system within the Company Hall.⁹⁰ As a whole the Drapers’ Archive documents the history of the Company from medieval times to the present day through a series of corporate books, accounts and trust documents (see figure 0.4). The oldest company books in the Archive date from the early fifteenth century but internal corporate record-keeping of all kinds expanded most rapidly during the

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.33. Also see: *The Face of the City*; Tittler, R. *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540-1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) p.1.

⁸⁸ Giles, Kate. *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, c. 1350-1630*, BAR British Series 315 (2000); Tittler, R. *Reformation and the towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540 – 1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁸⁹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.113. A recent exception to this is Kilburn-Toppin, J. ‘Crafting artisanal identities in early modern London: the spatial, material and social practices of guild communities c. 1560-1640’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, 2013).

⁹⁰ For example, the Mercers, Clothworkers, Leathersellers, Drapers.

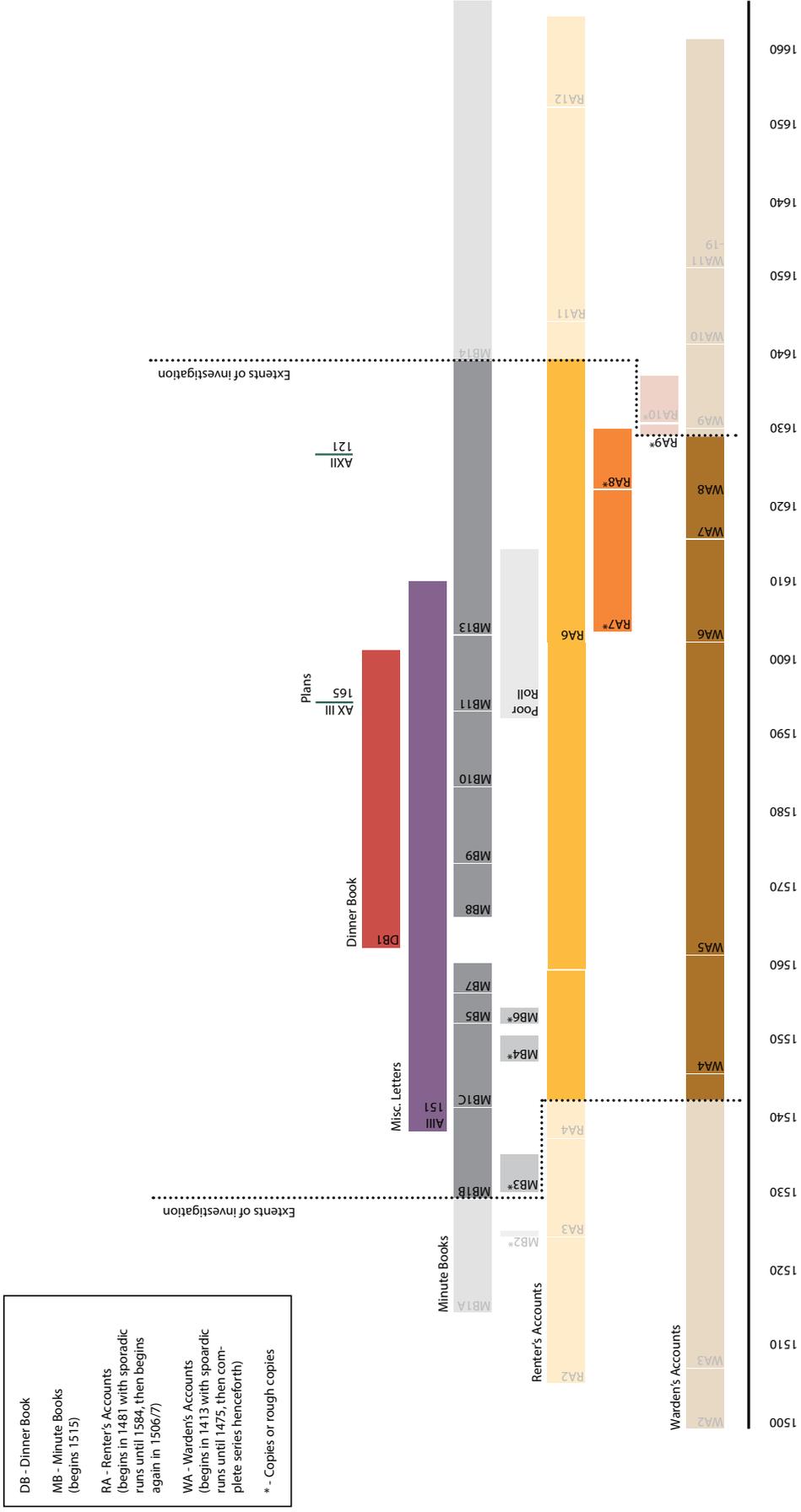


Figure 0.4. Diagram of the principal records in the Drapers' Archive with the extents of investigation of this thesis highlighted

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - coinciding with an expansion of corporate and trust property-holdings. Remarkably, as a 'working' archive, the main series' of books and accounts established in these centuries are still running. The administrative lines through the collection can therefore be followed for more-or-less 500 years uninterrupted. Whilst it may be assumed that the regulation of the trade of drapery is the chief concern of the bulk of the records, as previously indicated, much of the Archive in fact addresses the holding and management of the Company estate.

The Archive is large and complex and is navigated via a couple of overlapping paper catalogues produced in the early- and mid-twentieth centuries. Access to researchers is theoretically regulated by the Court, technically allocated to the custody of the Clerk, but in reality is delegated to the Company Archivist. As a body of documentation it is in regular use, consulted to provide clarification on a range of present-day matters. Property deeds and cases for example are still referenced in relation to claims made against the Company in regards to their charitable funds. Although a significant proportion of the individual documents and loose papers relate to properties either corporately owned or in trust, the Archive does not contain many architectural drawings. For the pre-fire period which is the subject of this thesis only two large-scale detailed measured drawings of sites owned by the Company exist. Alongside these two extraordinary records, a smattering of small-scale rough survey plans exists primarily for the early seventeenth century.

This prompts a highly relevant and perhaps contentious question. Should a lack of architectural drawings in an archive, like that of the Drapers', render it useless to the architectural historian? In surveying such an archive over a long time span and working closely with sources produced for administrative rather than design purposes, this investigation moves beyond the traditional evidentiary territory of many histories of architecture which centralise 'architectural' drawings and texts.⁹¹ The attraction to such conventional evidence is clear. Architectural representations tend to capture the idealised architectural artefact at the point of design more often than they reflect the reality of the life of the building after it is built. For K. Kleinman, the archived drawing captures a moment of purity before the design develops in a far more complex world than is represented. He notes that "the architectural archive promises to stabilize architecture; this is the archive's task and

⁹¹ For further comments on this sort of architectural enquiry see: Johnson, Matthew. *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (London: Longman, 2010) p.10-11; Arnold, D. *Reading Architectural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002) pp.42, 99, 183.

gift”.⁹² The Drapers’ Archive is undoubtedly deficient in such depictions of stable architectural ‘origins’ but it is overflowing in information about the way in which buildings were modified and occupied. It is clear that an alternative methodology must be sought which allows for a more holistic approach to livery company archives, moving beyond the building as object.

Notably then, this study, written as an architectural and social history, did not begin with a plan, a section, or an elevation, nor a treatise or even a series of letters, but a book of accounts relating to a sequence of dinners. It was this rare opportunity to work from the inside out of a building that became part of the justification for situating this research within the Drapers’ Company rather than any other. This thesis seeks to demonstrate what can be achieved when a broader view of what constitutes legitimate evidence for architectural enquiry is taken in relation to one specific archive, applying this way of working in relation to the early modern City of London. The starting point for the study, this especially unusual document within the Drapers’ Archive, is therefore methodologically important. A singular account book of Company Dinners stored in the Company Hall in Throgmorton Street in the City of London, ‘The Dinner Book’ records a set of thirty-six separate events given at the hall in the period 1563 – 1602.⁹³ Evidence of sixteenth-century city feasting practices is rare, let alone near comprehensive organizational and financial reckonings of decades of such events held by one livery company.⁹⁴ The annual celebration of the Election Day Dinner was the central event in the corporate year, giving the multifarious identities and ideologies of the Elizabethan livery company visible definition within the space of the hall as well as facilitating the transferal of official leadership posts. The Dinner Book addresses these important Election Day Dinners, the smaller ‘Quarter’ Dinners taken throughout the year as well as one ‘View’ Dinner – held after the bi-annual survey of Company property. The account holds information concerning what food was purchased from whom, how it was transported,

⁹² Kleinman, K. ‘Archiving/Architecture’ in F. X. Blouin and W. G. Rosenberg (ed.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006) pp.54-60.

⁹³ DCA, The Dinner Book 1 (DB1), see Volume II of this thesis.

⁹⁴ Internally, the archival catalogue refers to the document as ‘DB1’, although ‘DB2’ does not begin until the late seventeenth century and even then this record contains only three disparate accounts. Some fragmentary evidence of dinners can be found scattered in other livery company records for the same period, but in its consistency, compilation and detail DB1 appears to be unique. The closest comparator is held by the Clothworkers, who have a run of three dinners for the years 1560-62. These accounts have been helpfully transcribed by the former Company archivist David Wickham and published by the Clothworkers in a book ‘All of One Company’ (2004). For further discussion, see Volume II.

presented, to which table, in what order, how much of it was eaten, what happened to the leftovers, how much the brooms for sweeping the floor cost, how many padlocks were purchased for the stores and so on. A number of dinner records go beyond the conventional lists of receipts for food stuff and ventures into describing the service of the dinner. In detailing the deployment of specific employees and their placement within the Hall, readers gain a snapshot of how the dinner was set up from the particular point of view of a key organizer of the dinner named the Steward. Moreover, the document was very likely written in near enough the same location that it has continued to rest in for the following centuries. Removed only for safe keeping during the Great Fire, recent conservation work in 2012 and a few rare jaunts to recent London-based exhibitions, it is fascinating not only for what it conveys about dinners specifically and livery company culture more generally, but also for the story it tells about the Company Hall. In this critical corporate space, the conceptual idea and practical reality of the estate was worked out, and it is thus an important site of investigation for the thesis.

More broadly however, the Dinner Book has served as an unconventional entry point into an exploration of over 300 documents and records situated in the Archive of the Drapers' Company. Although only occasionally directly referenced in the chapters that follow, the Dinner Book acts as a latent provocation throughout the thesis and has coloured readings of other documents. Are unusual records like this legitimate sources for the writing of architectural and urban history? Moreover, how can narratives of the built environment be recovered from archives more concerned with the management and administration of land than the aesthetics of its design? Spanning from Minute Books to lists of the poor, Ordinance Books to property deeds, disciplinary questions raised by reading the Drapers' Archive as a means of interrogating the urban condition of early modern London bubble under in every chapter. In turn, the study responds to this challenge by examining the making of the estate from the inside out, privileging the ways spaces are produced iteratively over time by the corporate community, rather than the ways they are 'authored' in a moment by one single individual. Indeed, although the Dinner Book is only a trigger, my continued preoccupation with the methodological concerns it raises is reinforced by a full transcription of the text (see Volume II) alongside a closer consideration of its content and meaning in Chapter Six and Seven.

Evidentiality and the Archive

Regarding the Archive, it is not only what evidence *is* but the question of what evidence *does* that “offers a test of what can be known, and what it is legitimate to know.” Andrew Leach argued that the condition of ‘evidentiality’ is critical to architectural theory and indeed to definitions of architecture itself. He asserted “that this test is always open to revision (or should be) makes it all the more compelling.”⁹⁵ His understanding emphasised the active agency of sources in the construction of an authority within the discipline of architecture. If this perspective is to be adopted, a closely related and vital issue must be acknowledged. Beyond what evidence *is* and what it *does*, we must ask *where* evidence is located and found. It is between ‘is’, ‘does’ and ‘where’ that critical discussions about the place of architectural history prove to be most productive. In this way, as the foundation of much historical research, the archive has been opened up to greater methodological scrutiny and theoretical re-assessment through twentieth-century post-modern and de-constructivist thought. This scholarship is particularly useful in relation to the Drapers’ Archive as one that is still kept and managed ‘in house’.

Of course ‘archive’ itself is a slippery word. From a concept or institution to a material thing or group of things, purist definitions of the word deployed by historians and archivists have been challenged by wider philosophical debates about the very nature of such a collection. In interrogating the idea of the archive, the writings of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault have caused historians to attend to core processes of making and working with archives with an increased self-consciousness. Following on from his *The Order of Things* (1966, trans. English 1970) which examined the practice of sorting in relation to the history of thought, Foucault’s *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (published in French in 1969 and translated to English in 1972) attended to the methodological concerns left unturned as a result of his controversial earlier proposals. In particular Foucault challenged orthodox views of linearity in the construction of historical narratives and sought to re-conceive the archive as an accumulation of knowledge that must be excavated through an analytical ‘archaeology’ of its content. Similarly influential in its critique of the presiding uses of the document, Derrida’s seminal 1995 *Archive Fever* contended that the archive is living and active with or without the historians’ interruptions. Taking us back to consider the Greek origins of the ‘arkhe’, he highlighted the archive’s embodied condition of continual ‘commencement’ (rather like the

⁹⁵ Leach, Andrew, Taylor, William M. and Stickells, Lee. ‘Editorial: Architecture, Evidence, and “Evidentiality”’ in *Architectural Theory Review* 18, no. 1 (August 2013) pp.1-7, p.6.

city itself). For Derrida, in simply continuing to be, the archive is always commencing, the past is constantly becoming the future.⁹⁶ His fascination with the archival contradictions held in balance is clear. It is simultaneously “institutive and conservative. Revolutionary and traditional.”⁹⁷ Further drawing on its radical potential, Derrida compellingly drew attention to the capacity of archives to subordinate and destroy memory through their physicality and location. In defining the original ‘arkheion’ as the house of a superior magistrate of law, it was in the magistrates’ ability to hold, regulate access and to interpret the archives in his possession that allowed him to command the law and legal authority. Together, Derrida and Foucault’s texts acknowledge that the archive is consistently being ‘made’ by those housing it. Contemplating implications for the contemporary historian, Mbembe still argues that archives are “the best way to ensure that the dead do not stir up disorder.”⁹⁸ The inaccessible archive works out a kind of living death, for it can be argued that in containing memories, it fosters a forgetting.⁹⁹ Working against what Derrida terms the ‘death drive’ is what it means for the historian to work ‘against the grain’.¹⁰⁰ There is an implicit tension therefore between the present-day researcher working within an institutional archive, and the institution which permits the historian’s incursions.

The socially-constructed nature and hegemonic tendencies of archives have been well-attested to and addressed by historians at least since the prevailing ‘postmoderism’ and ‘poststructuralism’ debates of the late twentieth century.¹⁰¹ Griffiths for instance holds that his historical narrative is constructed of “rhetorics and records and not many, if any, should be taken at face value”.¹⁰² Steedman has countered that historians must remember that they

⁹⁶ Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996) p.17.

⁹⁷ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p.7.

⁹⁸ Mbembe, A. ‘The Power of the Archive and its Limits’ in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, and G. Reid (ed.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002) pp.19-26, p.22.

⁹⁹ Jane Taylor states that, “Every act of memory is also an act of forgetting.”: Taylor, J. ‘Holdings: Rethinking the Archive’ in Hamilton *et al.* *Refiguring the Archive*, pp.243-282, p.243.

¹⁰⁰ See Derrida, *Archive Fever*.

¹⁰¹ Thomas, Keith. ‘History Revisited’, *Times Online*, 11 October 2006. Further discussion on the theme: Schwartz, J. and Cook T., ‘Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory’ in *Archival Science* 2 (2002) pp.1-19.

¹⁰² Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p.8.

“nearly always read something that was not intended for [their] eyes...” Those who purposed the records “had nothing like you in mind at all.”¹⁰³ In allowing the study to be led by the form of the archive, the continued production and maintenance of this working archive must be acknowledged at the outset as an invisible influence colouring what follows. Researching within the space of Drapers’ Hall, the historian is more explicitly bound by the specific cultural and spatial context of the livery company and its hall than if the archive were to have been deposited in the Guildhall or the National Archives. As a researcher I have been able to personally walk the archive and know the present-day hall in a way that connects my experience of the Drapers’ Company to echoes of the past in a privileged way.

The search for the marginal and marginalized in the archives, indicative of a re-engagement with documentary evidence, has been driven by the pursuit of a new social history. Revisionist scholarship of the 1970s and 80s specifically resulted in progressive historiographies of the early modern period which were grounded in fine-grain archival research and articulated a far more inclusive narrative of history. Connecting to Marxist philosophical and political ideologies, these historians and intellectuals foregrounded process over event by observing transformations borne out through complicated relationships, ideas and institutions in a way that resonates with Jenner’s idea of ‘guildwork’. As an early exponent of this approach, E. P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) refuted the arguments of critics of the radical political persuasion which under-pinned his original work by linking these intentions to a closer attention to the archive. His methodology pushed against conventional Whiggish trajectories but was still somewhat conflicted for he stated that he wished to construct his historical argument based on “actual historical evidence” rather than in “prior ideological presuppositions”.¹⁰⁴ Tracing back to the Annales School of the early twentieth century, commentators have pointed out that the moment in the discipline of history led by Thompson was in fact a *return* to the archive rather than an ‘original’ archival turn. Historians thereby resumed an earlier project, writing holistic histories of societies from manuscript reading rooms and basement stores rather than from university libraries and private studies.¹⁰⁵ This shift was not however readily acknowledged beyond a

¹⁰³ Steedman, Carolyn. ‘She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust’ in *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 4 (October 2001) pp.1159-1180, p.1177.

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1977) p.934.

¹⁰⁵ Braddick, Michael J. and Walter, John. *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

proliferation of footnotes to archival catalogues. In 1984 Maurice Mandelbaum still held that historians failed to acknowledge their uses of the archive and the records within them, writing that “it is not to those documents themselves...that the historian’s statements actually refer.”¹⁰⁶ Only in the last couple of decades have historians begun to articulate and interrogate the ways in which they allow their evidence to *do* things with more transparency. Architectural historians have debatably been somewhat further behind, and even more so when faced with correlating the physical evidence of buildings in conjunction with their textual documentation.¹⁰⁷

Working out the implications of Derrida and Foucault’s texts, many early modernists have sought to critically examine their own agency within the archive. Publications have more often acknowledged the heady sense of possibility in pursuit of ‘lost’ people and places through carefully organized documents. For Natalie Zemon Davis, in the archives there is an “abundance of plenty”,¹⁰⁸ and the historian can be overwhelmed by “the perfume of the archives”.¹⁰⁹ How is one to define a field of enquiry from such perceived intoxicating masses of potential? Carolyn Steedman embeds Derrida and Foucault’s theories in the reality of historical research by describing the historians’ anxiety about the “Great Unfinished” - the search through “infinite heaps of *things*”.¹¹⁰ Moreover, she cautions against the ways in which knowledge of the archive can claim authority for the historian. In highlighting the ways in which this research practice can foster the construction of fictional narratives based on

¹⁰⁶ Mandelbaum, Maurice. *Philosophy, History and the Sciences: Selected Critical Essays* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984) p.109-10.

¹⁰⁷ For further discussion on the tension between documentary and building historians see: Pearson, S. *The Medieval Houses of Kent; An Historical Analysis* (London: HMSO, 1994).

¹⁰⁸ Davis, Natalie Zemon. ‘Failure in the Archives’ (Keynote address at UCL conference, Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, UCL, 31 October 2015).

¹⁰⁹ Davis, Natalie Zemon. *A Passion for History: Conversations with Denis Crouzet* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2010) p.3. The idea is analogous to Orlin’s “pleasure of finding things out”. Orlin borrows this phrase from the title of Feynman, Richard P. *The Pleasure of Finding Things Out: The Best Short Works of Richard P. Feynman*, J. Robbins (ed) (Cambridge, Mass: Perseus, 1999). Kathy Fergusson too holds that “archives are inexhaustible: they are full of shiny things.” Fergusson, Kathy E. ‘Theorising Shiny Things: Archival Labors’ in *Theory & Event* 11, no. 4 (2008), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/257578> [accessed online 16 December 2014]. See also: Jardine, Lisa. *Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch Culture* (London: UCL Press, 2015); Farge, Arlette. *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. T. Scott-Railton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹¹⁰ Steedman, ‘She called a Fever’, p.1165.

fragmentary evidence, she says that the historian's 'craft' is to "conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater".¹¹¹ It can be argued that such new appreciation for the possibility of the archive, driven by intellectual and moral convictions, has resulted in a swell of scholars more than willing to write beyond the traditional evidentiary limits.¹¹² The concern for a more inclusive historical account of the world was driven by a return to the 'mediated' archive described by revised accounts of its authorship and agency.

Whilst early modern historians of recent decades have chosen to work with familiar and unfamiliar sites of evidence in new surprising ways, architectural historians addressing the same period have tended to see voids and emptiness in the same archives. The early modern period has indeed proved a stumbling-block for more conservative methodologies which focussed on the shadowy figure of the architect. In England before the seventeenth century, architectural drawings are uncommon and those scarce survivals have been pursued with a near fetishised enthusiasm. Returning to the question of what evidence *does*, if the necessary sources do not exist, they cannot *do* anything - which in part explains why Elizabethan architecture is so unattended to. One of the key innovators of the 1970s and 80s, Mark Girouard identifies this documentary void as the 'Elizabethan silence'. His experience of the "tedious and often unrewarding search" in the archives for "scraps" and "stray references" to early modern buildings elucidates in part his enthusiasm for the extraordinary body of drawings produced by the Smythsons.¹¹³ It is not only the lack of design drawings that has troubled disciplinary investigations but a lack of textual treatises on architectural ideas outside the Italian classical tradition. For architectural historian Lucy Gent, sixteenth century England's architectural and artistic traditions are "relatively voiceless...architectural remains are surrounded by a singular degree of silence". On account of the lack of writing surrounding 'indigenous' architecture, she also holds that "building in England lacks a body of theory."¹¹⁴ Frustrated in his search for the origins of style, Summerson complained that many English architectural trends developed in "the impenetrable anonymity of masons' yards and joiners'

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² For example: Gowing, Laura. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Griffiths, Paul. *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹¹³ Girouard, Mark. *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) p.10.

¹¹⁴ Gent, Lucy. "The Rash Gazer': Economies of Vision in Britain, 1550-1660' in L. Gent (ed.) *Albion's Classicism* (1995) pp.377-394, p.378.

shops".¹¹⁵ However, in contrast to the picture of difficulty and dearth implied in the idea of the 'Elizabethan silence', the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in fact characterised by an increased production of written records of all sorts and the development of more effective institutional storage systems.¹¹⁶ This is significant, for livery company archives too show many series of administrative records relating to company estates began in the early sixteenth century. This thesis argues that these sites now filled with well-ordered papers are unexploited resources full of potential for architectural historians. Although it takes the Drapers' Archive as the principal site of investigation, the study is not confined by it. Some chapters begin within the Archive but quickly move to draw on material far outside its boundaries. At other times chapters are tightly drawn around particular documents within it with fewer external excursions. The structure of the thesis is summarized below.

Chapter Structure

The first chapter sets out the broad chronological framework of property acquisition within which the particular expansion of the Drapers' estate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is situated. Although the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries in the 1530s and 40s are identified as critical hinge-points for urban land-ownership, the chapter contextualizes the cultural and social circumstances which facilitated the growth of the estate across the period c. 1360-1666. As a result, it explores the level of continuity and change in relation to the property bequests from members to the company.

Centring on a key moment in this grand narrative, Chapter Two drills deeper into the mindset of the Company's Court of Assistants towards the acquisition and occupation of two especially significant properties within the estate. The new Company Hall on Throgmorton Street and the 'Erber' on Dowgate Hill were purchased during the upheavals of the 1540s and show the Court's pursuit of high-quality environments in service of its sociability and honour. At the same time, they worked through concerns about how to balance the profitability of leases on these sites in connection with their pleurability. This chapter also demonstrates that those in the upper tier of the corporate hierarchy were more likely to benefit from the Company's new purchases.

¹¹⁵ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, p.156.

¹¹⁶ For further commentary on this trend in relation to London see: Gordon, Andrew. *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Following from this, the next chapter moves to assess the specific spatial experience and architectural culture of the elite city leaders who were often also successfully engaged in international trade. It draws attention to the importance and increased difficulty of acquiring appropriate London bases for these especially wealthy officers of corporate and civic government. It demonstrates that it was a matter of corporate responsibility and honour to ensure the provision of such city-centre houses for company leaders. The Drapers' Court was knowingly aware of the symbolic value of maintaining prominent houses and their potential to uphold existing structures of governance. Meanwhile prosperous merchants implicated in corporate offices were concurrently attracted to the countryside as they negotiated a new relationship to land and property.

Although Ward has described early modern London as an "engine of wealth production", the scale of prosperity enjoyed by individuals was clearly variable both in scope and longevity.¹¹⁷ Chapter Four takes a wider view of the estate, focussing on the dynamic between tenants and their landlords, between lease-holders of the Company and the Court itself. It places an emphasis on the implications of these negotiations on the houses of the middling sort. Interrogating a collection of houses located throughout the city, held by those within and without the membership of the Company, what inclined the Court towards the granting of tenancies and lease renewals to particular applicants ahead of others? In particular, the chapter investigates leaseholders' impulses to rebuild and adapt properties as well as the effect of such proposals on extension and securement for leases.

If the first four chapters are about the development of the estate and its material condition, Chapter Five describes the administrative and corporate structures by which the Drapers sought to manage its expanded estate and to set its 'house in order'. Backed up by William Harrison's observations from the 1570s, Wrightson traced a pattern of "direct exploitation of the productive capacity" of the country estates of the nobility and gentry.¹¹⁸ What of good husbandry in the mercantile city? The chapter focusses on the ways in which two employees involved closely in property management, the Renter and the Clerk, grew in stature during the period. It also considers the place of record-keeping in the Court's growing concern to effectively steward its increasingly valuable estate. The chapter outlines the extent to which

¹¹⁷ Ward, Joseph P. *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p.13.

¹¹⁸ Wrightson, K. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) p.182.

the Company was directly involved in the maintenance of the buildings within its estate and practically supported larger-scale building work.

Chapters Six and Seven work together, turning to consider the Drapers' cultural response to the corporate change it was experiencing. The 'new' headquarters of the Company is investigated in more detail, framed as a site for the spatial performance of order and honour. The chapters argue that the Company's social practices and architectural expressions grew to reflect deliberately anachronistic tastes in order to self-consciously cultivate the idealized image of a harmonious and stable household. In this way the enquiry pays as much attention to ceremonial and spatial continuities worked out in the Company Hall as it does to changes, assuming that both are meaningful responses to significant corporate transitions/shifts. It considers the ways in which representations of legitimate governance were amplified in the great hall and parlour, alongside how corporate charity was visibly enacted within the space of the courtyard. Finally, it considers the Ladies' chamber, arguing that this intriguingly named room supported the analogy of the Company as an ancient manorial household.

Conclusion

This introduction has indicated the significance of livery company estates in the early modern city. It has argued that the livery company archive is a legitimate site for architectural investigation and it has challenged the prevailing lack of interest in early modern London from architectural historians exploring some reasons for this bias. Surveying recent studies into London's corporate history and histories of its built environment, there is a clear opportunity to situate the guilds as active agents of spatial change in the city and their archives necessitate a social reading of this development. Moreover, this discussion has also provided a brief summary of the 'Great Rebuilding' and suggested its continuing usefulness as a way of uniting disciplinary concerns around a continuing narrative of re-development and improvement in the urban environment. In sum, the thesis probes the manner in which the transitional landscape of London was experienced by the Drapers' Company and its tenants as city space re-calibrated around accelerated mercantile activity and the primary nature of 'guildwork' shifted from concerns of trade to concerns about property.

Chapter One – The Growth of the Estate

Utilising the Drapers' Company as a case study, the question of how and why company estates grew is the focus of this first chapter for it is seldom treated in any detail. In doing so the criticality and relative instability of the sixteenth century will be situated in relation to processes of acquisition which began many centuries before. Such an approach also allows for the spatial and historical circumstances of individual properties discussed in later chapters to be located chronologically.

Historians widely assume and allude to the fact that corporate estates grew in the early modern period, but rarely is this growth articulated, mapped or closely observed. For example, while Ian Archer has argued that the period 1560-1640 represented a "golden age" for the livery companies linking this to swollen property portfolios, he largely neglected to engage with this striking aspect of corporate life.¹¹⁹ Sleigh-Johnson identified the growth of the Merchant Taylors' real estate holdings to be "the most significant development in the [Company's] early modern history".¹²⁰ At the same time archaeologist John Schofield has prompted increased interest in the material qualities of the early modern built environment of London, principally by bringing the fascinating drawings of Ralph Treswell to light. And yet, in spite of a detailed analysis of surveys commissioned by the Clothworkers' Company, his treatment of the Company's relationship to its estate was remarkably light. His work reiterated the 'rise-and-fall' narrative of the companies, satisfied to comment briefly that their roles as landholders and trustees grew as their political and economic power waned.¹²¹ Regarding patterns of land ownership and investment in the seventeenth century, D.W. Jones held that "darkness surrounds the question of urban property".¹²² Archer clarified the challenges of pursuing this line of research in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries noting that the financial dealings (which were intimately linked to property transactions and the

¹¹⁹ Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', p.15.

¹²⁰ Sleigh-Johnson, N. J. 'The Merchant Taylors Company of London 1580-1645, with special reference to government and politics' (unpublished PhD thesis, UCL, 1989) p.60.

¹²¹ Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London, ca. 1600', p.311.

¹²² Jones, D.W. 'London Merchants and the Crisis of the 1690s' in P. Clark and P. Slack (ed.) *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) pp.295-420, p.336.

management of charitable trusts) were a “murky subject” for the historian.¹²³ Accounts are frequently found to conflict with one another, selectively edit information or have disappeared altogether. In his own study of the Crown lands, R. H. Hoyle drew attention to the complexity of writing a history of an estate stating that the historian must “keep his eye on several moving objects at once, rather like the targets in a shooting range.”¹²⁴ Given the difficulty of following these acquisition trails precisely and with clarity, it is perhaps unsurprising that historians have mostly elected to avoid interrogating this material in any depth.¹²⁵ For architectural historians it is an altogether foreign land.

In the case of the Drapers, although the transparency of financial records relating to property acquisitions in the early modern period is particularly hard to ascertain, overall there remains an overwhelming number of individual documents and deeds relating to the histories of the Company’s properties. Numbering around 8000, in 1900 the first systematic record of these documents was produced. An unnamed expert organized Company property deeds into sequential order under ownership (either trust or corporate) and then by parish.¹²⁶ In the following decades a second unnamed scholar attempted further to rationalize the documents. Their work was primarily concerned with the translation of ‘extraordinary’ extracts of 3000 documents in the catalogue (which appears to have been prepared in connection with Percival Boyd’s 1934 ‘Roll’).¹²⁷ Alongside A. H. Johnson’s inimitable five volume Company history (1914-1922), one other secondary source is of particular and rare importance in this context, for a complete re-assessment of all the primary documents and deeds relating to the Company’s properties is beyond the means and focus of this study. Past Master William Archer-Thomson completed his two volume historical survey of the Company’s property in 1942. His wide angle survey began with the Company’s first acquisition in the fourteenth century, divided the two volumes at the 1666 Great Fire, and continued through to the early twentieth century. Writing for the purpose of practical estate

¹²³ Archer, ‘The Livery Companies and Charity’, p.19.

¹²⁴ Hoyle, R. H. *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p.8.

¹²⁵ An important exception to this is: *People, Property and Charity: The Clothworkers’ Company, 1500-1688*. IHR, 2010-2011. <http://www.clothworkersproperty.org/> [Accessed online 12 August 2016].

¹²⁶ Johnson, A. H. *A History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London, 5 Vols.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914-22), Vol. 2, p.286.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p.287; Boyd, P. *Roll of the Drapers’ Company of London* (Croydon, J. A. Gordon: 1934).

management and apparently lacking formal historical training, Archer-Thomson summarized and critiqued the records as well as the attempts of the unnamed cataloguers to grapple with the corporate estate. In this he distanced himself from their fascination with the documents themselves, declaring that his was “a history of properties rather than a history of documents”.¹²⁸ He also engaged with Johnson’s history, explicitly correcting and directly quoting from his predecessor and referring to him as ‘the Company’s Historian’. Archer-Thomson’s gazetteer of the ownership of the Company lands apparently stands alone amid the glut of internally orientated corporate histories which were produced in the first decades of the twentieth century. His work however is mostly unreferenced. Document numbers referenced in relation to his own system confusingly bear little resemblance to the current-day state of affairs. But more than this he neglected to use quotation marks in this text, claiming that his account would then appear too fragmentary. His decision to invisibly integrate primary and secondary sources with personal comment poses an issue for readers who are often unsure of the exact sources used, and caught unawares when he slips in and out of quotation.¹²⁹

Despite the detailed archival work both Johnson and Archer-Thomson exemplified in relation to corporate lands, neither was squarely interested in piecing together an over-arching story of acquisition, nor were they concerned with the meaning of their substantial collection of property facts. The synthesis presented here therefore builds on Archer-Thomson and Johnson's ‘in house’ histories but attempts to condense and contextualize the detail of their surveys within a broader chronological and cultural framework. In this way it traces something of the movement of land into the Drapers' hands from the Company's medieval beginnings up until the 1666 Great Fire. This narrative can be divided into four main historical sections, namely: first acquisitions (1361-1494), accelerated pre-reformation growth (1494-1530), the property revolution of the Reformation (1530-1550), and finally the relative continuity and diversification of the post-Reformation period (1550-1666).

¹²⁸ Archer-Thomson, W. *History of the Company's Properties and Trusts, 2 Vols.* (Privately printed, 1940-42) Vol. 1, pp.4-5.

¹²⁹ Ibid. pp.54-5. For example, “Draughtes of new indentors were prepared at the comandement of ye ii Judges and sent t Evesham.”

The Grand Narrative of Acquisition

If one aim of this chapter is to make observations of the development of the estate as a whole, it is useful to articulate the 'grand narrative' as early as possible - before moving towards a closer characterisation of the four periods identified earlier. This approach allows the speed (or lack) of accumulation of property at different moments in time to be gauged against the rate of change evident in the sixteenth century which is the particular priority of this thesis. In pursuing patterns of acquisition in the developing estate, two strategies can be deployed. Firstly, the number of properties that came into and out of the Company's hands through the years can be traced. Secondly, the changing overall value of the estate might be measured. It is in a combination of both strategies that a more accurate understanding of how the estate developed may be reached.

The timeline overleaf visually represents verifiable claims made in Archer-Thomson and Johnson's histories regarding the dates of property acquisitions (figure 1.1).¹³⁰ It also articulates the sale of properties where this can be ascertained, however, there were apparently very few losses of Company properties in the period. Each property has been assigned a number to aid cross-referencing of places and dates throughout the thesis. The properties plotted on the timeline were diverse not only in their size and value, but also in their nature and function (which was liable to change over time). The graph tends to include more than it excludes; almshouses, schools, houses, taverns, company halls and farms are all represented with no distinction between lands for which the Drapers were trustees and land that was owned outright. This wide scope allows the extent of Drapers' managerial responsibilities to be assessed as a whole, for it is the Drapers' role as landlords and land managers that is of most concern to later chapters rather than their exclusive corporate landownership.

The timeline clearly demonstrates the upturn of the sixteenth century. It shows that only seven properties were acquired before 1500, while fifty per cent of the pre-fire estate was acquired between 1500 and 1550, and a further twenty per cent in the fifty years before 1600. Another eleven properties or trust lands were counted to the Drapers before 1666.

¹³⁰ The extent to which this timeline might be a fair reflection of the estate is based primarily on the reliability of Archer-Thomson's work. In a personal postscript he stated that, "my aim has been to trace the facts affecting every property, corporate or trust, that the Company has ever held, and in that I believe I have succeeded, with the exception of a few disposed of long ago, in regard to which no documents remain to show their destiny" (Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 2, pp.286-288).

Such statistics evidently indicate the increasing number of sites owned or entrusted to the Company and the explosion in scale of the estate in the sixteenth century in particular. Although this graphic demonstrates the swell of properties entering the portfolio of the Company between 1500-1600, it does not represent the size, value or number of individual dwellings associated to these acquisitions which are identified by location only. For instance, 'The Erber' (no. 35 on figure 1.1) contained approximately sixteen separate dwellings at the time of its purchase whilst 'The Goat' (no. 6) represented one tavern, with no internal separations or divisions.¹³¹ Following the precise increase or decrease in the quantity of dwellings on any one site (through subdivision, conglomeration, demolition or construction) the exercise is made even more slippery in part due to the varied archival topography and record keeping process. Chapters Two, Three and Four will instead articulate something of the rise, fall, merging and division of particular properties through narrative-based discussions of a number of buildings owned by the Company.

The question of the estate's gross rental value, a reasonable indicator of significance, should be added to this assessment. As has already been noted, deciphering Company finances can be a tricky endeavour in terms of accuracy and survival. The extent of recordation could considerably vary from year to year. In addition, Johnson expressed that rental income alone was a "fallacious guide" because changing cultural practices saw companies prefer to charge tenants substantial fees, known as 'fines', to renew their leases rather than increase their rent. This aided taxation evasion. Johnson went on to state that, because of this, "the annual value of revenue from lands was liable to considerable fluctuations."¹³² Whereas Archer-Thomson paid no attention to the overall rental income of different periods, Johnson gathered together information in a characteristically ad hoc fashion throughout his text which is summarized below with some additions drawn directly from the Minute Books and Rental Accounts. In 1413-4 rents derived from houses occupied by nine tenants were £14 15s. 4d.¹³³ By 1540 the total value of the Company's rents had increased to £84 18s. 3d.¹³⁴ In

¹³¹ In 1541 it was regarded as "one of the head taverns in London" but had been neglected by its tenant and also a "lack of good wine" caused it to "utterly decay to the great hurt and hindrance of those than shall dwell there after him" and to the "great displeasure of this worshipful fellowship" (DCA, MB1B, f.692).

¹³² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.99.

¹³³ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.155.

¹³⁴ DCA, MB1B, f.620 – as presented to the King's Commissioners.

the following five years a number of important purchases were made which prompted rental income to more than triple, coming to £255 2s. 8d. in 1545-6.¹³⁵ After this sharp rise there was a period of uneven growth up until the turn of the seventeenth century and by 1594-5 the total rents had risen to £382 3s. 4d representing at least eighty-three separate tenancies.¹³⁶ In 1624-5 the rental income had risen to £805.¹³⁷ Even without taking into account the fines attributable to any lease renewal, between 1540-1640, the rental income of the Company effectively increased by 1300%, although this figure would need to be read against a moderate level of inflation to be accurately interpreted. With or without inflation, this was a remarkably steep upward curve in rental income and the table below reveals a similarly dramatic rise in fines. In fact, by the early 1640s the fines for lease renewals had overtaken income from rents. Following this it would be easy to assume these expanding funds were directly contributing to the growing wealth of the Drapers. However, it is important to note that the rising number of properties and rents stewarded by the Company did not necessarily reflect an increase in profit or funds available to the Company. Most properties were devised for charitable uses by benefactors to pay for memorial obits (annual commemoration services to pray for the soul of the deceased) or chantries (a priest paid to sing daily prayers for the deceased).¹³⁸ And although the nature of these practices changed as a result of the Reformation, modified processes of memorialization continued.¹³⁹ Writing in 1975 of the early modern Goldsmiths, Reddaway held that the importance of bequests which enabled property acquisition was “enormous” and yet his view was that “the immediate importance, save for the office work involved, was often small”. He clarified that “reversions had to be watched, but they brought no immediate income”.¹⁴⁰ Impatient of Hugh Umpton’s will in 1532, the Court of the Drapers knowingly stated that they were “bound for

¹³⁵ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.81.

¹³⁶ Compiled from: DCA, RA5, 1594-5.

¹³⁷ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.99.

¹³⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.81.

¹³⁹ Branch, Laura. ‘Fraternal Commemoration and the London Company of Drapers c.1440-c.1600’ in E. Tingle and J. Willis (ed.) *Dying, Death, Burial and Commemoration in Reformation Europe* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016) pp.115-136.

¹⁴⁰ Reddaway, T. F. *The Early History of the Goldsmiths Company, 1327-1509* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975) p.105.

performances of the charges according to the will until lands may be purchased".¹⁴¹ It could be decades before the Company could claim the majority of the rental income for themselves, although the increase in the practice of fines was important. Johnson astutely observed the implications of this on the Company's financial standing. Since few benefactors stipulated anything about the use of any income derived from fines, he noted that the corporation assumed that these sums should be at their "free disposal" and were therefore highly lucrative.¹⁴²

Table 1 - Rental income of the Drapers' Company, 1413 – 1647:

Year	Total Rental Income (excluding unpaid)	Total fines (excluding unpaid)	Number of leaseholders
1413-4	£14 15s. 4d.	Not known	9
1481	£49 10s.	Not known	24
1540	£84 18s. 3d.	Not known	Not known
1545-6	£255 2s. 8d.	Not known	Not known
1594-5	£382 3s. 4d.	Not known	83
1602-3	£606 6s. 8d.	£241 13s. 4d.	Not known
1613-14	Not known	Not known	103
1624-5	£805 14s. 4d.	£271 13s. 4d.	Not known
1634-5	£917 3s. 4d.	£811s. 4d.	Not known
1643-4	£1103 4d.	£1180 13s. 2d.	Not known
1647-8	£1104 17s. 8d.	£1708 6s. 8d.	Not known

Refs: Johnson, *History*, Vol 1, p. 155; Vol 2, p. 81; Vol 3, p. 99, 204-5; MB1B, 1540, f. 620; DCA, RA 1594-5

¹⁴¹ Branch, 'Fraternal Commemoration', p.121.

¹⁴² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, pp.497-8.

This significant growth prompts the question of typicality in relation to corporate estates, how indicative was the change in scale and value of the Drapers' estate of wider trends in the livery companies and beyond? More generally, historians such as Derek Keene have commented on comparative prosperity of the City mercantile elite in the sixteenth century and the related transfer of much landed wealth into their hands.¹⁴³ The broader experiences of individual merchants held a bearing on the fortunes of the companies too. For Matthew Davies, "the London craft guilds, particularly the Great Twelve, owed their wealth and prestige to their success in attracting large bequests of property".¹⁴⁴ This process of bequeathing property was a defining characteristic across the companies, although not all estates grew at the same rate. Of the fifteenth-century Company, Johnson noted a 1412 Crown return placed the Drapers as the third largest corporate land owner in the city.¹⁴⁵ This was behind the Goldsmiths and Merchant Taylors but ahead of the Mercers and Skinners (see table 2 below).¹⁴⁶ The Company remained still some way behind the Goldsmiths and Taylors throughout the fifteenth century. The Taylors' estate brought in £155 in the 1460s while Drapers' rental income was still just below £50 in the 1480s.¹⁴⁷ By the turn of the sixteenth century the Goldsmiths could claim an equivalent total of just over £186.¹⁴⁸ The acceleration of acquisition processes in the sixteenth century was not unique to the Drapers. Indeed by the tumultuous mid-century the Drapers had caught up with the Goldsmiths. Whilst some companies were shedding properties in order to appease financial demands and religious reforms imposed by the King the Drapers appear to have maintained their position in the upper tier of corporate property holdings. In 1545-6 their estate was valued at £255, whilst the Taylors income was almost double this figure at £440.¹⁴⁹ In 1578-9 the Mercers had

¹⁴³ Keene, D. 'Material London in Time and Space' in L. Orlin (ed) *Material London, c.1600* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2000) pp.55-74, p.59.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, M. 'The Tailors of London and their Guild, c.1300-1500' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1994) p.54.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.109.

¹⁴⁶ 'Lay Subsidy, temp. Henry IV, London 1411-12' J. C. L. Stahlschmidt (ed.) in *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 44, (1887) pp.56-82.

¹⁴⁷ Davies, 'The Tailors' p.27.

¹⁴⁸ Reddaway, *Early History*, p.183.

¹⁴⁹ Clode, C. M. *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, 2 Vols.* (London: Privately printed, 1888) Vol. 2, p.144.

overtaken the Drapers with a rental income of £426, while twenty years later the Drapers' equivalent figure was still well below £400.¹⁵⁰ The table below is only indicative of the Drapers' position in relation to the value of the estates of the Great Twelve, but taken together evidence suggests the experience of the Drapers was fairly typical. Overall, by 1666 the Great Twelve companies held a diverse range of properties across the parishes within and without the walls.¹⁵¹

Table 2 - Value of Drapers' estate contextualized against several other great companies:

Company	Total value of property in 1412	Taxed on land in 1541	Taxed on land 1582
Drapers	£19 6s. 8d	£16 9d.*	£3 1s. 4d
Goldsmiths	£46 10s. ob.	£15 4s. 8d.	£10
Mercers	£13 18s. 4d.	£7 10s.	£4 12s.
Merchant Taylors	£44 3s. 7d.	£13 3s. 8d.	£3 5s. 4d.
Skinners	£18 12s. 8d.	£13 4d. 6d.	£5*

* inc. moveables

These assessments and subsidies are only indicative of the size of the companies' estates. The figures are not directly comparable due to their different nature and means of calculation. However the table does show that the Drapers were not extraordinary as a company, neither leading the pack consistently nor trailing them overall. Refs: Assessed total value of property in 1412, according to Exchequer Lay Subsidy; Tax assessed based on total income of lands in 1541 and 1582, Lay Subsidies

¹⁵⁰ Compiled from: DCA, RA5, 1594-5.

¹⁵¹ Harding, V., Keene, D. 'Sources: London Livery Companies' in *A Survey of Documentary Sources 22* (London: London Record Society, 1985) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol22> [Accessed online 27 January 2016] pp.12-36.

First Acquisitions (1361-1494)

The story of property acquisition cannot be divorced from a discussion of the development of the Company as a whole. The complexity and flexibility inherent to the continuation of the companies means that issues of economics, religion, sociability and commerce are uneasily separated. The growth of the estate was intimately intertwined with many other narrative strands. Specifically, the first acquisitions of the Drapers must be contextualized against the progressive formalization of the structure and changing function of the guild. Although some would argue the origins of the Company can be traced back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was in 1364 that the Drapers' guild was officially recognised by the Crown by virtue of a Royal 'Letters Patent'.¹⁵² This initial acknowledgment from Edward III represented the growing power of the guilds to regulate their trades and crafts, as well as a movement towards occupation-based guild membership (as opposed to the religiously-driven parish guilds). Despite this Royal seal of approval, there remains some uncertainty about the shape and organisation of the fourteenth-century guild. After considering Company roots in two apparently disparate groups of medieval drapers, those connected to St. Mary le Bow church and those of Bethlehem Hospital, Quinton settled on acknowledging the probable fluidity and diversity of these early years. The Company's "administrative immaturity" seems not to have dissuaded members from bequeathing cash gifts for the Company to manage before the turn of the fifteenth century.¹⁵³ Furthermore, taking the Bethlehem and Bow groups of drapers together and through a survey of 300 wills of drapers in the Court of Hustings, Quinton identified the growing strength of guild connections after the granting of their letters patent. This increasing allegiance to trade-based associations was reflected in the accumulation of small bequests of both cash and, gradually, properties vested in the Drapers' Company.¹⁵⁴

Like many guilds, the Drapers doubtless met in houses of members and taverns before they acquired a hall as a permanent base. The Drapers procured their first landed property in St. Swithins Lane (no. 1) twenty years after they had secured their jurisdictional rights through the Letters Patent (see figure 1.2). Although it was purchased using Company funds

¹⁵² Archer-Thomson asserts that there is no proof of the Company earlier than 1361, noting "it is better that the retaining walls of any great Institution should rest firmly on stable foundations, than sway on imaginary piles, driven into strata of obscurity". (Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.26).

¹⁵³ Quinton, E. J. P. 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, c.1300-c.1500' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2001) p.18.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.35.

generated by membership fees (paid quarterly and therefore known as 'quarterage'), they were unable to vest the land by devise without obtaining the legal status of 'incorporation' conferred by the Crown. As the provision of a permanent address was a requirement for incorporation and the Drapers evidently desired to secure this status for themselves, it has often been thought that this purchase was solely intended for the construction of a hall on the site.¹⁵⁵ However Archer-Thomson commented that "land was practically the only available method of investment" at that time, implying a more pragmatic spur to ownership.¹⁵⁶ The original site consisted of an open tenter-ground (for stretching cloth), eleven shops and an alley with a number of rooms grouped around it. After acquisition for six marks (£2) in 1385, there was a twenty year delay before any development could occur as a result of a problematic legal history which ensured the Drapers' ownership of the property would be disputed for two decades in the Chancery Court. In the meantime, a second purchase was made out of the same corporate pot of money in 1397 of a small piece of land on Cheapside (no. 2) but no records survive relating to its use or intentions in the years after acquisition. In 1401 a similar operation took place and numerous Drapers were named as purchasers of a tenement adjacent to St. Swithins Lane on Candlewick Street named 'Le Bakhouse' (no. 3). The property was let out initially to John Parker, a baker, who had facilitated the sale process. Following the conclusion of the suit over the St. Swithins property in the Chancery, subscriptions were sought from members to construct a Company Hall on the vacant plot and work finally began in 1425.¹⁵⁷ In all these properties were vested in the names of over forty Drapers who acted as trustees whilst the Company pursued incorporation.

After the Goldsmiths, Skinners, Mercers, Saddlers, Tailors, Grocers, Fishmongers, Vintners and Brewers had already obtained their Charter of Incorporation, the Drapers were granted theirs in 1438. This document enabled the Company to own property outright and in perpetuity. Yet in reality all lands continued to be held in the names of individuals, enduring as a result of the 'Laws of Mortmain' which required the properties be held 'in trust' for the

¹⁵⁵ However Archer-Thomson holds that this was not the case, arguing that it was purchased originally in order for the rents to support a 'Brotherhood' priest. (Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.22)

¹⁵⁶ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.1

¹⁵⁷ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.112-3

corporations.¹⁵⁸ Lands within the City of London were exceptional as a result of the City Customs. These customs allowed freemen to hold properties in trust for corporate bodies and then to will these properties to other individuals to hold on the company's behalf in spite of mortmain. This practice applied only to the City and essentially allowed institutions like the Drapers to operate outside the prevailing laws of the land. This process of transfer evolved over time, gaining clarity and security in its exercise. Despite these privileges, Archer-Thomson believed such medieval property laws "hampered nearly every transaction" implying a negative impact on the Company's prosperity because of administrative complications.¹⁵⁹

Following the Company's important 1438 incorporation which granted the Company greater control over the trade of drapery and asset-holding, Archer-Thomson noted that there was no particular crop of cash or land bequests but, over time, a smattering of properties bequeathed by members entered the Company's keeping. Accordingly, the first property to be bequeathed in this way was a house in the parish of St. Christopher's in Cornhill (no. 4). Although few details survive, a deed dated 1454 indicates that fifteen drapers held the property in trust for the Company after its gifting by a Draper called Richard Sharpe and two co-feoffs.¹⁶⁰ After the St. Christopher's house, gifts began in earnest in 1468 with All Hallows Honey Lane bequeathed by Sir John Norman for obit purposes (nos 6 and 7).¹⁶¹ This was followed in 1478 by property in St. Olave's, Southwark (no. 5), on account of Alice Harlewyn's deed (whose husband Benedict was a Draper). The rents were intended to establish a chantry and the conveyance was communally vested in twenty-four Drapers. Eight years later, Henry Eburton, a Draper and possibly the Company's chaplain, funded the rebuilding or new building of a cluster of eleven tenements situated on their Southwark land connected to Harlewyn.¹⁶² Johnson held that the sum granted (£200) was insufficient for the extent of

¹⁵⁸ This phrase translates as 'dead-hand' indicating that properties were not free to be continually held by corporate bodies after the deaths of those who held the properties on behalf of the corporation.

¹⁵⁹ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p.36.

¹⁶¹ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.162. For a detailed account of this property and the rebuilding undertaken see: Harding, V., Keene, D. 'All Hallows Honey Lane 11/10' in *Historical Gazetteer of London Before the Great Fire Cheapside* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1987) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-gazetteer-pre-fire> [Accessed online 25 January 2016] pp.85-96.

¹⁶² Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.50. Also see DCA, A III 74.

works, which amounted to somewhere around £300 in totality. Drapers contributed to this deficit out of corporate funds.¹⁶³

Falling outside the bounds of the City at the time, in 1484 the uncertainty as to the status of the Southwark properties in relation to the City custom was dispelled. A Royal license was issued gratuitously by the King to confirm that mortmain for Southwark could be held by Drapers in spite of its location – this was significant for a non-religious corporation. Further to this, in 1488, the validity of *all* devises made to incorporated bodies was legally substantiated by the King. Archer-Thomson wrote: “As soon as this decision became known, the Drapers decided to take advantage of it, and to get their properties properly vested in the Corporate Fraternity.”¹⁶⁴ In practice the transfer of property took many years, for it required the will of an individual to facilitate the change in legal status from individual to corporate ownership. As previously noted, properties were frequently vested in large groups of Drapers in order to aid security and also for administrative ease, for the death of any of the named holders did not affect the Company’s guardianship of the property. To this end a decision was taken to extricate all other Drapers from the devises of the properties acquired to date and invest them in one Draper which would enable their speedy transfer to the Company on his death. The hall at St. Swithins, the attached tenement called Le Bakhouse in Candlewick Street, the land in Cheapside, the tenements at All Hallows Honey Lane and finally the tenement and brewery at St Christopher’s Cornhill were all solely entrusted to Draper Henry Eburton, who was probably chosen on account of his age and possible ill health.¹⁶⁵ On his death in 1494, Eburton’s 1490 will was put into effect and Drapers’ corporate lands became more secure.¹⁶⁶ This pattern of selecting members close to death as a vehicle for property transfers would be replicated for decades to come involving many complex negotiations, named devisees and of course the strategic knowledge of suitably infirm Drapers.

Accelerated Pre-Reformation Growth (1494-1530)

It is important to emphasize the extent of bequests the Company was beginning to receive from its members at this point. What was a trickle of property bequests, intended for the provision of ‘obits’ (commemorative funeral dinners) and prayers for the dead, became

¹⁶³ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.156; DCA, RA1, 1482-5.

¹⁶⁴ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.52.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.53.

something of a flood in the thirty-year period after the turn of the century. Platt holds that organisations of all types, parish guilds and fraternities as well as livery companies, experienced an overwhelming accumulation of obits and chantries to the extent "that even dedicated fellowships were defeated by them."¹⁶⁷ These sorts of bequests developed and reinforced the livery companies as capable administrators and intercessory institutions. By 1497 the property-holding Goldsmiths were keeping the obits of twenty-five deceased members which required the Company to attend services or processions one out of twelve working days.¹⁶⁸ The Drapers' Company itself funded twenty-seven obits associated to fifteen different churches between 1443-1535.¹⁶⁹ Of the Merchant Taylors, Davies also observed that the Company appears to have experienced "some sort of resurgence" as an administrator in the early part of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, regarding the provision of services to deceased members, he commented, "that such post-obit services were carried out in parish church meant that the onus was on the livery companies to prove their reliability as administrators if they were to continue to receive valuable bequests of land."¹⁷¹ Many companies appear to have responded by substantiating their administrative and record-keeping practices (this will be discussed further in the case of the Drapers in Chapter Five).

Reflecting the widespread trend articulated above, Johnson held that the years before 1540 were characterised by acquisitions or gifts purposed for the maintenance of some chantry or obit purpose.¹⁷² It is an observation borne out in the detail and implicated in the wills of those Drapers in whom lands were vested simply to be transferred to the Company. In many cases these useful men and the documents pertaining to them complicate understandings of

¹⁶⁷ Platt, C. *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (Routledge: Oxon, 1997) p.106.

¹⁶⁸ Platt, C. *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 AD* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005) p.133.

¹⁶⁹ Thomson, J. A. F. 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1960) pp.131-2, p.136.

¹⁷⁰ Davies, 'The Tailors', p.53.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* p.62.

¹⁷² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.164-5.

the means through which property was purchased, by whom it was funded, when and for what means. It is in these years that the real difficulty of interpretation begins in earnest.

Bequests could come from those with strong connections to the Drapers as well as those less obviously tied to the Company. As part of this post-1500 swell, two tenements in Bassinghall (no. 9) and a further two in Sherborne Lane (no. 10) were acquired through a devise made by William White. White was a Draper, Master of the Company six times and Mayor of London; his devise passed through his wife and an obit was to be performed yearly for them both.¹⁷³ The properties fell to the Drapers (by way of White's death) in 1503. An altogether different case, in 1511 Matilda Wylde devised two properties in return for the keeping of an obit for her and her husband, who, intriguingly, had in fact been a Skinner.¹⁷⁴ These gifts constituted two tenements, one in St Christopher near the Stocks (no. 16), and the other in Candlewick Street (no. 15) in the parish of St. Mary Bothaw.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, in 1523, upon the death of Thomas Carter, a Cornhill property in the parish of St. Michael (no. 24) was passed to the Drapers. An obit was to be performed from the rental income for deceased Draper John Wilkinson and his wife as well as fellow Draper John Hungerforth and his wife Alice, suggesting funds for its purchase were derived from these couples in previous decades.¹⁷⁶

As one of the property vehicles, former Warden of the Company and MP for the City, William Calley died in 1515 carrying with him no less than five vestments for properties with somewhat confusing obit obligations. With several original benefactors, these properties were duly transferred to the Drapers in one go. First was Elizabeth Peke's devise of the messuage and garden in St. Botolph Without, Aldersgate (no. 23). Secondly, there was an extension and addition to the Company's existing property at Honey Lane, although the connection to a particular obit here is unidentifiable. Thirdly, Draper and Alderman, Richard Shore's tenements and shops in West Cheap, Bearbinder Lane (no. 21) were conveyed to the Company through Calley's death to provide an obit. Fourthly, the Bridge Street tenements (no. 20) which Archer-Thomson took to be a "genuine purchase by or on behalf of the Gild"

¹⁷³ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.78.

¹⁷⁴ Without any stated justification, Archer-Thomson bizarrely concluded that "she must, like most women, have preferred Drapers to Skinners" (Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.67). It is more likely that Matilda had another kinship connection to the Company, perhaps through her father.

¹⁷⁵ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.67.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp.83-86.

was probably funded by a cash bequest from William Dyxson which is suggested in an obit attached to this property, and another for Thomas Carter who acted as the conveyer in 1530.¹⁷⁷ Finally, six tenements and a garden in Lothbury were transferred. These funded Calley's own obit (no. 22).¹⁷⁸ Calley's death alongside a later will of John Asilwood also secured an additional significant grouping of properties. These properties were conveyed with attached requirements for two separate chantries in the names of Robert Clopton and Matilda Atte Vyne. These constituted two tenements in Gracechurch Street (no. 17), and three in Lombard Street (nos 18 and 19).¹⁷⁹ The methods and roots of this transferral are complex and muddled as a result of changing names and missing documents.

Archer-Thomson divided all the previously mentioned obit properties from the next important acquisition, the advowson of St. Michael Cornhill (no. 14) of 1504. The complexity of the mechanics of this sort of formalized religious patronage whereby priests and churches were supported by companies was acknowledged by both Johnson and Archer-Thomson. Pursuing this thread any further is not in the present interests of this study. The main outcome for the Company was the transferral of Drapers' principal patronage from the church at Bow to St. Michael Cornhill.¹⁸⁰ This also reflected a shift in the area patronized through occupation by Drapers which Quinton suggested centered on St. Michael Cornhill from the early sixteenth century.¹⁸¹

Although there is agreement between historians on the increasing number of bequests entrusted to the city companies, there is less agreement surrounding the profitability of such managerial responsibilities for the guilds themselves at this stage. Brigden held "there was usually a handsome margin of profit between the money spent on the services and the income of the endowment; sometimes the companies provided only the minimum services and profited thereby from their religious trust".¹⁸² Davies' study of the Merchant Taylors led him to note that it was in the profits that could be creamed off once the charges had been

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p.85.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. pp.68-72.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p.101.

¹⁸⁰ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.164-5.

¹⁸¹ Quinton, 'Drapers', p.47.

¹⁸² Brigden, Susan. *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) p.386.

paid that established the companies as major landholders in London.¹⁸³ In contrast, as previous office-holders within the Company, Archer-Thomson and Johnson were unsurprisingly sympathetic towards the Drapers in this regard. Johnson wrote that, in spite of a significant increase in the rental income from lands and tenements, “most acquisitions brought no profit” due to their charitable purposes.¹⁸⁴ Further he regarded that the small fees paid out of the rents to the Company (as a reward for undertaking the role of administrator) were “not at all commensurate with the trouble involved”.¹⁸⁵

At the very least there seems to be a canniness in the way in which the Drapers accepted and dispensed their responsibilities. Johnson went on to state that the Company was “unwilling to accept...trusts unless they could be fulfilled without loss”.¹⁸⁶ As an example he cited the case of William Capel’s obit. After gifting lands in 1515 to the Company to form a Chantry and obit, Capel’s widow and executors were called to the Court to provide “a kind of brotherly token of remembrance of plate” in order for his wishes to be carried out. Capel’s property already secured a profit of £2 annually for the Company, but apparently this was not sufficient for the continuance of the administration of his chantry which attracted significant legal fees. Records from 1526 and 1528 indicate that the Company was not inclined to continue the obit.¹⁸⁷ Additionally Stow observed that the Drapers were not fulfilling Sir John Milburn’s wishes, apparently also as a result of a lack of funds yielded from the properties he gifted the Company. The lands brought in only £20 which constituted only half of the required sums to carry out his wishes.¹⁸⁸ Discussing Capel’s case alongside the lack of punishment for non-attendance (and therefore non-remembrance) by members at such obit gatherings, Laura Branch held that there was “a clear economic element motivating the maintenance of obits”.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ Davies, ‘The Tailors’ p.49.

¹⁸⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.81.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.83.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* pp.82-3.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.36.

¹⁸⁸ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.148.

¹⁸⁹ Branch, ‘Fraternal Commemoration’, p.119.

Generally, the fact that the Drapers' Company invested in both corporately owned plate and property in these years indicates that there were sufficient surplus funds produced as a result of these bequests to ensure it was a worthwhile and profitable undertaking. Purchased using corporate cash accumulations between 1475-1509, the substantial sum of £100 was invested in plate.¹⁹⁰ However, as an asset distinct in nature to the holding of corporate property, Company plate could be easily melted down and therefore represented something of an instant access account (which proved problematic in later years when it was raided for Crown coffers).¹⁹¹ Perhaps with this in mind, the Drapers continued to utilize surpluses to make several purchases of property. The most significant group of acquisitions in these years was motivated by a desire to help a significant Draper, Sir Lawrence Aylmer, who had been imprisoned on account of his debts. In 1501 the Company agreed to buy his eight messuages in St. Michael Bassishaw (no. 11), the White Bull in West Smithfield (no. 12) and tenements in St. Michael Paternoster Royal (no. 13) for £214, ensuring his release from prison.¹⁹²

The Property Revolution (1530-1550)

The comparative brevity of this critical period (1530-1550) belies a profound cultural and religious change which had lasting consequences on the way in which property ownership was practiced. The intensity of these years of Reformation has led historians to identify its effects in London diversely as a "holocaust of institutions,"¹⁹³ a "cultural trauma"¹⁹⁴ and "a revolution in ownership of urban lands" (see figure 1.3).¹⁹⁵ This characterization of crisis is one that appears to be reflected within the history of the Drapers' Company's lands, and yet, regarding the corporate purchases made in these years, it was also one of distinct

¹⁹⁰ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.162.

¹⁹¹ For example, plate worth £255 was 'loaned' to Henry VIII in 1522 to fund his planned invasion of France (Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.14). Archer regarded that the plate of the companies "haemorrhaged" between 1520 and 1540 due to demands made on them by the Crown. He held that plate was especially "vulnerable in times of financial pressure" (Archer, I. 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London' in J. F. Merritt (ed.) *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp.89-113, p.98-99.

¹⁹² Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.74.

¹⁹³ Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', p.19.

¹⁹⁴ Merritt, 'Introduction' in *Imagining Early Modern London*, p.1.

¹⁹⁵ Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London', p.318.



Figure 1.3. Title page of Gilbert Burnet's, *The History of the Reformation*, Vol. 1, 2nd edition (London: T.H. for Richard Chiswell, 1681)

opportunity. As previously noted, in the fifty years after 1500, fifty per cent of the Company's pre-fire estate was acquired. The total rental value also grew substantially.

The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s appears to have had two significant effects in relation to the *enlargement* of livery company estates. Firstly, larger numbers of benefactors selected the guilds for the performance of their after-death wishes, gifting more properties and cash at a rate that far outstripped previous decades. After surveying every obit attached to the Drapers in the sixteenth century, Laura Branch argued effectively that 1519-1545 in particular represented an acceleration in the establishment of obits entrusted to the Company.¹⁹⁶ This likely contributed towards a steady improvement in the condition of the Company finances and was closely related to the gifting of property. Secondly the livery companies themselves took advantage of the influx of new land to the market, confiscated as a result of its relationship to 'superstitious' beliefs (specifically obits and chantries). The effects of the dissolution coloured the Company's property transactions for decades to come, directly as well as indirectly. For example, confiscated lands might be sold to individual citizens or gentlemen on first release first but later come into Company hands at the second or third turn. In the face of such a vast schism in urban land ownership, Schofield wrote that the "many and fundamental effects were not yet fully worked through by the opening of the seventeenth century."¹⁹⁷ The processes of change kick-started in these years continued well into the century and beyond although there was some also notable continuity in other respects.

Exemplifying the reaction to the instability prompted by the dismantling of the monasteries, a glut of properties entered the Drapers' administration in these two decades. Following earlier patterns of property transfer, three elderly members acted as vehicles for these bequests to come into corporate hands. They will each be summarized in turn. Firstly, in 1533, five tenements in Coleman Street (no. 25) came to the Company via the will of William Prud, a Draper. His purchase of the properties was apparently funded by Hugh Umpton. For his willingness to comply with the Company's wishes, Prud appears to have secured an obit for himself and his wife as well as the already deceased Umpton and his wife. Charitable cash donations were also to be dispensed to poor members of the fraternity.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Branch, 'Fraternal Commemoration', p.118.

¹⁹⁷ Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London', p.318.

¹⁹⁸ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.80.

The second group of properties were vested in 1535 to William Dolphin, although they were later devised to John Clerke on Dolphin's death in 1547 and then vested to Thomas Spencer on Clerke's death in 1548. Spencer conveyed these properties to the Company finally at his death in 1550. The Company clearly utilised Dolphin at the first as a secure carrier or conduit for its property purchases and investments, which were then be passed on through two further hands. The properties vested in Dolphin consisted of five messuages in Thames Street (no. 32), two messuages in the parish of St Nicholas Shambles (no. 29), two messuages at St. Michael le Querne (no. 30), two messuages in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary (no. 31), and thirteen almshouses in Crutched Friars (no. 33) founded by Sir John Milborne. The conveyance of Sir John Milborne's almshouses in 1535 marked a broadening of property types under the Company's management intended for charitable uses. The almshouses were funded from the rents of the properties in Thames Street, St. Nicholas Shambles and St. Michael le Querne – which were purchased with money from Milborne for this intent. The purpose of the almshouses was both charitable and religious. Almspeople were obliged to pray and perform obits for the Milbornes (whose tomb was in the adjacent Crutched Friars church) but this critical function was abolished with the sweep of the Reformation. Subsequently these almshouses were entrusted to the Company in a way that placed significant confidence in the capacity of the Company to execute good administrative and managerial tasks in connection with the properties. The Milborne gift also presented the first set of trust properties (i.e. Thames Street, St. Nicholas Shambles etc.), used to support the running of another property (the almshouses).¹⁹⁹

Later in 1542 the Drapers used Dolphin for the conveyancing of the Erber (no. 35), including Bush Lane (no. 34), and also two tenements and gardens in the parish of St. Katherine Christchurch (no. 44). Finally he facilitated the transfer of four messuages and gardens against London Wall near Cripplegate (no. 28) – these were transferred wholly to the Company after Spencer's death in 1550. Further, Dolphin was associated with a group conveyed from John Brown in 1542: a great messuage and two tenements in Mark Lane (no. 43), a messuage and garden in Nicholas Lane (no. 41), a messuage in Abchurch Lane (no. 42) and seven tenements and two wine-cellars in the parish of St Martin in the Vintry (no. 45) (again purchased from Draper, Thomas Purpoint, rather than John Brown and latterly sold in

¹⁹⁹ Hickman, D. J. 'The Religious Allegiance of London's Ruling Elite 1520-1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, UCL, 1995) p.67.

1575).²⁰⁰ In total, Dolphin was involved with twenty-nine transactions and the group of thirteen almshouses.

A third group of properties came into Drapers' hands as a result of William Brothers' first will in 1541 and subsequent death in 1547. Money bequeathed by Draper Sir John Richards and his wife was apparently utilised to purchase 'The Shippe' in Petty Wales (no. 40) through Brothers. This gift and purchase also secured an obit for the Richards' family. Next two tenements adjacent to St. Christopher le Stocks (no. 27) as well as two additional tenements in St. Botolph's Lane (no. 26) were acquired by the Company as an investment purchased from a Drapers' Warden, Mr. Purpoint, for the price of seventeen years rent.²⁰¹ How these were funded is not immediately clear.²⁰² In the Brothers' bundle were an additional three tenements and a great house in Mark Lane (no. 39) transferred via a second will made in 1543. These purchases are thought to have been funded by Sir William Bayley, a prominent Draper and former Mayor and Master, who required the Company to establish a chantry on his behalf upon his death in 1532.²⁰³ After her death in 1540, Sir William's wife Lady Bayley also entrusted £160 to the Company which was implicated in the White Bull (no. 12) in order to fund an annual charity of alms to the parish of St. Michael Paternoster.²⁰⁴ Why these particular properties were grouped in this way, and assigned to one particular man and not another, is not immediately clear. Archer-Thomson suggested the reason for such complicated vesting processes was to do with ensuring property groups could be financially kept together, allowing for the formation of more easily organised trusts and shared titles of ownership.²⁰⁵

In some ways indicative of this period but in others extraordinary, one crucial transaction and two acquisitions must be highlighted. The most important and lucrative bequest of the period was made in 1538 by the Seville-based former Warden Thomas Howell to the tune of 12, 000

²⁰⁰ DCA, MB1B, f.690.

²⁰¹ DCA, MB1B, f.274.

²⁰² Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.88.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* p.89.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p.90.

²⁰⁵ For example, the Erber (no. 35) and Waldron's Place (no. 44) were bought from different owners, but Dolphin's will brought them together in order to reflect their shared association with Thomas Howell's investments.

Spanish ducats (although the Drapers claimed that only 9000 actually arrived with them).²⁰⁶ The endowment made on his death proved to be to be both a blessing and a curse for the Company. The cash capital enabled them to purchase their two most significant corporate properties (the Erber and the Throgmorton Company Hall), but the management of the bequest was filled with controversy and challenges. Howell's will required his endowment to be solely directed towards 'maidens' for their marriage dowries, or to aid orphans. Both sorts of potential beneficiaries were intended to be Howell's kin, or at least Welsh. Demonstrating the extraordinariness of its intent, Williams regarded Howell's gift to be "by far the biggest sixteenth-century charitable endowment for marriage subsidies".²⁰⁷ Johnson offered another perspective however. Reflecting on the continued difficulty in distributing funds in a way that honoured Howell's stipulations, he noted that the bequest should serve as a warning to intended benefactors never to follow Howell's lead of supporting marriageable young women "especially if they be Welsh".²⁰⁸ Identifying the Welsh orphans and next of kin which the bequest was principally to serve has been a constant and continuing burden for the Company.

The deployment of Howell's funds has always been a slippery subject for the Drapers but it was not unusual for benefactions to come with specific instructions as to their use. The detail of how Howell's bequest came to be implicated in the Erber and Company Hall will be examined more closely in Chapter Two. Archer-Thomson acknowledged the process of affairs was "for a long time unsolved" uncovering a string of litigation surrounding the properties' vesting.²⁰⁹ With different properties associated to it at different times the attribution of the investment was re-calculated at several points as the Company grappled with the internal organization and administration of its trusts. However confusing the deployment of these funds appears to have been, the bequest does clearly appear to have contributed to the growth of the Company's financial healthiness. In 1529-30 the overall balance for the guild

²⁰⁶ This sum was probably equivalent to £15 000 at the time. The case is helpfully discussed in: Jones, N. 'Trusts litigation in Chancery after the Statute of Uses: the first fifty years' in M. Dyson and D. Ibbetson (ed.) *Law and Legal Process: Substantive Law and Procedure in English Legal History* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2013) pp.103-125, p.118-9.

²⁰⁷ Williams, Glanmor. 'Howel, Thomas (c.1480–1537)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62337> [Accessed online 5 Aug 2015].

²⁰⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.85.

²⁰⁹ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.126.

was £182 3s. 3d. and by 1540-1 the sum had grown to £348 7s. 9.5d.²¹⁰ In spite of this apparent healthiness, Johnson noted that by 1545-6 “they plaintively say that they are without money” based on a deficit of 11s. 10d.²¹¹ Additionally, their once plentiful plate collection had been reduced to one single piece that was valued at £16 9s. 4d.²¹² This fall was linked to the substantial investments the Company was making, acquiring important property of both trust and corporate status. Disentangling Howell’s bequest from corporate funds at this point is a difficult endeavour. In 1541, the Company successfully secured the prestigious and extensive Erber for £1373 2s. 8d. The following year in 1542-3 the Draper purchased Cromwell’s former house at Austin Friars and Throgmorton Street for £1073. Superseding St. Swithins Lane, this immediately became their second Company Hall.

It is important to tie these developments back to broader cultural changes in memorialisation taking root in these decades. Following the attack on the monasteries and their effective dissolution, the Crown continued to search out opportunities to reform Catholic ‘superstitious’ practices, to which obits and chantries were intrinsically connected. In an attempt both to raise funds and dislocate the practice of property from religious belief, Henry VIII’s 1545 Chantry Act failed to impact on the livery companies with any significance. At a second more wide-ranging bite at the cherry, Edward VI’s 1547 Act however proved to be far more damaging. While the first Act required only the proportion of rent/income related to the maintenance of any priests, obits or lights/lamps etc. to be repaid to the Crown, the second stipulated that any property retained for charitable purposes was liable to be wholly confiscated or re-purchased and was more systematic in its execution. In contrast to the parish guilds which were effectively dissolved, the city companies were levied with heavy charges, required to redeem their properties from the obits to which they were connected, but the companies survived intact. In this context, the Drapers seem to have weathered the storm with relative ease. Historians have traced that, after the resultant sale or loss of many buildings after 1547, the companies quickly recovered, ultimately reclaiming the lost ground and further continuing to develop their estates in the years after.²¹³ In this way Archer set

²¹⁰ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.80.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* p.81.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Archer, ‘The Livery Companies and Charity’, p.19; Harding, V., Keene, D. ‘Sources: London Livery Companies’ in *A Survey of Documentary Sources 22* (London: London Record Society, 1985) *British*

them on a distinctly upwards trajectory from this financial low point writing that “their rent rolls swelled in the years thereafter, both as demand for property increased and as they accumulated more endowments.”²¹⁴

But this apparently unreserved post-Reformation growth must not distract from a recognition of the havoc the Chantry Acts of 1545-7 wreaked within the companies, for, as has been demonstrated, the vast majority of their properties were connected to an obit or chantry in one way or another, no matter how obliquely. The assessment process revealed the complicated nature of the Drapers’ Company’s relationship with its properties which were culturally, religiously and historically embedded. Writing in the nineteenth century, the economic historian, Ashley, recognised the entanglement of the religious and “industrial” aspects of guilds which had to then be carefully and painfully teased apart.²¹⁵ Certainly the assessment drew attention to the extent of company involvement in the religious practices of the city. In all thirty city companies drew up ‘returns’ of their ‘superstitious’ responsibilities for submission, namely the Great Twelve and twenty-two lesser guilds. Altogether the companies funded priests and obits in over sixty city parishes, spending just over £1000 per year. According to these returns, this sum represented between a fifth and a sixth of the total for chantries within the city.²¹⁶ Additionally Brigden asserted that sixty-one chantry priests were appointed and salaried by the Companies at the time of assessment.²¹⁷

After a couple of false starts with Crown negotiators, the sum (‘rent-charge’ or ‘quitrent’) agreed for repayment was settled at an annual rate of £55 7s, to be paid for twenty years (£1082 6s. in total) in order to ‘buy back’ the legality of their landownership.²¹⁸ In comparison, the Merchant Taylors were assessed for £98 11s. 6d. and the Mercers for just

History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol22> [Accessed online 27 January 2016] pp.12-36.

²¹⁴ Archer, ‘The Livery Companies and Charity’, p.19.

²¹⁵ Ashley, W. J. *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Part II* (London: Longmans & Co, 1893) p.147.

²¹⁶ Kitching, C. J. ‘Introduction’ in C. J. Kitching (ed.) *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548* (London: London Record Society, 1980) pp.ix-xxxiv. *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol16/ix-xxxiv> [Accessed online 14 October 2015].

²¹⁷ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.386.

²¹⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.97.

over £196, both for twenty years.²¹⁹ In response the Drapers' Court voted on whether to raise the money by sale of land or by loan money, "whereupon the most part of the said Assistants pricked to have certain lands sold".²²⁰ Consequently, four groupings of lands were purchased by prominent members of the Company, bringing in a total of £669.²²¹ The prices for each were fixed at sixteen years rent rather than twenty, and therefore represented a far more generous deal for buyers than the Crown had afforded the Company.²²² By 1550 the Drapers declared that "no more land of the house should be sold."²²³ Contrary to what might be expected as a result of these large sums demanded of the companies, Johnson's view was that the whole exercise hardly injured the Drapers, financially or practically.²²⁴ But the legacy of such intrusions and divisions in the purposing of properties was to remain a bone of contention.

Considering the tumultuous period overall, the national instability that fostered the development of the Drapers' estate at the same time only temporarily dented its prosperity. These changes did however result in a legal vulnerability that would undermine it for the rest of the century. The Company was to be no stranger to the challenges of successive monarchs in relation to possible 'concealments' (streams of undeclared income derived from rents originally purposed to support chantries and obits).

Continuity and Diversification of Post-Reformation Bequests (1550-1666)

Cash-strapped and with full awareness of the vulnerability of the livery companies' estates, Mary's reign (1553-1558) brought a fresh reassessment of corporate lands. And, in time,

²¹⁹ Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London, C. M. Clode (ed.) (London: Harrison & Sons, 1875) British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/taylors-guild-london/> [Accessed online 19 December 2015] p.145; Watney, John. *An Account of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London, Otherwise the Mercers Company* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1914) pp.18-9.

²²⁰ DCA, MB7, f.974.

²²¹ Master Becher purchased land in St Christopher's Parish, Master Watson a "place" in St. Clements Lane, Master Chester bought three houses in Lombard Street and John Richardson bought land in Basinghall (DCA, WA4, 1549-50, f.1r).

²²² For a summary of the rates the companies paid to Edward VI see Mottley's Stow: Stow, John. *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjacent, 2 Vols.* Robert Seymour/John Mottley (ed.) (London: J Read, 1735) Vol. 2, pp.414-417.

²²³ DCA, MB4, f.1025.

²²⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.96.

Elizabeth (1558-1603) too made consistent attacks on these contentious original 'concealments'.²²⁵ Crippled by a series of international conflicts, she repeatedly returned to the livery companies to fund these national projects. In 1571, 1574 and in 1578 the Drapers were directly challenged and in 1582 the Company was called to the Exchequer after a long running suit brought to Court by an informer. Frustrated with the regularity of attack, they lodged a strained request with the Lord Treasurer that "if the law be against him [the informer] will leave us in quiet".²²⁶ However, in 1587 a further property report was submitted to the Court by the Drapers in response to allegations of "certain prying fellows". These men searched for possible concealments on behalf of the Crown and pursued a percentage of the profits from any successful challenges.²²⁷ Finally in 1599, near the end of her reign, after decades of negotiations and extractions Elizabeth issued a proclamation which confirmed the legality of the Company's lands with greater conviction than before.²²⁸ While this was surely of some consolation, Archer-Thomson estimated that Elizabeth had extracted approximately £2500 from the Drapers in regards to the obits and trusts nested within property transactions. This was significantly over and above the demands made by Edward VI (and also of Mary).²²⁹

Despite these difficulties, the reign of Elizabeth saw the rental value of the Company lands rise rapidly, effectively quadrupling even when funds raised by the significantly increased practice of fining tenants upon renewal of leases are excluded from totals.²³⁰ Similarly the Merchant Taylors' gross rent income rose from £400 in the 1560s to £700 in the 1590s.²³¹ The losses suffered as a result of the concealment cases were offset primarily by the continued bequeathing of an increasingly diverse range of property and land by members. The rental income from these was however no longer explicitly connected to outlawed chantry and obit funds and rather was intended for a number of charitable legacies. Johnson stated that, in

²²⁵ 'Concealments' - alleged attempts to withhold certain information which associated properties with chantry or obit purposes.

²²⁶ DCA, MB9, f.215r.

²²⁷ Stow, *Survey (1735)*, Vol. 2, p.417.

²²⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.206.

²²⁹ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.12.

²³⁰ "In the reign of Edward VI, when it stood at £369 7s." (Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.234-5).

²³¹ Davies, 'The Tailors', p.14.

the four decades before 1603, the Company acquired the management of more charitable trusts than it had “ever seen before”.²³² Furthermore he suggested that the heightened value of the urban land also meant that rents from corporate properties (i.e. unconnected to any trusts) would have likely doubled in the same period.²³³ But this was not the rapid and confusing expansion of the Reformation period. It appears to have been marked by attitudinal continuity with the past in terms of patterns of gifting property in the Company, but this was coupled with new means to this end – the development of trust properties allowed for new charitable activities to emerge whilst consolidating those existing. This shift was not comprehensive though. In 1602 the Company appears to have out-right purchased one messuage in Sherborne Lane (no. 62), which was unconnected to any particular fund or charity. Archer-Thomson suggests it was purchased “with a view to its development in conjunction with adjoining property”.²³⁴

The Company’s right to hold land, buttressed by Elizabeth’s proclamations, was strengthened and re-substantiated in 1606 when the Company’s Charter of Incorporation was re-confirmed at the start of the Stuart dynasty. This “increased the power to hold lands in spite of mortmain” for properties up to £200 of value - but had little effect on the ground.²³⁵ A further ‘proclamation for defective titles’ was issued by the King in 1610 (a copy of this proclamation remains in the Drapers’ Archive, see figure 1.4). In reality however, it was 1619 that proved to be the decisive date for the Company in regards to its property. The continual attacks on concealed lands were finally settled after James extracted a final round of controversial fees on the basis of supposed concealments. A Letters Patent duly confirmed all the Company’s lands. The attention to detail demonstrated within this document allows it to be taken as a complete schedule of all the Company’s lands at that time. A Public Statute passed by parliament two years later endorsed James’ Letters Patent offering assurance that the Company could be challenged no more on account of its property.²³⁶ Archer-Thomson saw this as the resolution of all the previous challenges, for it articulated the confirmation of lands on behalf of James and all future monarchs (in contrast to Elizabeth’s previous

²³² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.229.

²³³ *Ibid.* pp.234-5.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* p.218.

²³⁵ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.224 (reciting Charter of 1606).

²³⁶ *Ibid.* p.3.

By the King.

A Proclamation for defectiue Titles.



He Kings most excellent Maiestie, continuing still his royall intention, to extend his Grace to such of his louing Subjects as shall seeke the same, aswell for confirmation of such Graunts, as haue bene passed to any of them or their Ancestors from the Crowne, by which his princely fauour they and their posteritie may be secured from the manifold dangers in which they stand, if by varietie of time his Maiesties title to their possessions should be set on foote and pressed to their overthrow in succeeding ages, as also for Pardons for fines of Alienations of Lands holden in Chiefe, made without Record: For both which his Maiestie had limited by former Proclamations severall times which are now expired. His highnesse perceiuing that many of his Subjects within the times haue taken the benefit of his said Proclamations, and some other are still in suite, which could not be dispatched within the times, and not intending to confine his fauours to such straitnes of time as that his People should not be able to make full vse thereof according to his gracious meaning: His Maiestie is therefore pleased for these and such like considerations (by the aduise of his Pruiue Counsell) to giue once more (of both the one and the other) time vntill the last day of Easter Terme next ensuing, to the intent that all such as haue any desire to receiue this Grace, may inioy the benefit of his said former Proclamations, and of confirmation of his Maiesties Graunts of that Nature by this Parliament which is now so neere to follow, as that oportunitie would not be neglected.

Given at Whitehall the eleuenth day of February, in the seuenth yeere of his Maiesties Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker,

Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.

ANNO 1609.

Figure 1.4. A Proclamation for Defective Titles by the King, Whitehall, 1 February 1610 (DCA, A III 151, Misc. Letters)

dispensation). In fact, these important years sit at something of a mid-point between the Reformation and the destruction of the Great Fire of 1666 and as such mark a closure on the testing legal tussle of the post-Reformation period.

Owing to the steady stream of bequests managed by the Drapers throughout these years, it is important to illustrate the ways in which this continued practice of investment and property transferal adapted to changed circumstances. Looking at the big picture, for what purposes were such properties intended if their religious role was diminished? Laura Branch and others have argued for the endurance of the livery companies as active bodies of commemoration and that alternative acts of memorialization were supported by the rents drawn from gifted properties or cash reserves. She wrote of the Drapers that “the spiritual shock of the loss of the chantries and obits was...greeted with quiet adaptation” therefore practices of charitable giving, funeral dinners and corresponding gifts of property to sustain commemoration were by no means abandoned.²³⁷ Three principal beneficiaries of charity emerged performed out of property and cash gifts. Funds were channelled towards the disadvantaged or unestablished, namely, the general poor, the Company poor and Company youth. All three strands allowed for the deceased to be honoured as long as the bequests lasted.

In this way, following Milborne’s almshouses, which were fashioned for aged, poor or sick Drapers, an additional three sets of housing for the poor were founded by individuals and then entrusted into the Company’s care, although delayed in their establishment by the land ownership issues resulting from the Chantry Acts. Serving eight poor widows, who were more often than not connected to the Drapers, in 1552 Lady Askew entrusted the management of a row of cottages in Beech Lane to the Company. Her deceased husband, Sir Christopher Askew, was a prominent Draper and contemporary of Sir John Milborne, who would have observed the management of the first set of almshouses at close-hand. Alongside the charitable housing constituted by the cottages, there was a yard, stables and other tenements which brought in a rental income of £3 10s, of which £2 was to be used for the maintenance of the almshouses, £1 to be given to the general poor, and 10s. to the Company

²³⁷ Branch, ‘Fraternal Commemoration’, p.124. Also see: Branch, L. ‘Faith and Fraternity: The London Livery Companies and the Reformation C.1510-c.1600’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2011); Archer, ‘The Livery Companies and Charity’; Kilburn-Toppin, J. ‘Material Memories of the Guildsmen, Crafting Identities in Early Modern London’ in E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Muller and J. van der Steen (ed.) *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp.165-181; Ward, Joseph P. *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

for their trouble. These almshouses garnered support from further benefactors later in the century.²³⁸ Founded as almshouses for the general poor in 1574 by Kentish JP William Lambard, the College of Queen Elizabeth, Greenwich (no. 56) was also entrusted to the governance of the Drapers' Company in 1596, the same year that William also took up tenancy at Drapers Hall.²³⁹ Although not a member of the Company (nor of any others for that matter), William's father and brother were Drapers. The arrangements for management were unusually shared with the Master of the Rolls of the Chancery.²⁴⁰ The large Lambard estate also included farm lands and houses (no. 57) to the value of £100 which was intended to support the maintenance of the almshouses and its occupants. Later in the early seventeenth century, Sir John Jolles founded a further set of almshouses (no. 63). He expressed to the Company a desire that "those excellent rules prescribed by Mr Lambard for his houses at Greenwich may be imitated in the ordering of my houses at Bowe".²⁴¹ However Jolles also had educational ambitions for his bequests (no. 64). He made his will in 1617 and his Mark Lane house, in which he served twice as Master of the Company and once as Lord Mayor, produced rents to support both a school for thirty-five boys and almshouses for eight poor locals located in Stratford-Le-Bow (no. 63).²⁴² In this, Jolles was following a precedent set by Thomas Russell who founded a school at Barton-under-Needwood which was entrusted to Drapers in 1593 and maintained through the rents of several city properties.²⁴³ All three sets of almshouses and two schools were located outside the walls of the City and their administration required significant investments of time, energy and finances from the Company after their acquisition.²⁴⁴

²³⁸ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.161-164. For example, Mr Buck gifted pensions to the almspeople in 1620. It was later stated that surplus from Thomas Russell's account was to be passed to the poor of the Beech Lane almshouses. (DCA, MB11, f.281r; Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.201-213).

²³⁹ DCA, RA5, 1595-6, f.11.

²⁴⁰ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.181-194.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.246.

²⁴² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.8.

²⁴³ DCA, MB11, f.281r; Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.201-213. He also provided scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge from the rents.

²⁴⁴ For example, in regards to the Jolles almshouses in Bow, Archer-Thomson commented that "there is evidence that in course of time, [pensions gifted to the occupants] were substantially increased by the

A further property outside the liberties of London came under the management of the Company in 1620 in the form of a farm in Kent (no. 65), devised by former Warden Thomas Buck. Rather than invest the rental income of this farm in almshouses, Buck founded his charitable trust with a range of stipulations and requirements to the extent that Archer-Thomson held that the Company was bound to “perform a pack of funny things” in return for their management.²⁴⁵ For example, distributions were to be made through local churchwardens in specific Essex parishes in order to clothe poor inhabitants, those with the last name Buck were also favoured as well as the widows of Beech Lane who received contributions towards a monthly pension. Officers and employees of the Company were to be rewarded for this work whilst the surplus rent was to be saved “in the Company’s Chest” for repairs of the estate.²⁴⁶ In accepting the care-taking of the Kentish farmlands, the Drapers were required to set up a separate chartered company purely for this purpose which situated them as a formal trust corporation independent from the regular Company structure.²⁴⁷

In keeping with the pre-Reformation period, properties tended to be gifted by those in the upper tiers of the Company. Former Liverymen, Wardens or Masters would bequeath a number of properties and make a range of stipulations about the distribution of the funds raised from them. Owen Clonne and William Parker both fitted this mould and combined various types of charitable giving in their wills. Alongside gifts to the general poor, the parish poor and the Company poor, an increasing trend towards investment in protestant preachers and loan systems for young Drapers can be observed. These loans were intended for those former apprentices starting out in business, so that they might receive a short-term injection of financial capital to develop in their trade. Additionally, out-right sums of money could be gifted to these ends, bypassing investment in property. William Parker, a previous Warden, died in 1576 leaving a corner house between Watling Street and the west end of Soper Lane (no. 55) on condition that £6 be used to fund a preacher at St. Antholins. He also gifted £100 as a loan fund, £40 to be spent on repairing the Beech Lane almshouses and £10 towards the purchase of a silver cup and cover to remember him by (although there is no evidence that

Company, on whom also fell the cost of repairs and other expenses” (Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.248).

²⁴⁵ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.239.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. p.241.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. p.242.

the Company fulfilled this part of his wishes).²⁴⁸ Moreover, in 1552 Draper and twice Warden Owen Clonne purchased six tenements, two tenements in St. Andrew Hubbard (East Cheap, no. 47), two tenements in Philpott Lane (St. Mary at Hill, no. 48) and a further batch in Smithy Lane (St. Margaret Pattens, no. 51). Clonne's will, enrolled in 1593, gifted the three sets of properties to the Drapers although were to be sold only after his wife's death. He willed the proceeds be distributed as five-year long loans to ten young Drapers in need of capital and the interest on the loans to be used for the benefit of the Company poor. For their trouble the Master and Wardens of the Drapers were to receive 40s. Johnson understood Clonne's to be the first of no less than twenty bequests between 1563 and 1603 intended to fund loans to Company members starting out, many of which funds were not connected to property and therefore prone to decline. He asserted the total sum came to over £3000, which was distributed between a maximum of sixty-four freemen at any one time.²⁴⁹ The Company might also be required to purchase property utilising bequeathed funds in order to carry out the wishes of the deceased, for instance, Richard Champion gifted £200 to fund charitable activities or loans through he purchase of property.²⁵⁰

In respect of the Drapers' proven ability to manage resources and trusts, there are a number of examples of extraordinary gifts which came from outside the Company and were also directed outside the Company. In addition to their internally orientated priorities intended to directly benefit members, the Drapers were therefore at the same time conduits for general charity. Further to Lambard's investments, in 1601 Devonshire man Peter Blundell died and bequeathed £150 with the instruction that the money was to be invested in property. Blundell was neither a Draper nor a freeman in the City. From the rental income from the purchase, 40s. was to be annually distributed to local prisoners in the 'Poultry Compter', while the rest was to go to the Master and Wardens of the Company in respect of their management of the property. A house on the north side of Lothbury (St. Margarets, no. 61) was obediently purchased on the basis that it would produce a rent of £10. It was noted that the previous owner was in fact a Draper who had acquired it in 1549 after it was confiscated on account of its superstitious uses. Extraordinarily Blundell gifted £150 to each of the Great

²⁴⁸ Ibid. p.197.

²⁴⁹ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.229.

²⁵⁰ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.178-180.

Twelve livery companies to be used in similar ways.²⁵¹ Archer-Thomson speculated that his main purpose “must have been to sustain and support, in practice and principle, the Livery Guild system of the City of London” which is surprising given his lack of membership and citizenship.²⁵²

The later case of John Walter is similarly peculiar, but important nevertheless. The properties acquired as a result of his gift were the only significant addition to the Company’s property portfolio in the decades immediately before the Great Fire. Walter served the Company as Clerk for more than forty years until his death in 1656 and was therefore closely acquainted with the workings of the other Company almshouses. However, no previous Clerk (or other employee) had bequeathed property to the Company and his ability to do so reflected the extent to which the position of Company Clerk had become elevated in prestige and remuneration. Walter’s gift was also spurred by a puritan zeal for acts of personal and private charity. In communication with two parishes, he began to build two sets of almshouses within his own lifetime but, departing from the status quo where benefactors were well-known for their gifts, Walter apparently ensured his involvement remained a secret throughout, a fairly unbelievable feat. The St. George Southwark almshouses (no. 66) and the St. Mary Newington almshouses (no. 67) were both located in South London. The properties gifted by Walter to maintain these almshouses were: Beech Lane and Street tenements (no. 68 and 69), two messuages in Wood Street (no. 70), Westcheap (The Cock), and houses on the north side of Lombard Street (no. 71).²⁵³ This group provided a rental income of £194 per annum.²⁵⁴ The surplus funds were directed towards a then characteristically mixed bag of recipients whilst £20 was also gifted to the Company to purchase a standing cup and cover to be used at dinners to drink to “a long continuance of love and charitable performances

²⁵¹ Youings, Joyce. ‘Blundell, Peter (c.1520–1601)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, Jan 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2714> [Accessed online 24 Oct 2015].

²⁵² Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.218.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* pp.249-256.

²⁵⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.254.

amongst them to God's glory and the poor's comfort."²⁵⁵ Both Archer-Thomson and Johnson provide further information on Walter's notable case.²⁵⁶

Conclusion

This chapter began with the question of how and why company estates grew in the early modern period. The brief survey of corporate properties consequently undertaken has shown the clear importance of the sixteenth century to the formation and reinforcement of the Drapers' estate. Whilst the dissolution of the monasteries had wide ranging effects and the chantries certainly impacted corporate cash flows, the 'property revolution' that followed did not fundamentally change the culture or practice of property with immediate effect.

Moreover, from its very first acquisition, the growth of the Drapers' estate was an intrinsically corporate community project. In spite of large-scale cultural and religious shifts which affected the Company's holdings, the story of acquisition can be framed in the context of continuity as much as it can of change. As a result of complicated conveyancing systems, members could prove more useful in death than in life and the memory of individual benefactors (mostly drawn from the Company elite) remained strongly connected to particular properties through the obits and chantries performed on account of them.

Meanwhile, the Company understood the criticality of attending to the obligations attached to their management of an expanded estate. The estate was not composed of newly constructed buildings directly commissioned by the Drapers, but of existing and pre-owned houses of mostly medieval stock gifted by its members. With the steep rise in the number of such properties bequeathed to and obtained by the Company in the early sixteenth century, the administration and maintenance of these assets became ever more cumbersome. Additionally, the extraordinary upturn in the financial returns from their properties was matched by a Court who sought to keep an increasingly close eye on the potential profits they might reap from the estate. These final points will be explored more fully in the chapters that follow.

²⁵⁵ Archer-Thomson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.255.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp.249-251; Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, pp.253-255.

Chapter Two – Profitable and Pleasant

The previous chapter focused on the ways in which the Drapers accumulated their property, discussed the charitable impulses driving bequests of buildings, and mapped out the broad chronological framework for the development of the estate. Centring on a key moment in this narrative, this chapter drills deeper into the attitude and actions of the Company's Court of Assistants towards the acquisition of two particularly significant properties within the estate. In this way some of the immediate consequences of the property revolution on the corporate estate are particularised. The chapter probes the dealings and rhetoric of the sixteenth century Company governors in order to test their intentions for such purchases and also considers the use of these properties after acquisition.

The discussion that follows is anchored by an investigation of the Erber and the Throgmorton sites. The latter importantly included a new Company Hall. Together they represent two of the largest blocks of property purchased by the Company in the 1540s - in both size and value. Analysis of these properties reveals the ways in which the Drapers sought to invest in socially and financially profitable properties for the benefit of its membership. Some might argue the prioritization of members as tenants and the Company's astute negotiations with non-Drapers demonstrates that, in the face of substantial corporate changes, the Drapers continued to stay true to its original fraternal aims and sought to retain the value of membership of the Company.²⁵⁷ However, suggesting the profitability of the growing estate quickly requires clarification. For whom was it profitable and in what ways? Just as they were more likely to be implicated in the gifting and procurement of properties, this chapter shows that those in the upper tier of the Company hierarchy were more likely to benefit from the Drapers' new lands. Explorations of the Erber and the Throgmorton sites also draw out some ways in which individual prosperity had a symbiotic relationship to corporate growth. It considers how these processes played out and how benefits stemming from the estate available to the wider Company body were not always balanced with those of the exclusive Court.

²⁵⁷ Johnson argued that: "as the Company ceased to be a controlling force in the commercial and industrial life of the City, the original aspect of the Gild, as a voluntary association of brethren bound together for social and benevolent purpose, stood forth all the more prominently..." (Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, pp.240-1).

Using evidence from the Court Minute Books and Renter Accounts, the investigation reflects on how the Drapers sought to balance financial and social concerns in the occupation of these sites after acquisition. The second half of the chapter therefore goes on to examine the garden attached to the Company Hall as a particular example of a shared corporate space where 'pleasantness' was deliberately cultivated to facilitate elite practices of socialisation. In the Company's choice to purchase a Hall with such an extensive 'great' garden, the Drapers demonstrated a desire to associate themselves with City spaces of long-established prestige. In recognition of its value to the Company, access to the garden was carefully guarded with the intention that only members in the upper tier of the corporate pyramid could reap both social and practical benefits from this reputable garden. In this way, through the Erber and the Throgmorton Hall it is possible to trace something of the way in which the Drapers aimed to represent themselves as a powerful and exclusive Company within the City. In fact, in pursuit of the purchase of these properties, internal conversations reveal that the Court feared that their attraction to such high-status spaces might trump their business acumen which was primarily concerned with financial profit through the leasing of houses attached to the Hall and adjacent to the garden. Taken together, the negotiations surrounding the Erber and Throgmorton begin to position the Company as a proactive landholding force within the City at a critical time of transition in the built environment, and engaged in furthering the interests of their elite members in an increasingly densified city.

A Timely Bequest

As noted previously, the Company appears to have weathered the storm prompted by the dissolution of the monasteries and the chantries comparatively well. This was on account of the fortunately timed bequest of Thomas Howell (willed 1538), supported by John Rudstone's gifts (willed 1531, received 1538 and 1548).²⁵⁸ But to what ends were these bequests put? Coinciding with the upheaval in urban landownership, the Company acquired both their large Throgmorton site and the well-known Erber within just a few years of each other. This was an unprecedented property coup for the Company, expanding the Drapers' ability to house its members and bolstering its reputation. Because of the significance of Howell's bequest and the rare insights that can be garnered from the records regarding the purchases it facilitated, the details of these property transfers will be examined in some depth.

²⁵⁸ TNA, PROB 11/24, Will of John Rudstone.

Merchant Thomas Howell's successful Anglo-Spanish exploits principally operated out of Bristol and latterly London, although his family appears to have been originally of Welsh extraction. A member of the Drapers' Company since 1507, Howell served as Warden in 1527-8 and this would seem to indicate a more stable residence in London for a time but he had a long-standing trade connection to Seville and it seems lived there on and off until his eventual death in 1537.²⁵⁹ As noted in Chapter One, Howell's will was extraordinary in its generosity to women of his kin, intended to provide advantageous marriage subsidies. To this end the English merchant willed 12, 000 Spanish ducats into the hands of his Company on condition that these funds be deployed chiefly to benefit his descendants, or, failing this, Welsh orphans. Precisely how Howell intended his sums to be invested was a bone of some contention and even more vexingly a quarter of the ducats never made it to London (in spite of the Drapers' concerted attempts to retrieve them).²⁶⁰ Those that did arrive proved to be long awaited and well timed. After receiving word of their fortune as Howell's administrators, the Drapers wasted little time in searching for a property in which to invest. The arrival of the ducats neatly coincided with an expansion in the property market.

In November 1538 the Court observed the many opportunities to purchase lands confiscated from the monasteries and further that knights "or such other like" were particularly active in buying up these properties. The City Corporation itself petitioned the Crown for the purchase of a significant portion of the former monastic London lands released by the dissolution but the lands were mostly distributed among elites.²⁶¹ Many of the hospitals and monastic houses were turned over to the courtly elite in this first wave of change, for example the

²⁵⁹ Williams, Glanmor. 'Howel , Thomas (c.1480–1537)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62337> [Accessed online 5 Aug 2015].

²⁶⁰ Having received the equivalent of £570 from Howell's bequest in 1541 but recognizing the value, importance and potential of the remaining bequest (c. £2130), the Drapers made many attempts to redeem the lost funds. Firstly they dispatched three of their own members to Spain in pursuit. After this they approached Thomas Cavalcanti (tenant of Drapers Hall) to pursue Howell's legacy through his Spanish factor "if need be by law" (DCA, MB1B, f.583). Still at a loss, in the proceeding years the Drapers took up the case with the Bishop of London (DCA, MB1B, f.683), the King's Council (DCA, MB1B, f.732), as well as Ambassadors (for example, DCA, MB1C, f.758).

²⁶¹ In spite of protracted negotiations in 1547 the City was granted only St Bartholomew's and St Mary of Bethlehem (Hickman, 'The Religious Allegiance', p.97). Of the elites that took possession of city centre precincts and their actions after acquisition Schofield writes: "During the comparatively short span of 1532-70 several of the monastic complexes were rebuilt, often in drastic and bizarre manner, into urban palaces by royal officials and courtiers." (Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.25).

northern edge of Austin Friars was sold to William Paulet and Holy Trinity Aldgate to Thomas Audley.²⁶² However there are hints that the mercantile and livery elite also personally profited from dissolution properties. Stow accused Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith and Alderman, of selling off the building material and interior finishes of Grey Friars Church for example.²⁶³ As tenants of monastic lands themselves, the companies' relationship to their rental (rather than freehold) holdings was also in flux. Lands held by Holy Trinity, Aldgate, one of the first priories to be surrendered in 1532, were rented by seventeen companies in one form or another. Gradually after seizure these tenancies were dispensed with by the Crown as private individuals or companies engaged in purchasing smaller properties scattered across the City.²⁶⁴ In contrast to these eager buyers, the Drapers as a corporation were hesitant to enter the market, doubtful of the legal security these newly available sites afforded their purchasers in the light of the recent and ongoing property upheaval. The Court cautiously resolved not to be "hasty" to involve themselves in such deals.²⁶⁵ This decision may also have been influenced by the fact that the Company had only the promise of Howell's funds rather than possession of them at this moment. However, a few years after their decision to delay any active acquisition of post-dissolution properties, the Company was ready to engage. Among the Great Twelve they were not alone. In 1542, the Mercers' Company purchased the rooms formerly of St. Thomas of Acre to which they had been long connected.²⁶⁶ Later the Merchant Taylors too purchased other property attached to the same dissolved Hospital or College of St. Thomas of Acre in 1579 for £83 2s. 8d.²⁶⁷ This pattern of guilds or city governors moving into, or taking advantage of the property of former monastic

²⁶² Holder, N. 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011); Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.63; Rosenfield, M. C. 'The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses, with a Special Study of Holy Trinity, Aldgate' (unpublished Phd thesis, University of London, 1961).

²⁶³ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.322.

²⁶⁴ Rosenfeld, 'The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses', pp.156-160.

²⁶⁵ DCA, MB1B, f.572.

²⁶⁶ 'Henry VIII: April 1542, 26-30' in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 17*, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (ed.) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol17/pp153-168> [Accessed online 13 July 2015] pp.153-168.

²⁶⁷ Davies, M., Saunders, A. *The History of the Merchant Taylors Company* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2004) p.14.

or religious fraternities within urban centres, was not unique to London. For instance, Robert Tittler in his study of early modern town halls as seats of power showed how Walsall's town government acquired the Guildhall of St. John as a result of the termination of the parish fraternity that once held it.²⁶⁸

By 1542 the Drapers were still in pursuit of the equivalent of £738 of Howell's bequest but this did not dissuade the Company from acting on their reformed desire to invest in post-dissolution property.²⁶⁹ Perhaps leading the change in attitude, Draper William Roche happened to serve as Lord Mayor in the year of 1540-41. Several times the City's MP, twice the Company's Master, and once Lord Mayor, Roche was appointed a commissioner for heresies within the City by the King himself and was therefore present at the beheading of the sixty-eight-year-old Countess of Salisbury. Salisbury was the owner of the Erber and was executed at the Tower in 1541 under charges of treason. As representative of the City, Roche also lobbied the King for the purchase of four dissolved houses of friars within the City walls. His skills and knowledge ensured his involvement in the case lasted well beyond his term as Lord Mayor and this experience must have proved to be of particular value to the Drapers in these years.²⁷⁰ It was soon after his Mayoralty that the Company made the first of two very large purchases of property, a medieval precinct called the Erber in Dowgate ward, formerly held by the unfortunate Countess of Salisbury (see figure 2.1).

Examining the fine-grain of these negotiations reveals that the Drapers were careful in their assessment of potential properties for purchase and shrewd in their negotiations. The Company was also evidently known to have been interested in a purchase, for negotiators for the sale of properties approached them directly and privately. In 1542 the Erber, then belonging to Mr Hobby after Salisbury's death, was offered to the Drapers with a yearly rent of £39 16s. 8d. This house was valued at £756 by way of rent capitalization method based on a nineteen-year-long income. Displeased with this proposal, the Wardens responded they

²⁶⁸ Giles, K. 'Guildhalls and Social Identity in Late Medieval and Early Modern York, c.1350-1630' 2 Vols. (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1999) Vol. I, p.168; Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England*, pp.70-72.

²⁶⁹ DCA, MB1B, f.712; Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.84.

²⁷⁰ Miller, Helen. 'William Roche (1478-1549)' in S. T. Bindoff (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, 3 Vols. (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982)
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/roche-william-1478-1549>
 [Accessed online 28 July 2016].

“would not go view the same lands at that price” and Hobby was duly dismissed.²⁷¹ At near enough the same time the Company was offered the purchase of other lands, the nunnery at St Helens then belonging to Sir Richard Cromwell. After a view of these lands, the Court began negotiations. Cromwell would accept “no less than £500”. But two days after viewing St. Helens, the Drapers returned to Hobby having been tipped off by Draper John Trott that Hobby was willing to lower his price to eighteen years purchase. A view was swiftly arranged. Hobby “not mentioning his last price” showed them the King’s Letters Patent confirming his ownership. The Drapers returned their decision to Cromwell that they “could not devise to what use they should put the said lands or else they would have been glad to have gone through with him”. These lands consisted of the nunnery and small tenements but no clear mansion house or hall.²⁷² It seems that the complications of adapting the material fabric may have proved too daunting. Instead the property was taken on by the Leathersellers in 1544, who utilized and adapted the upper floors of the former nunnery dormitory as their Company hall.²⁷³ Convinced that the more straight-forward Erber was the smart choice in spite of its substantially higher cost, a few days later the Drapers were still bargaining Hobby down. The Court settled on a price of sixteen years (£636) with Hobby “if he can do no better”. The deal was sealed.²⁷⁴ The newly purchased lands were described in the Minute Book thus: “the great place at Dowgate called the Herber, of an inn called the Checker, of a chamber, certain stables, void ground, of a tenement beneath the great gate, of the said place and of certain tenements by the back gate” (see figure 2.2).²⁷⁵

The following year and still with cash in hand, the Company was again privately approached by the King’s Treasurer. Discretely Mr North “did motion” to Mr Bowyer and Mr Sadler that Thomas Cromwell’s place would shortly be sold by the Crown (see figure 2.3). The Drapers made arrangements to meet Mr North to ascertain his lowest price – which was confirmed at 600 marks – and to view the property. Then if they “do like the place, to pay part in hand” and to labour for “the King’s grace of time” to bring in the rest of the cash. This offer of Cromwell’s Hall appears to have been made before knowledge of its sale became widespread

²⁷¹ DCA, MB1B, f.706.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Schofield, ‘The Topography and Buildings of London’, p.313.

²⁷⁴ DCA, MB1B, f.710.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. f.711.

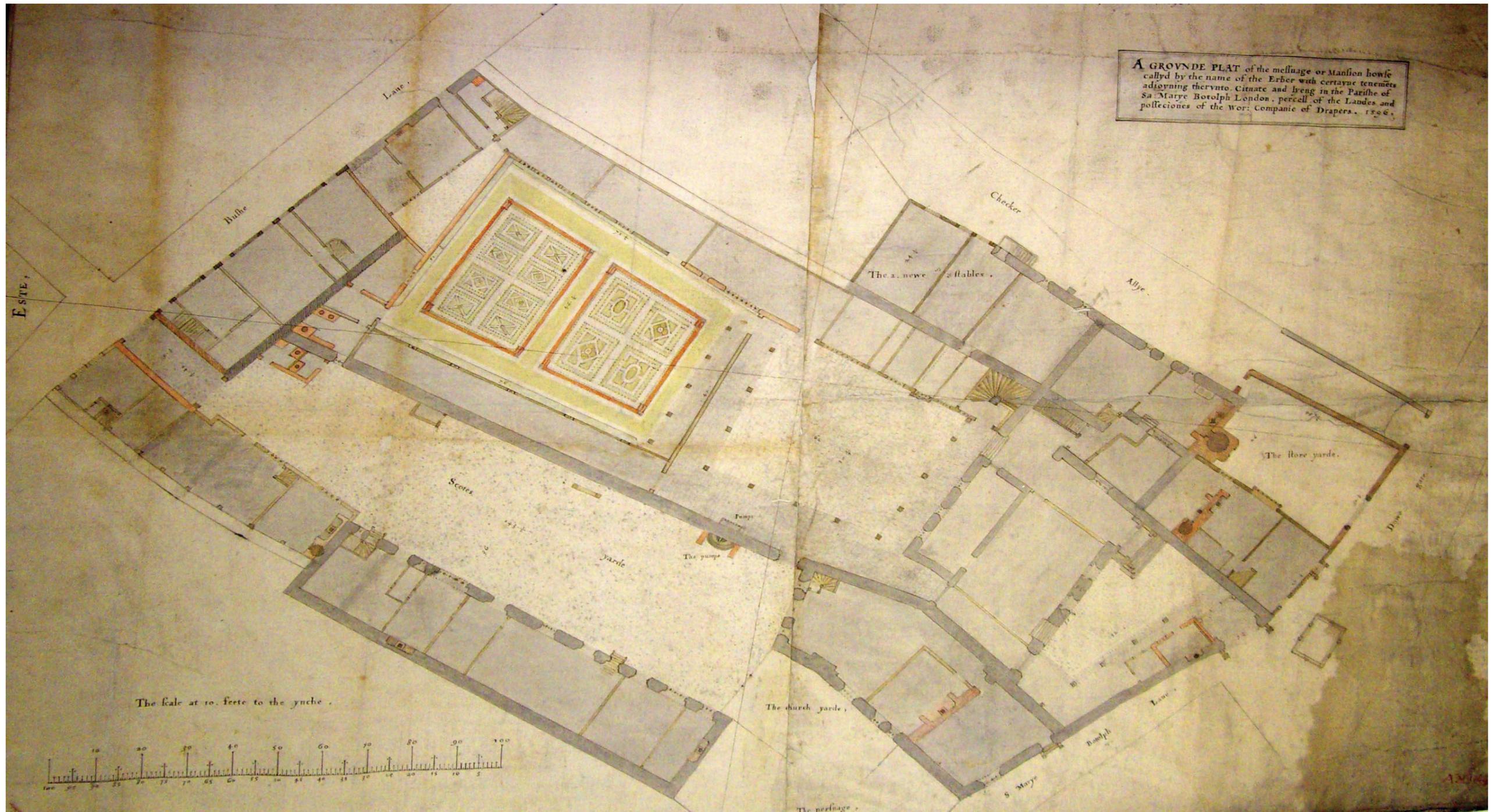


Figure 2.2. Anon. The Erber plan, 1596 (DCA, A X III 165)

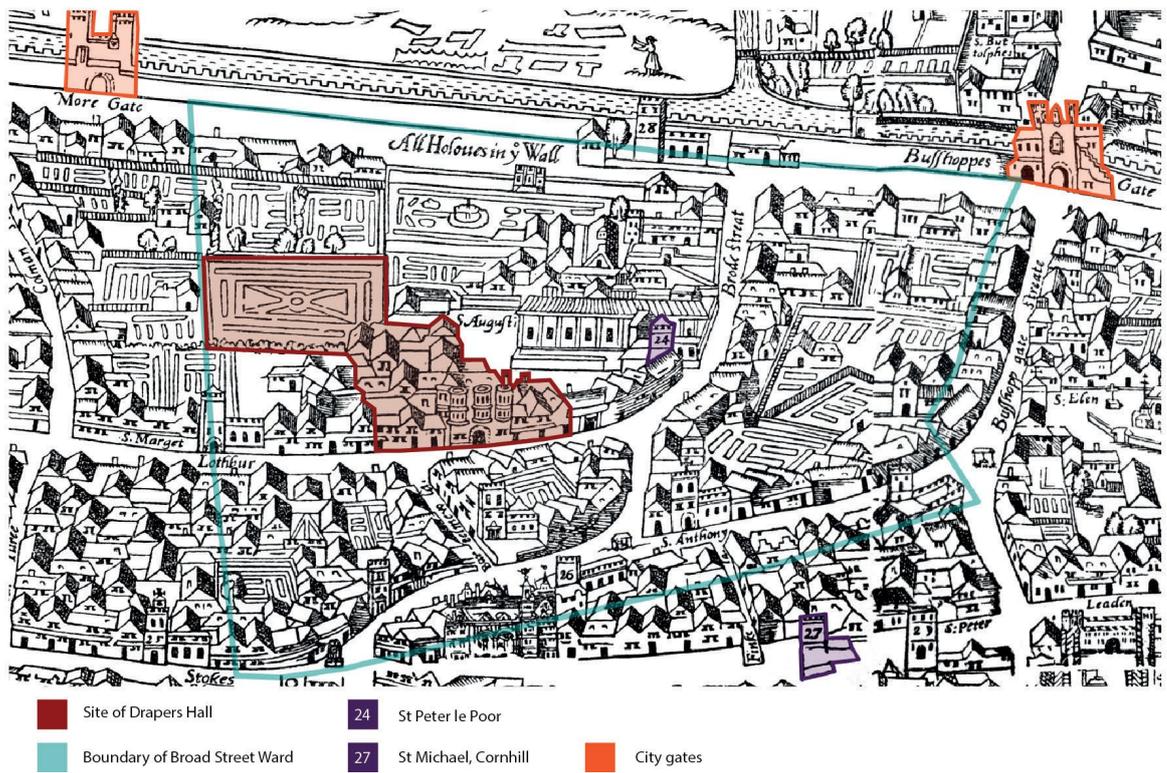


Figure 2.3. Location of Drapers' Hall on: "The Agas Map." *The Map of Early Modern London*. Ed. Janelle Jenstad (2012). Rpt. of *Civitas Londinvm*. [1562?]. <<http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm>>. [accessed online 11 August 2015]

and therefore the Drapers, aware of the opportunity they had been granted, knew swift and decisive action was necessary if they were to secure such a prestigious property before it went on the 'open market'. The Court gathered on the 29th March 1543 to discuss the potential purchase. According to discussions recorded in the Minute Books, it seems the purchase of the Throgmorton Hall was a far more contentious proposal than the Erber had been. The episode was recorded carefully probably in respect of this. The detail of their conversation is illuminating. The Court assembled in their St. Swithins Hall to "show and declare their minds". Some were concerned the purchase would be "more pleasant than profitable", others wanted assurance as to the rental value of the lands if the Hall were to be separated back into individual tenements "as in times past". This separation would allow the housing of "Drapers of this said fellowship such as do lack houses to dwell in". In this way many of the men argued that the purchase may be "both profitable and pleasant". It was concluded that, in consideration that "many of this said fellowship do lack houses to dwell in", purchase would be made. It was in this potential for the provision of housing for members that doubters were convinced. However, the size and value of the properties that were created at Throgmorton as a result of the Drapers' division of the Hall clearly suited the purses and activities of those in the upper tier of the Company. Schofield identified this model as one of three social outcomes of the dissolution of the monasteries, namely the development of "mid-sized clusters of closely-grouped upper-class houses".²⁷⁶ There was certainly a self-interest from the Court in the purchase of Cromwell's former hall.²⁷⁷ At the next meeting the driving force behind their decision was reiterated. The condition of the purchase was that "no other person or persons of what degree or estate, science or faculty so ever...shall have any habitation or dwelling there, but only Drapers of the said fellowship". There was however one qualification "so long as there is any of them mete and will sue for the same".²⁷⁸

The negotiators were given the upper limit of 1800 marks to secure its purchase but instructed to procure it "as good cheap as they can" beginning with an offer of 1700 marks, only rising to 1800 if they "perceive...that it will not come so". This higher sum was only

²⁷⁶ Schofield, *The Building of London*, p.141.

²⁷⁷ DCA, MB1B, f.727.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. f.742.

acceptable if it included all implements.²⁷⁹ Stressing his Godly intentions and demonstrating awareness of Howell's bequest, the King responded that, "considering that the revenues and profits coming of the said place shall yearly be given to maids and marriages", he would agree to Drapers' offer. Before finally confirming the purchase, the Drapers requested to view the property. Perhaps pressing for a speedy exchange, their request was rejected and the Company informed that it was "not in the King's honour" to show his properties. Extraordinarily, it was only on the morning *after* their purchase that the Wardens and Aldermen were granted a view for the first time.²⁸⁰ This likely shows the level of confidence the Company had in the quality of the Hall and no doubt many were already familiar with its interior. In the exchange process the Drapers also acquired two further tenements adjacent to Cromwell's former Hall, confiscated from the dissolved Austin Friars estate.²⁸¹ Although the Company handed over 1000 marks immediately, they followed a pattern established in the building of the first Hall and sequestered for loans primarily (although not exclusively) from its members to make up the rest. Twenty-seven citizens responded and over £375 was raised.²⁸² Furthermore, the Company sold off plate to the value of £402 16s. 6d., buyers pulled principally from their own membership.²⁸³ On this basis the purchase was completed. Importantly, and despite having been intended as an investment purchase orientated towards housing members, the keys to the property had no sooner been handed over than the Court agreed to "keep the Drapers' Hall at the late Earl of Essex place". The Court held its first meeting in the newly designated Hall on the 19th of March 1543.²⁸⁴ After surveying the property, the passing over of such a reputable and sizeable site for their Company Hall was apparently too much for the Court to contemplate. It seems the decision to transfer location

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. f.725. The King's representative was evidently serious in his intent to ensure that the rental income would be utilized for charitable purposes and requested confirmation as to "what use the revenues of the Lord Cromwell's place shall go unto" by way of a Letters Patent or an indenture (DCA, MB1B, f.729).

²⁸¹ Ibid. f.728.

²⁸² DCA, MB1C, f.784. This number included one pewterer and one woolman.

²⁸³ Ibid. f.776, f.782-783.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. f.752.

was uncontested and St. Swithins was easily let to a Draper, William Bury, who developed the site of the abandoned Company Hall into housing through subdivision.²⁸⁵

In clarification that their original aims for the purchase remained unchanged, the prioritization of Throgmorton as a place for Drapers was reiterated at the following Court meeting. The Assistants once again agreed that members of the Company should dwell therein to the “avoiding and disbarring of all others”. The decision made at the first meeting was read out a further time to ensure that those who were absent could not excuse themselves in relation to it “because...of ignorance”.²⁸⁶ Still evidently anxious that these stipulations were heard and enacted by all, at the next meeting the Court was again reminded that no leases should be granted to those outwith the Company. Members were to have “preferment thereof before any other”.²⁸⁷ The purpose for the property could therefore be no less clear. In November 1543, the Wardens assembled alongside a number of key Drapers to view and assign what rooms “doth long and pertain” to the new Hall itself (see figure 2.4). The group divided tenements and agreed rents “as they esteem them worth”. It was also decreed that leases would not be passed over to family members in the event of death unless special dispensation had been secured.²⁸⁸

Although unmistakably driven by the Court, the effort in acquiring these two significant properties can also be read through a more holistically corporate lens. Tens of Drapers were involved in one way or another in negotiations, acting as conduits of knowledge, bargain brokers, funders and surveyors. It would seem right that such a communal effort be translated into communal profit or benefit and this indeed was the stated aim of the new Drapers’ Hall site in particular. Housing for members was a clear priority, but to what extent?

Profitable Leases

Given the consistent stipulations by the Court aforementioned, the occupation of these properties by Drapers might be less than imagined. In their estate more broadly only approximately 20% of properties were tenanted by Drapers in 1549, although members were the most well represented in tenancy lists in comparison to members of other companies it is

²⁸⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.791.

²⁸⁶ DCA, MB1B, f.728.

²⁸⁷ Ibid. f.732.

²⁸⁸ DCA, MB1C, f.757.

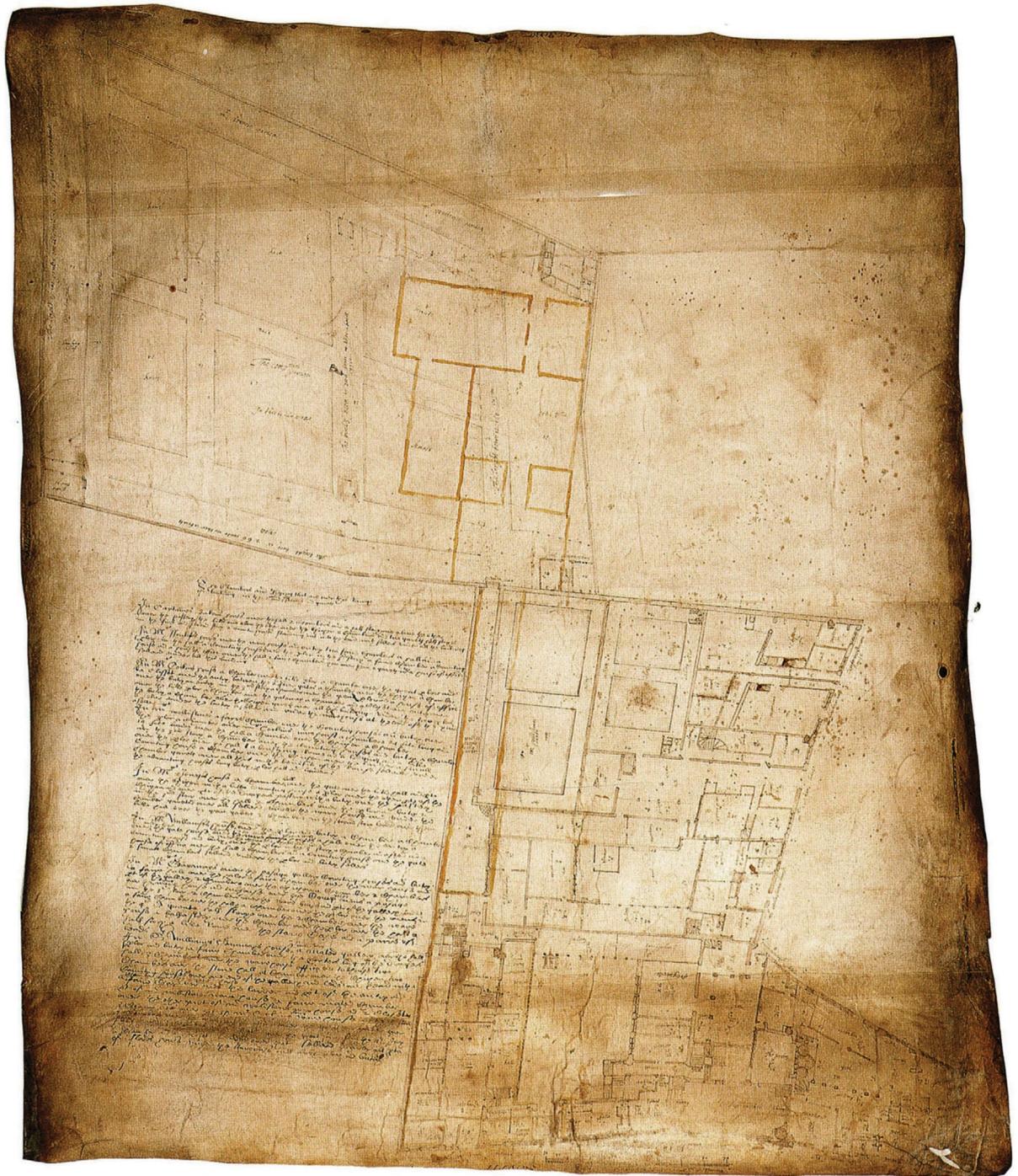


Figure 2.4. Christopher Flemming, Drapers' Hall plan, c.1620 (DCA, A X II 121). Reproduced from: Penelope Hunting, *A History of the Drapers Company* (London: The Drapers Company, 1989)

a strikingly low statistic. By 1612 this figure had however grown by around 10%, so that almost a third of properties managed by the Company were actually leased by members. That being said, these figures are provisional and estimated since there is difficulty in conclusively identifying some tenants as either Drapers, or the widows of Drapers.²⁸⁹ Even taking into account room for error, the percentages indicate the diversity of inhabitants of the Drapers' estate. They are also in marked contrast to the occupation of Drapers' Hall which shows a generally high proportion of leaseholders were members of the Company. It seems this site was especially fashioned as a Drapers enclave. On the other hand, the representation of the Drapers as leaseholders of the Erber began at least at a very low level and, whilst subject to distinct variation, slowly grew over time (see figure 2.5).

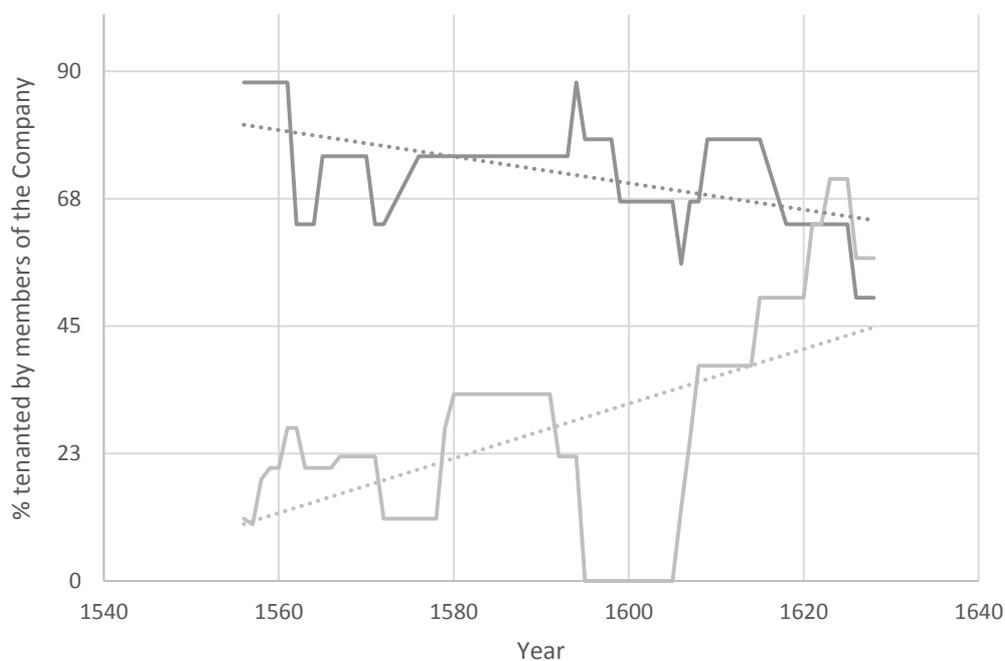
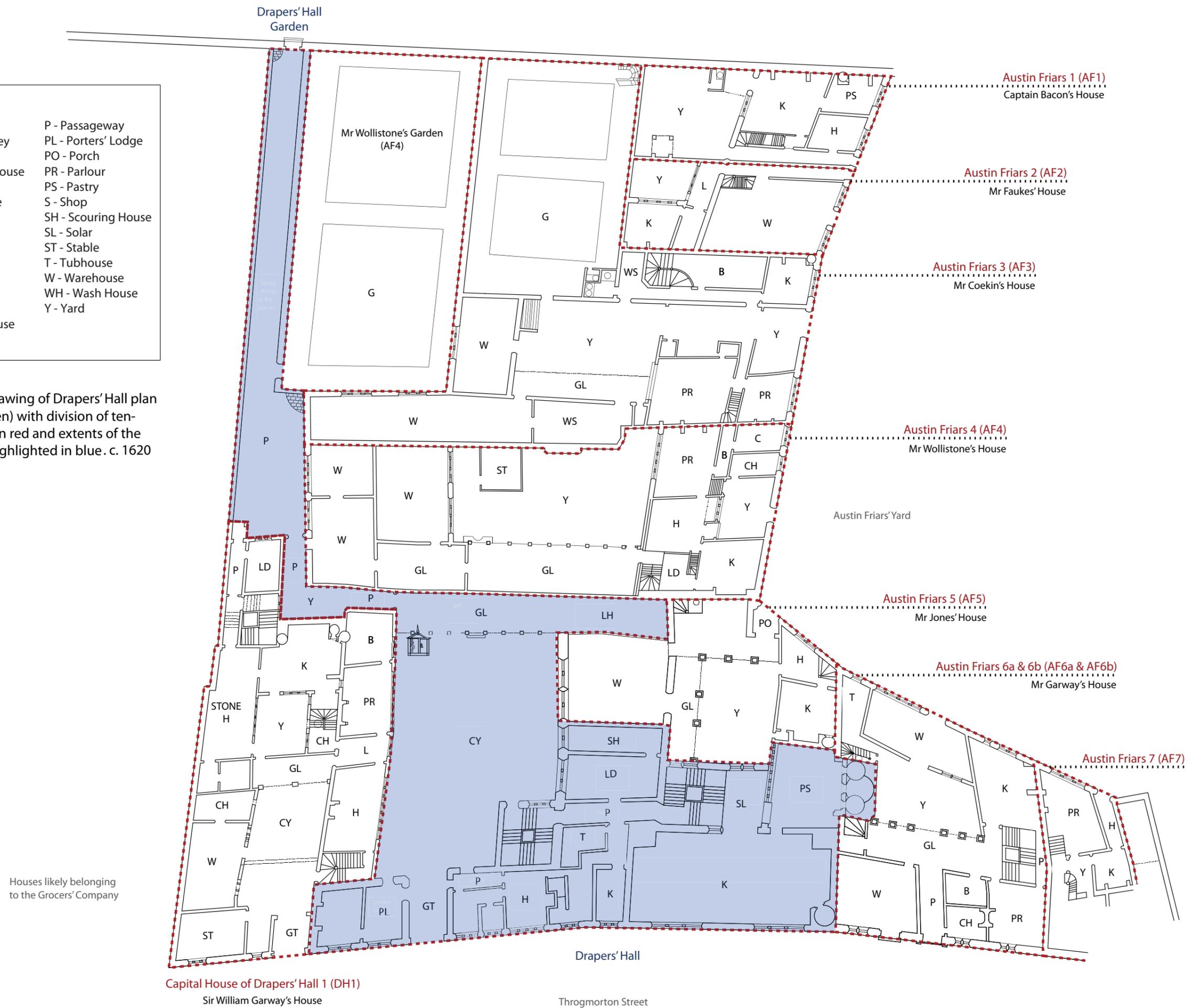


Figure 2.5: Graph showing the proportion of Drapers' Hall at Throgmorton and the Erber that was leased by members of the Drapers' Company. Generated using data from Renter Accounts (1556-1630). Upper line represents Drapers' Hall and lower line the Erber.

²⁸⁹ Figures calculated by comparing the 1549 concealments return (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, Appendix XVI, pp.342-390) and the 1619 letters patent of James (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 4, Appendix VI, pp.51-85). The identification of tenants as Drapers is not included in either of these returns and therefore names have been checked against Boyd's Roll (1934) utilizing the database: *Records of London's Livery Companies Online (ROLLCO)*. IHR. <http://www.londonroll.org/> [Accessed 2014-2016].

KEY	
B - Buttery	P - Passageway
BA - Bowling Alley	PL - Porters' Lodge
C - Clerk's Office	PO - Porch
CH - Counting House	PR - Parlour
CY - Courtyard	PS - Pastry
D - Dicing House	S - Shop
G - Garden	SH - Scouring House
GL - Gallery	SL - Solar
GT - Gate	ST - Stable
H - Hall	T - Tubhouse
K - Kitchen	W - Warehouse
L - Lobby	WH - Wash House
LD - Larder	Y - Yard
LH - Lumber House	

Figure 2.6. Re-drawing of Drapers' Hall plan (excluding garden) with division of tenancies outlined in red and extents of the Company Hall highlighted in blue. c. 1620



The first rental list for the Throgmorton site, reflecting the properties as they entered the hands of the Drapers, was recorded in the Minute Book of 1543.²⁹⁰ Out of this, the Company Hall was carved out. According to the Minutes it consisted of “hall with great chamber, garden, four chambers and houses of office”.²⁹¹ This assessment of the existing condition of the property marked the starting point of decades of boundary negotiations between the tenements of individual houses and also with the Company Hall proper (see figure 2.6).

Perhaps surprisingly, the story of the original tenants of the Hall and their replacements is a far more complicated one than might have been imagined in view of the Drapers’ original fervency for exclusivity. A critical player in the acquisition of the new properties, Mr Roche was rewarded with the newly devised and then empty ‘capital house’ on the western side of the Company Hall (DH1). In 1545 the Assistants granted the distinguished property to their former Master in consideration of his “business and pain which his Mastership hath taken in and about the said purchase”. The rent of the property was settled at £9.²⁹² A warm note attached recorded that Roche was to have the right to enjoy the same house for the rest of his life and his prerogative was to apply also to his wife as long as she remained unmarried. Indeed Mrs Roche resided in the Hall for a further eight years after her husband's death in 1549.²⁹³ At the same time as Mr Roche, Mr Bartholomew Skerne (Warden in 1563-4) was one of the first Drapers to be installed in a house on the site (AF7), this was the late gate house of Austin Friars. Renting from the Austin Friars directly, Mr Robert Leese (AF6b, Warden 1526-27, 1536-7) had been associated with a tenements on the far east side of the Hall for many years before the Drapers acquisition and became implicated with the tenement directly adjacent to him (AF7). His lease however was passed over to another Draper, Mr Draner, within a few years of transfer.²⁹⁴ The next two tenements and a cellar (AF5, AF6a) clustered around this end of the Hall were opened up to any other suitors not of the Company due to

²⁹⁰ Alongside a description of the lands, tenement by tenement, the tenants are noted as follows: Calvacanti, Pechys, Palmer, Williamson, Leese, a tenement on the East side of the hall, a tenement room not yet divided on the east side of the great gate, a tenement room not yet divided on the west part of the great gate, a great cellar for wine or oil, Roche.

²⁹¹ DCA, MB1C, f.757.

²⁹² DCA, MB1C, f.812.

²⁹³ DCA, RA4, 1556-7, f.13r.

²⁹⁴ DCA, 1549 concealments return (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, Appendix XVI, pp.342-390).

lack of interest from within.²⁹⁵ Apparently empty at the time of transferal, one easterly tenement was granted almost immediately not to a Draper but to Justinian Rogers, a Grocer, for £4 10s.²⁹⁶ Roger Colt or Collett, also a Grocer, was granted the other neighbouring tenement.²⁹⁷ Mr Pechis' house was given to Roger Owton, a Mercer, in August 1544.²⁹⁸ Occupation at this initial stage was therefore mixed and did not immediately reflect the original vision of the Court.

Table 3 - Lease-holders at Drapers' Hall (members of the Company are in **bold**):

Property	1543	1549	1556-7
Austin Friars 1 (AF1)	Mr Palmer	John Paulet	Thomas Danyell (Draper)
Austin Friars 2 (AF2), built 1595			
Austin Friars 3 (AF3)	Mr Pechys	Roger Owton (Mercer)	John Calthorp (Draper)
Austin Friars 4 (AF4)	Mr Cavalcanti	John Quarles (Draper)	John Quarles (Draper)
Austin Friars 5 (AF5)	Vacant	Anthonye Merswella	Robert Richards (Draper)
Austin Friars 6a (AF6a)	Mr Robert Leese/Lys (Draper)	John Draner (Draper)	John Calthorp (Draper)
Austin Friars 6b (AF6b)	Vacant	Justinian Rogers (Grocer)	John Draner (Draper)
Austin Friars 7 (AF7)	Mr Williamson/Sir John Williams	Bartholomew Skerne (Draper)	Bartholomew Skerne (Draper)
Drapers Hall 1 (DH1)	Vacant	William Roche (Draper)	Lady Roche (Draper's Widow)

Refs: DCA, MB1C, f.759-762, f.773, f.778-9, f.782, f.784, f.790, f.794; DCA, 1549 concealments return (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, Appendix XVI, pp.342-390).

²⁹⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.778.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. f.784.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. f.778.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. f.782.

Meanwhile, comparing the rental income between 1543 and 1549, there seems to have been no change. The Drapers did not increase rents to push out certain tenants. However, there is evidence that negotiations with existing tenants were not always plain-sailing. In the absence of any clear on-site landlord before Drapers' acquisition, certain tenants seem to have taken advantage of their ease of access to adjacent properties within the site. In June 1544, Mr Roche, backed up by the Wardens, deemed it necessary to visit one of the tenants they had inherited, Sir John Williams. Williams had been transgressing the boundaries of the tenement he leased and utilizing the adjacent vacant tenement (which was not yet let to the Grocer Rogers at the time). The Drapers required Williams to increase his rental payment from £4 to £10 to reflect this occupation. He was unwilling to co-operate and the conversation between the Master, the Wardens and Williams seems to have had a hard edge with "much entreating" being noted in relation to the supposed unpaid rent. Given his refusal to submit to the Company, Williams was instructed to vacate the empty house he had claimed. Threatened with eviction, this high-status tenant conceded and agreed to pay rent for one year before he removed from the premises. Furthermore, Mr Roche took issue with his use of the valuable conduit water which was conveyed out of the great kitchen of the Company into Williams' house for no fee at the time. A 20s. fee was therefore imposed.²⁹⁹ Either in misguided hope or conscious retaliation, Williams sent his porter a few weeks later to request a key for the wicket of the great gate. This key represented permission to use the main Company courtyard, a claim to which Williams evidently felt he was justified in. Yet the Drapers quickly refused him noting "he shall have no key".³⁰⁰ In spite of this, the Drapers were also amenable to being lobbied by other well-connected non-members for particular properties. The first of such agreements was noted in May 1544 when Sir Giles Chappelle was given 'furtherance' of the property inhabited by Mr Palmer, whose lease was circumstantially due for expiration and had apparently fallen behind in his rent.³⁰¹ Despite Mr Palmer's nephew stepping in to pay the rent in order that his uncle "might dwell still there", Palmer was given notice to depart by Christmas in favour of Chappelle. Sir Chappelle in fact appears to have transferred his lease to John Paulet, the son of Lord St John, to whom he was related through marriage. By September 1544 Paulet's father, Sir William Paulet, was beginning to buy up other post-dissolution properties all around this area. Developing parts of Austin

²⁹⁹ Ibid. f.779.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. f.794.

³⁰¹ Ibid. f.773.

Friars into Winchester House, Paulet was a prominent neighbour whom it was wise to keep in with.³⁰² The overall change in occupancy, which saw shift from primarily non-Drapers to Drapers, was therefore gradual and haphazard but conclusive all the same. By the time Paulet's tenancy was surrendered by 1556-7, only one non-Draper could claim a tenancy in the Throgmorton site.³⁰³

According to the Renter Accounts, tenements on the site were highly lettable. A survey of tenancies reveals no vacancies for the period 1556-1630 and, after the very initial years, a consistently high proportion of Drapers were leaseholders. More than this, Throgmorton was clearly leased by those of the Company oligarchy or by successful merchants of other companies rather than those of lower status. After Mr Roche's rental of the head house, six times former Master John Sadler took up occupation. Sadler was followed by Lord Mayor Sir Martin Calthorp, who was subsequently followed by the increasingly affluent and influential Garway family. This point will be expanded in Chapter Three when inhabitants of the capital house are examined in more detail. Even taken as whole, the Throgmorton site could claim it housed at least one serving Warden or Master for a third of the years between the mid-sixteenth century and the Civil War. Reflecting their affluence and relative success, the Drapers who took up tenancy in the site tended to do so when they were at least Liverymen. More than two thirds of the Drapers who leased properties at Throgmorton served as a Warden at some time in their career, and more often than not they served whilst they were the named tenant of a property within Throgmorton. In addition, the longevity of their lets is striking. In a period of time of population flux and significant mobility between parishes, a number of men invested in Throgmorton as their longer-term London residence. John Quarles apparently lived in the property for twenty-three years, followed by his widow for a further eight. William Vaughan similarly inhabited the property for twenty years, after which time his widow stayed on for an additional year (although it appears she continued longer as a tenant-at-will). John Palmer continued in the property for thirty-two years until his death (but unusually did not serve as a Warden during this time). His widow continued for a further two named years. William Calley, another non-Warden but later benefactor, tenanted the site for twenty-six years. These men were not unusual. The average let was well over ten years.

³⁰² Ibid. f.790.

³⁰³ DCA, RA4, 1556-7, f.13r. Robert Richards occupied one of the newly created smaller tenements to the East of the hall from 'The Bell' inn.

It was not only the Throgmorton site that appears to have easily found tenants, in a general survey of the Renter Accounts for the whole estate, it appears that very few properties lay vacant for more than a year. Indicative of this, as the London housing market became even more competitive, in their pursuit of a lease of Company properties non-Drapers and Drapers alike drew attention to some important supporters in their petitions for properties. Writing on behalf of particular tenants, some letters can still be found preserved in the Archive, presumably only a fraction of the original total. Johnson counts twelve remaining in the Company's possession including letters from Lord Buckhurst, Lord Warwick, Sir Francis Walsingham and the Bishop of Winchester.³⁰⁴ To name a few specific instances, in December 1588 Sir Walter Mildmay wrote in favour of his former servant John Guilpin, then one of the Queen's officers at the Exchequer, that he might be granted a lease of the house in which he dwelt (originally assigned to Draper, Mr Dimock).³⁰⁵ Another letter was penned by Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England, in support of Widow Gilborne who was a 'tenant-at-will' (i.e. short-term, without any rights) in a house at Dowgate. The influence of Hatton seemed to hold some sway, for they made an offer to Gilborne for 21 years with a £40 fine. More than this however the Company also went on to state that if she "mislike" the offer then "for my Lord Chancellor's sake" the Company would gift her £10 as a parting gesture providing she give up her tenancy.³⁰⁶ Electing to stay rather than accept the £10 to leave, Gilborne remained at Dowgate until her death.³⁰⁷ More often than not these letters tended to have an impact, securing better leases for those applying in receipt of such a letter.

In the later sixteenth century it became common practice for potential tenants to request the 'reversion', or next tenancy, of a house. Demonstrating the desirability of a Company let, numerous waiting lists were produced to which both members and non-members could subscribe. In 1553 a previous tenant of the Drapers and Company member, Rafe Crumpe, requested "the next avoidance of any tenement appertaining to this house being of the rent of £5 or under". He was willing to wait up to six years for one to become available, and the Drapers agreed to grant him the same as long as he personally occupied the house and did

³⁰⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.233.

³⁰⁵ DCA, MB10, f.359.

³⁰⁶ Ibid. f.449. For confirmation of her status as tenant-at-will see DCA, MB10, f.459.

³⁰⁷ DCA, RA5, 1599-1600, f.13r.

not sub-let it.³⁰⁸ However, waiting lists were not always adhered to and Drapers could still overtake other long-waiting suitors for properties up until their release. In March 1571 two suitors from outside the Company toiled against each other for months for the reversion of a property in Cornhill, making their cases to the Court of Assistants. As the term of the present occupier ended, both were left bitterly disappointed when a Draper was prioritized ahead of both of them at the last minute. Upon presenting himself to the Court in respect of a lease, the Draper, Thomas Catcher, was immediately granted the sought-after reversion. The Court however acknowledged the discontent their decision was likely to provoke and added the proviso that he “satisfy and set content” the previous two applicants to the end that “this Company may be no further troubled about the same by any of both their suits.”³⁰⁹

Not all Drapers were shown the same advantage, or, at least, as has already been intimated, those higher up in the Company hierarchy had more direct access to the leases of 'fair' houses. Evidently aware of this issue, a number of measures were taken by the governing Court to minimise opportunities for corrupt practices. Entered into the ordinances in 1550-1 was the order that no lease was to be granted nor sealed without the agreement of the Company Aldermen (if there were any at the time), Master, four Wardens and six Assistants. This equated to a committee of a minimum of eleven people.³¹⁰ Further, in 1553 it was ordered that "no warden or master should procure a lease for any time that they be in office".³¹¹ In 1554 it was noted that for that year the Wardens and Master may not grant any more leases to themselves or their families. The fine for doing so was set at a hefty £20.³¹² Moreover, in 1589 the Court ordered that the leases must be granted by a full Court of Assistants only.³¹³

And yet there seems to have been a persistent and simmering discontent surrounding the usage of the Company's lands and its financial returns. Were the bequests invested in property to be principally deployed for the profit the Company as a whole or profit for the

³⁰⁸ DCA, MB5, f.18.

³⁰⁹ DCA, MB8, f.140r-143r.

³¹⁰ DCA, OB1, unfoliated.

³¹¹ DCA, MB5, f.33.

³¹² Ibid. f.81.

³¹³ DCA, MB10, f.411.

governing Court as individuals? Archer reports of a Clothworker, Thomas Lateware, who criticized the Clothworkers' Court in 1600. Lateware was focussed in his attack on the Company governors' who appeared to line their own pockets at the expense of the Company. He exhorted that Company Assistants were "pelicans and did suck out the blood of their dam and weed out the profit of the companies lands which of right belongeth, and was given to them, of the handicraft of this Company".³¹⁴ The Clothworkers were not alone: Stow saved up a particularly damning indictment of the Drapers in relation to Milborne's bequest, he wrote that "these points not performed: the Drapers have unlawfully sold these tenements and garden plots and the poor be wronged".³¹⁵ With a more fraternal point of view but still reflecting a single-mindedness in the Court, the updated 1633 version of Stow's survey stated that the leaders of the Companies "did not spare to bereave their children and kinsfolk of goods and lands for the conservation and maintenance of this worshipful company".³¹⁶ However, incidents of this nature, direct challenges of the Court on issues of corruption in the distribution of properties and leases, never appeared in the Drapers' accounts. There seems to have been no Lateware speaking up explicitly against the Company. The voices of dissent may have been muted in the records, or perhaps the line between justified favour and under-the-table bribery was too slippery to identify.

In spite of the lack of recorded accusations, the review of internal practices continued throughout the later 1500s. Rappaport suggested that the responsibility of the Master and Wardens towards their estate came with "lucrative" rewards as members "often received" personal gifts from petitioners.³¹⁷ Notably Drapers reviewed the practice of accepting sums of money in return for the securement of a lease. In the 1550s these sums, paid as a fine, were understood to be monies of 'good will' and therefore fell outside formal Company accounts. Payments could be made in kind too, bucks or swans gifted for feasts. But in these same years the Court decided such good will monies were to be declared and entered into the corporate accounts. The practice was further challenged in 1559 when an order was issued which expressly forbade payments made directly to Wardens or the Master. In 1560 it was entered into the Company's ordinances that "no bribes under colour of reward were to be

³¹⁴ As quoted in Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization', p.112.

³¹⁵ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.148. However this was disputed by Munday and taken to be a misunderstanding: Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 2, p.293, fn.148.

³¹⁶ Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization', p.95.

³¹⁷ Rappaport, *Worlds*, p.270.

taken”.³¹⁸ Despite the implied struggle, it seems that no Assistant was specifically reprimanded for actually accepting a bribe.³¹⁹ However, the picture is complicated for in 1576 the ordinance was modified and the practice appears once again to have been sanctioned. The four Master Wardens were allowed to grant leases of the Company and the “profits thereof to remain to their own uses without being accountants to this house, therefore with this condition that they exceed not in taking for the same their good will in granting above the value of one hogshead of wine.”³²⁰ The relationship between these personal profits and the corporate practice of accepting fines for leases (instead of increasing the rents) requires further attention moving into the seventeenth century.

Of course the Wardens would have attracted no profits if they had no influence over the process of granting leases. A seat at the Court of Assistants table offered members a voice in every lease renewal. Throughout the years there are many instances where an internal bias is easily discernible and Wardens and Assistants with relative frequency obtained leases for their friends, relatives and employees.³²¹ In July 1547 a former Master Mr Sadler successfully proposed his servant Edmond Roberts as a more convenient tenant than that of a merchant stranger installed in a Drapers’ property. Consequently the lease of the merchant stranger was revoked as a result of Sadler’s petitioning.³²² In 1556 Mr Dimock, an Assistant of the Drapers, secured a house in Petty Wales, Thames Street (no. 40), for his sister-in-law.³²³ Apparently living nearby, Sir Thomas Hayes, Lord Mayor of London in 1614-5 and very wealthy Draper, approached the Company in regards to a tenement in Dowgate “in the

³¹⁸ DCA, OB1, unfoliated.

³¹⁹ DCA, MB7, f.200. For further discussion on non-enforcement of fines for disregarding Company rules see: Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.86; Branch, ‘Fraternal Commemoration’, p.119.

³²⁰ DCA, OB1, unfoliated. In 1540, rather than be involved in the process, the Assistants divested the granting of the lease to the Wardens “not doubting” that they would seek “the most advantage and profit of the house” (DCA, MB1B, f.620).

³²¹ This point is also made by Sleigh-Johnson in relation to the Merchant Taylors. He noted that profitable lets were “openly fought-over by prominent members of the Company elite” and that it was “in the administration of corporate property...that the opportunities for direct personal gain lay”. (Sleigh-Johnson, ‘The Merchant Taylors’, p.72-79).

³²² DCA, MB1C, f.874.

³²³ DCA, MB5, f.201.

behalf of a friend of his.”³²⁴ Later in the year Hayes returned to petition the Company to grant a further vacant tenement at Dowgate to Thomas Darneton, “whose wife was nurse to his children”.³²⁵ He was successful on both counts. In the 1620s Warden John Hall assigned four tenements in St Nicholas and Abchurch Lanes to his father (no. 41 and 42).³²⁶ Sutton writes that this was a widespread guild practice. In the case of the Mercers, she takes it that members always had the first choice of leases and that “inevitably” those at the top of the pile were able to engineer the greatest personal benefit.³²⁷ This chimes with the case of the Drapers, where there remained an ever-present interest in ensuring important members were appropriately prioritized but the general membership was also favoured. In 1576, as if rehearsing their earlier 1544 discussion about the purposes of their lands, a formalisation of a previous practice was entered into the Company ordinances for the first time, namely that “Drapers [are] to have the preferment of houses before another”.³²⁸ Whilst this policy had been verbally agreed and effectively acted on for decades, its entry into the ordinances elevated the importance and longevity of the policy.

Apart from the benefits to individual Drapers such a policy enabled, it was thought that those of the Company were more likely to maintain their houses in good condition, perhaps because these men could be more easily disciplined and they were known personally.³²⁹ As an increasingly valuable asset to the Company, the upkeep and quality of the buildings which constituted their estate was important. Therefore, especially if the lets were to be made to those outside the Company, the Court of Assistants was anxious to know at first-hand those dwelling in their properties and often refused license unless these proposed sub-letters could be presented to the Court.³³⁰ In spite of this, in 1557 it was found a ‘stranger’ was residing in

³²⁴ DCA, MB13, f.58v.

³²⁵ *Ibid.* f. 61v.

³²⁶ DCA, RA 1622-23, f.4.

³²⁷ Sutton, Anne. *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005) p.494.

³²⁸ DCA, OB1, unfoliated. This return to earlier intentions seems to have prompted a 20% rise in the number of Drapers inhabiting the Erber in the succeeding years. See figure 2.5. This percentage rose steadily to a peak of 72% in 1628, over-taking Drapers’ Hall in terms of inhabitation by members of the Company.

³²⁹ DCA, MB11, f.201r.

³³⁰ DCA, MB5, f.203.

Simon Horsepool's (Warden, 1577-8) house in Cornhill. Horsepool was warned "to inhabit therein personally or else he to lose the benefit of his grant thereof."³³¹ In an action that would have pleased the Court, Alderman Lodge who also lived on Honey Lane, offered to sub-let his house to a Draper, putting a motion to the whole fellowship via the Court that anyone interested should commune with him.³³² George Hopton presented himself for the same and the let was centrally sanctioned.³³³ In 1590 a general review of the processes by which grants of leases were made was undertaken. Tenants, executors or assignees were noted to have been taking liberties in passing on their lets without license of the Company, and an Act of Parliament had prompted the Drapers to take action against all 'inmates' (i.e. tenants-at-will) lodged within their properties by unlawful sub-letting. Such things found amiss were to be put in better order. Some property bequests came with the specific stipulation that they should be inhabited by Drapers, "for the general maintenance, upholding and sustaining of the body and members". Others came with the proviso that it was only a preferment that members occupy the property, and could be let out to non-members if more convenient and profitable.³³⁴ Either way, the practice of lessees passing their lets indiscriminately onto those from outside the Company was of significant concern. Likely in vain, it was ordered in 1590 that passing such lets to those outside the Company must be agreed by special consent of the Master and Wardens. The application was to be submitted in writing, and recorded by the Clerk in the Book of Records "remaining in the hall".³³⁵ Leases were not confirmed until the draught has been written and engrossed - even though verbal promises were still routinely made.³³⁶

Leases outside the Company were given on the basis of good reputation, evidencing a general consideration for the quality of tenants. Likewise, those who had proven to be good tenants were more likely to have their leases renewed. Humphrey Street, a Merchant Taylor, was granted a new lease on account that he was "an ancient citizen and of good sort and

³³¹ Ibid. f.241.

³³² Ibid. f.197, f.200.

³³³ Ibid. f.203.

³³⁴ DCA, MB10, f.437-39.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ DCA, MB11, f.191v. Penned in retrospect and surely purposed to substantiate the legitimacy of a lease, one note unusually situates the granting of a let by the Master and Wardens "standing at the imbowed window in the hall on the east part" (DCA, MB1C, f.516).

rank in his Company and that he had been a long tenant to the Company".³³⁷ William Megges was given permission to alienate his two tenements on Thames Street in the Parish of St Botolphs (no. 32) to "any person or persons of good name and fame".³³⁸ As a result of this protocol there were many unsuccessful petitions for grants of leases, one William Smith "and many others" were suitors for small tenements and rejected as the Company decided to wait "until better opportunity and leisure".³³⁹ In this context, the practice of reducing the rent for members, to attract them, was not looked down upon. In 1557 Draper and future Warden, Nicholas Wheeler, proposed to demolish part of the Cornhill house he had secured a lease for in order to make a new yard there. After rejecting Wheeler's proposition, it was mutually agreed that the let should be passed over to another Draper to dwell in. The Court settled that a member of the fellowship should "have it better cheap by £3 than any other". It was consequently set over to Brian Calverley (another future Warden).³⁴⁰

The Company's preferment of its members proved frustrating to those wishing to grant their houses to non-members. In transferring a lease successfully there was no doubt a personal profit to be pocketed by the existing leaseholder, possibly to the detriment of the Company's own. To counteract these transgressions, a 1590 order required individual Drapers to present their sub-tenants before the Court to ensure the fellowship could assess the tenant personally and also to agree favourable terms of the lease. This order was put into almost immediate effect in one case. In 1590 Draper Jonas Ladbroke persuaded 'Lord Bacon' to write in favour of a lease for himself of a house in Gracechurch Street (no. 17). On account of this letter from his powerful supporter, Ladbroke was called to the Court to discuss his proposal. However during this discussion, it became apparent that the current tenant of Gracechurch Street, also a Draper, had apparently already promised the reversion of his lease to a Mercer, Edward Brynston. On account that Ladbroke "lacketh a house" he offered to match Brynston's offer. The current tenant refused to give over his lease to Ladbroke and was requested to attend the Drapers Hall for a discussion with the Court. During his hearing he was shown the order regarding sub-tenants, newly penned in the ordinance book, which stipulated preferment of Company members in the granting of new leases. Ladbroke's alienation was

³³⁷ DCA, MB13, f.34v.

³³⁸ DCA, MB10, f.365.

³³⁹ Ibid. f.401.

³⁴⁰ DCA, MB5, f.237.

duly rubberstamped.³⁴¹ The unfortunate Mercer cut out of the deal was however unwilling to admit defeat. Brynston presented himself before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen requesting permission to be bound into the Drapers' Company. The Drapers refused his request, suspecting that the reason for the translation was purely "to have continuance in our worshipful house".³⁴² Brynston's willingness to transfer companies in order to secure a favourable house shows the extent to which loyalties in the city could be loosely-held and could be directly related to the property benefits such associations might offer to citizens, perhaps over their connection to a particular trade. Increasing pressure on city centre housing affected the balance of these relationships.

Although sharing a preference for housing their own members to one degree or another, the Drapers were tenants of the properties of other companies themselves. Mistreatment of members who were tenants of another company could lead to disputes between company courts over leases. One particular case is noteworthy. In 1556 Draper William Barlow's case was discussed by the Drapers' Court. He had been a tenant of the Grocers in a tenement located next to the 'Goat' (no. 2) on Cheapside, which belonged to the Drapers. Barlow reported he was granted his tenancy with the good will of Alderman Sir John Ayloff and others of the Grocers Company but he was surprised by a warning to vacate the property so that a Grocer might have the occupation of the tenement. The Grocers claimed that his lease was void for, crucially, "it was not penned in their books" and Barlow effectively had the rug pulled out from under his feet. Deceived and dejected, he was forcibly evicted – a victim perhaps of a sort of rental black market. In respect that Barlow had been "so evil handled in the Grocers fellowship", the Drapers retaliated. They threatened to evict a Grocer from one of their own properties and picked on Robert Harrison, who conveniently appears to have had a next-door let on Cheapside. They cited that if Barlow were reinstated to his present tenement all would be forgiven. To save his lease, the Drapers required Harrison to present himself in front of the Grocers' Court and to "make labour and obtain the good will" in respect of his neighbour, the Draper, Barlow.³⁴³ It is unclear whether Barlow was given leave to return to his let after these negotiations. The Drapers do not appear to have rehoused him suggesting that perhaps he was successful in his suit. Despite the ill-treatment of their own

³⁴¹ DCA, MB10, f.458.

³⁴² Ibid. f.528.

³⁴³ DCA, MB5, f.158.

tenant, in the end the Drapers were lenient on their tenant Harrison, a man who, for all intents and purposes, was innocently caught in the company cross-fire. The incident did not dissuade Harrison from further negotiations with company courts however. His wife approached the Drapers for a longer lease of their house not long after the Barlow episode, on which only five years remained. It was on account of her husband's sickness that she came to negotiate for a new extended lease offering £20 as a goodwill gesture and to undertake all the reparations on the house. The Drapers after a long debate agreed to offer her a 21 year lease. Mrs Harrison, after consultation with her husband, returned whilst the Wardens were still meeting. She placed £10 as immediate payment on the table and got down on her knees to tell the Wardens that her husband required more years than they had offered. In return the Harrisons would immediately attend to any reparations required on the property. Such actions secured a further four years added to the original 21 year lease.³⁴⁴

The Great Garden

Recalling the Court's original intentions for the Hall to be both profitable and pleasant, its attitude to the Throgmorton great garden reveals a concerted attempt to prioritize and cultivate quality spaces for the pleasure of its members. Corporate properties were not only purposed to fulfil the wishes of the benefactors (especially if they were trust lands) nor only to house Company members, but to reflect the Drapers' position as one of the Great Twelve companies. The Court sought to achieve this through investment in prestigious spaces fashioned for exclusive sociability. Whilst the Minute Books attest to the importance of managing the swell of properties which entered the Company books and negotiating their inhabitation, a preoccupation with the maintenance of the garden at Throgmorton was as persistent a concern as any and enduring attention was bestowed upon it decade after decade. What was it about this space that made it worthy of such expense and effort? Who was granted access and for what ends was it kept?

As well as its description in the corporate accounts, confirmation of the sale of Throgmorton to the 'Clothiers' of London was also contained within Henry VIII's grants of July 1543. The brief schedule of purchased lands represented within this document clarified the open nature of the area to the rear of Drapers' Hall in the ward of Broad Street. This area was evidently characterized by prosperous gardens. According to the grant, the 'Clothiers' garden was adjacent to the Carpenters' garden as well as gardens associated with the Leathersellers, the

³⁴⁴ Ibid. f.181.

Saddlers and the Grocers - surely gardens of tenements in their possession rather than gardens attached to their halls.³⁴⁵ More abutting gardens were held by the Bridge House, Robert Rich and Thomas Paulet.³⁴⁶ The 1560s 'Agas' map also unmistakably depicted this spaciousness (see figure 2.3). The Drapers' great garden had been created by Cromwell through a conglomeration of smaller gardens and the fame of his relatively newly formed garden seems to have gone beyond the immediate locale. As a close associate to the King it is not inconceivable that Henry VIII himself enjoyed its pleasures on occasion, strolling around the paths in discussion with Cromwell and others. So acclaimed was its planting that after the Drapers had taken possession of the property, one John Hern came on behalf of George Aylesbury, a courtly gentleman, to "demand" a damson plum tree to be taken out of the garden to be set up in the 'King's' garden.³⁴⁷ Although the exact royal garden it was intended for is unclear, there is also evidence that Henry VIII himself paid for the upkeep of the garden after Cromwell's execution in 1540, recognising the obvious value in maintaining it for its later sale. On one occasion as many six gardeners were employed to weed and set the "knots hedges alleys and the erber" over four and a half weeks.³⁴⁸

Located deep within a city block which was defined alongside its street-facing edges by many merchant and courtly houses, the walled garden was indiscernible to passers-by on Throgmorton Street. This model of hidden opulence, buried behind front-facing gatehouses and tenements, was typical in medieval mansions. Even in 1617, regarding the merchants of Jacobean London, Fynes Moryson wrote that, "they are stately for building, yet being built all inward, that the whole room towards the street may be reserved for the shops of tradesmen, makes no show outwardly, so as in truth all magnificence of London is hidden from strangers at the first sight."³⁴⁹ This magnificence extended not only to courtyards and great halls but to delicately planted gardens. Both the Erber and the Company Hall shared a medieval

³⁴⁵ This observation further supports observations of Treswell's 1612 plans that companies appear to have often held land adjacent to one another.

³⁴⁶ 'Henry VIII: 31 July 1543' in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 18, Part 1, January-July 1543*, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (ed.) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901) *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol18/no1/pp510-544> [Accessed online 13 July 2016] p.528.

³⁴⁷ DCA, MB1C, f.395.

³⁴⁸ BL, Royal MS Appendix 89, f.70.

³⁴⁹ Fynes Moryson quoted in Archer, I. 'Material Londoners?' in L. Orlin (ed.) *Material London ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2000) pp.174-192, p.182.

courtyard house typology which treated the courtyard garden as one of these recessed but richly adorned bounded spaces. Both gardens were expressed on the street elevation but the Erber was more typical in its configuration of courtyards accessed through protective service quarters and nestled between tenements of the middling class. On the other hand, according to Schofield's studies both properties were also noteworthy for this reason, for he held that great houses such as these "which retained their courtyards were comparatively rare". Many formerly noble houses were unrecognisable by the seventeenth century due to an increasing pressure to develop open space.³⁵⁰ The plan of the Erber reveals a rectangular plot divided into two quadrants, and then again into four (see figure 2.7). Grassy walkways surrounded the two quadrants, while the inner plots appear to have been defined by a low-level retaining wall of brick. A few steps in each corner led down to the sunken areas of the garden proper where hedges and herbs were maintained in typically geometric designs planted between high trellises.³⁵¹ It was bordered by a long bowling alley and dicing house which were separately housed but with views onto the garden. The depiction of this prestigious private garden surely indicated how the property acquired its now unusual name. 'Herber' referred to planted gardens of the medieval period, although the 'h' was often dropped in common speech. The Drapers' Renter Accounts of 1581 recorded that the property was a "great mansion house sometime called Salisbury place and now the Herbar."³⁵² This description is further rendered in 1588, when the Warden reported that the great house was "now called green arbour", although this illuminating detail did not persist.³⁵³

In contrast to the Erber, the Drapers' garden was not tightly bound up with the main building of the Company Hall. The Hall and the garden were connected by a long alleyway. Gardens that were distanced from the houses of their owners were not infrequent in London, a theme that shall be expanded upon in Chapter Three. Given both its location and prestige, on securing the Throgmorton property, which claimed an even more extensive garden space than the Erber, the Court wasted no time in considering the access arrangements to the

³⁵⁰ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.43.

³⁵¹ Aside from the 1596 plan there are only a couple of details regarding the garden. In 1524-5 a bill relating to the previous owner of the property, the Countess of Salisbury, describes, "iii roots of vines set in the garden called the Erber and for cutting the vine, xvi d." (TNA, SC 6/HENVIII/2086). A further reference to the cutting of a vine can be found in bill of January 1521 (TNA, SC 6/HENVIII/2082). It also seems that dung carried from stables attached to the mansion house was meant for the garden.

³⁵² DCA, RA5, 1580-81, f.13v-14r.

³⁵³ DCA, RA5, 1588-89, f.14v-15r.



Figure 2.7. Detail of Erber garden from the 1596 plan (DCA, A X III 165)

garden and its practical oversight. Invited to the Company Dinner in that year as a guest, Mr Fowler, also identified as “a priest to be overseer thereof”, became the Drapers’ caretaker.³⁵⁴ Apparently this was no ordinary appointment, for this new overseer of the garden was further described as “late prior of Saint Mary Overy” in Southwark.³⁵⁵ Still negotiating their place in this new tenurial and social landscape, devoid of the religious institutions which had underpinned so much of it for so long, in 1541 a number of companies grouped together under the Mayor and to offer an annual pension for unemployed London friars.³⁵⁶ The Drapers agreed to contribute £6 yearly.³⁵⁷ Fowler’s employment may indicate another way in which the Company sympathetically supported clergy bereft of purpose after the dissolution. And yet Mr Fowler’s appointment does not appear to have been long-standing. In July 1547, Thomas Dickens, was charged with the oversight of the great garden for the pleasure of the Company. It is not clear what happened to Fowler between 1547 and his death in 1556.³⁵⁸

After taking possession of the garden, the Court of Assistants first agreed that the great garden of pleasure was to be open only to “honest” members of the Company, the Master, Wardens and Liverymen, as well as their wives. Guests of good rank could be admitted with a Draper in order to enjoy bowling, shooting, walking or simply “passing the time”.³⁵⁹ The produce of the garden, the fruit, flowers and herbs, was to be used for “dressing of meat and drink for such honest persons of the fellowship” who utilised the garden for leisure activities and the gardener was required to provide a quart of ale or beer to those using the garden upon request. In fact there was a still house near the garden gate, although this fell into

³⁵⁴ DCA, MB1C, f.871

³⁵⁵ Ibid. f.855. The links to London’s monasteries died hard. In November 1556 Mr Fowler, the late prior of St Mary Overy Southwark, died and the Company undertook his burial, enjoying a potation in his honour. He paid 10s. to the Company for the privilege (DCA, MB5, f.207). There are some other indications of the diversification of work undertaken by unemployed priests. For example in 1544-45 Father Andrews was repeatedly paid for his endeavours as a labourer and night watchman as well as supplying lime (DCA, RA4, 1544-5, f.13r, 12v, 13v).

³⁵⁶ MCA, Acts of Court ii, 1527-1560, f.cxliv

³⁵⁷ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.64

³⁵⁸ DCA, MB1C, f.873

³⁵⁹ DCA, MB1C, f.784

disrepair and was taken down in 1582.³⁶⁰ An existing bank was bestowed with roses, gooseberry trees, white thorn and privet hedges. There was also a sweet smelling and practical herb garden. Boundaries of the bowling alleys were defined by pots and small stems. The remaining ground was partly formed into knots set with many different types of herbs, both planted and potted (see figure 2.8).³⁶¹ The access alleyway was gradually secured by more gates over the century in question. Clearly lacking the pleasantness of the garden at its end, the walls of the alley were adorned with lantern horns on which was nailed a proclamation “for which persuasion was used for men to pass by without making water against the said walls”.³⁶²

After its acquisition the walled garden received regular investment. In most decades there was at least one year in which spending on the garden was especially significant (see table below). Sometimes this coincided with a Draper serving as Lord Mayor (such as William Chester in 1560-1 and the spending of £7 19s. 6d. the year before) but at other times there appears to no particular spur to action other than regular maintenance and upgrading (such as the extraordinary spending of £57 1s. in 1582-3). The 1620s plan shows six quadrants, four made up of knots and one maze of privets alongside a ‘grassy plot’ (see figure 2.9).³⁶³ Vines grew up on wooden frames around the edges of the garden.³⁶⁴ Gravelled walks rounded this perimeter and these became lined with trees.³⁶⁵ In December and January 1595 tens of workmen transported hundreds of loads of dung into the garden in order to embed eighteen new apple trees, two pear plum trees, four cherry trees, three filbert trees and three unidentified trees in the garden.³⁶⁶ Further in 1607-8, 142 bay trees were purchased and set under the brick wall in the garden alongside four plum trees, one apricot and three other

³⁶⁰ DCA, RA5, 1582-3, f.10v.

³⁶¹ DCA, MB1C, f.383.

³⁶² DCA, RA5, 1582-3, f.11r.

³⁶³ In 1569-70 a maze created out of privet hedges was created (DCA, RA 1569-70, f.7). More privet purchased for various borders (DCA, RA5, 1582-3, f.11v). In 1585-6 one thousand were purchased (DCA, RA5, 1585-6, f.11v).

³⁶⁴ DCA, RA5, 1588-9, f.13r; MB10, f.377; MB13, f.52v.

³⁶⁵ DCA, RA6, 1622-3, f.13r; MB13, f.52v. The maze was renewed in 1631-2 made of hedges and box knots (DCA, RA6, 1631-2, f.16-17).

³⁶⁶ DCA, RA5, 1595-4, f.22v, f.23r-23v. Dung was a significant expenditure, for example in 1573-4, £6 18s. 1d was spent (DCA, RA5, 1573-4, f.9r).



Figure 2.8. Engraving of a garden arbour planted with sweet roses set around a banqueting table, Thomas Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577)

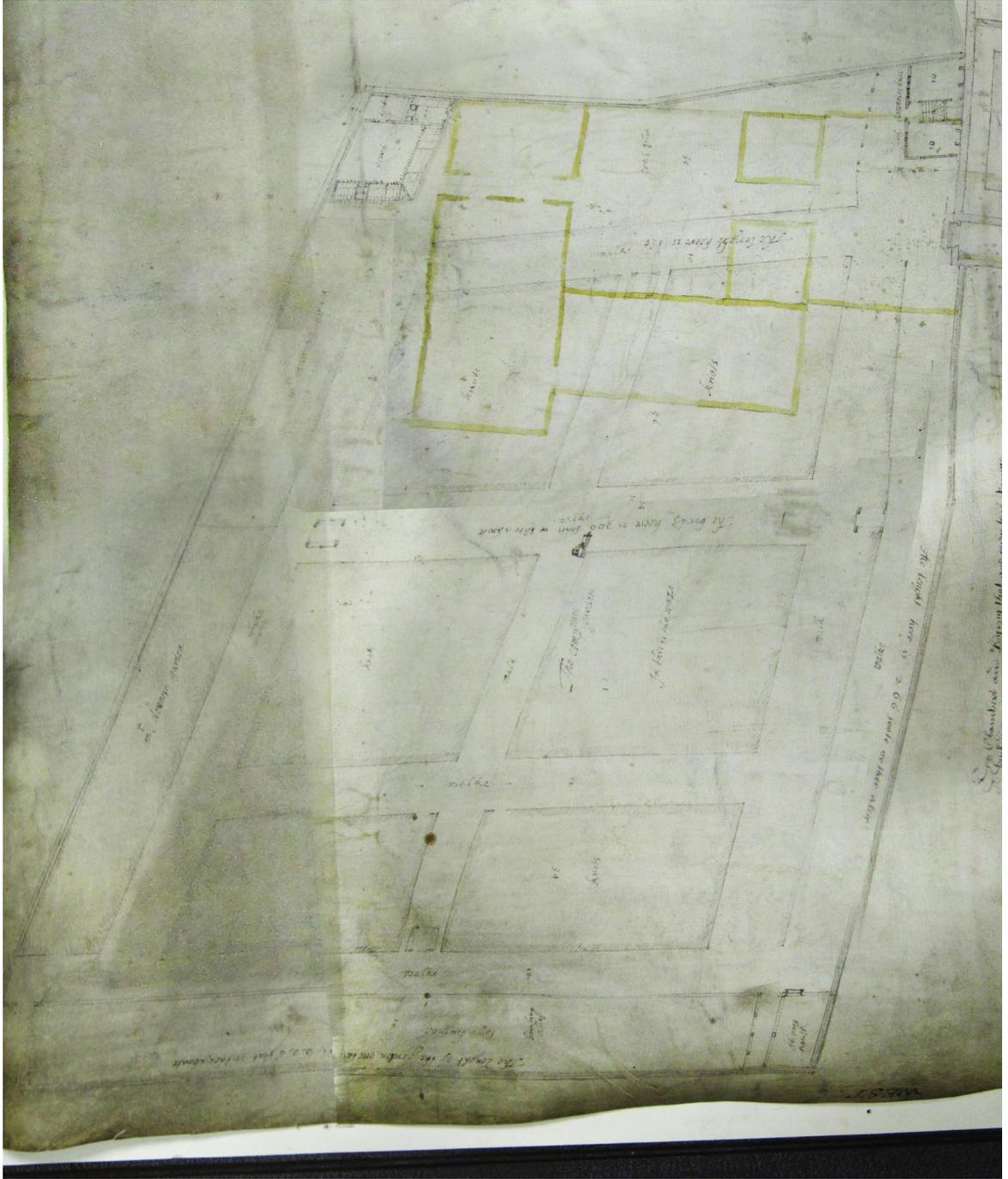


Figure 2.9. Detail of Drapers' garden from the Hall plan (DCA, A X II 121)

trees.³⁶⁷ An intriguing notation also cited that 6d. was spent “bringing trees out of Ireland” in 1621-2.³⁶⁸ Strawberries, damask roses, coriander, thyme, hyssop and rosemary were all purchased at different times.³⁶⁹ Over time the structures constructed in the garden were added and upgraded. At an early stage there were two privies in the garden, a dicing house and a covered great bowling alley.³⁷⁰ In 1578-9 three portals were made up by the Carpenter, two ‘lesser’ and one ‘greater’.³⁷¹ A gunpowder house was added in 1585-6.³⁷² In 1595 a fountain was set up in the middle of the garden at the hefty cost of £20.³⁷³ By 1601-2 the portals were referred to as ‘little houses’ and in 1604, the Company garden received repairs to four existing summer houses. These small open-air structures were made of brick and contained arches which then received seats into their hollows, facing the bowling alley.³⁷⁴ In 1614-5 the existing portals were replaced with four ‘garden houses’ of timber and wainscot.³⁷⁵ Two ‘arbours’ were rebuilt in the garden by bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, joiners and slaters at a cost of £65 in 1628-9, this was on account of their instability.³⁷⁶ The Drapers proudly marked their territory in 1602-3 with the installation of their arms in stone at the “forepart” of the garden.³⁷⁷

³⁶⁷ DCA, RA6, 1607-8, f.13-14.

³⁶⁸ DCA, WA7, 1621-2, f.41.

³⁶⁹ DCA, RA4, 1556-7, f.11r; RA5, 1571-2, f.8v; RA5, 1595-4, f.22v, f.23r-23v.

³⁷⁰ DCA, RA5, 1600-1, f.8v-9r. Two bowling alleys made up in 1559-60, one greater and one lesser (DCA, RA4, 1559-60, f.6r).

³⁷¹ With green and yellow tiling, foundations of brick (DCA, RA5, 1578-9, f.17). Slate roofs, plastered and coloured (DCA, RA5, 1578-9, f.17v). Old wainscotting from the parlour was used to make up seats in the garden (DCA, RA5, 1576-7, f.19r).

³⁷² DCA, RA5, 1585-6, f.18v-19r.

³⁷³ DCA, MB11, f.182v.

³⁷⁴ DCA, RA5, 1601-2, f.7v, f.14v; MB13, f.23v.

³⁷⁵ DCA, RA6, 1614-5, f.20.

³⁷⁶ DCA, RA6, 1628-9, f.15-16, f.18; MB13, f.223r.

³⁷⁷ DCA, RA5, 1602-3, f.9r.

Table 4 - Total costs spent on Drapers' garden by decade:

Decade	Total expenditure	Peak years in each decade
1550-1559	£9 12s. 11d.	1559-60 (£7 19s. 6d.)
1560-1569	£7 18s. 11d.	1561-2 (£2 15s. 10d.)
1570-1579	£24 7s. 9d.	1572-3 (£18 18s. 15d.)
1580-1589	£72 3s. 2d.	1582-3 (£57 1s.)
1590-1599	£36 16s. 4d.	1594-5 (£28 2s. 8d.)
1600-1609	£21 15s. 10d.	1607-8 (£14 6s. 6d.)
1610-1619	£18 11s. 4d.	1614-5 (£13 5s. 4d.)
1620-1629	£84 1s. 11d.	1628-9 (£75 1s. 3d.)

Compiled from RA accounts and MB notations. Excludes fees to Gardener for salary and building work on the Garden House. Includes work on smaller garden structures and other associated labour costs.

Sanctioned activities were also under regular review. The spreading of linen was a particular bone of contention in part no doubt because the draped material that covered the plants detracted from the pleasantness of the space. Stretched over the low-level sweet-smelling hedges, the drying of linen in the garden was established as a privilege. Initially in 1544 no drying or whitening of linen or napery in the garden was permitted.³⁷⁸ In April 1556 it was ordered that only the napery of the members of the Company might be dried in the Company's garden.³⁷⁹ Then only those in the Court of Assistants were allowed to hang their washing within the garden provided it be outside the "rails and hedges". Dish cloths and rags were not permitted, alongside "unseemly clothes". If Assistants lived close by it was suggested that they set up neat posts to hang lines between, again as long as these were

³⁷⁸ DCA, MB1C, f.383.

³⁷⁹ DCA, MB5, f.163.

outside the central area protected by railings and hedges.³⁸⁰ In 1589 it seems that other members of the Company were abusing their privileges and they “hath not been reasonable for redress whereof”. In response, the Court of Assistants decided that no member of the Company whatever their status would be allowed to dry their washing: an outright ban was imposed. An exception was made only for the cloths of the house.³⁸¹ Of course, the garden was not only ornamental but bore fruit, herbs and perfumed flowers and the distribution of this produce presented another also an issue. Initially the harvesting of these spoils was open to any member of the Company, then the Wardens, Master and their wives alone were given the privilege of taking apples and other fruits growing in the garden for their own purposes. Flowers and herbs (as opposed to fruits) were reserved only for the use of the house, but could be requested by individuals through the Gardener. Any surplus could be sold by the Gardener or Clerk for their own profit. But eventually even the Gardener's prerogative of sale ceased. The garden produce was to be kept by the Gardener the exclusive use of the house from 1589.³⁸² Some years later in 1607 the Drapers returned to the issue of the drying and whitening of linen in the garden. The Court of Assistants was informed that local servants were not only drying linen in the garden against Company orders, but were also taking liberties with the produce of the garden, taking away fruit, flowers and herbs for their own use. The 1556 order was reiterated and implementation of it was entrusted to the Clerk.³⁸³ A few months later there was a further reform. It was ordered that on Election Days, Quarter Days, Court Days and other meetings of the Company, the garden was to be reserved for the use of the Company only.³⁸⁴ The implication of this was that the garden was effectively out of bounds to anyone other than the Company elite for more than two days per week.³⁸⁵ That being said there were exceptions to this rule. A key was granted extraordinarily to a widow from outside the Company, one of Elizabeth's ladies in waiting, Anne Dudley, the Countess of Warwick paid for by resident and Draper William Garway in 1597-8.³⁸⁶ The perfect balance

³⁸⁰ DCA, MB8, f.205r.

³⁸¹ DCA, MB10, f.376.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ DCA, MB13, f.48r.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.* f.49r.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* f.52v.

³⁸⁶ DCA, RA5, 1597-6, f.9r.

between practical use, exclusivity and the protection of the pleasantness of the environment was one that was continually sought.

The roles of the Gardener and Garden-Keeper were critical to the implementation of these changing orders. In particular, access arrangements were reliant on the Gardener's obedience to the Court's stipulations. The Gardener installed in the 1569, Walter Coates, proved to be a more troublesome employee than most and interfered with the use of the garden in such a way that caused substantial irritation to the Court.³⁸⁷ The Drapers however displayed some reticence towards sending him away electing to patiently discipline him over many years. A privilege of different employees of the Company at different moments in time, Coates was granted the use of a house in the garden. In 1572 he was taking particular liberties in relation to his use of this privilege which ensured his access to the garden at any time of the day and night. He was noted to have been partaking of bowling in a way that drew the expressed disapproval of the Company. Coates' knuckles were rapped and he was sternly warned that if he did not adhere to a newly drawn list of restrictions then he would be "forthwith put from his Gardenership without any other warning".³⁸⁸ Perhaps seeing an opportunity in Coates' misbehaviour, the Company was approached by another citizen in respect of the post of Gardener in December 1589, but Coates paid a small sum for the challenger to desist.³⁸⁹ In 1591 the Gardener was again requested to appear before the Court where he was "greatly blamed" for numerous violations in the garden. He was accused of giving "common access" into the garden where "excessive unlawful games" were played. The Court ordered that Coates keep the door shut to any but those entering with a member of the Company. He exhorted not to allow any games such as dicing, carding or tabling to be played openly, although such games would be tolerated if they were secretly and discretely played. Members of the Company could claim the right to play these secret games up until 7pm at which time Coates was to close the garden. Furthermore, the Livery of the Company were to be allowed to join any of the games underway if they so wished.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Confirmation of Walter Coates' tenancy: DCA, RA5, 1573-4, f.21r.

³⁸⁸ DCA, MB8, f.192r.

³⁸⁹ DCA, MB10, f.413.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* f.548.

By July 1604 the Court of Assistants was beginning to lose their patience with the unreliable Coates, instructing him to be “more careful what Company resorted unto the Garden” so that it did not become so “common” as it had been in the past. A particular warning was issued to Mr Wall, likely another m=employee, who had acted disrespectfully towards members of the Company within the garden. Coates would be permanently excluded from both the garden and house upon further misdemeanours.³⁹¹ Finally the time came for conclusive action in February of the following year and the Company reached the limit of their benevolence towards their Gardener. In discharging him of his office, the Court identified the reason for dismissal not as the ‘commonness’ of the garden but rather that the garden was “not set with flowers, trees for shade and otherwise kept for the delight of the Company” but influential complaints must have held a bearing of events. For example, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, his Majesty’s Comptroller (and father-in-law of Sir Thomas Kitson), reported that Coates’ “daily frequenting and inordinate gaming used in the garden by all comers” could not be ignored. Beyond dismissing Coates, to address the issue of access, the Company resolved to position a further lock on the door at the end of the gallery, next to the capital house. The Porter was the only person to possess a key to this and was required to assess anyone wishing to enter the garden. Curiously however Coates was also given strict warning that in the meantime, perhaps until another Gardener was identified, he was not to “light any candles at any time of the year for any play by candle light”.³⁹²

In 1633 the issue of access to the garden was again a pressing concern, this time under the watch of a new Gardener. The Court noted the “exceedingly great” number of people of “all sorts and conditions” who came to walk in the garden after evening prayer on Sundays. As a result of the worrying quantity and sorts of people entering it was understood that “much disorder” and “many abuses” were committed at this time. It was ordered that only the “better sort” of the Company, their neighbours around the Hall and also other elite citizens were to be permitted entry by the Garden-Keeper at this time.³⁹³ Only two years later in 1635 the situation had however worsened. The Court noted once more that all sorts of people from all over the city were using the garden, not only on the Sabbath day (an accepted day of rest), but on every day of the week, to the extent that the garden had become precisely what

³⁹¹ DCA, MB13, f.11r.

³⁹² Ibid. f.34r.

³⁹³ Ibid. f.279.

Drapers had feared. It was once more "common" and the great unregulated numbers of visitors caused "great disorder, inconvenience" and on account of the plague also "danger". The detail contained in the note was extraordinary: several very specific instances of unacceptable behaviour were recorded to show the precise extent of the disorder the garden was harbouring. The first problem presented considered that the quiet contemplation of the better sort of members and neighbours was interrupted on Sundays after evening prayer. Apprentices, servants and children were guilty of "running, leaping and disordering themselves". Young men and women acted in a "wanton and uncivil manner, dallying and disporting themselves" to the offence of others within the garden and the dishonour of the Company. People infected with the plague and the unemployed used the garden during the week as their ordinary place of meeting. Schoolboys at nearby schools daily visited the garden and were disrespectful to the Garden-Keeper when asked to leave. Young men used the bowling alley with no regard to any of the Company who wanted to do the same. Further to this a poor woman by the name of Widow Johnson sat at the garden door daily and charged a fee of everyone who entered it, even those who should have entered for free such as members of the Company. Making exceptions for no one, Johnson sent children home to fetch a farthing before they would be admitted. The Garden-Keeper was required to reform this slack enforcement of the rules of the garden, which were re-iterated and tightened as a result of such worrying disobediences.³⁹⁴ The rhetoric here noticeably displayed anxiety at the perceived disorder and concern for the potential for disrepute such activities might bring on the Company.

Not only was access to the garden sought after and protected, but views into the garden were also carefully guarded by the Company. Harding commented that, "open space in the early modern city could only survive if defined, claimed, and valued as such; unclaimed open space had no defence against encroachment."³⁹⁵ This encroachment paid attention to material changes as well as lines of visibility. As the once open and spacious northern parish began to fill up with extensions and redevelopments, the Drapers defended the exclusivity of their garden. In 1573-4 the window of a house whose gable end "adjoin[ed] to the wall of the...garden" and overlooked the bowling alley was stopped up with brick.³⁹⁶ More

³⁹⁴ Ibid. f.304.

³⁹⁵ Harding, Vanessa. 'City, capital and metropolis', p.130.

³⁹⁶ DCA, RA5, 1573-4, f.25r.

significantly in 1620 Sir Thomas Hewitt, the Company's neighbour to the east of the Throgmorton Hall, began construction of a brick building along the southern edge of the Company garden. This property maximised its outlook with numerous large windows facing in the direction of the garden, with the result that the Drapers deemed their garden was grossly overlooked.³⁹⁷ The London Assize of Nuisance (1301-1431) stipulated that windows should be 16 feet above ground if overlooking a neighbour. Otherwise they were required to be blocked up.³⁹⁸ It is not clear the exact height of Hewitt's windows but the Company was certainly concerned about the disapproval this intrusion might induce from "other people of worth and credit" who utilised the garden for walks and "private recreation". Throughout the construction period the Company made their concerns clear to Hewitt. Wardens on site petitioned Hewitt's workmen to cease making the windows apparently without success. Rather than accept defeat however, the Court rose to the occasion and ordered their own garden wall on the southern side to be made up to such a height that would block the view from Hewitt's windows.³⁹⁹ The Company does not seem to have been troubled again by Sir Thomas however a similar instance occurred in 1628. A neighbour to the east of the Company's garden applied for permission to make a window in his house with a view into the garden. The tenant offered to pay a yearly fee for the privilege and also to cover it at any time the Company required. The Company noted the "great inconveniences of windows...already made" around the garden and refused the request.⁴⁰⁰ The only acceptable

³⁹⁷ The Drapers were not the only ones irritated by Hewitt's building works. In 1613 Hewitt encroached onto a garden which belonged to the Clothworkers in Lothbury, by erecting a chimney. Further, in 1619 Hewitt again encroached upon company lands ('Lothbury' in *People, Property and Charity: The Clothworkers' Company, 1500-1688*. URL: <http://www.clothworkersproperty.org/properties/lothbury-including-throgmorton-street-and-cophall-alley>. Accessed online 16 December 2015).

³⁹⁸ See: Orlin, Lena Cowen. 'Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London' in L. Orlin (ed.) *Material London ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2000) pp.344-76, p.375, footnote no: 22.

³⁹⁹ DCA, MB13, f.155. In a perhaps comparable example, Lena Orlin referred to Nicholas Geffe's property record book, which details improvements made to the ex-dissolution property named 'Glastonbury Place' in the parish of St Antholin Budge Row. He reported a payment for "heightening the south wall of the garden in two places" by additional courses of brick or stone costing £3 17d. (Orlin, 'Boundary Disputes', p.370). Perhaps it was precisely this overlooking, or neighbourly gaze that he was trying to avoid.

⁴⁰⁰ DCA, MB13, f.220v.

new opening made in the surrounding wall was one which facilitated the practical transportation of fertiliser to maintain the garden from nearby stables on London Wall.⁴⁰¹

Structures within the garden were developed in order to maintain the internal quality of space, but there were moments when the Drapers utilized their assets to be especially generous to loyal employees, granting privileges in relation to the garden. In 1612 a proposition was made for a new covered bowling alley to be made with a granary with dormer windows set above. Located on the eastern side of the garden this would have constituted the second bowling alley in the garden. Warden Lumley rather reasoned that, instead of pursuing their own pleasure, the Court should commit to developing the same space for a stable for the Clerk to keep a gelding. This proposition was made on health grounds. The Court understood that the Clerk was diseased "of the stone" as a result of "much sitting about the Company's business" and had no means to exercise "for the preservation of his health". After Coates' occupation of the Garden House the tenancy of the two-storey brick building had already been passed onto the Clerk. In an act of further reward, the Clerk, Thomas Moore, was granted the use of 20 marks to construct the stable and 10 marks annually to keep the gelding so that he may "ride abroad at his leisure time for the health of his body". For the Company's "great love and favour", the Clerk was extremely thankful.⁴⁰²

Conclusion

The acquisition of the Erber and the Throgmorton Hall represented critical moments in the history of the Drapers' estate. Negotiations surrounding their purchase reveal the clear intentions of the Court to address the perceived lack of housing for members of the Company. The larger tenements for the increasingly affluent middling sort accommodated on the Throgmorton site proved to be attractive to leaders of the Company and their interest was borne out in their consistent occupation of the precinct. In contrast, the Erber was not as fully inhabited by members of the Company, likely orientated more towards financial returns than social. It is clear that in the wider estate, tenants of the Drapers were drawn from a

⁴⁰¹ DCA, MB8, f.205r. This new door, made in 1572, linked the garden through Mr Knightley's garden to the north towards the stables at London Wall. Only one key was to be produced for the new door, and placed in the keeping of a Warden. The garden labourers were instructed to secure the dung from these stables "as good cheap" as possible.

⁴⁰² DCA, MB13, f.83v, f.84r, f.85r.

range of companies. Petitions for leases, the noticeable lack of vacancies and even the willingness to transfer companies demonstrate the demand for a lot of city houses was high.

More particularly, the Court's ambition that the Throgmorton Hall should be both 'profitable and pleasant' was pursued also through the Company garden. For Schofield, "in various guises, the garden as expressive of control is a dominant motif in its history."⁴⁰³ The Court's steady attention to the maintenance and upgrade of this space demonstrated their commitment to maintaining its 'pleasant' qualities which became ever more extraordinary as the city environment became more densified. Access and views into the garden were therefore also carefully guarded but reliant on obedient employees for implementation. Frequent discussions about the protection of the space's exclusivity in both presentation and use show that the Court was aware of the strategic importance of this element of their estate. Whether showing priority to members in the granting of leases or investing in the upkeep of the great garden, important properties were clearly fashioned to profit the Company. Financial, communal and social benefits were inextricably interwoven into the processes of acquisition and occupation of the corporate estate.

⁴⁰³ Schofield, John. *London 1100-1600: The Archaeology of a Capital City* (London: Equinox, 2011) p.23. David Marsh also identifies gardens and horticulture as a growing preoccupation of the London commercial elite and middling sort, see: Marsh, David John Edward. 'The Gardens and Gardeners of later Stuart London' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 2014)

Chapter Three - Houses Fit for Office

This chapter moves to assess the specific spatial experience and architectural culture of the elite leaders of the city companies. As practice of the trade of drapery gave way to more diverse mercantile activities within the prospering City, the discussion draws attention to the importance and growing difficulty of acquiring appropriate London bases for these increasingly wealthy men who were often successfully engaged in international trade. It demonstrates that the Drapers understood the provision of housing for this group, who were with some frequency also officers of their companies or City government itself, as a corporate responsibility and were knowingly aware of the symbolic value of 'honourable houses of hospitality'. The chapter specifically illuminates how a number of properties were acquired and maintained to serve the new mercantile elite's commercial, corporate and social needs. The collated examples therefore demonstrate the growing value of the Company's 'capital' mansion houses and the Drapers' determination to retain them as undivided properties for those representing the Company in City-level governance, as Lord-Mayors, Sheriffs and Aldermen, as well as at corporate levels, as Wardens and Masters. It also considers the place of inward and outward migration from the City in relation to mercantile prosperity, linking new patterns of landownership in the countryside with a series of absences and avoidances of service at the highest levels of its Company governance.

Stow divided the merchant classes into three groups; those engaged in "navigation" which involved the trade of goods internationally, "invection" which concerned the trade of goods nationally, and "negotiation" which represented traders operating at the scale of a small shop. He went on to note how "they of the first sort are called merchants, and both the others retailers."⁴⁰⁴ It is the housing of the first sort of merchant that this chapter is concerned with. The Erber and the Throgmorton Hall represent two property clusters which routinely housed men of this sort, engaged in both civic governance and international trade. Examples of their inhabitation form the backbone of the discussion but these buildings are read alongside others held by the Company in order to trace how the twin concerns of civic and commercial suitability affected the development of the estate. Although there is a body of literature that has gathered around mercantile houses of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century city, less has been made of houses of the period immediately preceding

⁴⁰⁴ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol 2. p.207-8.

this.⁴⁰⁵ The chapter therefore also straddles both corporate and individual property investments. How did successful individuals invest the capital they acquired? To what extent was the Company able to provide housing for these merchants? Can any structural changes be observed in the relationship of individual merchants to land and property in the context of such commercial change? Later in the chapter the struggle to maintain suitable city centre houses for the first class of merchant is read against the trend for those same men to leave the city for 'the country', a pattern that would prove particularly influential in the seventeenth century.

Housing Civic Office

Both the Erber and the Throgmorton Hall can be understood as medieval courtyard houses in form and arrangement, albeit one from an earlier period and the other from a later one. However, as has already been noted, in the sixteenth century this model was under increasing pressure. By the seventeenth century Schofield regarded that “many older noble houses in the city were no longer to be seen above ground, or were hardly recognisable” due to their extensive redevelopment or re-appropriation. In particular he held that “houses which retained their courtyards were comparatively rare” and yards were progressively built upon.⁴⁰⁶ Stow wrote of several examples of such cases.⁴⁰⁷ One typical city block in the parish of St. Olave’s Old Jewry was “of old time one large building of stone” but in his lifetime “the outward stone wall hath been little by little taken down, and diverse fair houses built thereupon, even round about.”⁴⁰⁸ In a further reinforcement of the decline of such houses he

⁴⁰⁵ For example: Holder, N., Phillipotts C. ‘A 17th century city merchant’s house at 7a Laurence Poutney Hill and its medieval predecessor’ in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 61, (2002) pp.131–47; Galinou, Mireille. *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720* (London: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004); Gauci, P. *Emporium of the World: the Merchants of London 1660-1800* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007). For earlier studies see: Schofield, J., Pearce, P., with Betts, I., Dyson, T., and Egan, G., ‘Thomas Soane’s buildings near Billingsgate, London 1640–66’ in *Society Post-medieval Archaeology* 43, no. 2 (2009) pp.282–341; Cherry, Bridget. ‘John Pollexfen’s House in Walbrook’ in J. Bold and E. Chaney (ed.), *English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1993) pp.80-105; Kingsford, C. L. ‘On some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period’ in *Archaeologia* 71 (1921) pp.17-54.

⁴⁰⁶ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.43.

⁴⁰⁷ Regarding Oxford Place for example he reported: “This house being greatly ruined of late time for the most part hath been letten out to Poulterers, for stabling of horses and stowage of poultry, but now lately new builded into a number of small tenements, letten out to strangers, and other mean people.” Stow, *Survey*, Vol. 1, p.163.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p.194.

observed that “many have remained till our time, that for the winning of ground they have been taken down” and replaced by taller houses of four or five storeys.⁴⁰⁹ In this context, the Erber was remarkable for its apparent stability and lack of change. It confounds assertions from John Summerson that “by 1600 such houses had either perished or been subdivided” as a result of the growing pressure on urban land.⁴¹⁰

Not unrelated, by the later decades of the sixteenth century, the procurement of a suitable house in which to undertake civic duties was particularly problematic. That the density of the City rapidly increased has already been established and this condition accentuated the difficulty of acquiring large new undeveloped pieces of ground, or houses which were not sub-divided. In response to the shortage, the Court of Aldermen issued warnings against the subdivision of mansion houses and acted upon these prohibitions in charging certain men with such offences.⁴¹¹ In August 1585, at the end of Draper Thomas Pullison’s mayoralty (to which we will shortly return), as suitors for the post for the coming year were sought out, the Court of Common Council recorded the implications of this difficulty. The Council noted that many of those elected to city office were “many times...unprovided of convenient houses...for that purpose”. Further, there was insufficient time to locate and secure such houses (as well as the necessary funds for them). Some elected men refused to serve in office on this account, instead bearing the cost of a fine. More dangerously, the Court deemed that continual refusals, lodged with all sorts of excuses, were causing “much trouble and slander” to grow in the City provoking “great dislike” to increase in relation to the Corporation itself. Those finally taking up office suffered from “great discouragement” as a result.⁴¹²

Traces of this crisis point in the 1580s and 90s can also be found in the Skinners’ records, as the Company sought to provide for its most senior member. In 1595 the Skinners reported that Alderman Slanie was “destitute for a house to keep his mayoralty in”. This was not the first time he had experienced difficulty however. In 1584 when he was first elected Sheriff, Slanie had moved from his own ‘great house’ to another ‘capital messuage’ in the Skinners’

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. p.282.

⁴¹⁰ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, p.90.

⁴¹¹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.129.

⁴¹² LMA, COL/CC/01/01/021, Journal of the Court of Common Council, Journal 21, f.442.

keeping. This house was clearly more befitting to his new role.⁴¹³ Considering his imminent mayoralty and the lack of appropriate houses, Slanie approached his Company to request the creation of an new dwelling house suitable for his mayoralty *within the Company Hall itself*. This was immediately agreed upon and the Skinners set up a committee to consider the rebuilding of existing parts of the Hall in a fashion to befit a Lord Mayor.⁴¹⁴ The precise nature of the changes made to the existing building fabric is unclear, however through the Wardens' Accounts there is evidence of the construction of a new painted turret with a vane on top as well as 'Sheriff's posts' set outside the gate of the hall (see figure 3.1).⁴¹⁵ The provision of suitable houses for members to serve in high civic office was a company concern and Slanie's new house, intertwined with the Company Hall, spatially demonstrates the way in which civic and corporate governance were expected to be closely bound together.

In recognition of the particular requirements of the mercantile elite and the honour they might bring to their companies, Courts preferred to let their best houses to those taking up such positions. In 1561, on coming to the mayoralty, William Harper of the Merchant Taylors was granted the Company's "largest and stateliest house" in a life-long lease. Writing just after Harper's death in 1574, Lord Burghley approached the Company to obtain the reversion of the lease. The Company explained that the Lombard Street house in which Harper had lived was to be granted only to "such persons as were towards offices of worship in the City - for their dwelling." They wished to continue the precedent, setting this house apart for the benefit of their leaders.⁴¹⁶ This tendency has been noted by historians of the city. Regarding London, Grassby stated that "larger houses were usually rented on a temporary basis by those holding City office."⁴¹⁷ He suggested that merchants were far keener to invest any valuable capital back into their businesses rather than plough it into the purchase of a city-

⁴¹³ Benbow, Mark. *Index of London Citizens Involved in City Government* (deposited in CLRO). As quoted in L. Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, paperback edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.129.

⁴¹⁴ GL, MS 30708/1, Skinners Company, Court Book 1551-1617, f.56v.

⁴¹⁵ GL, MS 0727/5, Skinners Company, Wardens' Accounts 1596-1617, unfoliated.

⁴¹⁶ 'Appendix F: To Memorial XXI' in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London*, C. M. Clode (ed.) (London: Harrison & Sons, 1875) *British History Online*. pp.597-617. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/taylors-guild-london/pp597-617> [Accessed online 19 December 2015].

⁴¹⁷ Grassby, Richard. *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.336.

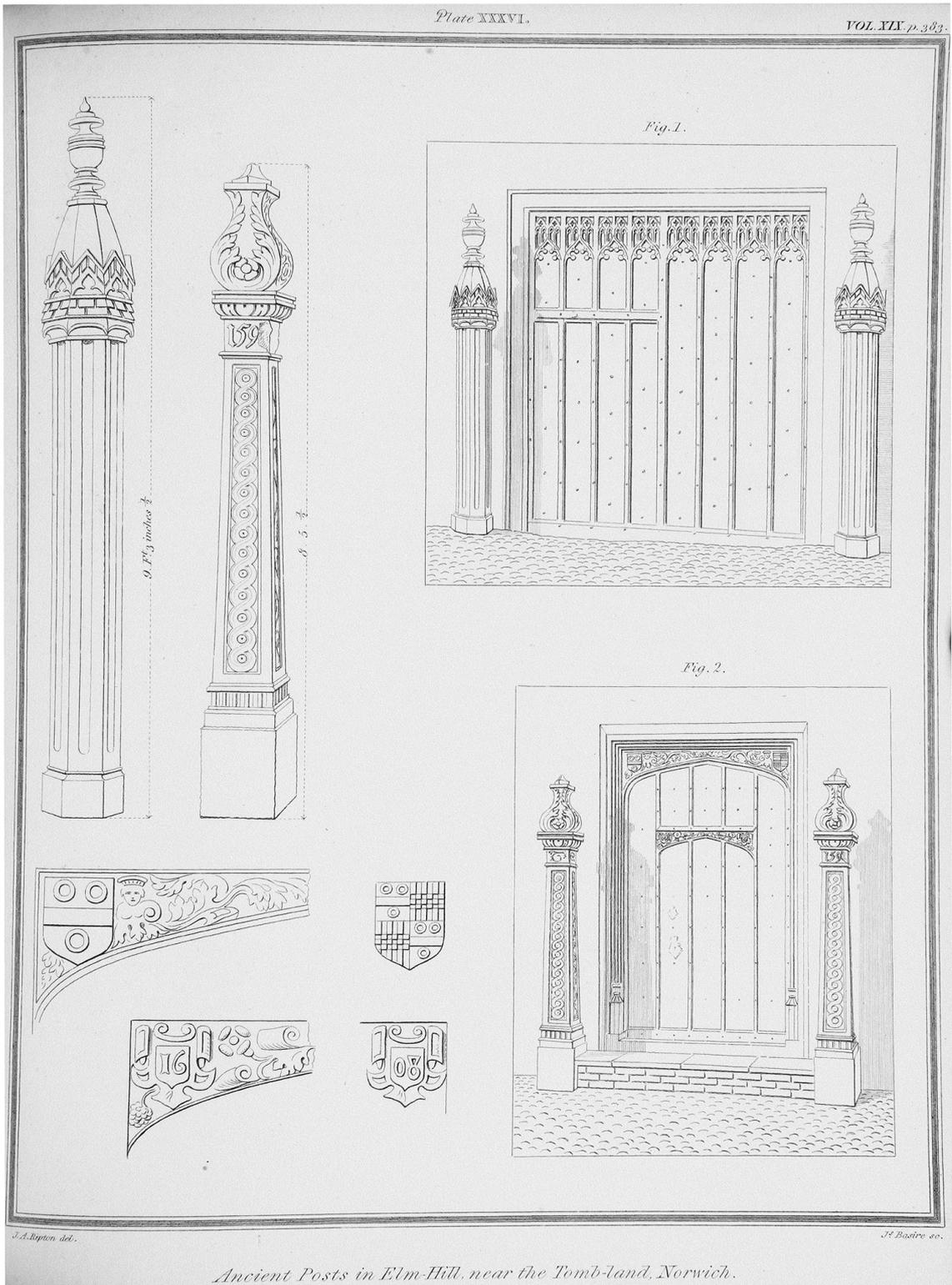


Figure 3.1. Engraving of posts in Elm Hill, Norwich (dated 1608) in Repton, John Aday. XL. 'On the Posts anciently placed on each side of the Gates of Chief Magistrates of Cities in England' in *Archaeologia* 19 (1821) pp.383-385, p.383

centre property. Oldland supported Grassby's suggestion that the lack of suitable lets in the commercial centre forced a large proportion of merchants, willing to undertake civic duties, to rent from institutions such as the livery companies.⁴¹⁸ As the congested city succumbed to the pressures of housing a swollen population, the companies were able to secure the continuance of great houses of mainly medieval stock where other mansion houses were subdivided or intensely redeveloped. The value they placed on the ability to provide these houses for serving members ensured their survival.

It was therefore not only livery company halls that were proactively preserved in unsubdivided states, but houses held by the companies that were suitable for city office too. The case of Alderman Slanie shows the two might indeed be intermixed within the same site. Since their inception, Company Halls had frequently accommodated housing either for almspeople, employees or leaders of the Company. This was a culture that was shared across the greater London companies. John Stow reported that as early as the 1390s the Goldsmith Lord Mayor, Drugo Barentine, "gave fair lands to the Goldsmiths: he dwelled right against the Goldsmiths' Hall. Between the hall and his dwelling house, he builded a gallery thwarting the street, whereby he might go from the one to the other".⁴¹⁹ This between space bears a striking resemblance to the 'Ladies' chamber' of Drapers' Hall (which will be addressed further in Chapter Seven). In another example, the 1590s the Clothworkers' Master dwelled in a house adjacent to the Company Hall and was given permission to make "a door...out of our buttery into his house... to use at such convenient times as occasion shall serve...and in the meantime to be always stopped up." This door was presumably fashioned to allow for the dispensing of hospitality at special times during the year.⁴²⁰

The Mercers' Company too had long incorporated other houses attached to their Hall. The complex interplay of connected buildings on their Cheapside site accommodated corporate, domestic, commercial, religious and educational functions. Through rebuilding and purchase, in the first half of the sixteenth century the Company established a firmer presence on the city block, a site that was once dominated by the hospital and order of St Thomas Acre. It was not until 1542 that the Mercers acquired a suitable "great mansion house" to the north of

⁴¹⁸ Oldland, John. 'The allocation of merchant capital in early Tudor London' in *Economic History Review* 63, no. 4 (2010) pp.1058-1080, p.1069.

⁴¹⁹ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.305.

⁴²⁰ CCA, CL/B/1/3, Orders of Court, Minute Book 1581-1605, f.138r.

the site alongside an additional two connected tenements also once part of the hospital complex. These properties were duly rented out to wealthy members involved in corporate or civic service. After the purchase was complete, the existing tenants were paid to give up their leases to make way for leading Mercer and Sheriff Rowland Hill.⁴²¹ Hill proposed a fifty year lease paying a rent of £10 for all three tenements, £3 more "as it goeth now", with the Company bearing responsibility for reparations. The potential for repair must have been significant for there was a "long communication" over the matter and a group of senior Mercers were summoned to view the property to assess "what decay and ruin" the houses were in.⁴²² Finally the Company rejected the proposal that it bear reparations. Hill agreed to the terms and a fifty-year lease was granted. There are indications that he also intended to expand his accommodation into the grammar school contained within the site. The Company was amenable but entered a note in the records that the school was to remain where it was until Hill could find an alternative location for it.⁴²³

In spite of this, the scheme was never realised and two years later Hill's tenancy had been transferred to his ward and fellow Mercer, Thomas Leigh. Leigh was becoming a well-established merchant but had not yet served in city office. Although the expansion into the school never materialised, by 1549 the accommodation attached to Leigh's lease had increased to consist of the great mansion house (£10 pa.) as well as four adjoining tenements (£6 18s. 4d. pa.) plus a further tenement (43s. 4d. pa.).⁴²⁴ Later Leigh acquired the use of the sexton and priests' chambers of the adjacent church which was also closely linked to the corporate hall.⁴²⁵ And shortly after this, in 1550, Leigh was granted an additional space, that of the "little chapel that he daily passeth and repasseth through" and was allowed to "close up the same for his safeguard" - the connected church was being continually plundered at that time.⁴²⁶ Between 1554 and 1559 he served as Master, Sheriff and Lord Mayor from his

⁴²¹ Rowland Hill was Warden of Mercers' Co. 1535-6, Master 1542-3, 1549-50, 1554-5, 1560-1; Sheriff 1541-2; Alderman 1542-d., Lord Mayor 1549-50.

⁴²² MCA, Acts of Court ii, 1527-1560, f.clxxii-clxxiij.

⁴²³ Ibid. f.clx^xiiij d; f.clxxv; f.clxxv d.

⁴²⁴ Ibid. f.ccxxxix d.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. 1527-1560, f.ccxlj.

⁴²⁶ Ibid. f.ccxliij d.

expansive house and attached accommodation.⁴²⁷ It is clear how mixed up his accommodation was with the Company Hall itself, shared staircases and rooms could be fluidly designated for access or use by worthy inhabitants dwelling on the site. Where the Company Hall began and ended fluctuated over time and pursuing a precise delineation between domestic and corporate life, public and private, is not an altogether helpful investigation. And yet Metcalf has asserted that some tenements attached to company halls, such as those of the Fishmongers and Drapers, were “separately conceived and erected”.⁴²⁸ Not all associated houses related so closely to their neighbouring halls, neither spatially nor conceptually, but certainly those inhabited by prominent members and officer holders were sites of increased negotiation. Acknowledging the intertwined domestic, commercial and corporate spheres allows the value of “intra-site” relationships to be seen.⁴²⁹

In keeping with the examples of Skinners’ Hall and Mercers’ Hall, it has already been shown that properties clustered around the Company Hall of the Drapers were occupied by a concentration of Company members. This represented a fulfilling of the Drapers’ ambition for their ‘new’ purchase in 1543 that it provided housing for Drapers. Successful Drapers who held, or were on a trajectory to hold, office within the Company were indeed particularly well represented as lease-holders in the ‘capital house’ and also latterly in houses in Austin Friars to the east of the site. Substantiating the especial connection between the principal house (DH1) and the Company Hall, from 1543-1589 this great house was nearly continuously occupied by men who had served as Masters and at least as city Aldermen, or their widows.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Ibid. f.ccix d; f.ccxviiij.

⁴²⁸ Metcalf, P. *The Halls of the Fishmongers’ Company* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1978) p.22.

⁴²⁹ Giles, ‘Guildhalls and Social Identity’, Vol. 1, p.41.

⁴³⁰ Like the Erber, suitable houses in Drapers’ Hall could of course be rented by merchants of other companies, although few were as active in civic office as might be expected. Clothworker Edmund Brasey moved into a tenement in the Drapers’ Hall complex (AF2) in 1584 as he was elected Sheriff for the City but he refused to serve. (‘The Chamberlain’s Account 1584-5: Nos. 68-146’ in *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century* 20, B. R. Masters (ed.) (London: London Record Society, 1984) pp.30-62. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol20/pp30-62> [Accessed online 18 December 2015]) William Towerson, who served as an Alderman (1621) and Master of Skinners (1616-17), leased another tenement on the northern edge of the site (AF1) for nearly thirty years until his death in 1630, but was said to have his primary house in Fenchurch Street in addition to this. (Moseley, V., Thrush, A. ‘Towerson, William I (c.1563-1630)’ in J. P. Ferris and A. Thrush (ed.) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Table 5 - Leaseholders of Drapers' Hall and the offices held by them:

	Residency	Location of house	Mayor	Sheriff	Alderman	Master
William Roche (d. 1549)	1545-1549 (Widow: 1549-1557)	DH1	1540-41	1524-5	1530-41, 1541-9	1531-2, 1535-6, 1540-1, 1543-4, 1545-6, 1548-9
John Quarles (d. 1577)	1549-1577 (Widow: 1577-1586)	AF4				1570-1, 1575-6
John Sadler (d. 1567)	1557-1567 (Son: 1567-1571)	DH1			1538-42, 1542-6	1538-9, 1542-3, 1544-5, 1546-7, 1549-50, 1554-5
William Garway (d. 1625)	1564-1608 1589-1614	AF6 DH1				1599-1600
Martin Calthorp (d. 1589)	1571-1589 (Widow: 1589-1593)	DH1 AF4	1588-9	1579-80	1557-88, 1588-9	1580-1, 1584-5, 1587-8
Richard Goddard (d. 1604)	1594-1604 (Widow: 1604-6)	AF5		1596-7	1595-9, 1599-1602, 1602-4	1597-8
Henry Garway (d. 1646)	1608-30... 1617-19	AF6 AF6a	1639-40	1627-8	1628-46	1627-8, 1639-40

Refs: DCA, MB1C, f.812; DCA, RA Series (1543-1619); Johnson, *History*, Vol II, pp.469-472; Beaven, Alfred P. *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London, 1908) British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912/> [Accessed online 4 May 2016].

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/towerson-william-i-1563-1630> [Accessed online 2 August 2016]].

Regarding political authority, Braddick has argued that “performance of the office entailed the presentation of a self which confirmed the authority of their office”.⁴³¹ As one of the key performances of honour, the capacity to dispense appropriate levels of hospitality from such houses was an important aspect of their suitability. The cost of the mayoralty and the related open house required of the Mayor was remarked upon by a visitor to Elizabethan London who reported that “he is obliged to live so magnificently, that foreigner or native, without any expense, is free, if he can find a chair empty, to dine at his table, where there is always the greatest plenty.”⁴³² Sheriffs too were expected to host groups of governors for dinner and small meetings.⁴³³ Houses of company officers were also expected to be fit for corporate socialisation and corporate hospitality could overspill into them. After their Election Dinner in 1564, the Mercers sent their new Wardens home with their garlands and a silver pot of hippocras “to make their friends drink”.⁴³⁴ Small dinners were also frequently held in Wardens’ homes after audits, views or searches.⁴³⁵ But it seems that Wardens could overstretch themselves in their attempts to honour their guests. In 1589, rather than sup in the Company Hall after taking their oaths of office, Second Warden Richard Boulder hosted a “great and plentiful banquet” in his home for the Master, Wardens and Assistants. At the next meeting of the Court, the question was raised “for the quality” of the Wardens and Assistants that should attend such banquets. Boulder may have overdone it and a smaller affair was engineered for the following year.⁴³⁶ In 1607 Drapers’ Warden Lawrence Camp applied to hold the View Dinner in the Company Hall rather than at his house for he reported it was “not so convenient as he desired to give the company entertainment”.⁴³⁷ Perhaps in

⁴³¹ Braddick, M. ‘Administrative Performance: the representation of political authority in early modern England’ in Braddick, Michael J., Walter, John (ed.) *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp.166-187, p.171.

⁴³² Hentzner, Paul. ‘Travels in England, 1598’ in W. Rye (ed.) *England as seen by foreigners* (London: J. R. Smith, 1865) pp.101-113.

⁴³³ For example: DCA, MB10, f.325; f.345.

⁴³⁴ MCA, Acts of Court iii, 1560-1598, f.61-3.

⁴³⁵ DCA, MB10, f.54; f.478. In 1584, 1586, 1590 after viewing their property members gathered in Wardens’ homes. These records are in addition to those noted by Orlin of 1556, 1572 and 1573. (Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.138).

⁴³⁶ DCA, MB10, f.487.

⁴³⁷ DCA, MB13, f.54r.

acknowledgement of this increasingly burdensome requirement in the densified city, in 1613 a resolution was made that any dining or banquets held after the election of the new Master and Wardens were no longer to be had in the Wardens' homes.⁴³⁸

Whether or not companies were able to directly provide suitable housing for city officers pulled from their ranks, they were expected to make substantial contributions to the fitting out and upgrading of any properties which housed such men. In preparing houses for service, the Drapers, like other companies, assigned a sub-committee of men to assist and advise elected officers on improvements to their properties. The Drapers' Lord Mayor of 1543, William Bowyer, was assigned three Assistants and one Warden to oversee the "garnishing and trimming of his house".⁴³⁹ In 1579 Martin Calthorp was assigned "six or eight to survey his house such as he thought to have skill in building".⁴⁴⁰ For Thomas Pullison in 1584, a similar group of Wardens and Assistants were appointed by the Court to give their "best advices for things known about the painting and trimming of his house".⁴⁴¹ This attention may have been also to ensure that the house has particularly well presented on the day of inauguration (Lord Mayor's Day). In addition to decorating the Lord Mayor's house, in early modern Norwich numerous houses and streets within his parish were also hung with tapestries, portraits and greenery on this day, the same may have been practiced in London.⁴⁴² London companies contributed financially to the costs of any upgrades and these sums increased over the period. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Lord Mayors of the Drapers were granted a £40 benevolence for this purpose, as dispensed to Thomas Pullison in 1584 and Martin Calthorp in 1588.⁴⁴³ Their houses were to receive "painting and

⁴³⁸ Ibid. f.97v.

⁴³⁹ DCA, MB1C, f.751.

⁴⁴⁰ DCA, MB9, f.127v.

⁴⁴¹ DCA, MB10, f.14.

⁴⁴² Morgan, Victor. 'A Ceremonious Society: an Aspect of Institutional Power in Early Modern Norwich' in Golgar, A. and Frost, R. I. *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) pp.133-165, p.145 and Plate 1 on p.150. In 1560 a visiting Dutch physician also commented that the English "trim up [their] parlours with green boughes, fresh herbes or vine leaves" suggesting this might be reflected on the exterior too (Lemnius, Levinus. 'Notes on England, 1560' in W. Rye (ed.) *England as seen by foreigners* (London: J. R. Smith, 1865) pp.75-80, p.80.

⁴⁴³ DCA, WA5, 1584-5, f.6r; DCA, MB10, f.327 (according to an order of 1578).

trimming up” as per the surveyors report.⁴⁴⁴ However, by 1638 this sum had significantly increased, Sir Morris Abbot was granted £116 8s. 4d. for example.⁴⁴⁵ Sheriffs too received greater contributions from the Company in respect to their houses. In 1550 John Lambard was elected Sheriff and granted £10 to paint his house, likewise in 1570 Francis Barnham was allowed £33 6s. 8d. for the same purpose.⁴⁴⁶ Contributions were on an upward trajectory reflecting the continued representative correlation between honourable officers drawn from honourable companies provided with honourable houses.

The importance of enabling the function of hospitality in mayoral houses is demonstrated by the regularity with which building work was undertaken and sanctioned by companies to ensure the houses were fit for service. Likely with a view to future office, Martin Calthorp was granted the principal house in 1571.⁴⁴⁷ He was also given as many rooms as the Company could spare for the term of his shrievalty in 1579-80.⁴⁴⁸ As past Master of the Company (1580-1, 1584-5, 1587-8) and Alderman of the City, Calthorp was elected to the position of Lord Mayor in 1589. Readyng himself for the public execution of this office, in June 1588 he requested access to the Company’s privileged water supply. He proposed the installation of a pipe to siphon water off from the Hall’s kitchen to his own kitchen in the capital house. He also requested permission to build a new chimney on the backside of the kitchen by the gate which led out towards the garden. This appears to have been in addition to an earlier upgrade of the same space by Roger Sadler in 1558.⁴⁴⁹ This was not all however. Still focussed on upgrading rooms most associated with practices of hospitality, Calthorp proposed to build a bay-window in his dining room which projected into the main courtyard of Drapers’ Hall.

⁴⁴⁴ DCA, MB10, f.14.

⁴⁴⁵ DCA, WA9, 1638-9, f.39.

⁴⁴⁶ DCA, MB8, f.125v-126r; MB4, f.1025.

⁴⁴⁷ DCA, MB8, f.177r. Calthorp was granted forty-year lease on 6 Dec 1571.

⁴⁴⁸ DCA, MB9, f.127v.

⁴⁴⁹ Sadler requested permission to make the following changes: “a fair double gate with a proper frame over it due to lack...a wood yard, a fair warehouse door out into the street...a fair large parlour to be wainscoted after the best sort, with fair bay windows. Then at the ___ of the said parlour, shall join a pretty hall which he will do cost upon, and make to it fair bay windows. Then there is a proper kitchen to serve the house saving he might take down all the said chimney and make it larger, and then it will be a fair kitchen. And make a brick wall cross over the yard...from that brick wall to the foregate: he will make a fair long yard in pulling down a blind shed which serveth for nothing but to put in coals and so diverse other petty charges he shall be at.” (DCA, MB7, f.138).

Finally, he requested permission to use a gallery which bridged the Company Hall and the chief house known as the 'Ladies' chamber'. The Court approved all Calthorp's requests, even allowing his use of the watercourse beyond the term of his mayoralty. To speed up the works they appointed the four Wardens alongside four Assistants to consider the detail of these construction projects.⁴⁵⁰ The new pipe was to be laid "downward along their dressing board", adjacent to the street, into his yard, and then to Calthorp's kitchen.⁴⁵¹ The rewards of these efforts were never to be fully realized however, for Martin Calthorp died in his house in May 1589 whilst serving as Lord Mayor and was buried in the nearby St Peters the Poor church.⁴⁵² On his sudden death, the Company wasted no time in re-examining Calthorp's lease and reclaimed any rooms, casements and "special commodities" that were lent to him. Use of the water pipe was also retracted. Cut off, Lady Calthorp, Martin's widow, was promptly requested not to trouble the house for any access to water and relocated to another house in the Throgmorton site (AF4). In spite of this, through her daughter Anne, she was able to secure the provision of a new brick porch at the back door of her new house, at the Company's expense.⁴⁵³ The next city office holder to inhabit a property on the Throgmorton site was Richard Goddard who served as Sheriff in 1595. Like Calthorp, he was granted the installation of a pipe to channel water from the great kitchen to his house this time it seems located on the eastern side of the hall (AF5). Further, four experienced Drapers were appointed "viewers and surveyors" to advise Goddard on any other building work he proposed, although no evidence of what this entailed has been found.⁴⁵⁴ It was only upon his death in 1604 that the Wardens elected that the water supply should be cut off again, hastily stopping up the watercourse into Lady Goddard's home just as they had Lady Calthorp's.⁴⁵⁵

The house located at the hinge-point of Austin Friars (AF5), formerly inhabited by Sheriff Richard Goddard, was drawn up in the mid-seventeenth century and a comparison between the 1620s plan and this later set of plans allows for further indication of its changeable configuration, albeit after Goddard's occupation and probably after some rebuilding work

⁴⁵⁰ DCA, MB10, f.295-6.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.* f.301. Also see DCA, RA5, 1584-5, f.19r.

⁴⁵² DCA, MB10, f.371.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* f.374. Also see DCA, RA5, 1589-90, f.10v.

⁴⁵⁴ DCA, MB10, f.207; DCA, RA5, 1594-5, f.9v.

⁴⁵⁵ DCA, MB13, f.11r.

(see figures 3.2 and 3.3). The chameleon-like quality of the recessed house was likely one reason for the production of the rare plans of upper floors which show the internal arrangement of the three-storey property. Strikingly the plan changes footprint on almost every floor as it negotiates with the adjacent Company Hall. A 1616 order that the existing door between the yard of AF5 and the warehouse under the Hall was to be “forthwith taken away” and replaced with a strong wall “for the stopping of all passages in or out of this Hall” exemplifies some of the historic fluidity of this site within Throgmorton.⁴⁵⁶ The major change between c.1620 and this later plan however is the relocation of the ‘hall’ or dining room from the ground floor to the first in favour of more enclosed ground floor storage spaces. This change was facilitated by a large new central staircase which branched off the entrance porch. It also appears that this staircase led down to an extensive and new cellar and upwards to a balcony perhaps useful for ceremonial purposes of civic performance. On the first floor behind the balcony, there was a large closet and, through the dining room, a “chamber once part of Drapers’ Hall kitchen” was located. Demonstrating the status of this house, each of the three first floor rooms were furnished with a hearth. The second floor accommodated an especially unusual room. Spanning the entire length and breadth of the Drapers’ Hall kitchen, a “large room over Drapers’ Hall kitchen next Throgmorton Street” claimed two hearths at either end of the space. There is no notation of a room of this nature belonging to the Company Hall or any tenements attached to it in earlier documents and it seems likely that it represented a ‘sealing’ over of the once double-height space to create this new substantial room suitable for entertaining. In this way, the plan reflects something of an ‘iceberg’ house, its extensiveness and internal grandeur almost unreadable from its façade. In some ways this house was not dissimilar to the earlier model of the courtyard house in its recession from the street, resonating with William Harrison’s statement that, “many of our greatest houses have outwardly been very simple and plain to sight, which inwardly have been able to receive a duke with his whole train and lodge them at their ease.”⁴⁵⁷

In 1613-4 tenant and Merchant Taylor, Isaac Jones, undertook to improve a house that seems to have been an earlier incarnation of the one identified in the fore-mentioned mid-seventeenth century plan (AF5). A new “shed” was made in Jones’ yard funded by the

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. f.124r.

⁴⁵⁷ Harrison, William. *The Description of England: the classic contemporary account of Tudor social life*, 2nd edn. G. Edelen (ed) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) p.197.

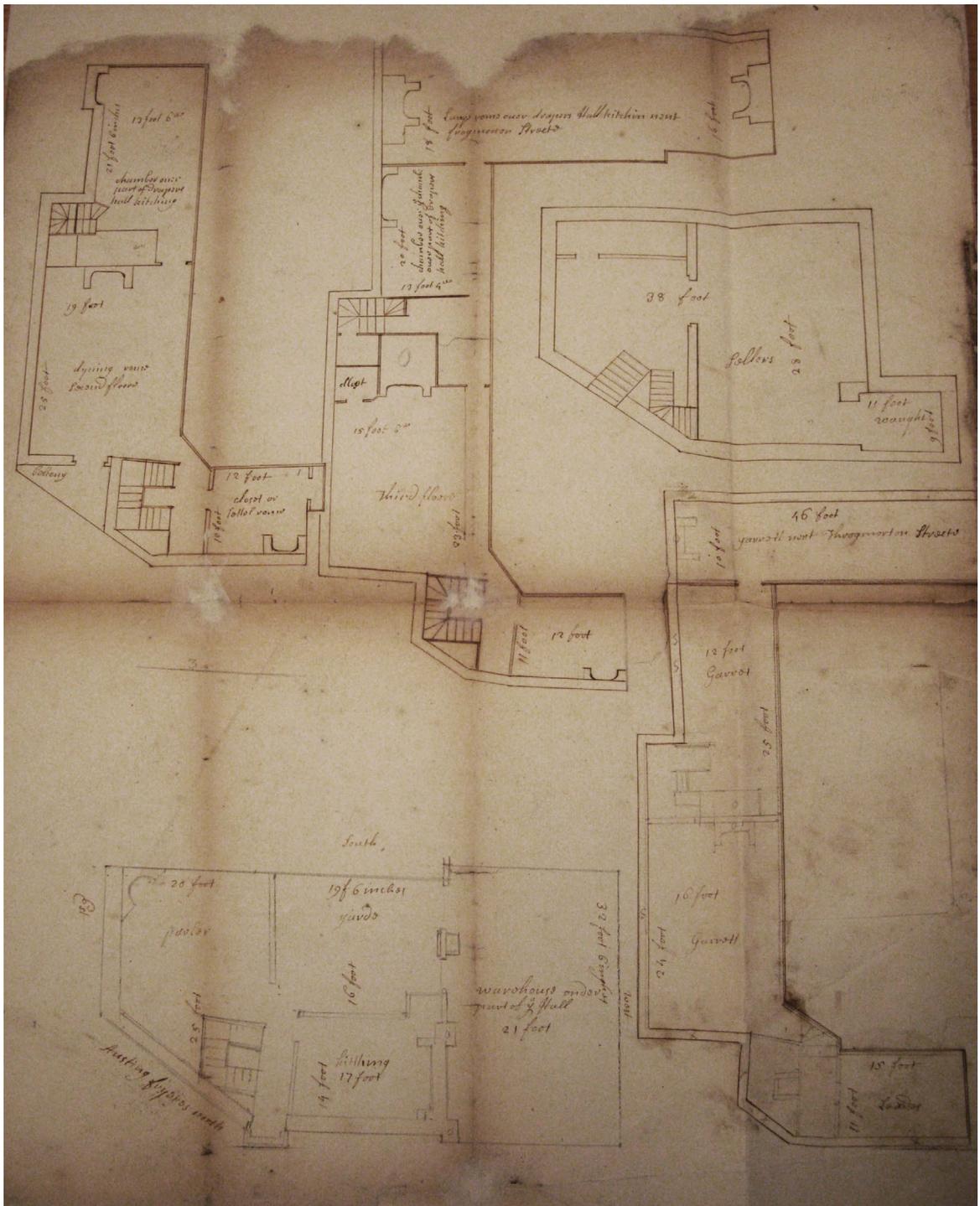
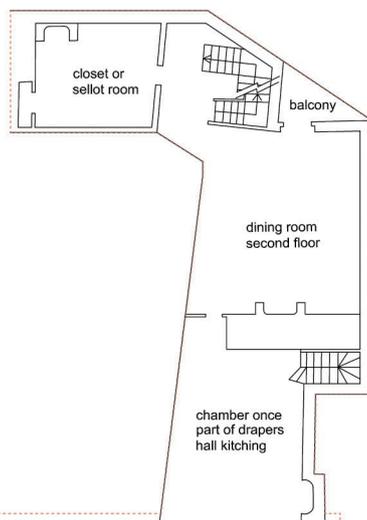


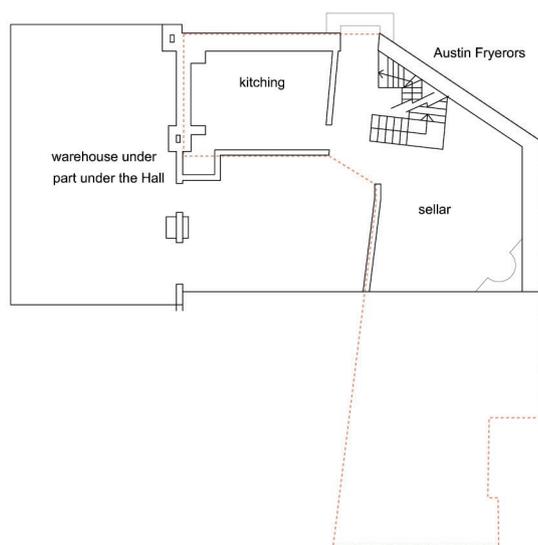
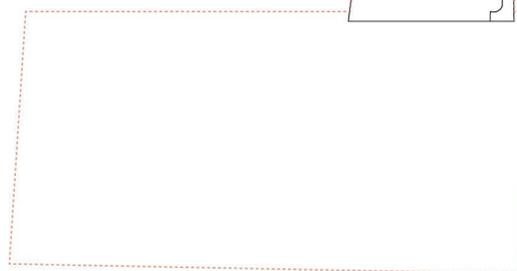
Figure 3.2. Anon. Austin Friars House plan, 17th century (AF5), (DCA, A III 151)



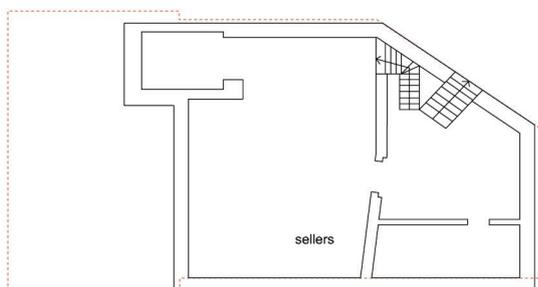
Location plan



First Floor

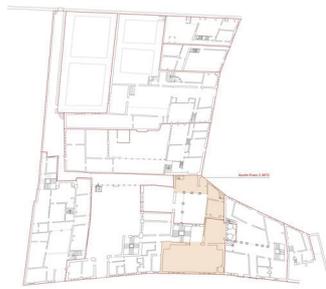


Ground Floor

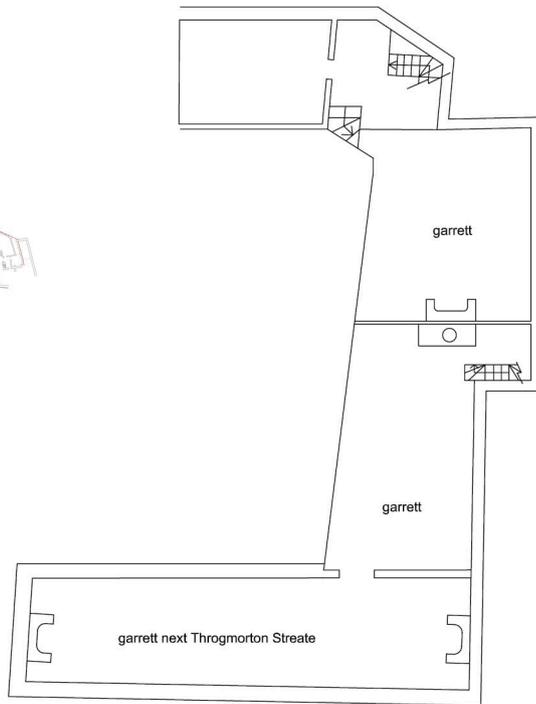


Lower Ground

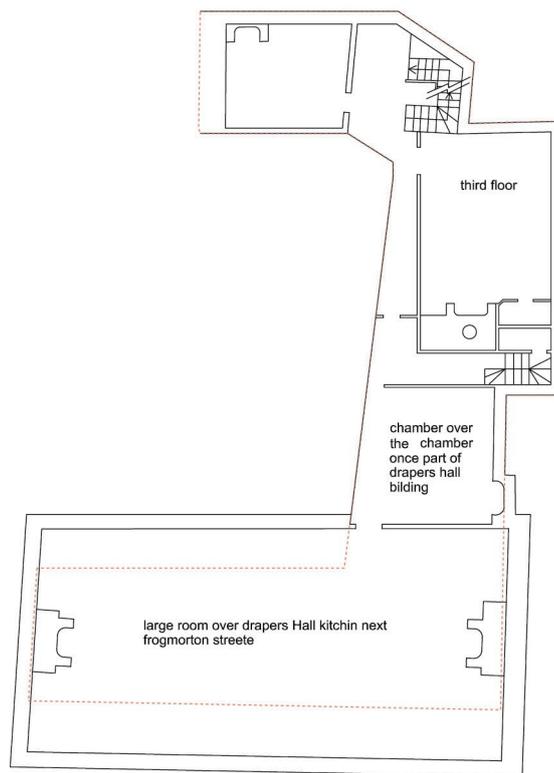
Figure 3.3. Redrawing of Austin Friars House, 17th century (AF5), (DCA, A III 151)



Location plan



Third Floor



Second Floor

Figure 3.3. Redrawing of Austin Friars House, 17th century (AF5), (DCA, A III 151)

Company at a cost of £4 12s.⁴⁵⁸ Later building work in 1617 was to cause his neighbour Henry Garway some annoyance. The friction centred on the open yard of the adjacent house (AF6). Garway reported that he was disturbed by a new counting house erected by Jones which “hangeth over” the yard on which Garway also had designs to build upon.⁴⁵⁹ Three years later in 1620 Jones petitioned the Court in respect that his house had been inconvenienced by Garway’s new construction which seems to have consisted of a large warehouse on the ground floor. The form of the upper levels is unclear but Jones complained that the “lights of the rooms of his house [were] darkened” and further that he was pestered by the smell of a new “house of office”. The Drapers responded by extending Jones’ lease for no further fine.⁴⁶⁰ Garway’s building activity was however only a sign of greater things to come.

With ambitions to serve in civic office, Garway engaged in status building of a scale unmatched on site since Thomas Cromwell’s own construction project of the 1530s. His occupation of the south-eastern frontage of the Company’s land, alongside Goddard’s earlier occupation of AF5, seems to have reflected a shift in prestige from west to east in relation to the centrally located Hall. Garway’s father, Sir William, had occupied a house at Throgmorton since 1564 (AF6 and then DH1) and it seems Henry was brought up there. Taking over his father’s lease for his childhood home in 1608, by 1628 Alderman Henry Garway had acquired leases for two properties on the site (AF6a, AF6b and possibly AF7). He proposed to combine them. He rebuilt the house adjoining Drapers’ Hall once occupied by his brother at a cost of £1000 with a frontage of brick and stone. He applied for a seventy-year lease for this new house and also for chambers that were “within the frame or building” of the Drapers’ Hall and already utilised by him. This lease was granted and he served out his controversial mayoralty from the house in 1639-40.⁴⁶¹ Garway’s building work was evidently of some quality for his knowledge was deployed in service of the King in the enforcement of the Royal Proclamations regarding building work in the City. Garway served as a commissioner for

⁴⁵⁸ DCA, RA6, 1613-4, f.23.

⁴⁵⁹ DCA, MB13, f.125r.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* f.156r. This complaint was not unusual, indicating the level of perceived inconvenience of proximity to ‘privies’. Mr Calthorp too complained that Mr Quarles had begun to construct a privy that was positioned far too close to his windows and chambers utilizing a party wall (DCA, MB8, f.268r).

⁴⁶¹ DCA, MB13, f.220v.

building in 1637-8 with particular responsibility for inspecting the building quality of city churches.⁴⁶²

Trading Spaces

By 1640 those serving in civic office, as Sheriffs, Aldermen and Lord Mayors, were drawn from an ever smaller pool of willing and suitably wealthy City merchants. Their success in commerce has been exemplified by a sample study of 140 Jacobean Aldermen of London which concluded theirs was a “prodigious wealth by the standards of the day...placing them on a par with major landowners.”⁴⁶³ In his seminal book, ‘*Merchants and Revolution*’, Brenner described this specific group of men as the City ‘merchant establishment’ or the City ‘merchant political elite’.⁴⁶⁴ The scholar noted that their engagement in the great overseas trading companies prompted their “emergence as a cohesive and dominant socio-political group”.⁴⁶⁵ Emphasizing that even in the mid-sixteenth century a significant transition was clearly afoot, Orlin identified a new “rising class” of merchants who also served in livery company offices.⁴⁶⁶ These internationally connected merchants were growing in prosperity and, with especially long-standing trading links to the Dutch and Hispanic markets, a proportion of Drapers at the top of the Company hierarchy rode the crest of this new wave of trade. There was also a clear overlap in membership between the wealthier guilds and the new international trading companies. Johnson calculated that fifty-two Drapers were connected to at least one trading Company during the reign of Elizabeth. Of this group, just over 55% were Liverymen in the Company making up the upper tier of the corporate structure. In addition many were Wardens and eight served as Master.⁴⁶⁷ With some frequency therefore, leaders of the Drapers balanced profit-led trading initiatives to the East Indies, America and Spain with the business of corporate government. Grassby credited the

⁴⁶² Brown, R., McConnell, A. ‘Garway, Sir Henry (*bp.* 1575, *d.* 1646)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, May 2007. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10405> [Accessed online 7 Jan 2016].

⁴⁶³ Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) p.191.

⁴⁶⁴ Brenner, Robert. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London’s Overseas Traders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.5.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.83.

⁴⁶⁶ Orlin, ‘Boundary Disputes’, p.345.

⁴⁶⁷ Statistics gathered from lists in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, pp.458-60.

time involved in attending meetings, committees, visitations and functions as a “frequent deterrent” to such men considering holding an office of any kind. He concluded that “the combined duties of sitting on the Court of a livery company, the City and several overseas Companies were formidable”.⁴⁶⁸ A supply of houses for men of this sort located within the walls of the City was critical if they were to be able to continue to engage in the everyday business of civic governance rather than disengage completely in favour of their trading activities.

Following the Drapers' acquisition of the Erber which was prompted by Salisbury's execution, the transfer from courtly to mercantile elite in the occupation of house was decisive. All but one tenant of this house from c. 1540 - 1630 can be directly linked to exchanges on an international scale and many, particularly in the latter half of the century, also served as City officers (see table below). As noted in Chapter Two, leaseholders of the wider Erber were not as exclusively drawn from the Drapers' fold as at Throgmorton but even when the principal house was not in the hands of Drapers, the significant mansion house was often held by members of other companies who also served in civic office and were engaged in commerce. Draper Thomas Pullison's residency beginning in 1579 was emblematic of a string of tenants who entered the Erber just before, or even during, their first year in an enlarged civic role. Pullison secured a lease only a couple of years before his term as Mayor and utilized the house as his de facto headquarters for civic business.⁴⁶⁹ Stow noted that the Erber was in fact “new builded” by Pullison although the precise nature of the changes made to the existing building fabric is unclear.⁴⁷⁰ Comparing earlier written accounts of the accommodation with the 1596 plan there is some evidence of the construction of a new kitchen, presumably to service the hospitality of the mayoralty, but less which suggests any significant internal re-configuration.⁴⁷¹ During his term as Lord Mayor, Pullison was also granted special rights to

⁴⁶⁸ Grassby, Richard. *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.229.

⁴⁶⁹ For example, at the Erber in 1585, Pullison received those “idle and masterless men” rounded up by the city Aldermen (LMA, COL/CC/01/01/021, Journal of the Court of Common Council, Journal 21, f.445v), he held the equivalent of a fund-raising rally for City church wardens to support the protestant clergy of Antwerp, and held a case for the Orphan's Court because the child involved was too sick to travel to Guildhall (LMA, COL/CC/01/01/021, Journal of the Court of Common Council, Journal 21, f.143r; f.149v).

⁴⁷⁰ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.231.

⁴⁷¹ The supposed redevelopment of the kitchen is supported by Pullison's privileged access to a private water supply from the nearby conduit in order to service it during his mayoralty (LMA,

the water conduit at the top of Dowgate, securing a private quill to pipe water into his house. Comparable to Calthorp and Goddard at Drapers' Hall, this privilege was granted on the condition that Pullison give up his use of it at the end of his term of mayoralty and that he personally bear all the costs of its installation.⁴⁷² By the second half of the sixteenth century, Lord Mayors drawn from the Drapers were granted a £40 benevolence by the Company for the purposes of improving properties. This sum was dispensed to Pullison in 1584 to aid his building works, but records also show that he also made significant personal contributions to the project which were enjoyed by later tenants it seems.⁴⁷³ Following Pullison's tenancy, honorary Draper Francis Drake was admitted to the principal house, vacating on completion of a term serving as MP.⁴⁷⁴ Grocer Paul Banning's entry to the Erber corresponded exactly with his election to the office of Alderman in the year 1592-3 and when Leatherseller Edward Barkham took up tenancy in 1611, it was in the same year in which he was admitted to the office of Sheriff.⁴⁷⁵ Barkham progressed to become Lord Mayor in 1621-2 after transferring to the Drapers' Company whilst still in occupation of the Erber.⁴⁷⁶

Table 6 - Residents of the principal house of the Erber compiled from DCA, RA series:

Name of Leasee	Trading Company	Civic Offices	Livery Company	Date of tenancy	Rent
John Over	Merchant Adventurer	-	Not known	c.1549- c.1555	£22 10s
John Kendall (then Widow Kendall)	Not known	-	Not known	c.1555- 1560	£22 10s

COL/CA/01/01/023, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Rep 21, f.89). The lease was granted to Thomas Pullison after much debate, "and further he conveniently to improve and bestow...in new building and altering thereof within the space of seven years" (DCA, MB9, f.142v).

⁴⁷² LMA, COL/CA/01/01/023, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Rep 21, f.89.

⁴⁷³ DCA, WA5, 1584-5, f.6r (according to an earlier order of 1578).

⁴⁷⁴ DCA, RA5, 1590-1, f.15r.

⁴⁷⁵ DCA, RA5, 1592-3, f.13r; RA6, 1612-13, f.17r.

⁴⁷⁶ DCA, RA6, 1621-2, f.19r.

Lewes Depaz	N/A – Spanish denizen	N/A	N/A	1560-1562	£22 10s
Anthony Guerras	N/A – Spanish denizen	N/A	N/A	1562-1579	£26 3s 4d
Thomas Pullison	Merchant Adventurer, Spanish Company, Eastland Company (Director)	Alderman (1573-1588), Sheriff (1573-4), Lord Mayor (1584-5)	Draper (Warden, 1565-7, Master, 1575)	1579-1588	£26 3s 4d
Francis Drake (b.1540 – d.1596)	N/A	MP (1572, 1584, 1593)	Draper	1588-1593	£26 3s 4d
Paul Banning (b.1539? – d. 1616)	East India Company (Treasurer, 1600), Levant Company, Spanish Company (Director), Venice Company	Alderman (1593-1602), Sheriff (1593-4)	Grocer	1593-1612	£26 3s 4d
Edward Barkham (1570s? - 1634)	East India Company, Levant Company	Alderman (1611-34), Sheriff (1611-12), Lord Mayor (1621-2), MP (1625-26)	Leatherseller/Drapaper (translated, 1621), Master Leathersellers 1605-6, 1608-9; Drapers 1622-3	1612-1631	£26 3s 4d /£30 3s 4d

Between 1561-7 and 1607-13 imports more than tripled as goods poured into London, before being redistributed throughout England.⁴⁷⁷ This activity was unsurprisingly registered on the built environment and interactions upon it. Sandwiched either side of Drake's occupation of the same house, Ian Archer regarded Thomas Pullison and Paul Banning as "city magnates".⁴⁷⁸ The pair appear to have exemplified those men of the new mercantile elite who served in city office and were founding members of the trading companies whilst simultaneously pursuing personal profit through international trade. Both were leaders of the Spanish and Portuguese Company prompting historian Habib to describe Banning as a typical member of a "trans-national Anglo-Spanish merchant community".⁴⁷⁹ He owned 94% of imports of the Levant trade and was head of "a vast household made up of many retainers, clerks and servants."⁴⁸⁰ An element of the Erber's suitability for men of this standing surely lay in its ability to accommodate not only goods but employees to support such commercial and civic activities. Subsidiary tenements, entrances and courtyards were convenient for this purpose enabling the Erber to function as a 'live-work' space for the city's leading merchants (see figure 3.4). Of the tenements in Scott's Yard, four were parcelled with the principal house of the Erber in 1595-6.⁴⁸¹ An entry gate between the Erber's backyard and Scott's Yard is clearly visible on the 1596 plan suggesting some fluidity of movement between the two spaces. Goods might have arrived via Bush Lane into the yard for checking by factors working for the merchant living in the Erber. After this they could have been directed to storage spaces on the ground floor of the Scott's Yard tenements, or the rooms looking out onto the Erber's first back courtyard, depending on type of merchandise.⁴⁸² As well as absorbing an

⁴⁷⁷Dietz, B. 'Overseas Trade and Metropolitan Growth', in Beier and Finlay (ed.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of a Metropolis* (London and New York: Longman, 1986) pp.115-140. Also see Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*; Davis, R. *English Overseas Trade, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973).

⁴⁷⁸ Archer, I. 'Bayning, Paul (c.1539–1616)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Oct 2006) online edn, Jan 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52003>. [Accessed online 17 March 2015].

⁴⁷⁹ Habib, I. *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) p.79; *Returns of strangers in the metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639: A study of an active minority*, I. Scouladi (ed.) (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1985). Banning, connected to the developing trade with West Africa, was served by three black lodging maids probably from Spain.

⁴⁸⁰ Archer, 'Bayning, Paul (c.1539–1616)'.

⁴⁸¹ DCA, RA5, 1595-6, f.11r.

⁴⁸² The comparatively generously sized spaces depicted on the plan, alongside the lack of hearths in these larger rooms suggest ground floor warehouses.

North



KEY	
B - Buttery	P - Passageway
BA - Bowling Alley	PL - Porters' Lodge
C - Clerk's Office	PO - Porch
CH - Counting House	PR - Parlour
CY - Courtyard	PS - Pastry
D - Dicing House	S - Shop
G - Garden	SH - Scouring House
GL - Gallery	SL - Solar
GT - Gate	ST - Stable
H - Hall	T - Tubhouse
K - Kitchen	W - Warehouse
L - Lobby	WH - Wash House
LD - Larder	Y - Yard
LH - Lumber House	

Figure 3.4. Redrawing of Erber 1596 plan (DCA, A X III 165). Extents of the mansion house in the early seventeenth century highlighted

ever increasing proliferation of imported and exported goods, at a variety of scales the built environment appears to have become more compartmentalised in order to accommodate the processing and sorting these traded things. A rare inventory of another city mansion held by a mercantile Lord Mayor records that there was a “great warehouse”, a “fish house” and a “spice house” within the property, evidence of greater spatial specialisation.⁴⁸³ Schofield’s study of Thames-side Grocer Thomas Soane’s housing showed “that rooms and spaces were carefully distinguished by function in these house-and business complexes; and that various solutions for the increasing problem of warehouse storage were being attempted.”⁴⁸⁴ There is no evidence which allows us to distinguish precisely how the warehouses of the Erber were used, but their multitude and access routes into them indicates the importance of this function of the house, suggesting that this was a space carefully attuned to mercantile needs.

Beyond the north-south connection to the Stocks market and Dowgate wharf, the Erber was conveniently located in relation to a key east-west trajectory through the City. Thames Street was a bustling main road well-used by porters and carts. This characteristic was vividly evidenced by Henry Machyn’s account of a carter murdered after a fellow traveller was unable to contain his rage at the glut of carts which had caused traffic on the road to grind to a halt.⁴⁸⁵ Running roughly adjacent to this route which traversed across the city, Carter Lane (later known as Chequer Alley) linked Dowgate Hill with the parallel Bush Lane and defined one boundary of the Erber to the south. It appears that Carter Lane was a resting place for the city’s porters, carters and their related tackle.⁴⁸⁶ Aside from the clear associations reflected by its name, the Salisbury accounts from the early sixteenth century noted temporary fastenings for horses, stables and licenses for rented individual carts.⁴⁸⁷ Adjusting further to facilitate the flow of people and things through the principal house, the only

⁴⁸³ Fairholt, F. ‘On an inventory of the Household Goods of Sir Thomas Ramsey, Lord Mayor of London, 1577’ in *Archaeologia*, 40 (1866), p.311-42. See also warehousing at Crosby House (Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp.233-5) and Sir Robert Lee’s house (Thornbury, Walter. ‘Bishopsgate’ in *Old and New London: Volume 2* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/> [Accessed online 13 March 2015] pp.152-170.

⁴⁸⁴ Schofield et. al., ‘Thomas Soane’s buildings near Billingsgate’, p.331.

⁴⁸⁵ Machyn, H. *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle, 1550-1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*. R. W. Bailey, M. Miller, and C. Moore (ed.) (University of Michigan). <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed online 3 February 2015] f.156r.

⁴⁸⁶ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.231.

⁴⁸⁷ TNA, SC 6/HENVIII/2082.

increase in rent for the period coincided with the acquisition of additional stabling. In 1563, Spaniard Anthony Guerras acquired at least two stables and then in 1624-5 Barkham managed to procure the lease of a further stable in Carter Lane.⁴⁸⁸ Observing the continued occupation of the Erber by men serving in high civic office, alongside impulses to accommodate upscaled commercial activity within it, suggests that the performance of civic or corporate office was spatially bound up with the business of trade. The balance of these priorities can be read through the Throgmorton Hall just as easily as it can be noted in the Erber.

After initial occupation in the 1540s, storage spaces within Drapers' Hall became more frequently subdivided and reclaimed for the use of the Company, or its most successful traders.⁴⁸⁹ In May 1547 Mr Roche divided up his single warehouse or "low chamber" into three parts, letting out two of the three to fellow Draper John Quarles.⁴⁹⁰ Roger Sadler was forced to rent out the same storage rooms originally assigned to his lease as tenant of the principal house to Warden, Mr Colclough. A letter informed him that Mr Colclough "hath made means to you to hire your long cellar and warehouses to lay wines in between this and Christmas or Candlemas next coming".⁴⁹¹ Perhaps responding to this deprivation of storage space, Sadler's wife attempted to extend the warehouse capacity of the house, leading Orlin to suggest she was a city silkwoman operating independently from her husband.⁴⁹² The Drapers reported that she had "broken down the wall of her house into the street ward minding there to make a warehouse door etc." On account of her unauthorized actions, the angry Court ordered her to "stop up the same again with brick."⁴⁹³ The ground floor warehouses under Drapers' main hall were rebuilt in brick with wooden doors and latticed clerestory windows for greater security 1570-1.⁴⁹⁴ Earlier in 1563-4 another rear warehouse

⁴⁸⁸ DCA, RA5, 1563-4, f.20v; RA6, 1624-5, f.18.

⁴⁸⁹ At Drapers' Hall - Gallery storehouse: DCA, RA6, 1608-9, f.21; Cellar under Porter's Lodge: DCA, MB8, f.53r; Long cellar and warehouses in capital house: DCA, AIII 151, letter dated 25th Sept, 1570; Penthouses constructed in adjacent properties: DCA, MB10, f.192; Cellar under gallery: DCA, MB13, f.11r.

⁴⁹⁰ DCA, MB1C, f.868.

⁴⁹¹ DCA, AIII 151, letter dated 25th Sept, 1570.

⁴⁹² Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, pp.286-9.

⁴⁹³ DCA, MB8, f.61r.

⁴⁹⁴ DCA, RA5, 1570-1, f.19v.

received greater security measures with twelve new iron bars installed in its window and a “great key” for the door purchased.⁴⁹⁵ Windows into such spaces were generally unglazed, instead covered with iron bars, wire mesh or lattice. Depending on the height and location of these windows, such storage spaces could become targets of a sort. The Mercers complained that one of their cellars was afflicted by “naughty persons” who were “pissing in at the windows whereby the cellar smells so that nobody is able to abide it for the stench”.⁴⁹⁶ New spaces for storage were also constructed. Garrets already peppered most of the Throgmorton Hall but in 1563-4 a “new loft” was added to Mr Garways’ house (AF6).⁴⁹⁷ In 1598 the Company carpenter was paid for making “diverse penthouses about the Hall and the Clerk’s house”.⁴⁹⁸ In addition to Henry Garway’s new warehouse built 1620 and aforementioned, within Drapers’ Hall there are further instances of open yards being developed in to covered warehouses. In 1622 Sir William Garway, tenant in the capital house (DH1) and father of Henry, complained about the construction of new outbuildings which abutted his house to the rear, northern side. His neighbours, Mr Wollistone and Mr Cockaigne, had constructed warehouses where there had been none before and Garway requested a view be taken by the Company, claiming his ‘right to light’ had been impinged upon.⁴⁹⁹ These large new warehouses are clearly discernible on the 1620s plan next to the long alley leading up to the garden.

Also articulated on the 1620s plan are staircases descending underground in the north-easterly tenements on the site (AF1 and AF2). These are strikingly cut out and pressed down, an indication of the valuable subterranean network of spaces that lodged beneath, not just these buildings, but most of the Hall complex (see figure 3.5).⁵⁰⁰ In 1555 the gallery on the

⁴⁹⁵ DCA, RA5, 1563-4, f.25r.

⁴⁹⁶ MCA, Acts of Court ii, 1527-1560, f.ccxij.

⁴⁹⁷ DCA, RA5, 1563-4, f.24r.

⁴⁹⁸ DCA, RA5, 1597-8, f.12r.

⁴⁹⁹ DCA, MB13, f.175r.

⁵⁰⁰ John Evelyn’s testimony bears witness to a second means of accommodating traded ‘stuff’, namely a hidden network of underground storage spaces revealed by the fire. As he walked around the centre of the city, he observed “voragos of subterranean cellars wells & dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench & dark clouds of smoke like hell” (Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn, Vol 2*. W. Bray (ed) (New York and London: M. W. Dunne, 1901), p.24). Lena Orlin suggests many of these spaces were later additions to existing properties (Orlin, L. ‘Temporary Lives in London Lodgings’ in *The*

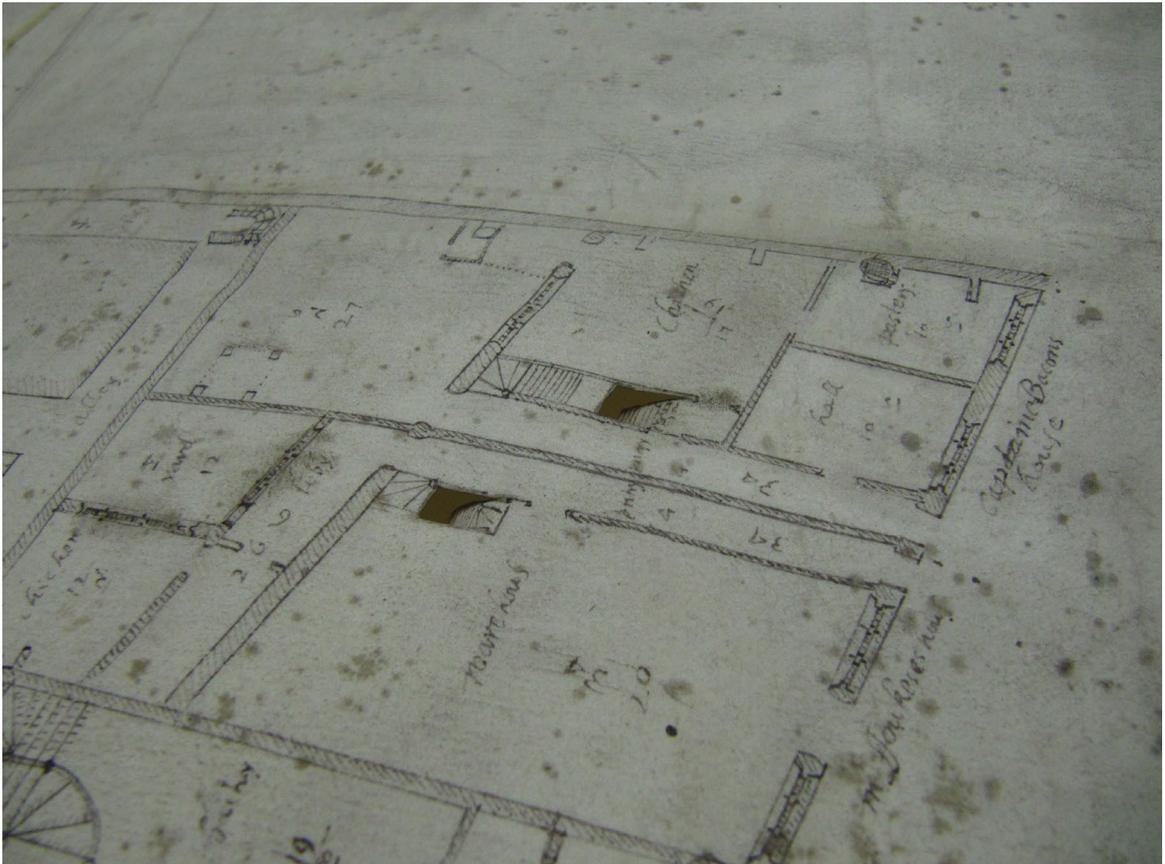


Figure 3.5. Detail of cellarage of Austin Friars houses (AF1 and AF2) on Drapers' Hall plan, cut-out steps (DCA, A X II 121)

ground-floor of the main courtyard was enlarged in order to create a storehouse at one end for the Company “to lay in boards and timber”. In the same year the cellars below the gallery were also extended. This space was given over to tenants of the capital house.⁵⁰¹ Later, in the year of his shrievalty, Richard Goddard secured the special privilege of the ‘storehouse’ at the end of the gallery and half of the cellar under it. However, the Court of Assistants resolved that after his death that this space should not be lent out nor let out again but instead utilized by the Company for the storage of building materials to be deployed “upon all sudden occasions” alongside ladders and buckets to dampen any fire that should break out.⁵⁰² In a more controversial incident, in 1638 Warden Thomas Bewley unashamedly took advantage of his access to and knowledge of the Hall in order to meet his need for storage space. Claiming “extreme necessity”, Bewley was recorded to have taken occupation of the cellar under the gallery by force to store his wines and “diverse butts of secks”. When the issue was raised at the next Court meeting, it was noted that this activity caused significant disruption and inconvenience to the Company. Carts rattled through the prestigious courtyard continually, causing damage to the stones there and the well maintained pavement outside the Hall. Noise was also generated by Coopers and Porters as they went about the transferal of goods back and forth and the making of barrels. Finally, it was reported that the cellar was often used late into the night with candles causing a safety concern to the Hall and parlour above. Bewley was ordered to leave the cellar as soon as possible, but was not further reprimanded for his indiscretion.⁵⁰³ The high value of secure storage spaces, and the temptation to utilise corporate office in pursuit of personal gain, is illustrated by this incident.

As well as the demand for spaces which could accommodate the stream of goods passing through the City, there was another quite different sort of flow that also exerted pressure on the existing built environment, this was temporary hosting of foreign Ambassadors. The type of house deemed suitable for these diplomats of distinction was effectively the same type of house sought after by the mercantile elite. Whilst Orlin and others have also demonstrated the growth in demand for temporary lodgings in London for the landed gentry and courtly

Huntington Library Quarterly 71, no. 1, (University of Pennsylvania Press: March 2008) pp.219-242, p.223).

⁵⁰¹ DCA, MB5, f.118r.

⁵⁰² DCA, MB13, f.11r.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.* f. 324r-324v.

elites, it was the City's obligation to house diplomatic visitors within its walls that seems to have affected Company lease-holders more.⁵⁰⁴ Ambassadors dispatched to London frequently appear to have occupied company halls or the elite houses of company leaders, further reinforcing the quality and reputation of these buildings. The City Remembrancer is littered with such requests made by representatives of the King to the Lord Mayor, whose duty it was to identify suitable houses and halls.⁵⁰⁵ Clode held that the occupation of Merchant Taylors' Hall by the French ambassador in 1518, the Scottish ambassador in 1526 and in 1619 the Dutch ambassador was typical for the Halls of the great livery companies.⁵⁰⁶ The Drapers' were required to give over the capital house of their newly acquired Hall (DH1) to the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor (Spanish Charles V) in 1543, before they had even the chance to install Mr Roche in his new house. Fortunately, the Company were able to negotiate an alternative with their Lothbury neighbour, Mistress Cornwallis. Cornwallis granted the use of her house to the Ambassador, receiving from the Drapers a gift of 11s. to buy "a frock" for herself and her maid alongside 10s. for a cloth of camlet.⁵⁰⁷ Further to this, in 1551, Lady Roche was required to vacate the capital house in order for the French Ambassador to have use of the same, alongside its contents.⁵⁰⁸ It seems the Ambassador, or his attendants, also occupied the great hall and Ladies Chamber of the Company at this time. The 'French' were blamed for overloading the gallery in the courtyard to the extent that the floor had collapsed.⁵⁰⁹ Returning in 1567, the French Ambassador was once more granted short-term residency of the capital house when in the occupation of Roger Sadler.⁵¹⁰ Orlin plots a complicated story of this particular incursion however, holding that Sadler was

⁵⁰⁴ Warren, Ian. 'The English Landed Elite and the Social Environment of London: 1580 – 1700: the Cradle of Aristocratic Culture?' in *English Historical Review* CXXVI, no.518 (2011) pp.44-74, p.44; Barron, C. 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The aristocratic town house in London 1200-1550' in *The London Journal* 20, no.1 (1995) pp.1-16.

⁵⁰⁵ For example see: LMA, COL/RMD/PA/01/001, Remembrancia, Vol. 1, f.14v-15v; f.279r.

⁵⁰⁶ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.85.

⁵⁰⁷ DCA, MB1C, f.756.

⁵⁰⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council of England: A.D. 1542-[June 1631], Vol. 3: 1550-1552*, J. Roche Dasent (ed) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1891) *State Papers Online*, Gale, Cengage Learning, 2015. <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4314500278&v=2.1&u=abdn&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Calendar> [accessed online 20 April 2015] PC 2/4, f.358.

⁵⁰⁹ DCA, MB4, f.982; MB4, f.1044.

⁵¹⁰ DCA, RA 1567-8, f.23r.

surreptitious in his dealings in this regard and suggests that he gave over the house to the Ambassador in order to line his own pockets without seeking the Drapers' approval first.⁵¹¹ In 1600 the Erber too accommodated the Secretary and Audiencer of the Archduke as well as the Infanta, his three gentlemen and seven servants. Only a few days notice was given. The house was clearly well known among elite circles for the Privy Council had written to the Lord Mayor to request the use of this specific house, then inhabited by Banning, deeming it to be a "very fit place".⁵¹² It seems that the reputation of these houses for honour and grandeur caused them to be sought after not only by the mercantile elite but by foreign dignitaries visiting on business of national importance. The longer these great houses were preserved in the face of accelerated densification, the more their value grew.

Town and Country

The increasing attraction of courtly elites to the city has been already been hinted above and indeed has been outlined in more depth by numerous historians, but for mercantile elites it was the countryside that was in fact beginning to hold ever greater appeal. In order to contextualise the spatial experience of citizens and mercantile attitudes in relation to property holding, great London houses such as the Erber and the principal house at Drapers' Hall should be considered in relation to other networked sites of occupation. It was far from unusual for merchants to be associated to multiple properties located both within and outside the City walls in occupation and/or ownership. Moreover, the commercial activity of the trade of drapery itself was necessarily closely bound up with supply chains reaching out into provincial England. Whilst this thesis is concerned with the urban environment, the attitude and fortunes of individual merchants who were leaders of the companies should be examined against wider cultural and economic conditions that were affecting land ownership. The experiences of these men implicitly affected the development of the livery company, its estate and the choices of the Court in relation to it.

That apprentices of London's livery companies were heavily drawn from England's provinces has been already proven. Rappaport calculated that 83% of 1055 men who became citizens in the early 1550s, and of those whose geographical origins can be ascertained, were migrants

⁵¹¹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.133.

⁵¹² *Acts of the Privy Council of England: A.D. 1542-[June 1631], Vol. 30: 1599-1600.* J. Roche Dasent (ed.) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1891) PC 2/25, f.34.

to the capital.⁵¹³ At a later stage in life, Thomas Howell and Master George Monoux moved from Bristol to London to further their careers in the 1520s. By 1535 Oldland holds that this pair were among the ten wealthiest citizens in the city.⁵¹⁴ Only five of the sixteen Lord Mayors drawn from the Company of Drapers in the period 1540-1640 could claim fathers who were citizens of the City, all others were drawn from the counties.⁵¹⁵ This led Queen Elizabeth to comment that Martin Calthorp was one of the “worthies of this city, out of whatever obscure parentage, than being descended of great nobles”.⁵¹⁶ Company leaders of the City were therefore often linked either by birth or economic activity to rural areas far removed from the urban environment. The Draner family exemplifies something of the tangled web of associations between town and country. Apprenticed to a Draper in 1535, John Draner was one of the first tenants to move into the Throgmorton Hall and lived in a tenement in the site from at least 1549-1564. Moving up the social scale he married the daughter of a gentleman from Morden and served as Warden in 1556-7.⁵¹⁷ Draner’s father was Stephen Draner (d. 1539), ‘Clothier’ of Cranbrook in Kent, and John was consistently associated with land and property in the county of his father throughout his career.⁵¹⁸ The Kent Weald broadcloth industry was still flourishing during his lifetime, as it had been during his father’s. Of the sixteenth century, Zell detected that “the clothier élite was successful because they invested part of their capital in farming and in purchasing land which could be profitably rented out”.⁵¹⁹ Expertise and preoccupations with cultivating and developing land proved to be an important part of the family’s success but John chose not to abandon his

⁵¹³ Rappaport, *Worlds*, p.78. For discussion about the familial roots of freemen and migratory patterns see Ramsey, G. D. ‘The Recruitment and Fortunes of Some London Freemen in the Mid-Sixteenth Century’ in *Economic History Review* 31 (1978) pp.526-40.

⁵¹⁴ Oldland, ‘The allocation of merchant capital’, Appendix 1. Monoux was Master 1516-7, 1520-1, 1526-7, 1532-3, 1539-40.

⁵¹⁵ Herbert, W. *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers* (London: J. C. Adlard, 1837) p.437

⁵¹⁶ Bolton, Edward. *The Cities Advocate, in this case, or a Question of honor and arms, whether Apprenticeship extinguisheth Gentry? (1629)* (Norwood: W. J. Johnson, 1975) pp.1-3.

⁵¹⁷ TNA, C1/1214/35.

⁵¹⁸ TNA, PROB 10/7459/20, Will of Stephen Draner. For further commentary see Zell, Michael. *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century*, paperback edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.220.

⁵¹⁹ Flisher, L., Zell, M. ‘The Demise of the Kent Broadcloth Industry in the Seventeenth Century: England’s first de-industrialization’ in *Archaeologia Cantiana* 129 (2009) pp.239-256, p.242.

London life for the country, apparently splitting his time between the two. In his study of urban houses of wealthy Norwich merchants, King noted that: “there were strong familial and social connections between merchants and rural gentry throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, and in many respects these groups participated in a shared culture.”⁵²⁰ Bearing families like the Draners in mind, to some extent, there are traces of the same pattern in London.

Not only did prominent Drapers tenanted city mansion houses migrate into the city whilst maintaining ties to the places of their birth, but the merchant classes repeatedly sought to acquire new landed property back in the suburbs and countryside surrounding London. Grassby suggested that merchants were reticent to invest their capital in urban properties, instead preferring to channel it back into their commercial activities. Oldland on the other hand drew a tighter connection between merchants and their perception of land as a profitable investment but still broadly supported Grassby’s claim.⁵²¹ His study *The allocation of merchant capital in early Tudor London* revealed that wealthy London merchants and Aldermen were likely to invest their capital in the purchase of country houses rather than in urban mansion houses. Writing more generally of an earlier period, he noted “there is some evidence that merchants’ interest in property was increasing”, for the buoyant cloth trade in the 1530s and 40s was already enabling wealthy merchants to become wealthier. He cited that the trend towards investment in land was further spurred on by greater legal security in property as well as access to new means of wealth production, which allowed these merchants to purchase estates on the outskirts of London and to “furnish them magnificently”.⁵²² His research showed that between 1526-1535 there was a rise of 28% in the average wealth from lands and associated fees held by merchants assessed by a Royal subsidy, but he also showed the number holding highly valued lands reduced.⁵²³ In a pattern that would intensify in the coming century the mercantile elite was becoming a more exclusive group. Oldland’s outline of the career of Thomas Kitson, a Mercer and Merchant Adventurer who became a Sheriff and Alderman in the 1530s, is helpful in establishing what was to become an archetypal pattern of the new rank of merchant. Between entering the

⁵²⁰ King, C. ‘The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants’ houses, c.1400-1660’ in *World Archaeology* 41, no.3 (2009) pp.471-88, p.481.

⁵²¹ Grassby, *Business Community*, p.336.

⁵²² Oldland, ‘The allocation merchant capital’, p.1069.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* p.1068.

trade in 1507 and his death aged 55, by 1540 he had become one of the most successful traders of his time through the exchange of unfinished cloth produced in Wiltshire and Somerset and exported to Antwerp. In 1536 his income from lands was £400 pa. and movables totalled £3333. Investing the profits made through his commercial exploits, he built an impressive country house, Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, at a cost of more than £3000.⁵²⁴ He was also able to purchase several other estates whilst continuing his business dealings.⁵²⁵ Overall, Oldland held that the ever more exclusive mercantile elite were "converting much of their wealth into landed property".⁵²⁶

A retreat in the countryside surrounding London was growing in fashionability for these men, leading a City preacher to comment in 1550 that the merchants of London "with great abundance of riches...cannot be content...but their riches must be abroad in the country to be fermes out of the hands of worshipful gentlemen, honest yeomen, and poor labouring husbands".⁵²⁷ Schofield held that this group of elite merchants "often...had a rural seat and used...a London town-house only when on business in the capital or as an outstation for the procuring of necessaries and luxuries."⁵²⁸ As a contemporary of Kitson, the Draper and Lord Mayor, William Roche, was some way behind him in terms of wealth, claiming lands with a rental value of only £87 pa. but this still placed him in the upper tier of the city's merchants for his time.⁵²⁹ Having acquired land at Hornchurch and Havering atte Bowe, Essex, in the 1520s, Roche built a brick manor house for himself in his mayoral year of 1540.⁵³⁰ John Sadler (Alderman 1538-46) died as a "Gentleman of Edmonton" holding a substantial house called 'Peacock Farm' on Church Street in that town.⁵³¹ In 1551 Draper John Johnson wrote to a

⁵²⁴ Ibid. p.1058.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. p.1077.

⁵²⁶ Ibid. p.1068.

⁵²⁷ 'Lever's Sermons', Arber's Reprints (ed.) 1871, p.29 as quoted in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.217.

⁵²⁸ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.35.

⁵²⁹ Oldland, 'The allocation merchant capital', Appendix 1.

⁵³⁰ The house named 'Great Nelmes' remained standing until 1952 (Pevsner, N., Cherry, B., O'Brien, C. *London 5: East* (London: Yale University Press, 2005) p.20).

⁵³¹ TNA, PROB 11/43/538, 'Will of John Sadler'; Baggs, A. P., Bolton, D. K., Scarff, E. P., and Tyack, G. C. *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5*, T. F. T. Baker, and R. B. Pugh (ed.) (London: Victoria County History, 1976) pp.137-142.

Warden of the Company regarding taxes he was forced to pay as a resident in Kings Lynn. It appears that he intended to dispute this duty on the basis that he held both a London house and a house in Kings Lynn and wished to be taxed as a Londoner. His letter stressed that in this predicament he was “not alone since many other worshipful men have houses in the country”.⁵³² Leaseholders of the Drapers’ estate can be located in a similar way. William Vaughan resided in the hall from 1559 until his death in 1580. As Warden in 1571-2, he did not attend the Election Day Dinner but sent two pasties “out of the country”.⁵³³ In his will he described himself as “William Vaughan of Erythe in the County of Kent” although he also held land in Tonbridge.⁵³⁴ Meanwhile Richard Champion (Lord Mayor 1565-6), who held a house called the ‘Beades’ in Birchin Lane, ‘The Three Arrows’ and ‘The White Bull’ on Candlewick Street, acquired a country manor house in the form of Hassenbrook Hall in Stanford-Le-Hope as well as holding other tenanted land elsewhere. Furthermore he owned a house in Guildford and lands and tenements in the parishes of East Tilbury and West Tilbury in the County of Essex, and an orchard in the parish of Cranford, Kent.⁵³⁵ Francis Barnham (Sheriff 1570-1) held at least fifteen London properties as well as land in Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Dorset, Kent and Wales.⁵³⁶ Sheriff of 1598, Richard Goddard’s 1604 will confirms he owned land at Tottenham High Cross in Middlesex, reportedly occupying the parsonage there.⁵³⁷ Operating at an even higher level of prosperity, Sir Edward Barkham, (d. 1623) the Lord Mayor who was granted tenancy of the Erber, also maintained country houses in Tottenham and Norfolk.⁵³⁸ In addition there were leased tenements at Wainsfleet, St Mary’s, All Saints and Firskey in the County of Lincoln assigned to him, although wills such as his cannot be

⁵³² *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Part I: The Tudors, 1509-1603: SP 46: State Papers Domestic: Supplementary. State Papers Online.* <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714/part-i.aspx>. [Accessed online 22 July 2014] Document Ref: SP 46/6 f.141, Letter dated: Feb. 6 1551/2.

⁵³³ DCA, DB1, 1572 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.115v).

⁵³⁴ KHLIC, DRb/Pwr, Will of William Vaughan of Erith, 1580.

⁵³⁵ TNA, PROB 11/50/371, Will of Sir Richard Champion, Alderman.

⁵³⁶ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.125, 284.

⁵³⁷ KHLIC, PRC32/34 Harte, Will of Richard Goddard. Also contains a basin with the arms of the Merchant Adventurers on it. See also: Robinson, W. *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Tottenham High Cross* (Lower Tottenham; Coventry, 1818) p.126.

⁵³⁸ Baggs *et al.* *A History of the County of Middlesex*, pp.330-333.

seen to be wholly accurate property registers.⁵³⁹ Despite that fact that no record of Barkham's Tottenham property survives, contemporary comparators might be located in Nicholas Rainton's (Lord Mayor 1632) Forty Hall in Enfield Middlesex (see figure 3.6) and Edmund Wright's (Lord Mayor 1640) Swakeleys in Ickenham, Middlesex (see figure 3.7).⁵⁴⁰ Mercantile lives were frequently lived between the comforts of the countryside and the compressed inconveniences of the city but city-centre bases were still vital to the operation of their trading activities and the execution of civic duties.

Considering the question of how sustainable this mobile lifestyle was, the authority on social mobility and the courtly elite, Lawrence Stone, drew on Brenner's study of 140 Jacobean Aldermen to comment that "only a few London aldermen came from the land into trade, and only a few moved from trade into land." He found that the majority of the men in this group diverted their capital towards property ownership but that only 18 out of the 140 sample "actually retired from the City" and ceased their trading activities.⁵⁴¹ This supported Lang's assessment of members of the Muscovy Company.⁵⁴² He concluded that, in 1555, "very few [members]...not only bought landed estates...but also abandoned trade and London, [they] appear to be quite exceptional."⁵⁴³ However, in 1621, Dudley Digges voiced a widely held view, that: "the City of London is a place that seeks only to enrich themselves, and then away they go to the country in the second descent"⁵⁴⁴ There was therefore likely a gap between the *perception* of a glut of mercantile families withdrawing to the country and becoming landed gentry of the lower sort in the second generation, and the *reality* of the scale of this movement.

Gardens located outside the City were sought out as spaces of recreation and relative quiet. The Drapers of course prized their own garden, located in the more spacious north of the

⁵³⁹ TNA, PROB/11/165/39, Will of Edward Barkham, Alderman of London.

⁵⁴⁰ For more details and references to these buildings see: McKeller, E. 'The Villa: Ideal Type or Vernacular Variant?' in P. Guillery, (ed.) *Built from Below: British Architecture and the Vernacular* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011) pp.49-72, footnote 44.

⁵⁴¹ Stone, L., Stone, J. C. F. *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) p.218.

⁵⁴² Lang, R. G. 'Social Origins and Social Aspirations of Jacobean London Merchants' in *Economic History Review* 27, 2nd Series (1974).

⁵⁴³ Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite*, p.218.

⁵⁴⁴ Sir Dudley Digges MP in 1621 as quoted in: Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite*, pp.17-18.



Figure 3.6. 'Plate 61: Enfield, Forty Hall, from the N.E.' in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex* (London, 1937), p. 61. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/middx/plate-61> [accessed online 14 July 2016].



Figure 3.7. 'Plate 156: Ickenham, Swakeleys, E. Front' in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex* (London, 1937), p. 156. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/middx/plate-156> [accessed online 15 July 2016].

City. Important members were prioritized in this space but these men also invested in their own sites of socialisation. Whilst his London base appears to have been situated on Lombard Street, William Chester (Lord Mayor 1560-1) was granted the use of a “garden lodge” in the Company’s garden in 1547 when he was a Warden, as long as the Court of Assistants could have access when they “like to banquet therein”.⁵⁴⁵ Meanwhile former Warden (1549-50, 1553-4) William Chevall held a garden in Finsbury as well as a house and orchard in Putney alongside his London house on Watling Street.⁵⁴⁶ In spite of holding the Erber, with its glorious courtyard garden, Pullison too leased a garden outside the City walls in the Minories and, during his mayoralty, was granted the use of City building materials to construct a “little garden house” within it.⁵⁴⁷ Whatever company he was drawn from, the Lord Mayor held privileged access to a specific banqueting house dedicated to his use amid the fields of Marylebone. Eighteenth century depictions of this house show that it bore a resemblance to both a garden house and a modest rural seat of residence. An annual ceremonial excursion into the City hinterland on the occasion of inspecting the strategic Conduit’s Head at Tyburn seems to represent “municipal jollification”.⁵⁴⁸ In 1565 the City Chamberlain was instructed ensure the construction of a new room to serve the Lord Mayor’s annual feasting or ‘dressing of meat’ enjoyed there.⁵⁴⁹ Serving various purposes, this pattern of also holding multiple properties both inside and outside the City walls also appears far from unusual, as illustrated in the cases of several families of Drapers including the Barnhams, Rudstons and the Megges’.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.428. For confirmation of his holding of three tenements see Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.97 and ‘Return for Land of Superstitious Uses’ as reproduced in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.345. Orlin held that he was granted license to hold it at least until 1568-9 when his tenancy appears in the Wardens Accounts (DCA, WA5, 1568-9, f.7r).

⁵⁴⁶ LMA, CLA/024/02/008, Repertories of the Mayor’s Court, f.10.

⁵⁴⁷ LMA, COL/CA/01/01/023, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Rep 21, f.26v.

⁵⁴⁸ Picard, Liza. *Elizabeth’s London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2004) p.40; Machyn, H. *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle, 1550 – 1563 by Henry Machyn* (Michigan Publishing) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed online 1 June 2015] f.154r.

⁵⁴⁹ LMA, COL/CA/01/01/017, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Rep 15, f.468b.

⁵⁵⁰ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.53. For properties held by William Megges, the elder, in London, Whitechapel and Cocklemouth see: TNA, PROB 11/93/133, Will of William Megges, Draper of Whitechapel.

With civic and corporate officers and successful members so frequently linked to land outside the city, the threat of absence was a very real concern of the Company. Wardens and Masters were frequently noted for their late arrival to meetings and dinners, even missing them altogether on account of being ‘out of town’, ‘in the country’, or ‘over the seas’. In 1573 outgoing Warden Mr Thorowgood missed the Election Dinner but arrived the next day to take his oath.⁵⁵¹ In 1553 Alderman William Chester was elected as Sheriff but was described as being “beyond the sea” and “at his returning home in England” would take up the post.⁵⁵² In 1613 the newly elected Master and several Wardens were absent on account that they were all “in the country”.⁵⁵³ Perhaps pre-empting these difficulties, the Court ordered that Wardens of the Company were required to seek special permission to reside outside the City.⁵⁵⁴ This stipulation was understandable when the pressures of hospitality and duty are considered but such requirements armed potential officers with an easy reason for the avoidance of service. Ward, surveying a case in the Grocers’ records in 1605, regarded living in the country as a “typical excuse” for passing over the office of Warden.⁵⁵⁵ Draper William Peke declined to even become a Liveryman in 1585 on account that he had removed to the country.⁵⁵⁶ At the same time, it was not only the prosperous that departed for the country. The City could equally spit out members of the Company as it could ‘make’ them. One Draper in 1590, named Henry Bush, “departed out of this City” as a result of his financial implosion. His ‘sureties’ were called in to pay his debts on his behalf.⁵⁵⁷ Bush’s departure was no doubt symptomatic of the economic crisis of the 1590s. In the same year, 1590, the Drapers made a pessimistic statement about their view of the future. They noted that the “mean sort” of the Company were struggling to find work and more worryingly deemed that the trade of merchants was “greatly impained” and “likely (which God direct) to decay more and more”.⁵⁵⁸ The Company however emerged out of this dark decade, but retreats to the

⁵⁵¹ DCA, MB8, f.229r.

⁵⁵² DCA, MB5, f.40.

⁵⁵³ DCA, MB13, f.97v.

⁵⁵⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.153.

⁵⁵⁵ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.85.

⁵⁵⁶ DCA, MB10, f.50.

⁵⁵⁷ DCA, MB10, f.528.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.* f.534.

countryside still caused members to retreat from participation in the Company. Exemplifying this issue a few decades later, Robert Jay's petition to be excused from serving as a Warden in 1631 was usual in two respects, and unusual in one. Firstly, he requested to be passed over for the role on account of his old age and physical infirmity. Secondly, he stated that "he hath neither house nor dwelling in this City". These represented two tried and tested avoidance tactics. The reason for his country residence however is more noteworthy. The records state that he was "abroad habiting" having "wholly lost his trade and betook himself long since to dwell in the country near one hundred of [miles] from this City".⁵⁵⁹

The continued difficulty of identifying Drapers willing to serve in office was further demonstrated in the 1630s in the efforts made to pursue members who had indeed departed to the provinces. Apparently despite his residence in 'the country', Anthony Weaver was elected in absentia to the post of Youngest Warden by the Court in 1632. Two months after his election Weaver had still not presented himself at the Hall. The reason for this neglect was that the Company had been unable to inform him of his election having failed to identify his whereabouts. The Court's frustration is palpable in the records as the Drapers' Clerk noted that the Company had sent many letters "to diverse and several places in the country where they thought or suspected he might reside".⁵⁶⁰ Word eventually reached Weaver but he was unwilling to serve, duly paying a £20 fine to be discharged of the office.⁵⁶¹ Next, Simon Adams was elected in place of Weaver. As in the case of Weaver, the Clerk was forced to admit that Adams' address was also unknown. Adam's London-based son-in-law John Dyer was approached in order to rectify the problem. The Company intended to obtain an address for Adams in order to inform him of his appointment and that he should "come presently up to London". However, Dyer was less than co-operative retorting that he did not know where his father-in-law lived. Although admitting Adams was based in Northamptonshire, he reasoned that the county was "far away" from London and that his father did not have a fixed abode there in any case. The Clerk however was unwilling to admit a second defeat. He returned to Dyer to enquire if there was someone else who might hold information about Adam's location. The response he received was conclusively negative. Aware of the cost of Wardenship, Dyer replied that even if he knew where Adams lived he would not disclose it to

⁵⁵⁹ DCA, MB13, f.257v.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid. f.263v.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. f.264v.

the Company since “the business might tend to his said father’s loss or prejudice”. Finally, a local London Draper was elected. Although the new Warden was less experienced than Adams, the Clerk noted that “it would not tend to this Company’s credit a second time to send about the countries to seek out and enquire after a warden not knowing where to meet with him and in the meantime to have the business of this Company neglected and hindered as it hath been in the means of the said Mr Weaver.”⁵⁶²

Such incidents indicate the value of earlier strategies of ‘clustering’ identified by Quinton and Johnson. If members of the Company were resident within London and within close proximity of each other, it could operate with greater efficiency and strength. This pattern of clustering was clearly not exclusive to the Drapers’ Company. The tendency for members of different trades or professions to occupy certain areas in the city is well known and historians have often tried to make sense of and identify geographical trends. Of the medieval Drapers, Quinton demonstrated that there were clusters of Drapers in the Cornhill and Candlewick areas at the turn of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶³ Johnson notes that, of the contributors to the Drapers’ first hall at St. Swithins, thirty lived in Candlewick Street, thirty-one in Cornhill and seventeen in Cheapside.⁵⁶⁴ Indeed old Drapers’ Hall at St. Swithins Lane seemed to mark the centre of a group of buildings that would become assigned to the Company by former members.⁵⁶⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century there was certainly a particular critical mass of estate properties in the area between Drapers’ Hall and the Erber. Often gifted by deceased wealthy Drapers or purchased by them, this area constituted Candlewick Street, Walbrook and also Dowgate Wards. Stow held that Candlewick Street was “possessed by rich drapers, as is Watling Street.” However, Orlin took it that Stow was nostalgic for a by-gone city, reporting the ghost of urban pasts more than the messy reality of the present.⁵⁶⁶ In taking this view of the accelerated dispersal of the trades she was not alone. Hazel Forsyth

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Quinton, ‘The Drapers and the Drapery Trade’, p.29.

⁵⁶⁴ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, pp.292-5.

⁵⁶⁵ Treating an earlier period (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Reddaway also comments on the proximity of the Goldsmith’s Estate to their Hall suggesting that “ease of management and supervision” may have prompted this conglomeration in the West side of the city (Reddaway, *Early History of the Goldsmiths Company*, p.71).

⁵⁶⁶ Orlin, ‘Temporary Lives in London Lodgings’, p.219; Also see: Archer, Ian. ‘John Stow’s *Survey of London*: The Nostalgia of John Stow.’ in D. L. Smith, R. Strier and D. Bevington (ed.) *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre, and Politics in London, 1576–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) pp.17–34.

recently argued for a convincing decline in Goldsmith's on their traditional 'Goldsmith's Row' in sixteenth-century Cheapside and the increasing geographical mobility of Goldsmiths in London.⁵⁶⁷ Despite this, an analysis of the Poll Tax of 1641 indicates that, in the case of the Drapers, a concentration of members in this central area appears to be relatively upheld. Johnson observed that Liverymen were especially strongly represented around Cheapside and Watling Street and after this Canning Street and Gracechurch Street, followed closely by Lombard Street.⁵⁶⁸ The striking thing is not then the movement away from these areas but the apparent continued occupation of them in spite of the challenges presented by countryside living. The provision of city centre houses through the growing estate therefore maximised the potential for a healthy, reputable and well-ordered the Company and could incline men to serve. In opposition to the normal pattern of events, in 1571 Draper Francis Swan complained that he "seeketh to have a house in the city and so to withdraw himself out of the country" and pay his fees to be a "brother" of the Company. He was then dwelling at Wye in Kent.⁵⁶⁹ Before the close of the year he had been granted a property within Drapers' Hall itself which was later occupied by his widow until 1583 and he correspondingly served as Warden in 1576-7.

Conclusion

Taking the long view of the patterns of inhabitancy exemplified in the Drapers' Hall and the Erber, the century between 1540 and 1640 represented a period of practical and conceptual transition as merchants re-negotiated their relationship to property, land and the City.

Howell has observed:

"Even those urbanites (living in Antwerp, Paris, Florence or London) were not certain that commercial wealth could secure social hierarchies and establish personal identity, as property had long been thought able to do. Although they lived from commerce, they did not live entirely comfortably in it...they were searching for and

⁵⁶⁷ Forsyth, H. *London's Lost Jewels* (London: Philip Wilson, 2015) p.49.

⁵⁶⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, pp.200-201.

⁵⁶⁹ DCA, MB8, f.173v.

finding new ways to use property and producing new discourses about its meaning.”⁵⁷⁰

Addressing these contemporary issues, William Scott’s 1635 *An Essay on Drapery or The Complete Citizen: Trading Justly, Pleasingly, Profitably* revealed the moral struggle of reconciling personal profit with service to society in this age of increasing mercantilism. For Thrupp, its sub-title, “implied that here was a handbook especially useful to people who, perhaps as a result of changing their social position, were anxious to realise their opportunities and their responsibilities to the full.”⁵⁷¹

In contrast to earlier treatises on commerce which aspired to gentlemanly status divorced from the context of the city, Scott reinforced the link between achieving personal wealth and City office-holding. For him, every merchant’s ambition must be to become “that grand Senator” the Lord Mayor of London, for the ability to hold this office presumed that men were capable citizens of their own businesses and households. He proclaimed “My citizen must then reason divide between self-love and society; so walking profitably to himself, as he hinder not the good of the common-wealth, but further it.”⁵⁷²

In maintaining a supply of suitable houses, contributing more funds to their upgrades and appointing experienced members to advise on built work, the Company clearly purposed their ‘great’ mansion houses to support and indeed encourage mercantile men in the performance of government. In a meeting of personal and corporate desires for social status, rebuildings of city houses were orientated increasingly towards hospitality and the acquisition of ‘pleasant’ sites outside the City. With ever more ambitious commercial exploits requiring new city-centre storage spaces, the Company sanctioned their open yards to be built on, existing spaces subdivided, cellarage hollowed out and warehouses to be constructed. In spite of the pull of the countryside, reputable sites like Drapers’ Hall were utilized to accommodate the residence of elite merchants in the city-centre, resulting in, for instance, profitable clusterings of successful Drapers. This spatial concentration reflected earlier patterns of the distribution of trades within in the city. Therefore, as the city’s

⁵⁷⁰ Howell, Martha. *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.13.

⁵⁷¹ Scott, William. *An Essay of Drapery, 1635, with an introductory essay by Thrupp, S.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953) p.4.

⁵⁷² Ibid. p.8, 39.

population grew, elite houses of this nature principally survived intact because of the protection the livery companies afforded them. In holding a stock of convenient houses, the Company increased the attraction of becoming one of its leaders. Resisting the urge to subdivide such houses but allowing for improving rebuilding activity, this was one way the Drapers enabled the flourishing city to accommodate new scales of mercantile activity.

Chapter Four – Rebuildings of the Middling Sort

Much has been made of the growing pressure on London land during the period of this study, however the saying goes that: ‘towns do not grow: they are built’.⁵⁷³ This chapter brings the relationship between the Company and its tenants into sharper focus by interrogating the means through which houses of the middling sort of citizen were developed. For Schofield there was indeed a “building boom” in the late sixteenth-century City, prompted by ‘slack’ land made available through the dissolution of the monasteries and an influx of newcomers to London.⁵⁷⁴ Howard noted a further driver of building activity within the early modern urban environment in identifying the relative state of disrepair of towns and cities in the early part of the century.⁵⁷⁵

From the point of view of the historian, the lines delineating between redevelopment, new development, partial rebuilding and complete reconstruction are fine. Harding asserted that, “new building and rebuilding were sometimes concurrent, sometimes alternating, and different parts of London had their own particular developmental histories”.⁵⁷⁶ In her comments she identified three key reasons which may have contributed to favourable development conditions, namely: a proactive landlord in pursuit of profit, a leaseholding pattern that facilitated rebuildings, and “the presence or absence of a controlling local or national authority.”⁵⁷⁷ As an institution concerned with the housing of a community, it can be argued that the Drapers might rightly be defined as a type of ‘local’ authority in spite of the fact they stewarded a disparate collection of properties spread geographically across the city. Was the Company strategic in its lease-granting in order to upgrade its properties? The outworking of all three developmental factors identified by Harding will be explored further in the discussion that follows, finding that evidence from the Drapers’ Company supports and embeds her suggestions.

⁵⁷³ Hoskins W. G. ‘Foreword’ in P. Clark and P. Slack (ed.) *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) p. vii, reciting a general phrase.

⁵⁷⁴ Schofield, ‘The Topography and Buildings of London’, p.298.

⁵⁷⁵ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p.6.

⁵⁷⁶ Harding, ‘City, Capital, and Metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London’, p.123.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

An examination of petitions relating to building work and lease renewals presented to the Drapers' Court of Assistants reveals that the Company indeed supported and encouraged rebuildings with an 'improving eye'.⁵⁷⁸ This attitude held some resonance with Francis Bacon's assertion in 1622 that one of the activities associated to mercantilism was "the improvement and husbanding of the soil".⁵⁷⁹ Furthermore, records from the Company broadly seem to indicate an accumulation of rebuilding activity during and after the 1580s. The Company's role in and responses to these redevelopments are the focus of this chapter. In Chapter Three only elite city houses were examined. In many ways such houses were extraordinary. Only a small proportion of citizens were able to occupy and hold those honourable houses of hospitality. With the loss of many older mansion houses to subdivision, the city environment was to become increasingly defined by its small urban houses of the middling sort. This chapter therefore begins by outlining the typical form of types of houses, setting up evidence from the Drapers' Archive in relation John Summerson's typological idea of the 'unit' house. It then moves to consider the ways in which the Court knowingly utilised its prerogative to grant leases and renew them to favour tenants willing to improve and rebuild their properties. Finally, it examines some individual winners and losers in this drive to upgrade and continues to reflect on the developing importance of storage spaces in city properties. The development drive anecdotally revealed in the records of the Drapers indicates that Company leaders understood future corporate prosperity to be dependent in part on the effective management of their property. Spurred by changes in emerging commercial markets, this approach represented a transition from a medieval conception of property which some historians have argued did not easily make the abstract connection between land and money.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁸ For reflections on the 'imperial' or European improving eye in terms of conquest see: Pratt, M. L. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edition (New York and London: Routledge, 2008) pp.59-60. Pratt notes that "The European improving eye produces subsistence habitats as "empty" landscapes, meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and of their potential for producing a marketable surplus. From the point of view of their inhabitants, of course, these same spaces are lived as intensely humanised, saturated with local history and meaning..."

⁵⁷⁹ Bacon proposed that the purpose of mercantilism was "the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufacturers; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulation of prices..." (Bacon, F. *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon*, J. Devey (ed.) (London: Ell & Daldy, 1866)) p.42.

⁵⁸⁰ Howell, M. 'The Language of Property in Early Modern Europe' in H. Turner (ed.) *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (NY: Routledge, 2002) pp.17-26; Aylmer, G. 'The meaning and definition of "Property" in seventeenth-century England' in *Past and*

The Value of a Lease

For London citizen-merchants dealing in international corporate enterprises Lachmann held that “urbanites were transformed from glorified haberdashers into the rulers of large territorial states.”⁵⁸¹ As the value of City estates continued to rise in the later sixteenth century and lease-holding patterns were revised, there were inevitable changes to corporately-framed tenant-landlord relationships. These negotiations held implications for the condition of buildings within the Drapers’ estate. As a result of these shifts, the Company transferred more responsibility for the upkeep of the building fabric of its properties onto its tenants. For Oldland, one of the consequences of the growing demand for land was that vacant properties were comparative rarities and, in this competitive environment, “landlords could force tenants to maintain their properties.”⁵⁸² The Company was evidently aware that the balance of power had tipped in its favour in the wake of the dissolution, for the Court changed its policy on property maintenance in 1544. Up until this year the Drapers had taken primary responsibility for the majority of repairs within its estate regardless of their nature. However, having recently acquired the Erber and Throgmorton, the Court agreed that “considering the great costs and charges which yearly goeth out for reparations of our lands that no tenement belonging to this fellowship shall from henceforth be letten by lease unless the tenant would be bound to bear and pay the reparations thereof”.⁵⁸³ From this point onwards the Company became responsible only for the ‘principals’ (i.e. the structure) of their properties, their tenants required to take care of everything else necessary. Lease documents were fashioned to reflect this strategy. When Henry Walker applied to build a further chimney and insert a new window into a room in his tenement in Bush Lane, the Company granted their consent, even contributing 20s. to the scheme. Walker was warned to be careful that his work was not “hurtful nor any weakening to the principals of the same house”.⁵⁸⁴ Such damage would incur a cost the Company. In spite of the risk of mismanagement of such schemes, significant rebuildings which were proposed by

Present 86 (1980) pp. 87-97; Seipp, D. 'The concept of property in early common law' in *Law and History Review* 12 (1994) pp.29-91.

⁵⁸¹ Lachmann, R. *Capitalists in Spite of Themselves: Elite Conflict and Economic Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) p.4.

⁵⁸² Oldland, ‘The allocation merchant capital’ p.1069.

⁵⁸³ DCA, MB1C, f.800-801.

⁵⁸⁴ DCA, MB10, f.39.

leaseholders were rarely declined by the Company. Both tenant and landlord could of course mutually profit from building work as long as aforementioned responsibilities were observed. Baer held that “landlords saw their leases as sources of income or capital, and tenants saw them as both a means of securing space, and as an investment for potential profit”.⁵⁸⁵

In the ever more competitive cityscape those tenants who did not hold potential to add value to properties were vulnerable to the consequences of market forces. In the late sixteenth century pressure was applied to those with less secure tenancy arrangements, a clear illustration of a changing rental environment. ‘Tenants-at-will’ made up a distinct group of Company tenants who held permission to dwell in properties from year to year but did not hold a lease. This group usually occupied a lower sort of housing but there are instances of more salubrious properties also being held in this mode for short periods of time as a privileged stop gap before a more advantageous tenant was found.⁵⁸⁶ In their favour, tenants-at-will were under no obligation to pay a fine for lease renewals. On the other side, the Company had fewer responsibilities to the tenants and was able to evict them easily should the need arise.⁵⁸⁷ These tenants were not naturally inclined to invest in any improvements to their properties and in reality were never required to justify their occupancy, easily slipping below the radar for years. Given the growing recognition that the estate required careful management and proactive tenants to maximise potential for profit, it is unsurprising that the practice of ‘tenants-at-will’ was increasingly unsatisfactory to the Company. Aware that they were under no obligation to apply for new leases and there being no obvious moment to re-assess the level of their rent, their status was finally re-considered by the Court in 1589. It was argued that a substantial group of long-term tenants-at-will had become too comfortable in their tenancies and assumed rights to their properties that were in fact far more conditional than their attitudes suggested. The Drapers reported that such inhabitants “flatter[ed] themselves” that their leases would be continually renewed “as they

⁵⁸⁵ Baer, ‘Landlords and tenants in London’, p.237. For the rural context Wrightson identifies a similar pattern where: “The period between the 1530s and the 1570s...witnessed a developing tension and instability in the relationships of landlords and tenants, fraught with actual or potential conflicts of interest.” (Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p.140).

⁵⁸⁶ An usual example is found in Widow Gilborne who was at first tenant-at-will in a house at Dowgate and then later acquired a 21 year lease (DCA, MB10, f.459, f.449).

⁵⁸⁷ A 1572 describes them as “our tenants which have no leases and those which are but tenants at will” in relation to their obligation to repair their houses and keep them “windtight...watertight...and tenantable” but nothing more (DCA, MB8, f.210v). For a discussion of the feudal roots of such a status of occupation and the connection to serfdom see Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp.72-3.

and their ancestors have done before". This re-assessment appeared at first to be a warning against complacency. The Court ordered that the tenants were to be called before the Master and Wardens for a review. Perhaps antagonistically, they were instructed to bring their "interests and titles" and the Wardens would report back to the Court what "cause requireth for the profit, good estate and benefit of this house".⁵⁸⁸ By December of the same year the warning had turned into decisive action, conclusively curtailing the long-running occupancy of tenants-at-will in Company properties. In future such tenancies were only granted sparingly and for brief limited periods. Two Wardens and the Renter visited each of the tenants-at-will to inform them that they were required to find new houses by August of the following year. The Court was keen to consider "granting the same to brethren of this society" on more conventional lease-holding terms.⁵⁸⁹ The Company did not explicitly relate the retraction of these properties from long term tenants-at-will to a corporate ambition to progressively improve the quality of the buildings in their estate, but at the very least the Court must have been aware that this action held the potential to encourage such developments whilst also increasing the housing stock available for renting to its members.

The Unit House

Having centralised the houses of the City elite in previous chapters, the discussion that follows sketches out the form of a wide-spread type of urban house more usually occupied by the middling sort of citizen. It does so in order to contextualise later textual accounts of rebuildings of properties of this nature. As noted, few survey plans of properties exist within the Drapers' Archive. There are certainly no coherent drawing sets relating to 'existing' and 'proposed' schemes as we would understand them today. Rather, a handful of rough plans from the early seventeenth century allows some insight into the character of a modest urban house likely occupied by retailers, middling merchants and craftsmen. It was men of this sort that were most strongly represented in their petitions to the Drapers' Court to rebuild properties. Indeed, although the Drapers' estate accommodated all sorts of social groups, on the whole it seems to have been especially defined by housing for the middle and lower rank of merchants.⁵⁹⁰ The sort of housing under consideration linked to this group has been

⁵⁸⁸ DCA, MB10, f.377.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid. f.426.

⁵⁹⁰ This appears to be consistent with the general make-up of the city's population. According to Stow's Survey, London was made up of "merchants, handicraftsmen, and labourers" and that "in

typologically identified by Summerson as the 'unit-house'.⁵⁹¹ Its conveniently narrow street-facing frontage and deep plan ensured it was a type of urban building that would endure from the middle ages right up to the nineteenth century all across Europe. Drawing on the ephemeral plans located in the Drapers' Archive stored amongst loosely bundled papers, the form of the London unit house in the sixteenth century can be sketched out (figure 4.1).

Located on Walbrook, 'The measure and content of Mr Eastcourt's house taken upon a view by Master Wardens, 1623' (no. 49) presents an indicative example of the tall unit house (figures 4.2 and 4.3). In all, this house was 63 ft. deep. To the commercially valuable street side, a 'great warehouse' with a 13ft. frontage was situated, under which ran storage cellars. Stretching the near length of the property was an entry of 4 ft. in width which allowed direct access to the middle courtyard and the first floor via a rear staircase. The middle courtyard also housed a small staircase providing access to the upper floor and a bridge or gallery linking the front and back sections of the property. Like other buildings of this scale and situation in urbanized European cities, middling-sort merchants often lived on the first floor with storage rooms and cellars for traded goods on the ground. Two street-facing doors allowed for separated access facilitating a strong division between the trading and living quarters of the house. Such an arrangement of corridors and stairs which differentiated commercial and domestic spheres was identified by Schofield as an early seventeenth century phenomenon.⁵⁹² The ground floor of the back part housed another warehouse while above it was a kitchen, above this in the second storey was a chamber, and on the third floor was a chamber with a house of office. Returning to the front street-ward part of the house, the first storey consisted of two 'fair' chambers, the second storey contained another two such chambers. The third storey was also divided into two, to the front part was a garret and the rear was another fair chamber. This street side was taller than the back by one storey which housed a garret to the back. Foreign visitor to the city, Paul Hentzner, made observations about the distinctiveness of these houses. The Brandenburg tutor commented

number...they of the middle place are first, and do far exceed both the rest..." (Stow, *Survey*, Vol. 2. p.207-8). Also quoted and discussed in Rappaport, *Worlds*, p.172-3.

⁵⁹¹ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p.90. For alternative terms used for the same essential typology see: 'Type 2' in Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.53; 'right-angle type' in Pantin, W. A. 'Medieval English Town-House Plans' in *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7 (1963) pp.202-239.

⁵⁹² Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London', p.310. See also: Bold, John. 'Privacy and Plan' in J. Bold and E. Chaney (ed.) *English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993) pp.107-19.

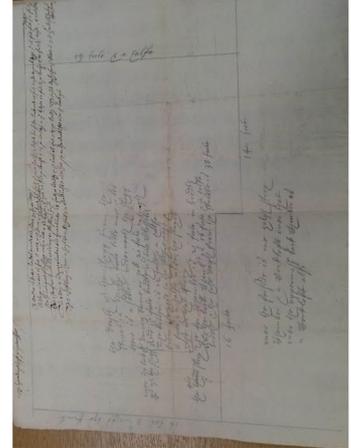
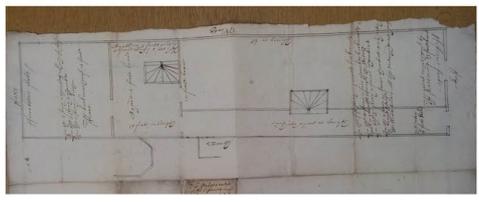
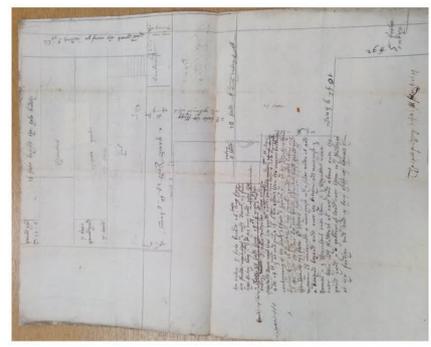
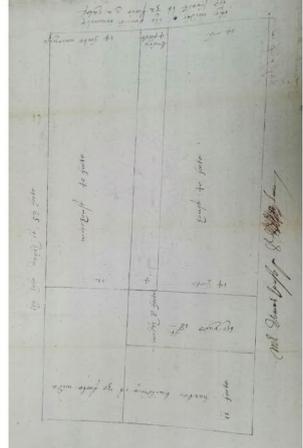
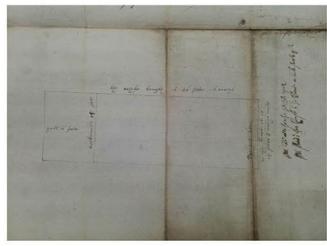
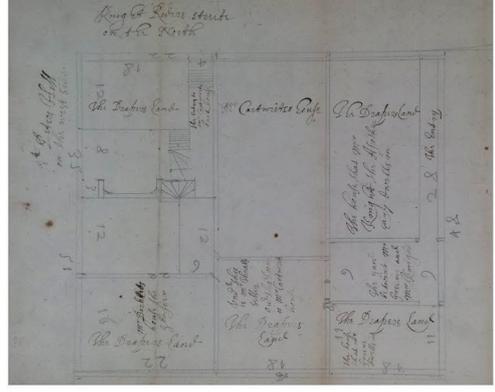
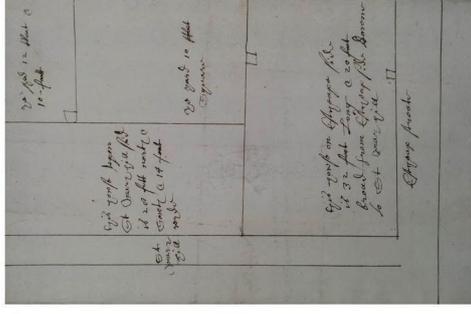


Figure 4.1. Unidentified rough plans, 17th century, compiled from misc. letters (DCA, A III 151, Misc. Letters)

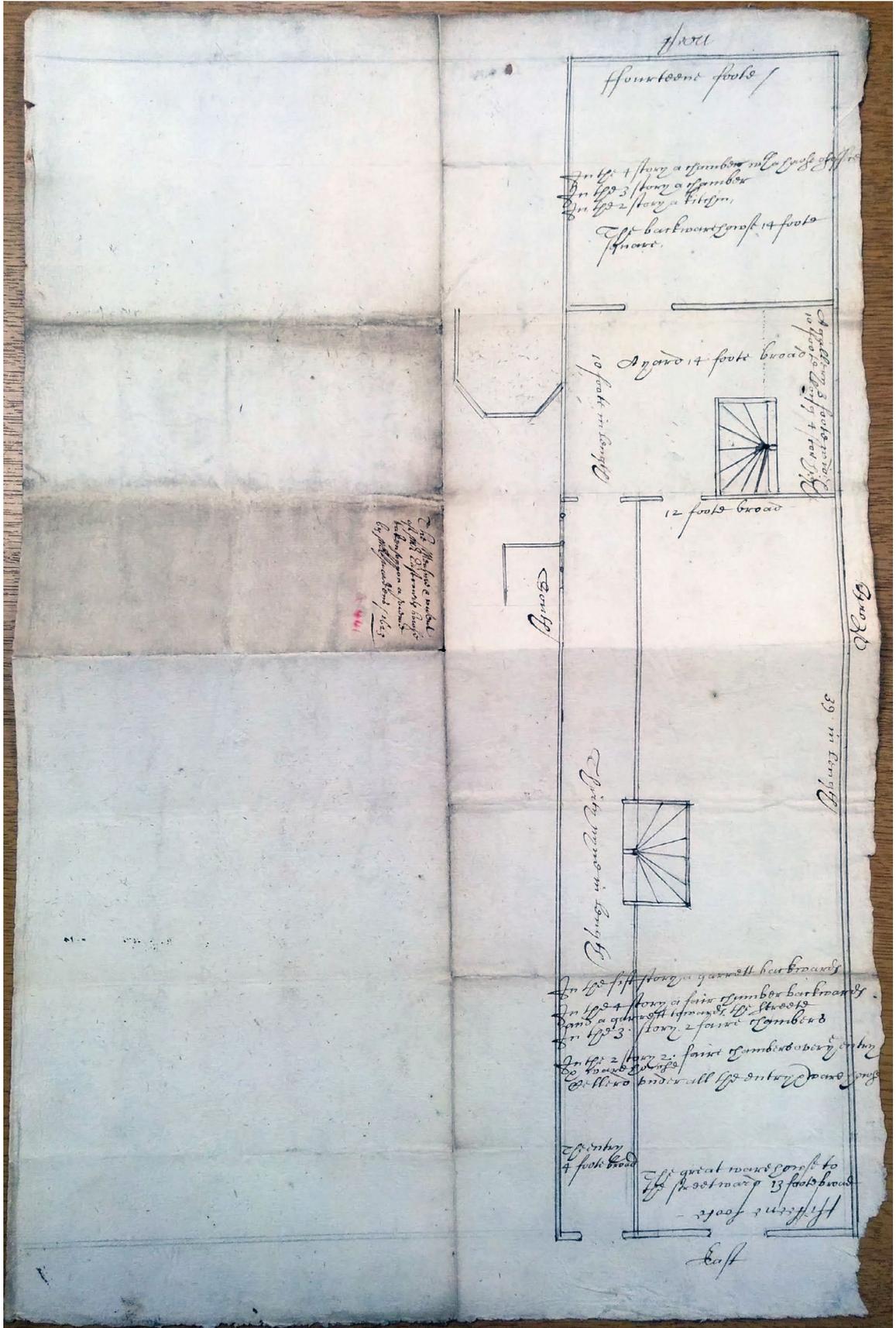
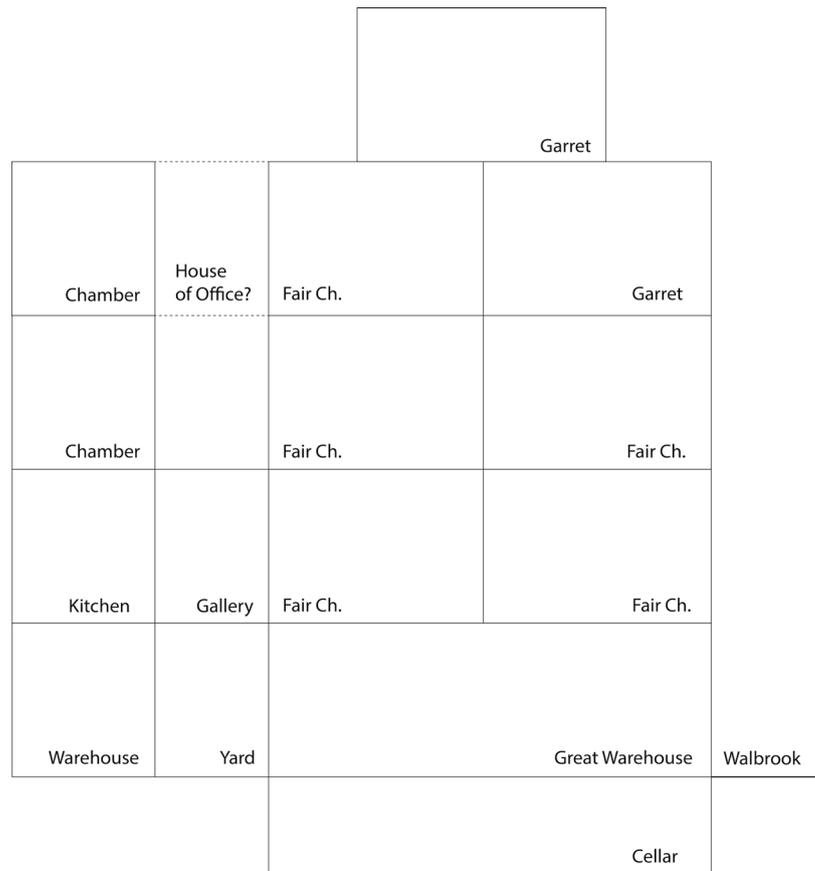


Figure 4.2. Anon. Mr Eastcourt's House (DCA, a 441, 1623)



In the 4 story a chamber with a house of office

In the 3 story a chamber

In the 2 story a kitchen

The back warehouse 14 foot square

In the fifth story a garret backwards

In the 4 story a fair chamber backwards and a garret towards the street

In the 3 story 2 fair chambers

In the 2 story 2 fair chambers over the entry and warehouse

Cellars under all and entry and warehouse

The great warehouse to the streetwards

Figure 4.3. Diagrammatic section of Mr Eastcourt's House with transcription of accompanying text (DCA, a 441, 1623)

in 1598 that such London tenements rose far above the rest of those in England, commonly three or four storeys in height and built of wood.⁵⁹³

Some illuminating insight can be gained into the circumstances surrounding the production of the plan of Mr Eastcourt's house. The Minute Books suggest that the drawing of the Walbrook house was probably produced on account of a view undertaken by the Wardens to ascertain the value of the house. Consistent with the date of the plan, Mr Eastcourt applied for a lease of 21 years in July of 1623.⁵⁹⁴ After assessing the value of the let through a site-visit, the drawing was presumably made as evidence to support the Drapers' case. The Wardens decided that the fine for the new let was to be £150. This was a fairly typical sum to request for a house of this size in the early seventeenth century.⁵⁹⁵ Eastcourt however offered only £20. Affronted, the Company ceased negotiations, holding Eastcourt's offer to be "very unfit". Acting patiently in this instance, the Court gave Eastcourt the benefit of time to reconsider his rejected offer. Perhaps he presented himself as a potentially reliable tenant in contrast to others seeking after similar properties.⁵⁹⁶ By March 1624 Eastcourt had agreed to the £120 fine and the rent remained fixed at the previous rate of £3 6s. 8d.⁵⁹⁷ Sketch plans such as that of Eastcourt's house were commonly utilized to clarify a dispute and so it seems likely that the surviving drawing was produced to define the extents of this property to aid discussion. Taking a more general view of the house in the context of the overall estate, properties with an annual rental value of either 20s. or £3 were plentiful, so Mr Eastcourt's

⁵⁹³ Hentzner, Paul. 'Travels in England, 1598', p.110.

⁵⁹⁴ This could have been Thomas Eastcourt, a Goldsmith, whose son joined that Company by through redemption in 1638. (*Records of London's Livery Companies Online (ROLLCO)*). IHR. <http://www.londonroll.org/> [Accessed 2014-2016]. Confirmation that his first name was indeed Thomas is found: DCA, MB13, f.143v.

⁵⁹⁵ For example, in 1637 Henry Arianson was granted a 21 year lease of a house in Little East Cheap for £3 yearly and an £100 fine (DCA, MB13, f.310v) and existing tenant in 1623 William Cuff was granted a 21 year lease of a house in St Swithins Lane for 20s yearly and £35 fine (DCA, MB13, f.184v), existing tenant Widow Shatterton was granted a house in Mark Lane for 21 years at a rent of £10 with a £20 fine (DCA, MB13, f.185v). This was consistent of larger houses.

⁵⁹⁶ There were many unsuccessful petitions for grants of leases although the precise basis for these rejections is often not explicit. In 1589 William Smith "and many others" were suitors for numerous small tenements but the Company rejected them and elected to wait "until better opportunity and leisure" (DCA, MB10, f.401).

⁵⁹⁷ DCA, MB13, f.180r, f.181v, f.184r.

property is therefore a useful reference point when considering other such unit houses within the estate.

In the Archive only one complete inventory survives for the house occupied by a Draper but it fortuitously reflects a similar configuration to the Walbrook house. The goods and furniture of William Keltridge's house in St. Michael Cornhill (no. 54) were assessed room by room in 1592.⁵⁹⁸ In its form and rooms it is almost certainly comparable to Eastcourt's Walbrook house, however the house cannot be located precisely except by parish. The inventory describes a ground-floor shop, a hall and parlour above, a little chamber and counting house, a great chamber and garret on the upper floors, as well as a closet and kitchen. The ground-floor shop was furnished with a "new wainscot form", unusually "standing on high in the gallery".⁵⁹⁹ Apprenticed in 1542, it seems likely that Keltridge was engaged as a retailing Draper. He served as First Warden in 1592-3 indicating a certain level of prosperity accumulated over fifty years. He was strongly associated with the parish until his death; his children were born in this area and he was buried in the parish church of St. Michael Cornhill.⁶⁰⁰

Representations of the interior of these sort of houses in England are rare however Jost Amman's *Allegory of Trade* (1588) depicts a successful Dutch merchant's house in active occupation (figure 4.4). Clearly relatable to the trading activities Wardens of the Drapers' Company were often engaged in, all sorts of functions are spatially articulated in this detailed engraving. The interior for example contains rooms for deal making, book-keeping, warehousing and packing of products but these processes spill out into the open air. Writing from the context of Antwerpen merchants, Donald Harreld held that these multi-functional mercantile houses were simultaneously "public showrooms, warehouses, and pack houses".⁶⁰¹ Depending on the scale of the business and its prosperity, as noted in Chapter

⁵⁹⁸ DCA, AVI 215, Inventory of William Keltridge.

⁵⁹⁹ This indicates that the ceiling height must have been generous enough to allow for an additional internal platform, perhaps as depicted in Gerrit Dou's 'The Grocer's Shop' of 1672 (Royal Collection), although this is clearly of a later date.

⁶⁰⁰ TNA, PROB 11/104/377, Will of William Keltridge, 1604. Also see biography of his son John: Wright, Stephen. 'Keltridge, John (*bap.* 1553, *d.* 1582-1604)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, Jan 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15308> [Accessed online 11 May 2016].

⁶⁰¹ Harreld, D. 'Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp' in *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 6 (2003) pp.657-669, p.659.

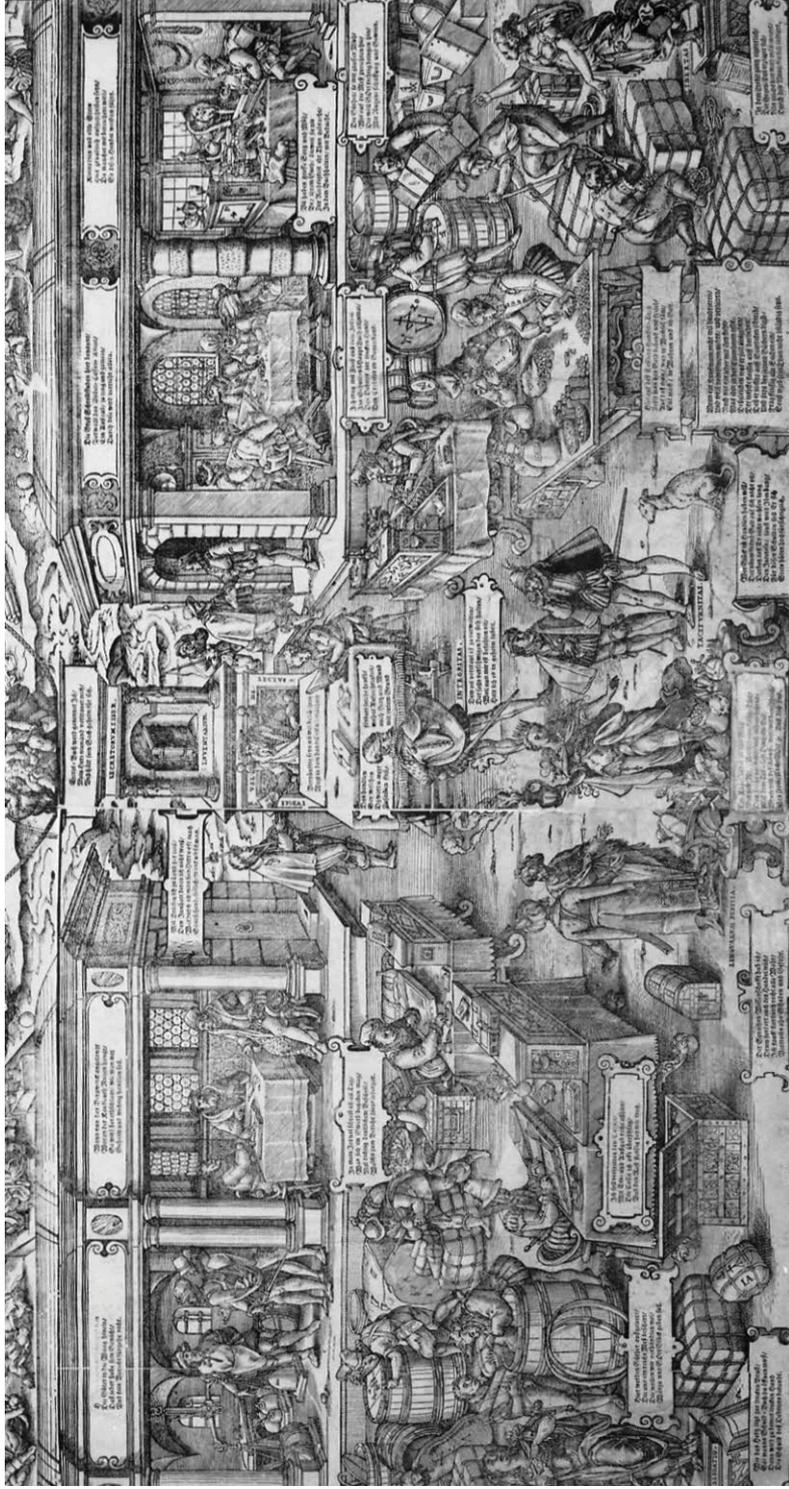


Figure 4.4. Detail from Jost Amman, *Eigentliche Abbildung des ganzen Gewerbs der löblichen Kaufmannschafft or An Allegory on Commerce* (1585). Reproduced from a later print (c.1800–1854), The British Museum, London (reg. no: 1867,0713.58.+)

Three, merchants' inhabitations of city properties were more likely to be balanced across a number of sites rather than being confined to one neatly self-contained house as depicted on the Walbrook plan in 1623. This ordered ground floor plan alongside its description of the upper floors is detached from context and devoid of contestation. In its representation it belies the messiness of spatial negotiations between competing agents intent on adapting and rebuilding these familiar unit-houses.

Leases and Rebuildings

As demonstrated in the failure of Mr Eastcourt to secure a lower fine, the Company was knowingly aware that leases on the brink of expiration placed it in a strong bargaining position and provided opportunities to add value to properties through canny negotiations with prospective tenants. Those holding leases and seeking their renewal could propose to undertake extensive rebuildings at their own cost in order to ensure their continuance. Such dialogues especially pepper the Minute Books from the final decades of the sixteenth century onwards as petitions for properties were consistently heard at Court meetings. The story of a group of buildings on Abchurch Lane (nos 41 and 42) provides a typical example of how tenants were granted leases on the basis that they would invest in the property. The two tenants in question were Drapers and soon to become Wardens in the Company, signalling their relative prosperity. Having already funded the "new building of the forefront of the said messuage adjoining to St. Nicholas Lane", in 1605 John Hall was required by the Court to spend £200 "in new building the back parts" of his messuage and tenements adjoining Abchurch Lane. He was given three to four years to complete the work.⁶⁰² The house next door to Hall was leased by Thomas Cliff, who was granted a new lease in the same year "in consideration of reparations heretofore done" but also future work "in regard that the back rooms...are very much decayed and more fit to be plucked down and new built than any longer to be repaired".⁶⁰³ In a separate example, a further petitioner from outside the Company membership, a Doctor Spicer, dwelt in Cordwainer Street and reported the "great decay" of his house and the need for reparations. He secured a new lease so that he might rebuild the property from his own pocket.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² DCA, MB13, f.25v, f.27r. In 1619 John Hall was still a tenant of his property (1619 Letters Patent reproduced in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 4, p.51).

⁶⁰³ DCA, MB13, f.25r

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.* f.188r

In spite of the Company's stipulation that tenants bore responsibility for non-structural repairs to their properties, exceptions could be made. With twelve years remaining on his lease, John Marsh, noted as a 'gent', applied to extend the tenancy of the house he inhabited on Honey Lane (no. 6 or 7) in 1552. The Wardens made him two offers. Either he could choose a brand new lease for 30 years (in addition to his existing 12 years), with the Drapers holding responsibility for all reparations, or he could accept a 60 year lease using the standard arrangement i.e. accepting responsibility for minor reparations while the Drapers took responsibility for the principal elements. Marsh preferred the second option and was instructed that the Company would inspect the property twice yearly (a maintenance pattern that will be examined in Chapter Five). If the reparations were not undertaken within six months a fine of 40s. was required to be paid. And moreover if the reparations were still uncompleted after one year the lease would be forfeited.⁶⁰⁵ On occasion that rebuildings and reparations were agreed but not undertaken, the Company could still in fact elect to be lenient. In 1589, Mr Storer paid a £30 fine alongside surrendering the lease of his Petty Wales house (no. 40) eleven years early as a result of not rebuilding his property with 20 marks as he had promised to do when he was granted the lease ten years earlier. Undeterred by the revocation of his lease and a significant fine levied on him, Storer presented himself to the Court in order to promise to undertake the work he had previously neglected. As a result, the Drapers' granted him a new 21 year lease.⁶⁰⁶

On the other hand, existing tenants could pre-emptively undertake building work and use this to their advantage in negotiations for a longer lease or lesser fine. Numerous examples of this across the period demonstrate this was an ongoing and enduring practice. In the early seventeenth century William Essington and Henry Orrell both secured new leases and favourable terms in retrospect of their rebuilding work.⁶⁰⁷ Similarly, Warden Richard Boudler leased a messuage and tenements in Bassishaw (nos 9 and 11). On account that he had undertaken "new building and reparations" at his "great charge", Boulder was given an

⁶⁰⁵ DCA, MB5, f.14. A brief inventory of the house is also contained in the Minute Book of 1554 after Marsh's death. It notes a kitchen with a cistern, larder, backyard and frontyard, stable, buttery, pantry, counting house, parlour and hall. In the hall Mr Marsh's crest adorned the walls "as also appeareth endorsed upon the lease" (DCA, MB5, f.93-4).

⁶⁰⁶ DCA, MB10, f.375.

⁶⁰⁷ DCA, MB13, f.36v, f. 37r.

extension to his lease of ten years for a relatively minimal fine of £10.⁶⁰⁸ However such tenant's endeavours in this regard were not undertaken without risk as redevelopments did not guarantee a lease would be renewed. In 1553 William Stoner, a butcher whose lease (no. 12) was up for renewal, reported to the Court that he had spent 11 nobles on reparations to his house in the hope that this might endear the Company to extend his lease. For unexplained reasons the Drapers refused to grant Stoner such a benefit, allowing him only to remain "but their tenant-at-will" with no lease and no security.⁶⁰⁹ Two years later however Stoner was granted a new lease of the tenement "for the term of his life and his wife's" provided he ensure reparations were completed in the six weeks following a warning. Instead of paying a cash fine the Drapers agreed he was to fund the construction of a new chimney in his property ensuring the work was completed within three months.⁶¹⁰ A rather more successful deal was struck by John Aubrey in respect of his tenement in West Cheap (no. 7). Having previously held a lease for 31 years at £7 rent with a characteristically high fine of £350, Aubrey made "humble petition...to this court" for an extension to his lease. He claimed to have spent £400 on the property over the term of his previous lease and furthermore intended to invest an additional £200 on the rebuilding and repairing of the property. In respect of the significant work undertaken solely at Aubrey's expense he "prayed" either for a one-off payment of reimbursement from the Drapers or for his lease to be extended. The Court of Assistants agreed on a third course of action guaranteeing Aubrey a new let of 31 years at the end of his current lease.⁶¹¹ These tenants demonstrated a clear impulse to invest in improving their properties and approached the Drapers with a sense that these investments should be recognized by the Company in issuing advantageous leases.

After the King's proclamations regarding building work issued in the early seventeenth century, greater attention appears to have been paid to the materiality of buildings in the Court's negotiations with tenants. Coinciding with an especially active period of rebuilding around the same time, the Royal proclamations of 1605, 1607, 1608 and 1615 forbade the building of frontages of timber, instead requiring brick and stone in any new construction work. The impact of these prohibitions has been subject to some debate in spite of the King's

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid. f.27v.

⁶⁰⁹ DCA, MB5, f.28.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid. f.107.

⁶¹¹ DCA, MB13, f.187r.

confident declaration in 1615 that “we found our city and suburbs of London of sticks, and left them of bricks, being a material far more durable, safe from fire, beautiful and magnificent.”⁶¹² In the case of the Drapers however, the proclamations do seem to have held some weight. The Court was noticeably more inclined to approve redevelopments of higher quality and were more prescriptive in their requirements after the proclamations – they were specifically attentive to the utilisation of stone for the façade, a feature strongly endorsed in line with the regulations.⁶¹³ In 1624 a corner house at the Soper Lane end of Watling Street (no. 55) was leased to John Osborne, a Draper, on condition that he rebuilt it in brick and stone “in as beautiful a manner” and “in such fashion and number of stories” as the Company saw fit.⁶¹⁴ Cellars were also to be created throughout the house. The Company extraordinarily agreed to invest £500 in this construction project, Osborne paying a £40 fine for his lease as well as investing any additional funds required.⁶¹⁵ Three years later in January 1627 Osborne returned to the Court for an increase to his short-term let having made good on his rebuilding promise. The Drapers commended that it was “a fair, strong and beautiful house”. In return they offered Osborne a 50 year lease, including any time already granted at the ‘old’ yearly rent of £6 6s. 8d.⁶¹⁶ These episodes represent only two of string of rebuildings which stipulated the ‘substantial’ quality required in any proposed construction work, most of which also included the requirement for stone.⁶¹⁷ In September 1637 Thomas Wright, a butcher, applied for a new lease of his house in Little Eastcheap (no. 47). The lease was duly granted for the same rent as before (£4). Mr Wright however indicated his intention to rebuild “all the forepart of the said house” or even “to get it raised two stories higher”. The

⁶¹² *Stuart Royal Proclamations: Vol. 1*, J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes (ed.) (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1974) 16 July 1615. Also see Bret-James, N. *The Growth of Stuart London* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1935) p.9; Barnes, T. ‘The Prerogative and Environmental Control of London Buildings in the Early Seventeenth Century: The Lost Opportunity’ in *California Law Review*, no. 58 (1970) pp.1332-1363, p.1343.

⁶¹³ Larkin and Hughes (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, pp.345-6.

⁶¹⁴ In 1597 John Osborne is referred to as a ‘gent’, the son of Peter Osborne, and then aged 43 (‘Inquisitions: 1597’ in *Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem For the City of London: Part 3*, E. A. Fry (ed.) (London: 1908) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/abstract/no3/pp245-256> [Accessed online 21 November 2015] pp.245-256).

⁶¹⁵ DCA, MB13, f.186r.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.* f.196v.

⁶¹⁷ For more examples also see: DCA, MB13, f.45v, f.299v.

Drapers confirmed that “when the said new building shall be finished to the good content of the Company” Wright could expect to secure a further extension of his lease.⁶¹⁸ The outcome of his lease was dependent on the quality of his rebuilding. For Orlin, “the pressure on property holders [was] not only for routine repairs but also to accommodate rising standards”.⁶¹⁹

Merged Buildings⁶²⁰

Complicated spatial arrangements were typical of the increasingly densified city environment. Orlin wrote that “where boundaries were not natural or logical, one tenancy could not immediately be distinguished from another by means of common sense.”⁶²¹ Another loose plan in the Drapers’ Archive, ‘A linen draper’s house’, located in Gracechurch Street, demonstrates the fluidity of boundaries between houses in its accompanying description of the upper floors (figure 4.5). Although it is undated, it likely reflects a property from first quarter of the seventeenth century. This period marked the rise of the lucrative ‘new draperies’ which were gradually taking over the traditional broadcloth market. The linen draper who held this house was no doubt involved in the retail of these new luxury materials.⁶²² The property possessed a similar street elevation to Mr Eastcourt’s on Walbrook (16 ft.) but was just over half the depth (38 ft.) inclusive of the yard to the rear. Though what it lacked in depth it made up for in height, possessing a basement cellar and stretching up to a fourth storey which contained a further ‘cockloft’ or garret room above this. The shop covered the near entirety of the ground floor above which a ‘dining room or hall’ with two closets was serviced by a kitchen accessed only by a staircase in the rear yard (as opposed to via the shop). The integration of the kitchen into the main house and its position on the first floor is characteristic of the sketch plans identified in the Drapers’ collection. Schofield has

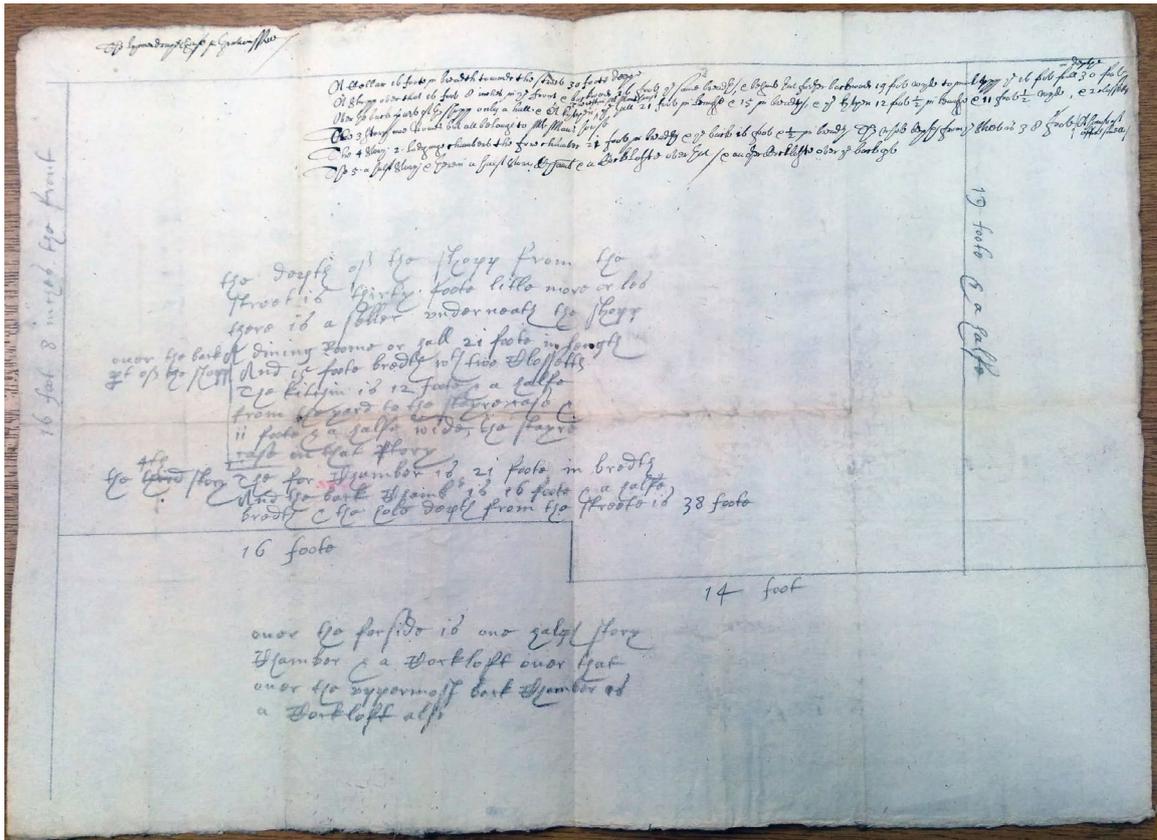
⁶¹⁸ Ibid. f.312v.

⁶¹⁹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.122.

⁶²⁰ Orlin stated that “it is a matter of merged buildings as well as misshaped yards” (Orlin, ‘Boundary Disputes’, p.359).

⁶²¹ Orlin, ‘Boundary Disputes’, p.357.

⁶²² For discussion of this new innovation in textile production and distribution see: Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp.166-167. Also: Coleman, D. C. ‘An Innovation and Its Diffusion: The “new Draperies”’ in *The Economic History Review* 22, no.3 (1969) pp.417–429.



The linen drapers house in Gracechurch Street:

A cellar 16 ft. in breadth towards the street, 30 ft. deep.
 A shop over that 16 ft. 8 in. in the front and backward 16 ft. the same breadth and behind and further backward 19 ft. wide.
 Over the back part of the shop only a hall and a kitchen, the rest in Mr Man's house. The hall 21 ft. in length and 15 in. breadth and the kitchen 12 ft. in length and 11 ft. wide and two closets.
 The third story no rooms but all belong to Mr Man's house.
 The fourth story 2 lodging chambers, the fore chamber 21 ft. in breadth and the back 16 ft. in breadth. The whole depth from the ___ is 38 ft. A house of office small.
 The fifth and a half story and herein a half story chamber and a cockloft overhead, and another cockloft over the back part.

The depth of the shop from the street is 30 ft. little more or less.
 There is a cellar underneath the shop.
 Over the back part of the shop:
 A dining room or hall 21 ft. in length and 15 ft. breadth with two closets.
 The kitchen is 12 ft. and a half from the yard to the staircase and 2 ft. and a half wide, the staircase in that story.
 The fourth story the fore chamber is 21 ft. in breadth and the back chamber is 16 ft. and a half breadth and the whole depth from the street is 38 ft.
 Over the fore side is one half story chamber and a cockloft over that over the uppermost back chamber is a cockloft also.

Figure 4.5. Anon. *A Linen Drapers' House in Gracechurch Street* (DCA, a 441) with transcription of accompanying text

identified this as one of the typical configurations for such narrow London houses.⁶²³

Premium ground-floor space was routinely allocated to warehousing alone as trading activities intensified. The little warehouse through the yard in the Walbrook house might have originally functioned as a kitchen before it was relocated to extend the capacity of the occupier to storage of goods. The linen drapers' house is most interesting however for the way in which it illustrates the intertwining of two houses on the upper floors. The entire second floor and part of the first were designated to the neighbouring property held by 'Mr Mann'. Based on the frequency of such arrangements, it seems that horizontal dividing walls between unit-houses were not seen as strong impermeable boundaries but rather temporary partitions capable of dissolving on demand. Upper floors that were wholly dedicated to a neighbouring property but sandwiched between those held by another tenant suggest a closeness of living that would be seen to be extremely problematic in the present day. For early modern Londoners however such conditions were a routine fact of everyday life.

The complications of this 'vertical living' are evidenced in the cases presented by tenants at the Drapers' Court. Although more extreme disputes can be identified using the City Viewers' Certificates, some smaller-scale instances in the Drapers' Archive are just as vivid. Robert Wood was already a tenant of the Company in Philpot Lane, in the parish of St. Andrew Hubbard, when he was elected to the office of Company Cook in the early seventeenth century. Since he had taken over the tenancy from fellow cook, the aptly named 'William Cook', it is likely this property was fashioned as a cookshop. His tenancy was not without struggle however. In April 1606 Wood brought a complaint to the Drapers' Court against his neighbour 'Valentine'. From this dispute it is clear that Wood held only the shop and chamber on the ground floor of the building. Valentine was also a tenant of the Company and occupied the rooms above. Wood bemoaned that he was "greatly annoyed...by reason of much water which is spilt in the said upper room...also the floor of the said room being greatly decayed that he is in danger to lie in his chamber being under the same". Seeking to resolve the annoyance, the Company agreed that when Valentine's lease expired Wood would be offered the upper rooms alongside his existing accommodation on the ground floor.⁶²⁴ With Valentine's lease continuing on for another two years, Wood suffered still. He

⁶²³ Type vi of vii for Schofield (*Medieval London Houses*, p.70).

⁶²⁴ DC, MB13, f.35v. The unfortunate experience of the Company Cook was not unique. Orlin cites further examples of water damage using the Viewers Certificates to show how one tenant's floor was rotting as a result of water damage, causing another tenant's chamber below to be damaged (cert. 272) (Orlin, 'Boundary Disputes', p.359-60).

returned to the Court in May 1608 with the complaint that “he daily is and of long time” annoyed by the rooms of Valentine that “shed water very often down upon his bedding and other goods”. However, this time Wood put forward a different solution to his problem. He proposed that upon the expiration of Valentine’s lease (or on obtaining Valentine’s agreement to vacate early) he would surrender the years remaining on his current lease and rebuild the whole property in return for a new 31 year lease of the complete dwelling house. The Wardens were sent to view the tenement to assess the proposal.⁶²⁵ In July of the same year the Wardens agreed that Robert could take up a new 21 year lease for both the ground and first floors on condition that he rebuild the house within one year. Further, Wood was required to buy Valentine out of his current lease, or to “let him have as much room new built” for the remaining time of his lease.⁶²⁶

Close spatial relationships caused especial difficulties when it came to rebuilding or improving neighbouring properties where lease-holding periods were mismatched. The blurred structural boundaries and densely related material fabric of adjacent tenements could hinder the speedy progression of some developments and required some strategic thinking in order for such proposals to be implemented. Located in the same block as Hall and Cliff’s earlier rebuilding, a house on the corner of Abchurch Lane and Candlewick Street was due to be re-let in the middle of the 1630s. At this juncture the condition of the property was attended to for the first time in many decades. For the Drapers it was clear, this property could not “be very long unbuilt” but they were concerned that many rooms were mixed up with the adjoining house, so that they “do lie so one over another as that the house being very old and ruinous cannot be new built”. The Company was reticent to issue a new lease with a long term without synchronizing the lease with that of the adjoining tenement in order to spatially disentangle the same. The aim was evidently to engineer an appropriate moment for the evacuation of the tenants in order to undertake a complete rebuilding that would ensure the endurance of both buildings.⁶²⁷ For several years from 1635 the Company elected to allow tenants to remain only as ‘tenants-at-will’; one of these householders was a remarried Drapers’ widow who paid £24 pa. to continue therein. Presumably this elevated sum compensated for the lack of a fine a lease renewal would have drawn. However the

⁶²⁵ DCA, MB13, f.56r.

⁶²⁶ Ibid. f.57v.

⁶²⁷ Ibid. f.301v.

Company was also searching for an opportunity to expand its holdings by acquiring the adjacent lands “at the end of the Company’s lands” in order to “make a fair building of all the same lands together”.⁶²⁸ Whilst the eventual outcome of their efforts is unclear, the Company’s recognition that the clustering of properties together and the synchronizing of neighbouring leases increased the potential for redevelopment is evident.

In contrast to dialogues which emphasized the effects of subdivision of once large properties, a Crown Return for the Drapers in 1612 also evidenced the opposite pattern, where multiple tenancies were conglomerated into one. These amalgamations allowed one tenant to form enlarged houses of several units or bays, or to unify properties previously divided vertically by floors of separate flats. Summerson noted this phenomenon of grouping unit-houses together claiming that such a strategy of multiplication allowed London merchants to more often spread horizontally across sites rather than add to them vertically (for example by building an extra storey on top) in contrast to trends in found in continental and Baltic contexts.⁶²⁹ Of course there were still particular areas of the City that were noticeably defined by taller unit houses, such a Cheapside, and in light of this it is more probably that houses that expanded horizontally were located in less competitive but still prestigious streets like Bishopsgate where land values did not force accentuated verticality.⁶³⁰ Looking for examples of these processes in the Drapers’ estate returns a collection of instances. Henry Wright’s property in St. Nicholas Shambles combined five separate lets into one and Roger Glover’s redevelopment at Tower Street combined three messuages into one. Meanwhile, like Robert Wood, John Shaw, Anthony Risby, John Collins and Richard Middleton all merged two tenancies into one.⁶³¹ A more detailed description is given for an incident in 1633 regarding Marie Glover who dwelt in a newly rebuilt brick tenement in the parish of St Margaret Pattens (no. 51). Glover had already funded the rebuilding work of the property and fixed her eye on extending this reconstruction work to include a rebuilding of the neighbouring building for which she had also acquired a lease. However, her plea was for the Court to recognize this conglomerated property by issuing a new unified lease which reflected that the two properties were now one and should be let as such. Glover therefore

⁶²⁸ Ibid. f.333r.

⁶²⁹ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p.90.

⁶³⁰ Harding, V. ‘Key findings’ in *People in Place: Families, households and housing in London 1550-1720* (IHR, 2006-2008) <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/pip/project.html> [Accessed online 6 November 2016].

⁶³¹ DCA, 1619 letters patent of James (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 4, Appendix VI, pp.51-85).

sought to secure an extension to one of the leases to ensure an equal term for both properties. This would mean that the two leases would share an expiration date and consequently be issued with a combined lease.⁶³² Although unrelated to the Drapers' Archive, a more extravagant case of enlargement has been observed in the famous case of Sir Paul Pindar's house on Bishopsgate (figure 4.6). Commenting on the nature of much development in the city, Schofield noted that the constricted sites available "must have severely hampered any attempt to emulate contemporary rural grand houses" and this seems to be demonstrated in the case of Pindar.⁶³³ The successful merchant and his brother bought up four adjoining tenements and rebuilt them in 1599 installing an impressive and still extant carved wooden façade to one bay.⁶³⁴ Built before the Royal proclamations for stone and brick facades, it seems little attempt was made to represent a cohesive frontage or visually dissolve the boundaries between the former plots. Instead former horizontal delineations of plots and party walls, marked no doubt by the columns of the structural wooden frame, were re-substantiated and articulated so that the idea of the unit-house was never fully lost on the street-facing side. A different out-working of this 'new horizontality' allowed for long galleries to be created along windowed stretches of the front façade, a point illustrated by John Thorpe's drawing of Thomas Fowler's house (see figure 4.7). Summerson holds that the long gallery formed along the façade was an "essential" room spanning across the equivalent of three bays of a standard unit-house.⁶³⁵ Even so, the internal fluidity between houses could be largely undetectable from the street.

Broken Estates and Broken Hearts⁶³⁶

While there was scope for profit in these rebuilding negotiations, unwise decisions could lead to misfortune. The temptation to overinvest in construction work was registered at both elite and middling levels. Moreover, the nature of international trading businesses and practices of financial co-dependency positioned merchants as especially vulnerable to collapse.

⁶³² DCA, MB13, f.284r.

⁶³³ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.62.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.* p.164.

⁶³⁵ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p.92.

⁶³⁶ Phrase borrowed from William Scott: "the violent blasts of cross accidents have blown them down, they would pay every man his own, but cannot...These are those broken ones into whom Charity must power the balm of Comfort: they have broken estates, and broken hearts" (Scott, *Essay on Drapery*, p.5).

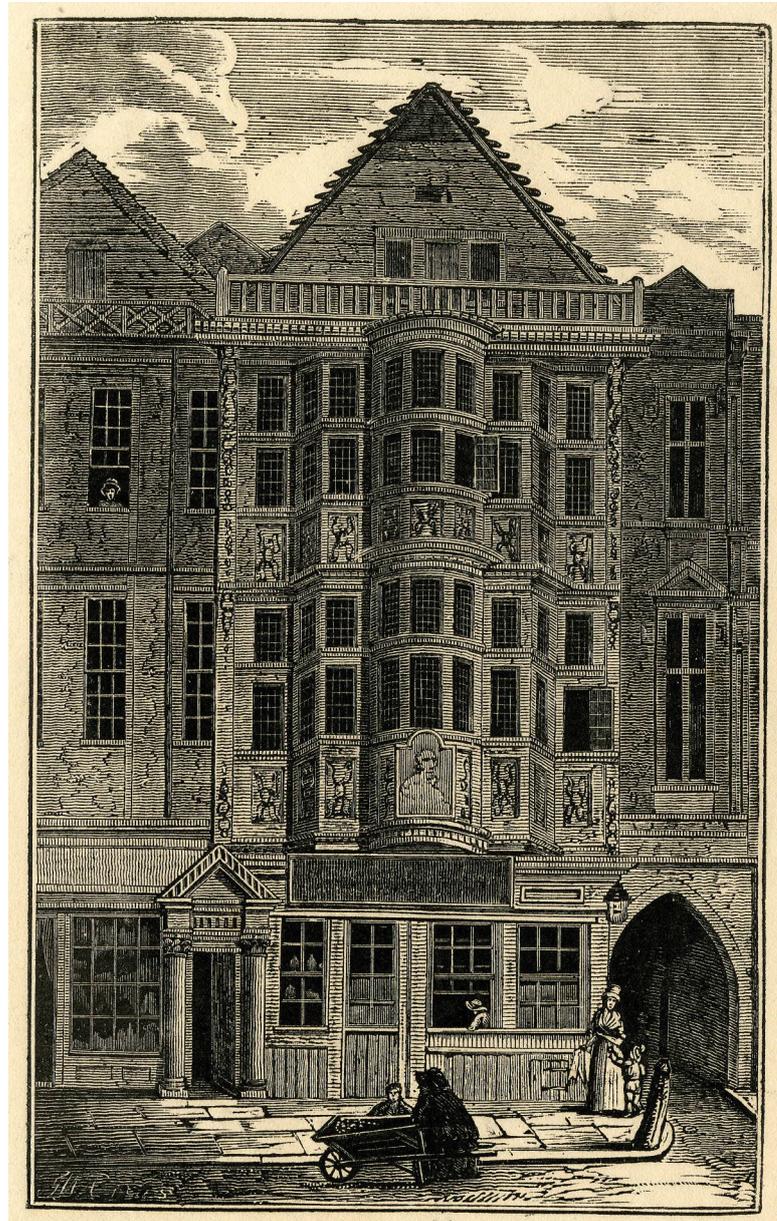


Figure 4.6. John Wykeham Archer, *Paul Pindar's House in Bishopsgate* (1837), The British Museum, London (reg. no: 1873,0712.1172)

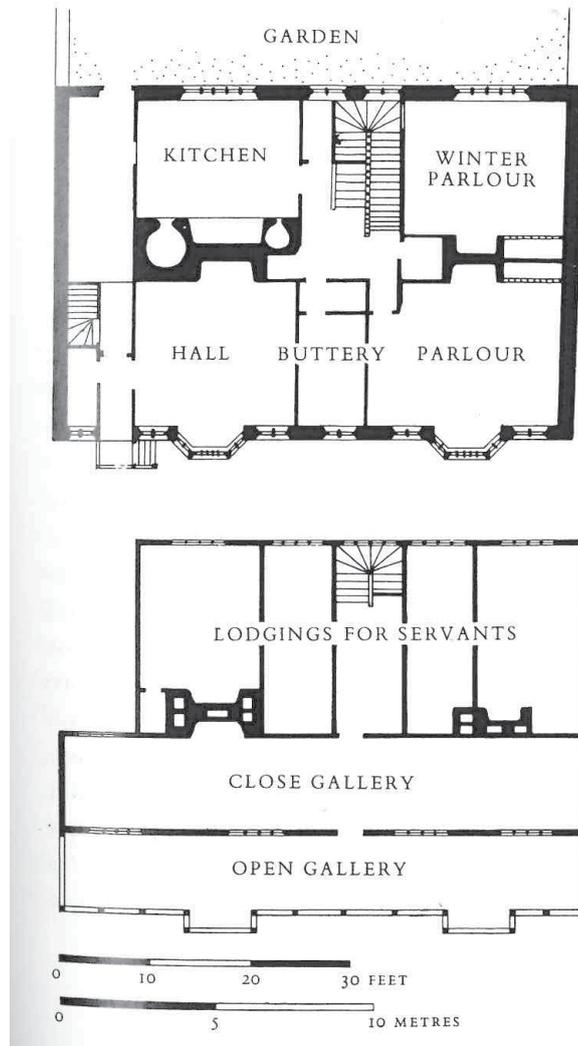


Figure 4.7. Ground and upper floor plans of Thomas Fowler's house, redrawing plans from John Thorpe, Soane Museum (*Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, p.93)

Grassby's study of merchants demonstrated the potential for the implosion of quickly earned fortunes citing that it was "extremely common for merchants to seesaw between poverty and wealth".⁶³⁷ William Scott in his *Essay on Drapery* made particular comments in relation to city-dwellers: "I have observed that the condition of a Citizen is full of trouble, more than ordinary...God makes men his Balls, and of these Balls, who is more tossed up and down than the Citizen?"⁶³⁸

Although clearly not a unit-house, the case of the Sadlers' occupation of the capital house at Drapers' Hall (DH1) illustrates the full potential for an extreme and very public loss related to an ambitious redevelopment. Former Master of the Company, John Sadler moved to Drapers' Hall in 1555. His securing of a lease of the 'chief and head house' rested on two promises. Firstly, Sadler assured the Court that Lady Roche, the widow of William Roche and current tenant of the house, would be re-located at his expense. Secondly he swore to spend £200 rebuilding the fore-part of the property. In return Sadler requested the additional use of the Porter's Lodge and cellars as well as assurance that his widow and children would be allowed continuance in the property upon his death.⁶³⁹ There is evidence in 1558 that a significant rebuilding was indeed undertaken. A new warehouse was constructed. Bay windows were added to the parlour which was newly wainscoted inside. A new hall was built, again with bay windows. There was a rebuilding and enlargement of the existing kitchen to accommodate a bigger chimney as well as a "fair double gate with a proper frame over it due to lack".⁶⁴⁰ After John's death his son Roger took over the lease in 1567, however, the family's once buoyant fortunes declined rapidly. By 1570 Roger's lease was revoked by the Company on account that the house was only half-occupied. Sadler was maintaining a far reduced household and the house was materially "already ruined and still runneth daily more and more in decay and ruin". Moreover Sadler was advised that "a house of smaller rent and charge were meeter for you than that house".⁶⁴¹ Orlin concluded that the Sadler's "overinvested in the new climate

⁶³⁷ Grassby, *Business Community*, p.252.

⁶³⁸ Scott, *Essay on Drapery*, p.5.

⁶³⁹ DCA, MB5, f.112.

⁶⁴⁰ DCA, MB7, f.136.

⁶⁴¹ DCA, A III 151, letter dated 21st July 1570.

of material competition” and that the story makes a “cautionary tale about the economic hazards that could be engaged through status housing”.⁶⁴²

The middling sort of tenant-builders were also caught up in the struggle for profit and status, operating within the same pressurized urban housing market. A less prestigious but still notable site of rebuilding activity was located in the north-eastern corner of the same Throgmorton complex (AF1 and AF2). Like Abchurch Lane, this instance shows that, while the Company might hold ambitions for development, gestation periods for complete rebuildings could be lengthy and complicated. In 1589, the furthest house in the Parish of St. Peter le Poor, facing Austin Friars, fell victim to fire. The extent to which the existing building was destroyed is uncertain but the destruction was enough for the Company to conclude that the property required wholesale rebuilding. The house had been inhabited by Jane Killingbeck and Dionis Vaughan, both Drapers’ widows who were bought out of the remaining terms of their leases by the Company. A sum of £50 was dispensed in order for their claim of any future lease of the house to be dismissed.⁶⁴³ The lease and rebuilding opportunity was therefore opened up. Warden Thomas Russell was granted the right to reconstruct the house at his own charges in return for a lengthy 99 year lease.⁶⁴⁴ The Court seems to have been particularly invested in this rebuilding perhaps as a result of the plot’s close association with the Company Hall. The fashioning of the façade, their entries and windows were to have the special attention of the Court. The Wardens alongside three experienced Assistants were therefore dispatched to measure the plots of ground with the help of the Carpenter and Bricklayer. Their opinions as to “how the same may be best cast and to what charge it will grow unto” given at the next Court.⁶⁴⁵

Intriguingly it appears that the Company considered undertaking the development themselves rather than passing the opportunity on to Russell. The Drapers had received funds in 1588 from Warden Brian Calverley and Thomas Russell himself in order to support construction work at its Beech Lane almshouses (no. 37 and 38).⁶⁴⁶ With delays to this project perhaps this ‘ready money’ could be redistributed to the Austin Friars rebuilding? Several

⁶⁴² Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.113.

⁶⁴³ DCA, MB10, f.386.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.* f.401, f.412.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.* f.412, f.419.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.* f.326, f.359.

months later in March 1590, it was agreed that the empty plot would be built upon at the charge of the Company, utilizing part of Calverley and Russell's earlier gifts.⁶⁴⁷ In May 1590 the Company bought stocks of timber from Berkshire and the manner of the rebuilding was referred to a special sub-committee in November.⁶⁴⁸ However, by March 1591, reconstruction work had still not begun. The reason for the halt in progress perhaps related to the direction that the almshouses "should be builded this summer with as convenient speed as may be of brick, the nether part and the rest timber".⁶⁴⁹ With the Company's charitable re-prioritization of the almshouses building project, Russell received the Drapers' favour once again. A lease was granted for 90 years with a yearly rent of £5 upon condition that Russell erect a building "so substantial and of so good scantling, timber or better as the said Company's house there now in the occupation of Mrs Garway is".⁶⁵⁰ This house (AF3) was Thomas Cromwell's former tenement before he acquired DH1 and had been occupied by a number of prominent tenants such as Lord Wentworth and later by successful merchant William Cockaigne.⁶⁵¹ Materials salvaged from the burnt property were to be transferred to Russell for the additional sum of £8 5s. 5d. and the timber stock-piled by the Company also changed hands with no interest charged.⁶⁵²

This was not however the end of the matter for the difficult circumstances of the 1590s caused more delays. Having allocated significant corporate funds to the Beech Lane rebuilding and acknowledging the severe economic crisis of the year, in July 1591 the decision was taken to forgo the Election Dinner.⁶⁵³ This was not the first time the Company had scaled back on their dining activities as a result of construction work; a similar pattern was observed by Orlin in respect of the repainting of the Company parlour in the 1570s after

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid. f.436.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid. f.461, f.501.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. f.523. Also see Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.160.

⁶⁵⁰ DCA, MB10, f.524.

⁶⁵¹ For Wentworth see: DCA, RA5, 1564-5, f.20v. For Cockin see: DCA, RA5, 1612-3, f.17.

⁶⁵² DCA, MB10, f.524.

⁶⁵³ DCA, MB10, f.534. For further discussion on the harvest failures and dearth of the 1590s see: Sharpe, J. 'Social Strain and Social Dislocation, 1585-1603' in J. Guy (ed.) *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1995) pp.192-211.

which ensued five years of reduced dinners.⁶⁵⁴ Russell too seems not to have actioned his rebuilding work at Austin Friars with any speed, perhaps also caught up in the economic difficulties that affected the cloth trade in these years.⁶⁵⁵ In fact by 1593 Russell was dead and the vacant plot lay fallow for a further two years until 1595. In July of that year the Drapers had once more turned their attention to the rebuilding, taking it on as a corporate project. Shifting strategies to the development of the site, instead of emulating the adjacent grander tenements the Company decided to create two houses where once only one stood.⁶⁵⁶ The Company of Carpenters agreed a price of £110 with a further £30 granted towards the end of construction. The building work was managed and approved by an internal committee however no documentation of the specific negotiations undertaken by this committee remain.⁶⁵⁷ The Renter Warden was given the day-to-day management of the construction work and related the directives of the building committee to the workmen contracted to undertake the work. Stipulations such as “cause the back yards of the new tenements to be paved” were implanted via this system of communication.⁶⁵⁸

Whilst the rebuilding was underway, a new tenant for the property had not yet been confirmed. Draper Richard Hull pitched for tenancy of the “new tenement in St Augustine Fryers” and a lease for 21 years at £5 with a fine of £220 6s. 13d was tabled.⁶⁵⁹ Hull negotiated the Company down securing a lower fine of £200 for the “hithermost” new tenement (AF2) on the condition £100 was paid “in hand”, £50 in the next six months, and then the final £50 in the following six months. On account of his impending tenancy the Draper was able to have some input into the final stages of the construction work, requesting a “penthouses to be made over the garret windows in the lower warehouses in the one end with board and on the other end with glass”.⁶⁶⁰ In spite of this, Hull later claimed that the

⁶⁵⁴ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.119.

⁶⁵⁵ For wider discussion of this decade and the cloth trade see: Hentschel, R. *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008) p.69.

⁶⁵⁶ DCA, MB11, f. 187v.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.* f.188r.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.* f.191v.

⁶⁶⁰ DCA, MB11, f.192r. He also brought a grievance against Henry Richardson, a Draper, and his neighbour regarding the use of a wall “standing between” the tenements – a party wall.

house was “very bare and uniform and inconvenient” and had been obliged to improve it at his own costs. In a letter addressed to the Court in 1606, he detailed expenses of £97 in undertaking the wainscoting of the ‘chief parlour’, the installation of a rainwater pump in the yard and an apparently complete rebuilding of the kitchen.⁶⁶¹ In an unfortunate turn of events, Hull had been forced to approach the Court on account of his “great losses” and “hindrance by suretyship”, which had pushed him into what the Company regarded as effective poverty. In attempting to recover some of the capital invested in his work at the property he requested an unspecified extension of his lease. Perhaps by subletting the tenement he intended to live off any profit he could make off the rental income. The Drapers agreed to grant him the extended lease on condition that Hull leave all the movable implements and fixtures he had bestowed upon the property at the end of his term.⁶⁶² In spite of this, the Drapers’ Rental Accounts recorded that Hull did not continue in his lease for in 1607 William Towerson took over as leaseholder.⁶⁶³

Later instances of personal overinvestment demonstrate that undertaking building work could be just as risky a business for tenants outside the Company as within. The Drapers dealt with such misfortune with relative understanding. In 1624 Anthony Young secured the lease of a house in Tower Street (no. 59) paying a fine of £100 for a 21 year lease. However, five years later he reported to the Court that, owing to the “extreme ruins of that house” he had been forced to “bestow thereupon” £230 in rebuilding the property which integrated “a parcel of ground sometime parcel of a warehouse”. Young appears to have been bankrupted by the expense of upgrade and expansion. He appeared in front of the Court of Assistants claiming he was “much impoverished” on account that he had invested all his stock in the scheme. He emphasized that this property represented all the “means for him, his wife and children to rely upon”. On closer inspection of the works at his property, the Wardens observed the extent to which Young had not only overspent but also had been fleeced by his workmen for the same works. Examining the estimates for the work and Young’s subsequent payment of £233 12s. 2d, the Drapers held that “he was wronged by the workmen in a great part”. The Company responded sympathetically stating that “so far as it may concern them” he was to be dealt with favourably and allowed his lease to continue in regardless of his

⁶⁶¹ DCA, A III 151, letter dated 2nd Aug 1606.

⁶⁶² DCA, MB13, f.39r.

⁶⁶³ DCA, RA6, 1606-7, f.11. Having been apprenticed to William Quarles in 1578, Richard Hull died in 1647 (TNA, PROB 11/202/41, Will of Richard Hull).

difficulties.⁶⁶⁴ A comparative episode is noted in the same year when widow Judith Harrison arrived at the Court to claim that her deceased husband, a Carpenter, had spent “all his means” of £110 on the new building of a house he had been granted on a 21 year lease. Harrison was granted a renewal of the lease for an additional 21 years when she was only fourteen years through the first.⁶⁶⁵ Further evidence of the Company’s reasonableness towards widows weighed down by their deceased husband’s debts is found in the case presented by Alice Johnson in 1637. Johnson’s husband had acted as the Company’s Granary Keeper and her Dowgate property had undergone large-scale upgrading work instigated by him. Upon his death she brought the work to completion and returned to the Drapers’ Court claiming that costs of £400 had been spent on a new brick house. She petitioned for and was granted a new lease on reasonable terms, paying twenty-five years at £5 rent with no recorded fine.⁶⁶⁶

Schofield has suggested that “it seems likely [that]...in the main the new landlords developed their sites for rent from housing, rather than laying out new and larger residences for themselves”.⁶⁶⁷ In the Drapers’ Archive there seems to be evidence of both impulses and, in contrast to the unfortunate experiences outlined above, many building schemes were no doubt successful. Two suburban developments embed these observations in a slightly different environment and show that the Court was persuasive if they saw a development opportunity. In 1552 the Company’s Carpenter John Revell approached the Company seeking a lease for George Foister’s house in St. Martin’s Gate, London Wall, (no. 30) which was due to expire.⁶⁶⁸ The Wardens, “remembering that other three tenements adjoining on each side (possibly no. 28) of the said Foister’s house” were also due to have their leases renewed, approved Revell to take on the lease for these additional tenements alongside the house he originally presented himself in relation to. Evidently aware of Revell’s building skills, the Drapers proposed a lease for eighty years at a rent of £7 5s. 4d. p.a. on condition that he rebuild or repair the buildings within twenty years. Revell was instructed not to “make nor build of any parcel of the premises any common tennis play, kayles house, dicing or carding

⁶⁶⁴ DCA, MB13, f.225v.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.* f.186r.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.* f.309v.

⁶⁶⁷ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.59.

⁶⁶⁸ Confirmation of his status as a Carpenter is found in DCA, RA4, 1558-59, f.6r.

house, alley or alleys for poor people, neither common bowling alley or alleys.”⁶⁶⁹ Seeking to secure more favourable terms, Revell refused the offer unless he was granted a lease for ninety-nine years. The Court countered that they would issue the lease on these terms as long as Revell rebuilt the tenements within ten years rather than the previously proposed twenty.⁶⁷⁰ In 1570 four tenements, nine stables and a garden were noted to be in the hands of Matthew Revell and Peter Aldridge, paying £7 16s. However by 1619 the same site had been intensely developed to accommodate twelve tenements.⁶⁷¹

In the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate outside the walls, land in Beech Lane (nos 37 and 38) was much more loosely occupied than within the walls and there appears to have been a process of development and subdivision in order to achieve greater profits for a proactive sub-landlord. In 1599 Sir Drew Drury (Gentleman of the Privy Council) lived adjacent to the Company’s tenements in Beech Lane which were held by Alderman Starkey. Drury complained to the Court that Starkey sub-let these tenements to diverse tenants of “very evil demeanour” to his “great annoyance” as their neighbour. The Drapers had already issued a warning to Starkey that he was to reform their behaviour and to “stay” unnecessary buildings constructed by them. Drury also protested on account of these developments grumbling that they “will hinder the prospect of his dwelling house there”. The Company sent four experienced members of the Court to view and consider the suit resolving to conclude the matter “to the credit, benefit and worship of this Company”.⁶⁷² The solution was found in transferring Starkey’s lease to Drury and allowing him to deal with the problems himself.⁶⁷³ At the turn of the seventeenth century the rent for the Company’s eight tenements on Beech Lane was £3 10s.⁶⁷⁴ These were divided between Sir Drew Drury (who held five) and William Munson (who held three). Ten years later in 1624 the five tenements of Drury had been redeveloped to become ten, so that the overall total for the site rose to thirteen.⁶⁷⁵ This

⁶⁶⁹ DCA, MB5, f.15.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.* f.16.

⁶⁷¹ DCA, RA5, 1570-71, f.3r. Also see 1619 letters patent of James (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 4, Appendix VI, pp.51-85).

⁶⁷² DCA, MB11, f.251v.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.* f.257v.

⁶⁷⁴ DCA, RA6, 1604-5, f.2.

⁶⁷⁵ DCA, RA6, 1614-5, f.254; RA6, 1624-5, f.2.

pattern was not exclusive to the Drapers' Company. Of the Merchant Taylors, Sleigh-Johnson noted that outside the walls there was "an unchecked process of building by Company tenants wherever space allowed". Citing a more strategic policy of the Taylors, he described one example of a freeman in 1599 who was granted a 50 year lease of eighteen tenements and seven gardens in Bell Alley in St Botolph's Without Bishopsgate. His lease was granted on the express condition that he undertake the building of a further nine tenements there.⁶⁷⁶

Sites of Storage

Redevelopments were not only fashioned in order to produce more housing. Warehouses were growing in importance to mercantile Drapers as well as other diverse citizens of the elite and middling sorts. Chapter Three has already shown how this worked out at the Drapers' Hall. Merchants frequently appeared to be on the lookout as to how they might increase their city centre accommodation and expand their sites of storage.

Although already holding a significant house on Lothbury (possibly no. 61), Draper John Rowley was determined to expand the capacity of his business by acquiring more storage space in 1590.⁶⁷⁷ Sandwiched between two other properties also held by the Drapers, he petitioned the Company for a let of the small property adjacent to him on the east currently held by a Grocer. Accommodating a warehouse on the ground floor of his present property, Rowley was more concerned with extending accessibility to his yard at the rear of the house. He intended to demolish the warehouse and use the ground floor level as a passageway capable of allowing a cart to pass through into the yard and therefore allowing more goods to be stored more easily. Rowley sweetened his request for a lease by claiming in his rebuilding he would "bestow good cost upon the great messuage and make it a convenient house for a merchant". However, the Drapers were concerned by this proposal likely on structural grounds and reticent to approve such potentially destabilising work. Members of the Court visited the site to persuade Rowley against the alterations on the grounds that his proposed actions would deprive him of valuable ground floor storage space and offered an alternative arrangement, Rowley should to take on an additional lease of the Company's property to his west. It is unclear precisely the arrangement of each of these properties but the Drapers noted that this proposal would allow Rowley to enlarge his entry into his yard without losing

⁶⁷⁶ Sleigh-Johnson, 'The Merchant Taylors', p.64.

⁶⁷⁷ DCA, MB10, f.483. The Lothbury property, formerly granted to Simon Horsepool and Mr Gilpin, was alienated to the Bishop of London in 1590 demonstrating its prestige.

any warehouse space overall. Leasing the additional space would also negate the fact that this third tenement currently overlooked Rowley's yard "and every room in his house". Clearly these properties were in distinctly close proximity.⁶⁷⁸ As a result of the Drapers' intervention, Rowley increased his holdings and upscaled the capacity of his business to handle goods in some degree of privacy.

There were of course attempts to acquire such storage spaces by force. In 1631 the parson of St Mary Somerset, Mr Thrawle, presented a complaint to the Court that he was not receiving rents for a cellar that he owned due to be paid by the Company (no. 48).⁶⁷⁹ Whether by conscious deceit or unconscious default, the Renter had refused to pay him stating that the cellar in fact belonged to the Company and not to Thrawle. This cellar lay underneath one of the Company's houses and had only been accessible by passing directly through this house until very recently. Thrawle, by the "report of some inhabitants" and claiming the cellar was rightfully his, had re-asserted his right to ownership by making an entry directly from the street into it.⁶⁸⁰ This action swung the balance of power back in favour of Thrawle who was no longer limited in whom he could rent it out to. The Drapers backed down and recognized Thrawle's right to claim rent. How Thrawle had come to hold such a small space located below ground level and sandwiched between four properties as well as being separated from the house directly above it is unclear (see figure 4.8). Such discrepancies were quirks of a densely complex city. His ability to retain ownership was dependent on access through other sites and the incident which fostered his complaint is indicative of the contingent nature of property boundaries and designations of leases. It also shows that even a small site of storage was of enough value to bring parties into dispute.⁶⁸¹ However newly formed cellarage could just as easily be a site of contention. Another contestation over cellarage in 1635 saw the tenant of the corner house at Abchurch Lane and Canning Street dig out and encroach upon the Company's ground "taking more unto him than he ought to have". The Drapers noted irritably of the cellar that the offending tenant "detaineth without any

⁶⁷⁸ DCA, MB13, f.82v.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.* f.253r.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.* f.254v.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*

acknowledgment or paying any rent for the same". His intention to quietly acquire this underground space of storage had been thwarted.⁶⁸²

This process can be further illustrated in the case of William Hether and Richard Charvill whose unit-houses on Eastcheap (no. 47) were described in some detail in an amendment to a new lease granted to Hether. Hether's house was roughly 14 ft. on the street façade and stretched back 44 ft. Notably however, it was agreed that a room on the northside of the property which lay over the kitchen and also a garret on the very top floor were "to be taken from that house and laid to the next house now in the occupation of the said Richard Charvill". Hether also agreed to lease the cellar under his shop to his neighbour Charvill.⁶⁸³ A new lease was also therefore granted to Charvill on the same terms but providing he "not...alter his stall or passage into this house to the prejudice of the said Mr Heather but to suffer the same to continue as how it is".⁶⁸⁴ There seems to be nothing acrimonious in Charvill's loss of his garret and cellar. Perhaps his fortunes had declined and he was no longer able to maintain a whole house. This example also demonstrates the value of neighbourly knowledge, without which Hether may never have approached the Company in regard of Charvill's storage spaces. Moreover the case is typical of the way in which storage and commercial space could be let out independently from the domestic space, often parcelled with it but still dependent upon shared route of access. Less straight-forward instances also brought neighbours into dispute as they sought to secure sufficient space to support their commercial enterprises. In contrast to Charvill and Hether's Eastcheap house, Roger Glover in 1621 requested a lease of the back warehouse and cellar under his house near Tower Street (possibly no. 39) which was held by Thomas Shawcross, who dwelt elsewhere. Drapers elected that both spaces should be divided between Shawcross and Glover.⁶⁸⁵ However, Shawcross it appears was extremely unhappy with this decision which deprived him of space that was once exclusively his. Three years later Glover returned to the Court to report that Shawcross had in fact refused to give over any of his warehouse. The Wardens and a few

⁶⁸² *Ibid.* f.301v.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.* f.295r.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.* f.295v.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.* f.164r.

Assistants were therefore called in to survey the site in order to clarify which part should be utilised by whom and ensure their directives were given credence.⁶⁸⁶

The Drapers' accounts show that Carter Lane was also subject to consistent densification in the search for more city centre storage spaces. On this byway, marginal to the main thoroughfare of Dowgate, citizens of the middling sort were developing and redeveloping small sites facing onto the Lane which had lain vacant for centuries. It is possible to trace the development of one particular section of the Lane in some detail. The progressive enlargement of existing buildings and increase of storage spaces on the site began when a single-storied warehouse, a tenement called 'the Chequer' and a void space or garden facing onto the Lane were conveyed to the Drapers (see figure 4.9).⁶⁸⁷ It is on these small plots that the relative success of a middling sort of citizen and merchant involved in the domestic trade of cloth can be traced. Utilized for the purposes of warehousing, stabling and housing, the agency of Merchant Taylor Thomas Jackson is notable.⁶⁸⁸

The development can be roughly divided into three sections. Whilst there is some ambiguity about the precise use of site 3 which began as an open space or garden, the adjacent site (site 2) was clearly retained as a tenement for most of the period. It was the forty-year residency of Jackson here that was to prove most influential in this narrative of development. In 1563-4 Jackson entered the Rental Accounts leasing "his house" for the fair sum of £4. His property was the tenement of the Chequer (as opposed to the Inn which faced onto Bush Lane).⁶⁸⁹ The first indication of what was to come occurred on the site to the west of the tenement (site 1). Another floor was added to the existing one-storey warehouse in the 1560s by Clothworker Nicholas Small (see figure 4.10). The internal spaces were then subdivided by Nicholas Parkinson in the 1570s. As the accommodation expanded in size the rent duly increased, effectively doubling in value by 1577.⁶⁹⁰ However, after the Drapers imposed a further rent hike following the subdivision, Parkinson threatened to depart. After

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ TNA, SC 6/HENVIII/6867. Also SC 6/HENVIII/2086.

⁶⁸⁸ For confirmation of his status as a Merchant Taylor see DCA, MB9, f.128 and TNA, PROB 11/105/357, Will of Thomas Jackson, 8 May 1605.

⁶⁸⁹ DCA, RA5, 1564-5, f.20v.

⁶⁹⁰ DCA, RA5, 1563-4, f.20v. For confirmation of Clothworker status also see: 'Appendix 2' in Hickman, D. J. 'The Religious Allegiance of London's Ruling Elite, 1520 – 1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, UCL, 1995).

North

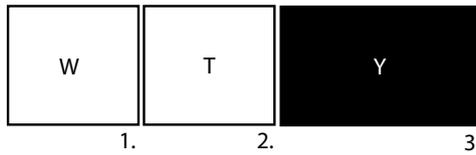


KEY

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| B - Buttery | P - Passageway |
| BA - Bowling Alley | PL - Porters' Lodge |
| C - Clerk's Office | PO - Porch |
| CH - Counting House | PR - Parlour |
| CY - Courtyard | PS - Pastry |
| D - Dicing House | S - Shop |
| G - Garden | SH - Scouring House |
| GL - Gallery | SL - Solar |
| GT - Gate | ST - Stable |
| H - Hall | T - Tubhouse |
| K - Kitchen | W - Warehouse |
| L - Lobby | WH - Wash House |
| LD - Larder | Y - Yard |
| LH - Lumber House | |

Figure 4.9. Redrawing of Erber 1596 plan (DCA, A X III 165). Extents of the Jackson's development on Carter Lane highlighted

Phase 1, c. 1548-1563



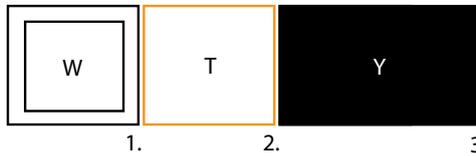
Refs: **Tenant 1.** Nicolas Small - 1548-1563. Rent: 33s 4d, "for a warehouse", DCA, RA 1561-2, f. 22v. **Tenant 2.** John Jackson - 1558-1564. Rent: £4, "for the Cheker", DCA, RA 1558-9, f. 12r. **Tenant 3.** Void

KEY

- L - Loft
- ST - Stable
- T - Tenement
- W - Warehouse
- Y - Yard
- - Thomas Jackson's Tenancies

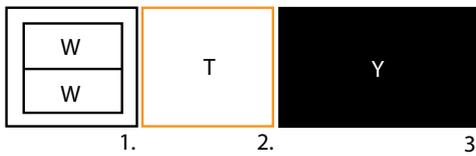
*All refs. to DCA, RA unless otherwise stated.

Phase 2, c. 1563-1566



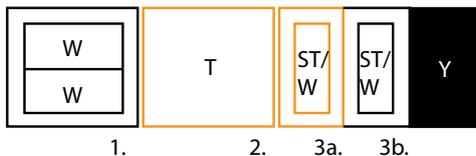
Refs: **Tenant 1.** Nicolas Small - 1563-1566. Rent: 53s 4d, "for a warehouse and loft", DCA, RA 1563-4, f. 20v. **Tenant 2. Thomas Jackson** - 1564-1606. Rent: £4. **Tenant 3.** Void

Phase 3, c. 1566-1577



Refs: **Tenant 1.** Nicolas Parkinson - 1567-1577. Rent: 53s 4d. **Tenant 2. Thomas Jackson** - 1564-1606. Rent: £4. **Tenant 3.** Void

Phase 4, c. 1577-1581



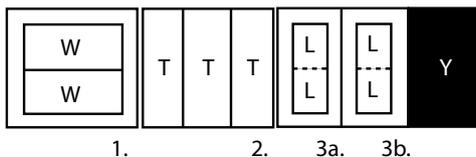
Refs: **Tenant 1.** Nicolas Parkinson - 1577-1581. Rent: 66s 8d, "concerning the warehouse and garrettes at Dowgate", DCA, MB9, July 1978, f. 100r. **Tenant 2. Thomas Jackson** - 1564-1606. Rent: £4, "the same tenement wherin he now dwelleth", DCA, MB9, 1579, p. 153, July 1980. **Tenant 3a. Thomas Jackson** - 1579-1606. Rent: £1, **Tenant 3b.** Henry Fawlks (then Anne Fawlks) - 1579-1608. Rent: £1, "for a stable with a loft next to the other stable", DCA, RA 1607-8, f. 21

Phase 5, c. 1581-1606



Refs: **Tenant 1. Thomas Jackson** - 1581-1606. Rent: 66s 8d. **Tenant 2. Thomas Jackson** - 1564-1606. Rent: £4. **Tenant 3a. Thomas Jackson** - 1579-1606. Rent: £1. **Tenant 3b.** Henry Fawlks (then Anne Fawlks) - 1579-1608. Rent: £1.

Phase 6, c. 1616-1624



Refs: **Tenant 1.** Tymothy Hollingshed - 1616-20. Rent for T.1+2: £7 6s 8d. **Tenant 2.** Tymothy Hollingshed - 1616-20. Rent for T.1+2: £7 6s 8d, "for a messuage called the cecker out of which he hath made 2 other tenements", DCA, RA, 1618-9, f. 19r, "one tenement now 3", DCA, RA 1619-20, f. 21r. **Tenant 3a.** George Bowles - 1610-24. Rent: £1, "one stable with a coach room in the same and a hayloft and little chamber over the same", DCA, Lease, 1648, C. 32. **Tenant 3b.** Laurence Campe - 1609-17. Rent: £1.

Figure 4.10. Diagram of site development on Carter Lane, c.1548-1624

an apparent stand-off, Parkinson appears to have given in to the Company's demands and elected to maintain his let, demonstrating the value of this collection of warehouses and lofts.⁶⁹¹ Confirmation that two new stables and lofts had been built on this site, probably by Parkinson, is found in 1607-8.⁶⁹² Another lease for the same section of property in 1648 describes the same accommodation as "one stable with a coach room in the same and a hayloft and little chamber over the same", suggesting the space experienced further adaption in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁹³

Thomas Jackson began conglomerating a larger proportion of the accommodation either side of his tenement in 1579, securing a lease of what had become "the small storeyard at Dowgate" (site 3.) for 40 s. per annum. His intentions were clearly to develop the yard for he wasted no time in petitioning Drapers for license to build on his newly acquired land. In this Jackson entered into a joint venture with Henry Fawlks, a local grocer of some success.⁶⁹⁴ Representing the partnership, Jackson "made offer to new build the stable which would cost him about the sum of £10" upon the "void ground or old storeyard".⁶⁹⁵ Drawing on descriptions from later years, the building work undertaken by Jackson and Fawlks on the 'little' storeyard was alternately referred to as "rooms in the yard"⁶⁹⁶, "diverse other rooms & lofts in the yard with part of the new building"⁶⁹⁷ and also "the new building and store

⁶⁹¹ Parkinson refused to pay the customary fine to renew his lease, and also refused to pay any extra rent and so he "departed" (DCA, MB9, f.98v). In July 1578 we hear that the leasing of the warehouse and garrets formerly in Parkinson's tenure are put on hold (DCA, MB9, f.100r). But it was only in 1581 that the warehouse, other rooms and garrets of Parkinson were formerly leased to Jackson, after Parkinson's death (DCA, RA5, 1581-2, f.15v-16r). It may be that he acquired them at an earlier date.

⁶⁹² DCA, RA6, 1607-8, f.21.

⁶⁹³ DCA, C.32, Lease.

⁶⁹⁴ DCA, RA5, 1581-2, f.15v-16r. Fawlks was collector for the subsidy of 1582 in 'Walbrook Ward'. He was valued at £50, paying 50s for living in St Mary Bothaw parish (see '1582 London Subsidy Roll' in *Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls For the City of London 1541 and 1582*, R. G. Lang (ed.) (London: London Record Society, 1993) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol29/pp140-142> [Accessed online 25 March 2015] pp.140-142.

⁶⁹⁵ DCA, MB9, f.128r, f.152r-3r; DCA, RA 1579-80, f.16v-17r.

⁶⁹⁶ DCA, RA5, 1594-5, f.9v.

⁶⁹⁷ DCA, RA5, 1595-6, f.11r.

yard”.⁶⁹⁸ This suggests some element of the open yard remained in place in spite of the construction of enclosed storage spaces on part of the land.

Two years after Jackson’s development of the storeyard he acquired the warehouses and rooms previously developed to the west of his tenement (site 1). Following this Jackson held the three sites in his name for more than twenty years, maintaining this aggregated group of warehouses and stables, totalling a yearly rent of £8 6s 8d, until his death in 1606.⁶⁹⁹ Overall, the Merchant Taylor more than doubled the volume and number of spaces he leased. His residence in the tenement on Carter Lane for more than four decades had ensured its survival as one house, but by 1618-9 Timothy Hollingshead, a Draper, “hath made two other tenements” where one stood before. This was shortly followed by another subdivision resulting in three separate properties, no doubt let out separately for profit.⁷⁰⁰ In this way Carter Lane was consistently multiplied and compartmentalized, capitalizing on the location of the Erber and the slack space surrounding its less prominent edges. Probably in the light of these developments, Stow noted that Carter Lane became known as Chequer Alley. The distinction between ‘Lane’ and ‘Alley’ is notable but not extraordinary, for example Stow also writes of Craddock’s Lane which, “being straightened by encroachments” was then called Church Alley.⁷⁰¹ The maze-like quality of London’s secondary byways was intensifying. However fragmentary evidence suggests the companies were discontent with associations which connected them to unchecked building-work and poor conditions, or at least they were required to take action against this type of development on account of stipulations from the Lord Mayor. The Mercers recorded that their Second Warden “entered into bond for the Company” that no one would be permitted to live in the Company’s tenements “in alleys” unless the same houses possessed chimneys “for the avoiding the casualty of fire”, a very real and present danger.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁸ DCA, RA5, 1597-8, f.10v.

⁶⁹⁹ DCA, RA6, 1605-6, f.24.

⁷⁰⁰ DCA, RA6, 1618-19, f.18; DCA, RA6, 1619-20, f.21.

⁷⁰¹ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.204.

⁷⁰² MCA, Acts of Court iii, 1560-1598, f. 232.

Conclusion

Analysing what he acknowledged was a frustratingly small sample of London prosecutions made in the name of Queen Elizabeth after the building proclamations of the 1590s, Barnes found that the most well-represented developers were tradesmen of the yeomanry class and mercantile liverymen.⁷⁰³ It was out of this cultural context, as leases in the sixteenth century also became more valuable, that the Drapers' Court demonstrated a clear habit of using the advantage they could claim as urban landlords to ensure their stock of housing was continually maintained and increasingly improved. This chapter has traced the Company's positive attitude to competitive developments undertaken by men and women of this middling sort, which seem especially plentiful in the records from the 1580s. Most frequently construction work consisted of the subdivision of buildings and the creation of larger houses formed out of previously separate properties or unit houses. Closely intertwined internal arrangements of these tenements created inevitable frictions and could slow down redevelopments. And yet it appears that the flexible boundaries of adjacent unit-houses ensured that this building type held continued relevance in the densely urbanized environment.

As landlords, the Drapers were however custodians to a wide-range of housing, of which the unit-house was only one sort. Chapter One showed much of its stock was mostly medieval in origin. The chapter has illustrated how these older properties were improved and adapted through the slow accretion of repair and rebuilding undertaken by tenants. The Company was canny and discerning in its negotiations with prospective leaseholders, undoubtedly aware of its strong hand in brokering the terms of any proposed improvements. The cumulative effect of decades of partial reconstructions was significant but it was not without instances of difficulty. There was real potential for leaseholders to financially implode but the Company showed flexibility in their dealings with unfortunate tenants. Meanwhile, the Court of Assistants became less inclined to maintain the occupancy of long-term 'tenants-at-will', instead favouring lease-holding tenants. With greater security of tenure, middling sort tenants were also spurred on to invest in upgrading their properties and bargain for extended leases on account of this. For Baer, "few surveys or census reveal much about the nature or

⁷⁰³ Barnes, 'The Prerogative and Environmental Control of London Buildings in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp.1338-9.

suitability of the relationship between landlord, tenant and property.”⁷⁰⁴ The episodes brought to light in this chapter show how development activity was supported equally by tenants and landlords as mutually beneficial.

⁷⁰⁴ Baer, W. C. ‘Landlords and tenants in London, 1550-1700’ in *Urban History* 38, no. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp.234-255, p.237.

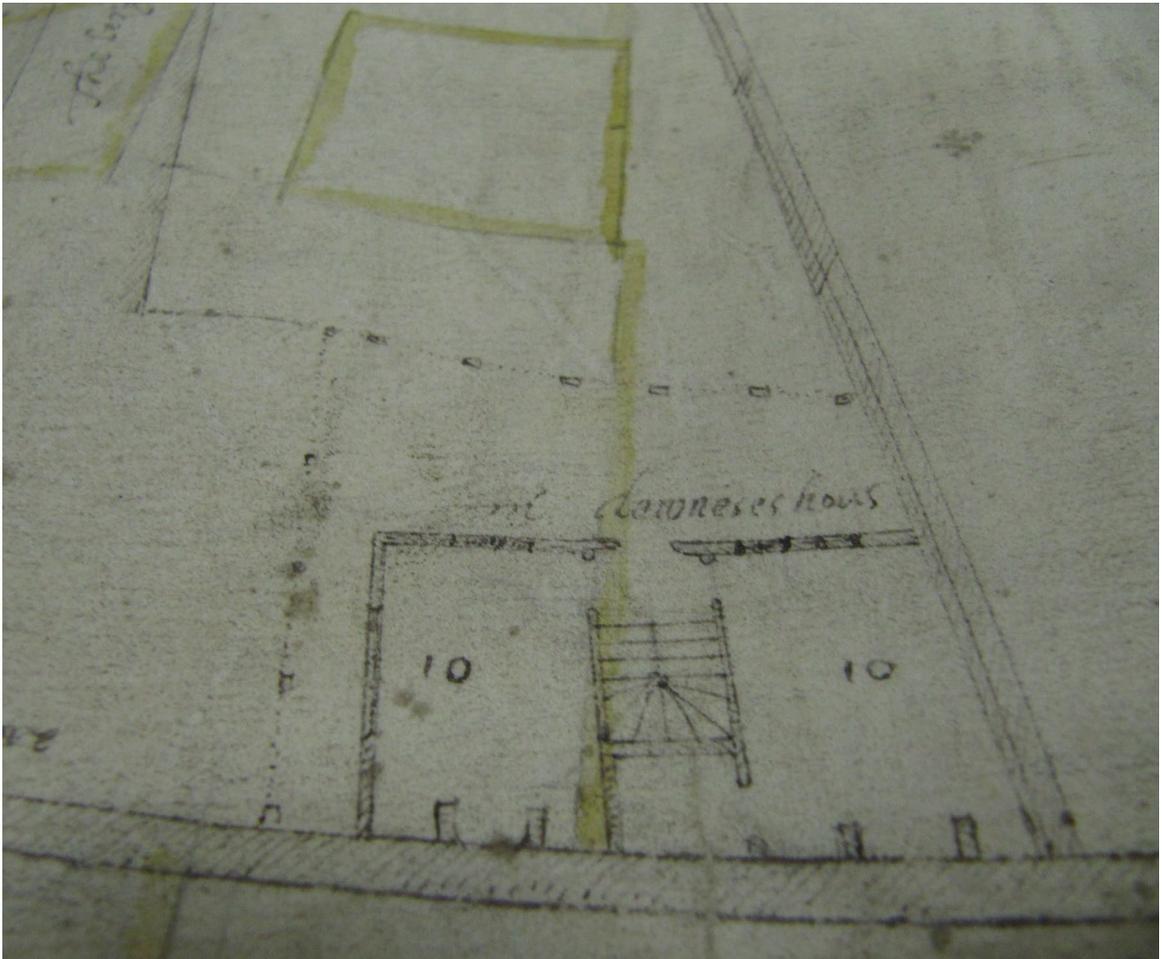


Figure 5.9. Detail of the garden house on Drapers' Hall plan, marked as 'Mr Downes' house' (DCA, A X II 121)

Chapter Five - Managing the Estate

Despite appearances to the contrary, the smooth running of the Company was not primarily dependent on its yearly changing roster of Master and Wardens but instead on the effective administration of its business by a handful of permanent employees. Out of this small group, historians tend to hold that the Clerk was the most highly-valued, leading and overseeing the Company's other employees on a day-to-day basis.⁷⁰⁵ His trusted position involved close liaison with the Master and Wardens and required his careful attention to the production and storage of the Company's records. But in relation to the everyday management of the Company estate, it was the 'Renter' that was of critical importance. The Renter was generally responsible for rent collection, repairing properties and directing a group of related workmen held on retainer by the Company. His role is examined in greater depth in this chapter.

Considering the wider management and 'hands-on' development of the estate, there is also substantial evidence that Company Wardens were consistently active and increasingly attentive to the processes by which its estate was administered. Fourth in order of precedence, it was the Renter Warden that was most closely associated with accounting for the estate and indeed the corporation as a whole. The importance of rental income to the Company's cash flow is indicated by the fact that this elected official, who acted as a sort of honorary treasurer, was not called Accounting Warden, but *Renter* Warden. This chapter therefore also takes into account the role of the Renter Warden in relation to the business of estate management. It describes the changing corporate structures by which the Drapers sought to manage and maintain their properties. It demonstrates the way the 'improving eye' of its governors worked out on the ground. Desirous of well-maintained buildings of recognizable quality, the Wardens sought to implement more accountable and stable record-keeping practices in order to monitor the well-being of their investments. Furthermore, administered by the Renter, the Company increased its capacity to undertake repairs and support rebuildings by acquiring a large store and tradesmen's yard.

⁷⁰⁵ For example see: Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.88.

Search of the Lands

The corporate structures designed to maintain quality in the estate carried residues of earlier patterns of regulation deployed in relation to the cloth trade. In particular, it appears that the frequency and authority of the annual cloth-related ‘search of the yards’ eroded as the importance and frequency of the property-related ‘search of the lands’ grew. Whilst different in nature and form, both actions tied the Company spatially to the inspection of sites throughout the city. Both searches were concerned with the upholding of quality and the gathering of knowledge regarding a territory, firstly related to cloth (or drapery) and latterly of the estate more generally.

The Drapers’ charter of 1438 first granted the Company the ‘right to search’ the businesses of cloth retailers and, significantly, confirmed their right to discipline those erroneously found using ‘short yards’.⁷⁰⁶ The cloth was measured against the Drapers’ ‘ell’ which was 36 inches, the length of a silver yard stick held by the Company as a symbol of their jurisdictional authority. Consequently, the Wardens conducted four searches a year for almost two centuries proceeding from the date of their charter, fining offenders and checking their reform. By the middle of the sixteenth century however this work had been delegated to the lower ranking Wardens of the Bachelors. Such a move reflected the increased distance between merchants occupying the highest ranks of the Company and the perceived mass of ‘retailing’ Drapers below them.⁷⁰⁷ Yet members of the Court of Assistants continued to conduct searches holding especial civic prominence and high visibility at the annual fairs of Southwark and St. Bartholomew, as well as maintaining a critical hand in the regulation of London’s central cloth market, Blackwell Hall, through the appointment of its Master. The regulation of the fairs was enacted in the face of considerable public attention, substantiating the Company’s territorial rights on the City’s cloth trade through performative exchanges. The procession of the search party of Drapers in 1587 at Bartholomew’s Fair located at West Smithfield received a particularly detailed description in the Drapers’ Minute Books. At the head of the group the Common Crier carried the silver mace, representing civic governance, followed by the Clerk who held the silver yard of the Company, and behind them followed the Master and Wardens (of the present year and the year before). After inspecting and fining several sellers of cloth, the group assembled at the entrance to the cloth market. In

⁷⁰⁶ Although this excluded the search of any retailers who were members of the Merchant Taylors.

⁷⁰⁷ DCA, OB1, unfoliated, Bachelors’ Ordinances as revised in 1560.

order of precedence the Drapers saluted the Lord Mayor, Grocer George Bonde, and his Aldermen as the men rode out of the fair on horseback, before the search party dined at a nearby tavern (see figure 5.1).⁷⁰⁸ The Company's right to perform this function and to execute discipline was reaffirmed in every Royal Charter after the first of 1438. Indeed a renewed charter of 1607 granted the Drapers the right to "enter into all houses, shops, cellars, booths, and other places...all yards, ells, goods and other measures whatsoever and to forfeit all such measures as are found to be short or deceptive" within the City and its liberties.⁷⁰⁹

Regardless of this theoretical jurisdictional authority, after the advent of the seventeenth century the search quickly lost its appeal and the Drapers' rights were especially challenged at Bartholomew Fair by the Merchant Taylors in 1609 following a prominent dispute.⁷¹⁰ Nonetheless even the triumphant Merchant Taylors had declined in their observance of the search by the early 1640s.⁷¹¹ Johnson held that such privileges were quickly becoming "mere survivals of the past, without much reality".⁷¹² Taking a wider view, Unwin argued that, although the power to search was still claimed by the companies and "had real power", the extents of this authority were "vague and shifting".⁷¹³ In so visibly judging the value of products and ascribing their approval or dispensing discipline, Epstein and Prak have more recently contended that the search was a tool for exclusion and marginalisation which bolstered the companies' monopolistic reputations. Despite their view that searches must have been "largely ineffective" due to the logistical incapacity of the companies to actually police fraudulent activity in this way, Epstein and Prak held that it was the *show* of protecting quality that mattered. The search lent the Drapers' Company legitimacy even if it held little

⁷⁰⁸ DCA, MB10, f.198.

⁷⁰⁹ Charter of James 1607 (printed in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 4, p.22).

⁷¹⁰ For discussion of this case see: Kellet, J. R. 'The breakdown of gild and corporation control over the handicraft and retail trade in London' in *Economic History Review* 10, no. 3 (1958) pp.381-94; Herbert, W. *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers* (London: J. C. Adlard, 1837) p.400.

⁷¹¹ Sleigh-Johnson, 'The Merchant Taylors', p.332.

⁷¹² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.240.

⁷¹³ Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, p.105.



Figure 5.1. *The Lord Mayor of London and his Sword-bearer* in 'Theater of all peoples and nations of the earth', Lucas de Heere (c. 1575), p.73, University of Ghent (BHSL.HS.2466). <http://adore.ugent.be/view/archive.ugent.be:79D46426-CC9D-11E3-B56B-4FBAD43445F2> [accessed online 13 July 2016]

practical value.⁷¹⁴ The abandonment of the practice signalled that legitimacy was being sought elsewhere and by different means.

Whilst the search of the yards assessed the state of the Company's trade, the search of the lands assessed the state of the Company's properties. Suggestively, as the search of the yards declined in importance, searches of the lands increased. More often referred to as 'view' days, the Wardens, the Renter and a group of workmen periodically undertook to visit every property in the estate in order to survey the condition of buildings under their care. As a result of observations made on these searches and decisions sanctioned centrally by the Court of Assistants afterwards, reparations were undertaken and checked for quality at a later agreed date.⁷¹⁵ This practice of viewing properties first-hand and making a record of their condition was one which enabled the Company to review and maintain their estate at regular intervals. Outside the view days, Wardens and employees could also be called to site for 'ad-hoc' dispute resolution throughout the year.

The Company ordinances stipulated that two views were carried out per year, one in March and the other in June or July to allow for any necessary reparations identified in spring to be completed and inspected in summer. These lengthy days of work began at 7am and the end of the survey was inevitably marked with a dinner hosted by the Renter Warden for all involved.⁷¹⁶ However, by the mid-sixteenth century, each of these bi-annual but singular view days had expanded to operate over two consecutive days, totalling four days per year. By 1614-15 the four days had become six.⁷¹⁷ Such an increase recognized the importance of estate and the ambition to maintain its quality. Company governors were expected to have a working knowledge of the properties in their care, and in their consistent site visits, either in dispute resolution or on view days, displayed a 'hands-on' rather than 'hands-off' approach.

⁷¹⁴ Gadd, I. A., Wallis, P. 'London Guilds and National Regulation, 1500-1700' in S. R. Epstein and M. Prak (eds.) *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp.288-315, p.297.

⁷¹⁵ For such an example see: DCA, MB5, f.155.

⁷¹⁶ The time is noted by Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.77. The Company allowed £5 for such events and the Renter Warden often entertained those in attendance at their houses afterwards. For example in the 1598, Thomas Cliff, the Youngest Warden, held a View Dinner in his house in Abchurch Lane (DCA, WA5, 1598-9, f.11r).

⁷¹⁷ DCA, RA6, 1614-15, f.15.

The Drapers were not the *lassiez-faire* sort of landlord depicted by Baer.⁷¹⁸ Still, in comparison to the public performance which defined the search of the yards, the search of the lands presented itself as a largely invisible affair, unburdened by any sort of ritual ceremony. Although Company business was bound practically closer to the processes of estate management and dislocated from the trade of drapery, the Drapers did not seek to draw attention to their new source of power through self-consciously public enactments of its authority in this area. Stewarding land and managing property was not what the Drapers 'did'.

Over many decades, the Company had endured several Royal challenges which sought to extort money from the Company coffers through attacks on the legitimacy of historic property transactions. However, in 1619 James I and VI finally confirmed the Company's rights to its lands, protecting it from future incursions. As a result of this action and to prevent the "inconveniences that hath formerly suffered by the Company", an extraordinary view "and service" was ordered of the lands in that year. The Wardens and Assistants required that they "shall take notice of the measure and content of each parcel here and of the butting and bounding of the same" and the Clerk was to "enter the same in a book for that purpose to be appointed".⁷¹⁹ This book no longer survives but one wonders whether it may have resembled Treswell's beautiful Clothworkers' plan book and to what extent. The likelihood is small for as far as can be ascertained no employee was trained in draughtsmanship. What can be said at this date is that the Drapers certainly intended to produce an unusually comprehensive catalogue of the extent of the Company's estate. The desire driving this mobilization of so many of the Company's leaders was evidently one that recognized the need to understand and record the entirety of their estate to substantiate their ownership. The link between the development of the survey, the map and the conception of property has already been effectively made by early modern scholars but the Drapers' Archive offers another perspective on these considerations through this lens of the annual 'view' and sporadic survey. Estate maps of the 1570s and 1580s are often seen as "statement[s] of ownership, a symbol of possession such as no written survey could equal". Because the map or plan turns on the abstract relationship between person and thing, it can be tempting to read the space depicted as desocialised. But this was clearly not the case in London, nor elsewhere. Moreover, Harvey stated that while maps were "little understood or used" in

⁷¹⁸ Baer, 'Landlord and Tenants', p.240.

⁷¹⁹ DCA, MB13, f.138r.

1500, by 1600 “they were familiar objects of everyday life”.⁷²⁰ In the Drapers’ Archive this appears to be borne out in the more everyday circumstances of property management where plans and associated descriptive notes were used to achieve profitable outcomes to negotiations yes, but not negotiations stripped of their social meaning as has been indicated in earlier cases of Chapter Four such as Mr Eastcourt and Mr Thrawle.

As previously noted, whilst books relating to the view have been lost, a small proportion of roughly drawn plans exist in the Archive (see figure 4.1). They reflect a pattern of active engagement as the Company governors and tenants walked, searched, measured and recorded properties together. For example, in 1635 the Wardens considered the proposed rebuilding of John Goodwin’s Smithfield Barrs house (no. 53). In responding to Goodwin’s petition they visited the site and “measuring out of the said ground” directed Goodwin as to the “manner and fashion” in which he was to undertake the rebuilding.⁷²¹ An ephemeral drawing could well have been produced on account of this survey. These were working drawings for working conversations, but more strategic plans were occasionally produced. In 1622 the Renter Warden, Richard Trymnell, with the Company workmen was recorded to have measured “all the Companies’ lands in St. Peter le Poor as the hall and all thereabout”.⁷²² It is unclear precisely the meaning of this, but the note is of some considerable interest, for the valuable plan of the pre-fire Drapers’ Hall appears to have been produced around this date. This was the same year in which Garway complained about the new warehouses springing up around the capital house and these seem to be identifiable on the plan. The exact date of its production cannot be ascertained but can also be surmised through the tenants noted on the drawing. Furthermore, Humphrey Downes’ occupation of the garden house places its production between 1616 and 1626.⁷²³ Produced on hard-wearing and high-status vellum and complete with intriguing details, it is inscribed with the mark of an unknown surveyor by the name of Christopher Flemming. However, it is far from the standard of presentation drawing exemplified by the 1596 Erber plan.

⁷²⁰ Harvey, P. D. A. *Maps in Tudor England* (London: British Library and the Public Record Office, 1993) p.7. The upward trajectory of the estate drawn ‘survey’ from the 1590s in particular is observed by: Wrightson, K. *English Society 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 1982) p.99.

⁷²¹ Ibid. f.299v.

⁷²² DCA, RA6, 1622-3, f.19.

⁷²³ DCA, MB13, f.122r; DCA, RA6, 1626-7, f.17, f.23.

As with the searches of cloth retailing shops, searches of Company houses could be met with resistance. Gaining access could be difficult and those deploying persistent avoidance strategies could delay the undertaking of reparations much to the Court's annoyance. In the 1560s and 70s the Erber was occupied by two intriguing foreign merchants who caused the Company some anxiety in relation to the condition of their prized property. Both Antonio (Anthony) de Guerras and Luis de Paz became agents for Philip II of Spain sometime between 1540-1560. In 1564, the Spanish King commended them for their good service to his new Ambassador in London, advising that "they are experienced and well informed about the country" and their expertise should be drawn on.⁷²⁴ Holding the initial tenancy, de Paz was sent by the Spanish Ambassador from England to Scotland in 1564 "in the guise of a merchant".⁷²⁵ De Guerras consequently took over de Paz's tenancy, at first holding the status of 'tenant-at-will', but then in 1566 securing a lease after promising the Court of the Drapers that he would spend £100 on reparations.⁷²⁶ The extent to which de Guerras honoured his earlier promise of improving the property is unclear. However, when the Drapers viewed the house some years later in 1568 to check that their tenant was "amending of things amiss", they found no action had been taken. De Guerras was ordered to "repair such things as were

⁷²⁴ 'Simancas: December 1564' in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Vol. 1, 1558-1567*, M. A. S. Hume (ed.) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol1> [Accessed online 15 July 2016].

⁷²⁵ De Paz was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to England to Scotland in 1564 "in the guise of a merchant" (Letter 280. Simancas: December 1564, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Vol. 1.*). However, his service brought him back to London, although he did not return to the Erber. As a result of his Scottish dealings which threatened the position of the English queen, he was firstly placed under house arrest and narrowly escaping torture in the Tower of London in 1571 before being sent back to Spain (Letter 287 and Letter 291. Simancas: October 1569, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Vol. 2, 1568-79*). On his departure for Scotland his property was transferred to Antony de Guerras who was also to become embroiled in sensitive political situations. De Guerras is described in 1545 as "a Spanish merchant resident in London" ('Henry VIII: June 1545, 11-15' in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Vol. 20*, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (ed.) (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol20> [Accessed online 15 June 2016]). His status as merchant is substantiated by a letter written to the Master of the Rolls in London recognising the value of French goods of 'Antony Guara' aboard the 'Anna of Barsalana' ('Henry VIII: July 1545, 26-31' in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 20 Part 1*). De Guerras wrote several letters from the house and we have a few details about events that took place there. He was a more active and important agent, and probable author of a 'Chronicle of Henry VIII' and an 'Accession of Queen Mary' (see Garnett, Richard. 'Introduction' in *The Accession of Queen Mary* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892)).

⁷²⁶ DCA, MB5, f.243.

to be judged most necessary & needful".⁷²⁷ By the following year the tumultuous relationship between Spain and England caused the alien merchant to spend the first of two periods of imprisonment in the Tower of London under charges of spying for the Spanish. Agents of Queen Elizabeth seized the Erber and the house was ransacked. A report from one of Philip's informants recalled that:

"They have sealed and sequestrated in the Queen's name all his property, and have closed the house, after having taken therefrom a great number of religious images and crucifixes, as well as figures of our Lady and the Saints beautifully carved in bulk and gilded. They carried them through most of the streets in the morning, as if in procession, with great mockery and laughter, saying that these were the gods of the Spaniards. There were great crowds of people, as they waited until it was market-day before they did it. Cries were raised that all the foreigners and those who owned the images should be burnt. They burnt half of these images piled on a cart-wheel before Guerras' house, and the other half they burnt in the market-place."⁷²⁸

During their March view of the same year the Wardens noted wryly that, "we could not get to view for that the doors were locked and no body at home".⁷²⁹ Although shortly released, it was recorded that for the next three years de Guerras remained in self-imposed house arrest "without daring to appear on the streets."⁷³⁰ De Guerras it seems was not communicative with his landlords during this time, for in April 1570 the Drapers' concerns led them to summon him to appear before the Court to account for the unsatisfactory condition of his house and their lack of access. De Guerras instead sent a representative, Hector Nommes, a physician. Unimpressed, the Company sought legal advice to begin eviction proceedings but

⁷²⁷ DCA, MB8, f.28r, f.33v.

⁷²⁸ Letter 95, May 1569, Guerau De Spes to the King, 'Simancas: May 1569' in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Volume 2, 1568-1579*. Contained within the bundle of bills left from her keeper of rents there is a snatched detail that, long before her death, Salisbury purchased, "a tabernacle wherein [an image] of our Lady was enclosed, which was painted in the Erber" (TNA, SC 6/HENVIII/2082). Depending on its form, it is possible that this tabernacle did not see the light of day until it suffered a similarly violent misfortune as the Countess experienced, only some decades later.

⁷²⁹ DCA, MB8, f.97r; DCA, RA5, 1579-80, f.18r.

⁷³⁰ Letter 291. 'Simancas: November 1571' in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Volume 2, 1568-1579*. This fear was not unfounded. The streets of London were notorious for their volatility. Foreigners and ambassadors were not infrequently attacked.

this process was slow moving and ultimately unsuccessful.⁷³¹ Finally, the viewers gained entry in March 1571 to survey the extent of the neglect due to “lack of reparations”.⁷³² Some work appears to have been carried out for the interest in the Erber subsided in Company records and de Guerras’ tenancy continued. Then at midnight on the 20th of October 1577 de Guerras reported in a letter to the Spanish King that officers of the Queen “assailed me unawares, searched my dwelling, seizing all the papers they could find, and...for four days ransacked the house.”⁷³³ He was hauled to the Tower of London for a second imprisonment leaving the house again empty. To the Court’s frustration, de Guerras still held the legal right to retain occupation of it as lease-holder and the Company could not repossess it. In June 1578 the Court reported with some relief that their troublesome and imprisoned tenant had been “commanded to depart the realm”. They immediately sought further counsel regarding the invalidation of his lease.⁷³⁴ A few days later the Court had secured the revocation of de Guerras’ lease subsequently granting the property to Thomas Pullison. Such was the extent of disrepair that Pullison took it upon himself to rebuild the property within seven years.⁷³⁵

In retaliation for any grievances they might have, it seems that tenants could be un-cooperative with their landlords and absences caused difficulties. Without permission, one tenant removed all the locks and doors of the house he was vacating falsely claiming his right to them as movables and leaving the house dangerously unsecured.⁷³⁶ Furthermore, empty houses were a liability in terms of reputation and repair. In the case of Roger Sadler, the Drapers’ under-occupied capital house did not tend to the Company’s credit. Empty properties or parts of properties were also more likely to fall into disrepair. To mitigate these reputational concerns, some tenants with business abroad were required to give over their

⁷³¹ DCA, MB8, f.100v.

⁷³² Ibid. f.186v.

⁷³³ Letter 471. 'Simancas: December 1577' in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Volume 2, 1568-1579*. Letters between de Guerras and Spain found the English collection of Elizabeth I were no doubt the ones seized from the Erber (for example: Letter 70. 'Elizabeth: August 1577, 1- 5' in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 12, 1577-78*, A. J. Butler (ed.) (London, 1901) pp. 53-57. *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol12/pp53-57> [Accessed online 5 March 2015]).

⁷³⁴ DCA, MB9, f.98v.

⁷³⁵ DCA, MB9, f.99r.

⁷³⁶ DCA, RA5, 1561-2, f.11v.

houses for short-term let to another sub-tenant during their absence. In 1557 Michael Allard declared to the Company that “he had occasion to go beyond the sea” and therefore was required to sub-let his shop “with his children and goods” to Harmond Conygrave, a Joiner.⁷³⁷ This instance acts as a counterpoint to another absence noted by Orlin when the church of St. Michael Cornhill granted a citizen a lease of a house “to lay his household stuff for one whole year, though he do dwell aboard himself”.⁷³⁸ Still business abroad could certainly prove problematic to lease-holders. In 1567 a letter written from Antwerp arrived regarding a small tenement in Sherborne Lane (no. 10). The author was Charles Bond, Draper, who had recently been granted a lease for the property. Before accepting the lease he viewed the property but found himself without keys for several rooms that were locked up by the departing tenant. He agreed to the lease from the Drapers in good faith that the rooms were in order. Still awaiting keys to these parts of his new property, Bond “had occasion to go on in to Flanders” and appointed his friend to receive the keys when they were available and report back. Bond received a nasty surprise when his associate informed him that part of the house was in “much ruin and decay”. It was supposed that “there hath been no reparations done to any purpose in long time”. Bond acknowledged his responsibility to repair the property but was not expecting this “great charge” necessary to reform such disrepair. To redress this imbalance, his letter requested the Drapers allow him £10 off his £25 fine to be used on the reparations of the property. In return he promised the repairs would be undertaken within three months and that he would “pray long for your prosperous estate”.⁷³⁹

Company Craftsmen and the Storeyard

The City Corporation had its own well-established mechanisms for resolving neighbourly disputes over buildings, boundaries and space. Four ‘sworn viewers’ surveyed sites of contention brought to their attention for arbitration. This group was led by Master Carpenters and Joiners with other trades appointed as necessary for advice. Reports were filed back to the Mayor and Aldermen for resolution in accordance with the twelfth century ‘Assize of Buildings’ which was still the guiding legislation for city construction work.

⁷³⁷ DCA, MB7, f.237.

⁷³⁸ *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456 to 1608*, W. H. Overall (ed.) (London: private printing, 1868) p.236 as quoted in Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.103-4.

⁷³⁹ DCA, AIII 151, letter dated 21 February 1567.

Observing that the office of viewer was “not unimportant and it was not held by unimportant men”, Janet Loengard argued that association with these posts was a source of “prestige and power”.⁷⁴⁰ This association with status might have spilled over onto similar positions within the companies, albeit with a lower level of intensity.

As noted, the Drapers’ Company claimed their own team of craftsmen held on retainer to work on their estate and assist the Court in decisions about its maintenance. Alongside attendance at the view, for the privilege of a small yearly fee, the Company’s building work was to be prioritised above any other business these men might hold. The Company also retained a handful of general labourers but, in contrast, required them “not to suffer them to do jobs in other places”.⁷⁴¹ Through payments in the Renter Accounts it is possible to keep some track of the fluctuations of the construction team which grew noticeably in size. The Carpenter and Bricklayer were fixtures on these view days. Their annual fee is evident from the mid-sixteenth century. In 1558 the Company Bricklayer was nominated for an annual contract of 20s. whereas in 1562-3 Mr Revell was paid the same fee “for our Carpentership”.⁷⁴² By 1576 a Company Plumber had been added to the list and around the same time a Tiler, William Swanson, was paid 13s. 4d. “for his year’s fee.”⁷⁴³ In 1589 a Glasier was paid for odd jobs as well as receiving a yearly fee of 5s. 1d.⁷⁴⁴ By 1600 craftsmen were paid separately for their attendance at the view in addition to their annual fee reflecting the scale of the task. The “Companies’ Carpenters” were paid 2s. 6d. in July 1599 to this end and another Carpenter, a Plumber, a Bricklayer and a labourer were all paid 4s. each in 1612-3.⁷⁴⁵ The desirability of one of these positions is exemplified in petitions for the Carpentership in the early seventeenth century. The year of 1606 saw the Company’s then Carpenter, Richard Moore, mysteriously disappear amid reports that he had given over his trade and abandoned

⁷⁴⁰ See 'Introduction' in *London Viewers and their Certificates, 1508-1558 Certificates of the Sworn Viewers of the City of London*. J. S. Loengard (ed.) (London: London Record Society, 1989) pp.xi-lxv. *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol26/xi-lxv> [Accessed online 31 December 2015]. Also see Orlin, ‘Boundary Disputes’ which utilized this source.

⁷⁴¹ DCA, MB1C, f.813.

⁷⁴² DCA, RA5, 1561-2, f.9r; DCA, MB5, f.163.

⁷⁴³ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.7r; RA5, 1573-4, f.7v.

⁷⁴⁴ DCA, RA5, 1589-90, f.11v.

⁷⁴⁵ DCA, WA5, 1598-9, f.12v; RA6, 1612-13, f.10.

the city in favour of the country life. It was reported that Moore had been selected years earlier on account of his status as a “near neighbour”, residing in a tenement next to Drapers’ Hall in Austin Friars. He would therefore be “ready upon any call”. In a demonstration of its value, two suitors had already been waiting for the reversion of the position since 1603. The Court resolved to decide between the two suitors who had been waiting for many years for the opening; the men were Richard’s brother William Moore and John Daye. The position was granted to John Daye.⁷⁴⁶

The Court not only gathered together a more substantial team of craftsmen but sought to expand its capacity to repair and upgrade its properties through the acquisition of a larger workmen’s yard and increased the storage space for building materials. This was not an altogether new practice. Already by 1531 the Drapers’ Renter had been given a yearly budget of £30-40 to purchase and store building materials for reparations or rebuildings at such time he was commended to “buy it best cheap and to remain in the storehouse till need shall require”.⁷⁴⁷ The stockpiling of building materials in Company storeyards, some of which were imported from abroad, ensured that the Drapers could make efficient purchases at the right time. A large Company storehouse was formerly located on Bearbinder Lane (no. 21) next to some other of the Drapers’ tenements but this appears to have been transferred to Queen Mary in the 1550s under duress. The precise factors bearing on the transfer of this storeyard are not easily identified but it is clear that the influential Haberdasher William Garrard, (Sheriff 1552-3, Lord Mayor 1555-6) was granted a lease of this space, as long as he “by any means procure and obtain our cellars again” from the Crown.⁷⁴⁸ In return for his “great labour and travail” in this he was granted a term of 21 years for the site payable at 40s. yearly.⁷⁴⁹ Having been displaced from their storeyard for the foreseeable future, the Wardens then viewed a new but unspecified location for their storehouse in May 1554. Nothing came of this survey and by July four Assistants were forced to re-consider an expansion of their own cellars under the Company Hall to serve as a stop gap.⁷⁵⁰ As observed in Chapter Four,

⁷⁴⁶ DCA, MB13, f.37v, f.42r.

⁷⁴⁷ DCA, MB1B, f.439.

⁷⁴⁸ DCA, MB5, f.64.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.* f.64; f.79.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.* f.79.

the area under the gallery was duly fitted out in 1555.⁷⁵¹ However the quantity of materials held and the Company's ability to store them was to be significantly scaled up in the period with an important re-acquisition.

A new site for the 'great' Company storeyard was originally surveyed in 1557 when four Assistants were appointed to view the "void place at Dowgate beside the Erber" in order to ascertain "whether it will be a mete place for a store house for this fellowship or no".⁷⁵² At this juncture the Company did not take any action and the status of the 'void place' is uncertain until a payment of 25s. 8d. for a stable and yard on the site was made by John Brown, a Smith, in 1562. Two years later however, the Drapers resolved to re-claim their yard and served Brown, who was likely a tenant-at-will, notice to vacate in favour of Company Warden Mr Braythwayt. Brown was not cooperative and refused to give over the yard. 'Distinguished lawyer' Mr Wilbrand and attorney Mr Coys therefore received payment for entering an action of eviction against Mr Brown.⁷⁵³ To judge the case, a jury and witnesses were summoned and entertained at Drapers' Hall. Unsurprisingly the decision fell against Brown and bailiffs forcibly removed him. The Company instructed officers to "nail up the gate of the same yard & a stable door" until they had obtained the correct paperwork to hold the lease in their own name, taking over from Braythwayt.⁷⁵⁴ Soon afterwards the Company Carpenter visited the recently recovered site with the Wardens to discuss their intention of "building of our storehouse and storeyard there".⁷⁵⁵ A bricklayer and five labourers constructed a brick wall and the base of the storehouse alongside attending to other repairs, whilst the Carpenter finished the frame and made up the gate (see figure 5.2). All the works

⁷⁵¹ Ibid. f.118.

⁷⁵² Ibid. f.219.

⁷⁵³ Probably Thomas Wilbraham (1530-73), attorney of the court of wards, later Recorder for the City (1569-71) and Judge at the Court of Wards and Liveries: Fuidge, N. M. 'WILBRAHAM, Thomas (1531-73), of London and Edmonton, Mdx.' in P.W. Hasler (ed.) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1981) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/wilbraham-thomas-1531-73> [Accessed online 4 September 2015]. Also see: Ormarod, G. *History of Cheshire, Vol. II* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Mavor and Jones, 1819) p.65. Mr Coys was almost certainly Roger Coyes who was an attorney at the Lord Mayor's Court from 1542-79 (Baker, J. *The Men of Court, 1440 – 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law, Vol. 1*, Selden Society Supplement Series (2012)).

⁷⁵⁴ DCA, RA5, 1564-65, f.10v-11r.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid. f.11r.

North



KEY

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| B - Buttery | P - Passageway |
| BA - Bowling Alley | PL - Porters' Lodge |
| C - Clerk's Office | PO - Porch |
| CH - Counting House | PR - Parlour |
| CY - Courtyard | PS - Pastry |
| D - Dicing House | S - Shop |
| G - Garden | SH - Scouring House |
| GL - Gallery | SL - Solar |
| GT - Gate | ST - Stable |
| H - Hall | T - Tubhouse |
| K - Kitchen | W - Warehouse |
| L - Lobby | WH - Wash House |
| LD - Larder | Y - Yard |
| LH - Lumber House | |

Figure 5.2. Redrawing of Erber 1596 plan (DCA, A X III 165). Extents of the Drapers' Storeyard highlighted

were complete within twenty-nine days.⁷⁵⁶ A great gate of brick faced onto Dowgate, in which a stonemason, Phillip Paskin, was paid to set up a stone carving of the Drapers' arms.⁷⁵⁷ Within the confines of the brick boundary wall a number of constructions successively sprang up in order to accommodate the activity of Carpenters and better accommodate the storage of materials (see figure 5.3). By 1590 the Company had passed on its lease of the storeyard directly to William Bradshaw, the Company's Carpenter.⁷⁵⁸ This was perhaps another reason the position of Company Carpenter was advantageous and sought after in 1606. The storeyard was evidently well used in service of the Company and beyond. Tools were stored on site, wainscots carried from Three Cranes deposited in penthouses, "great logs of timber" temporarily lodged outside the gate ready for "slitting" and sawing across the pit excavated from the remaining open space of the yard.⁷⁵⁹

Merchant leaders of the Drapers utilised their trading connections in service of the Company, frequently buying in and selling on materials for stockpiling in the yard. Warden of 1578-9 and 1582-3, William Megges, was noted to have imported 200 wainscots to be used in the refurbishment and upgrade of the Company parlour.⁷⁶⁰ His name consistently appeared in the port books of London in relation to the importation of wainscots, hops, oil and soap ashes from the Low Countries.⁷⁶¹ But Company stores, of which Dowgate was only one, also

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid. f.21v, f.22r.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid. f.23r.

⁷⁵⁸ Bradshaw seems to have operated from a number of sites in period. He is included in the 1582 Subsidy Return for More Lane outside the walls, then he is referred to as "our carpenter workinge at the hanging sword by london stone", which was just around the corner from the Erber (DCA, RA5, 1589-90, f.14v). Finally in 1592-3 he is said to have been dwelling in "Austine Fryars", adjacent to the Company Hall located there (DCA, RA5, 1600-01, f.11v), a tenancy perhaps taken over by Richard Moore, Bradshaw's successor at the Drapers.

⁷⁵⁹ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.9r, f.18v; RA5, 1576-7, f.10r; RA5, 1580-1, f.9v. In 1615-6 the Rental Accounts still referred to a working saw pit in the yard at Dowgate but its fortunes after this date are less certain (DCA, RA6, 1615-16, f.34).

⁷⁶⁰ DCA, MB8, f.223r. At the same time the roof of the Company Hall was re-laid and decorated with fretwork (DCA, MB8, f.235r). The wood for this project was sawn in the storeyard overseen by senior Drapers (DCA, MB9, f.4v).

⁷⁶¹ For example 'London Port Book, 1567-8: Nos. 400-499 (Mar - May, 1568)', 'London Port Book, 1567-8: Nos. 200-299 (Dec 1567 - Jan 1568)' and 'London Port Book, 1567-8: Nos. 300-399 (Jan - Mar, 1568)' all in *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents*, B. Dietz (ed.) (London: London Record Society, 1972) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol8/> [Accessed online 4 July 2015].



Phase 1, c. 1562-1564

Dowgate

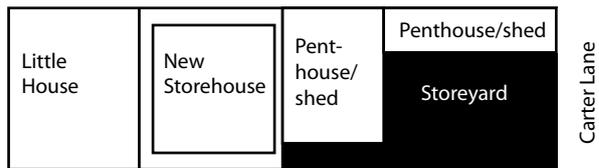
Tenant: John Brown (smith) - 1562-1564. Rent: 26s. 8d.
 Refs: "for a yard and a stable", DCA, RA 1561-2, f. 22v; "the Smythes yard at Dowgate", DCA, RA 1563-4, f. 20v; "the forge in the yard in browns tyme", DCA, RA 1564-5, f.23v



Phase 2, c. 1564-1565

Dowgate

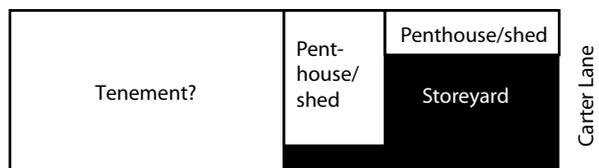
Tenant: Drapers Company - 1564-76.
 Refs: "building of our storehouse and storeyard there", DCA, RA 1564-5, f. 21v; DCA, RA 1564-5, f.22r; "little house", DCA, RA 1564-5, f.23v



Phase 3, c. 1575-1577

Dowgate

Tenant: Drapers Company - 1564-76.
 Refs: "paide to these men working at the storeyard at dowgate by the day in piling up of the timber under the penthouse there", DCA, RA 1575-6, f.9r; "making of a penthouse over the ladder stairs", DCA, RA 1576-7, f.20v; "house in the loft of the storeyard at Dowgate", DCA, RA 1576-7, f.20v; chimney confirmed, DCA RA 17v, 1577-78



Phase 4, c. 1590-1620

Dowgate

Tenant 1: William Bradshawe (Company Carpenter) - 1590-1601. Rent: 40s.
 Tenant 2: Roger Johnson (Keeper of Company's Grain Store) - c. 1601-1620.
 Refs: "one tenement & yard sometime used for a storeyard", DCA, RA 1618-19, f.19r

Figure 5.3. Diagram of site development at the Storeyard, c.1562-1619

ensured privileged members had quick access to building supplies for their own private projects, on the condition they return in kind or cash the value of the goods they had taken.⁷⁶² In 1579-80 an interesting tally or 'memorandum' was kept which revealed something about the use of the materials stockpiled in the storeyard. Five of the nine debtors were Drapers and also members of the Court of Assistants. The first note described how "Alderman Pullison oweth upon this Account" weather board, hearth lath, double quarters and sixteen ragged stones. Mr Thorowgood, also a Draper and Warden owed a similarly large quantity of materials. Another Draper Warden, Mr Heardson, owed £5 17s. which had been spent on two quarter boards "for the poor of the company" – likely Company almshouses. Alderman Calthorp was also in debt for many loads of rough timber, slates and 500 bricks used in the upgrade of his house in respect of his shrievalty. Warden John Chester also owed 33 ft. of inch board.⁷⁶³

Given the benefits of holding such sites of secure storage in the congested city, it is unsurprising that the Drapers were not alone in developing their yards in service of property maintenance. In 1550-1 the Merchant Taylors also enclosed a new storeyard within the boundary of their hall and by 1555 the Mercers too had appointed a storeyard or timberyard located in Coleman Street. These served similar purposes, for example, the Mercers' Wardens were instructed to purchase forty or fifty loads of timber "at as convenient and reasonable price as may be had" and purposed "to serve the assayers and businesses of the Company".⁷⁶⁴ It is of note that the Drapers sought out a site in such a prominent street-facing location where a new cluster of small tenements might have proved more immediately profitable. The longer-term and more diffuse value added to the estate of a well-supported team of craftsmen with easy access to building materials and suitable sites for construction work was clearly recognized and indeed a point of pride if the neat brick wall emblazoned with the Company's arms was anything to go by.

⁷⁶² DCA, RA5, 1579-80, f.21r.

⁷⁶³ Ibid. f.20v.

⁷⁶⁴ 'Appendix C: To Memorial III' in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London*, C. M. Clode (ed.) (London: Harrison & Sons, 1875) British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/taylors-guild-london/pp.565-587> [Accessed online 19 December 2015] pp. 565-587; MCA, Acts of Court ii, f.273 d.

Accounting for the Renter

The management structure of the Drapers' property portfolio seems rarely to have settled on an ideal and a number of different organisational strategies were deployed through the period of study. Following the development of the role of the Company 'Renter' reveals that the Drapers were unsure of the status and skills required of those particularly responsible for the day-to-day running of the expanded estate. It was a point of some administrative trial and error.

During the first few decades of the sixteenth century an employee was appointed for life out of the Livery under the various titles of 'Renter', 'Under-Renter' or 'Rent-Gatherer'. The Renter collected rents for the estate and returned the same to the annually elected Renter Warden. This employee was also partially responsible for the maintenance of properties, alongside funeral dinners (obits) and other smaller potations (modest gatherings) held in the Hall, assuming "such profit as hangeth thereon".⁷⁶⁵ Thomas Wheton served the Company in this role from 1520, paid £8 but rising to £9 in 1529.⁷⁶⁶ However, in 1545, Wheton died and, after the swell of acquisitions in the 1530s and 40s, the Court recognized that this was an appropriate juncture for a re-assessment of the effectiveness of the present structure. The Court elected to abolish the office of Renter and instead instituted two Renter Wardens where only one had stood before. Again appointed out of the Livery, unpaid and annually elected, these two men were sometimes called 'Upper Renter Wardens'.⁷⁶⁷ This may have signalled an increase in prominence for the Renter as this configuration somewhat combined the position of the Renter Warden and the Renter. Johnson however held that the change was primarily financially rather than socially motivated; following the Grocers, Mercers and Goldsmiths, he reported the Company decided to "save the expense of the standing Renter". To aid these yearly-changing Liverymen in their responsibilities, the Court sanctioned the employment of a lesser 'Under-Renter' to assist them.⁷⁶⁸ By 1549 there were two Under-Renters serving the two Upper Renter Wardens. This team of four was divided in two, one pair assigned to 'house lands' and the other to 'Howell's lands', a reminder of the significance

⁷⁶⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.813.

⁷⁶⁶ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, pp.30-31.

⁷⁶⁷ DCA, MB1C, f.855.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.* f.806-7, f.812, f.816.

of Howell's funds to the development of the Company estate.⁷⁶⁹ This division related to the financial administration of the properties, whether it was held outright for the Company or associated to land purchased using Howell's benefactions. In the yearly appointment of new Renter Wardens from those who had yet to serve in Company office, the Company was able to train up future Wardens in an increasingly important aspect of Company business. It also facilitated greater accountability as a result of the spread of responsibility and a requirement to submit a higher value of sureties.

Nevertheless, it seems that this administrative model was quickly found to be unsatisfactory. The positions were as open to abuse and neglect as they had been previously. In 1554 Upper Renter Warden William Parker neglected to pay his own rent and made a good but ultimately failed attempt to cover his discrepancy.⁷⁷⁰ The year after, in 1555, the Court complained that accounts were often brought in late and they were left "disappointed" by the amount of money which was returned to them "whereof they could not furnish their business accordingly". It was "with much difficulty" that the accounts were prized from the Upper Renter Wardens to the extent that it caused the Company "great inconvenience" in obtaining them. Correspondingly, the sureties required by the Upper Renter Wardens increased and a hefty fine of £40 was agreed for anyone that failed properly to execute their office. The Upper Renter Wardens were warned "to make a just and true account of all such sums of money as shall come unto his hands".⁷⁷¹ For one year, and apparently in response to these difficulties, three liveried Upper Renter Wardens were appointed instead of two. This was a tipping point however. For unspecified "diverse and necessary causes", these positions were dissolved and another re-assessment ensued leading to a U-turn in 1556 when the Court returned to favour the earlier system of management. The office of the single employed Renter was re-instated, whilst an annually elected Renter Warden worked alongside him. Both were to be either already liveried or appointed to the Livery as a result of the position.⁷⁷² There were some other changes however. Whereas the original post of Renter was a lifelong position, the new was under condition of yearly appointment. The post was in fact in practice retained for many years but the annual threat of dismissal following a review

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid. f.982.

⁷⁷⁰ DCA, MB5, f.59.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid. f.136.

⁷⁷² Ibid. f.184.

remained. The new Renter was to be paid £12, although this progressively increased to £16 and then £20 later in the sixteenth century. The new Renter was also to be given an Under-Renter to serve under him. This assistant was paid £6 13s. 4d.⁷⁷³ Accounts were to be made every half year for audit (as opposed to once a year) and alongside a declaration of the money 'in their hands'.⁷⁷⁴

The Court sought to elect a new Renter that was an "honest, able and mete person" and with this in mind Alexander Perpoint was appointed.⁷⁷⁵ Bartholomew Warner was given position of Under-Renter but quickly rose through the ranks of Company administration.⁷⁷⁶ When the Clerk Edward Messenger fell ill in 1560, Warner executed his duties as Under-Renter as well as serving as Assistant Clerk on and off for a number of years. He was finally elected to the prestigious position of Clerk in 1569 upon the death of Messenger.⁷⁷⁷ After a short probation period, Warner was paid £20 pa. - a comparable fee to the Renter. Indeed the Renter was seated next to the Clerk at Election Dinners, positioned in the parlour with the Master Wardens and Clerk in 1566.⁷⁷⁸ Just like the vacancy for Clerk in 1586, the 1569 vacancy for Renter returned three suitors. The three applicants were questioned on their ability to submit sureties of £400 and, like the Clerk, were required to "show their handwriting". A tenant of the Company in Throgmorton for several years previously, Draper Robert Richards was selected.⁷⁷⁹ Richards was instructed to shadow Warner "whereby he may be...instructed in his said office and in the practice thereof".⁷⁸⁰ At the Election Day of the same year, because Richards "was not profit in knowledge" of the names of the Livery "whereby he might pick them as they paid", Warner stood in for him.⁷⁸¹ Although intended as a short period of

⁷⁷³ An account of this transition is also given in Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.234.

⁷⁷⁴ DCA, MB5, f.184.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.* f.154.

⁷⁷⁶ Confirmation of his position is found in: DCA, MB7, f.154, f.229.

⁷⁷⁷ DCA, MB7, f.186, f.296; MB8, f.63v, f.66r. See also Johnson's account: Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.474.

⁷⁷⁸ DCA, DB1, 1566 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.44r).

⁷⁷⁹ DCA, RA4, 1555-6, f.13r.

⁷⁸⁰ DCA, MB8, f.61r-63v.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.* f.72v.

training, it seems that Warner continued quietly to perform many duties of the Renter without the Court's knowledge for some time.

Richards' service as Renter was relatively short-lived however. In response to Elizabeth's 1573 requirement that the Companies maintain their own private armouries to furnish troops for her foreign wars, the Drapers appointed him into the newly created role of Company 'Armourer'. His ability to serve in the office as Renter as well as effectively perform what was required as the Company's Armourer was deemed questionable by the Court and after concluding that the combination was untenable, Henry May was elected to Richards' place as Renter.⁷⁸² The appointment was notable for May was a former Warden. Before taking up the position he was warned that he would be required to serve under the Renter Warden (a position which he himself had previously held) and also to wait on the Court at small dinners as his position required.⁷⁸³ May was not put off and accepted but succumbed to the temptation to exercise the position in a way that prioritized personal gain.

A letter sent on behalf of two elderly tenants demonstrated the potential for Renters, inclusive of Henry May, to use their power to the detriment of vulnerable tenants. Roger Stevenson, a Brown-Baker, and his wife Elizabeth, "poor aged folks" were granted a tenancy of a tenement in Lothbury (no. 22) in 1544. Coming to the end of their lease in 1577, Renter to the Company, Henry May, was accused by the Earl of Warwick of "greatly molesting them, going about to put them out". He alleged that May had threatened the couple with eviction, "pretending" a lease which granted the property to him unless the Stevensons paid an unsanctioned £7 fine to extend their tenancy. Further, of this £7 fine, May admitted on Roger's deathbed that he had only transferred £5 10s. to the Company, directly pocketing a personal profit of £1 10s. The Earl reported that the financial and psychological pressure placed on Roger as a result of May's earlier threat of eviction "was a means to shorten [his] life", leaving his widow to contend for a continued lease.⁷⁸⁴ The outcome of the complaint is not recorded but May continued in his position. The incident showed that with relative autonomy and responsibility in relation to some aspects of the estate management, the Renter could exploit his position for immoral personal gain.

⁷⁸² Ibid. f.218v.

⁷⁸³ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.234.

⁷⁸⁴ DCA, AVIII 338, letter dated 22 December 1580.

Records, Renters and Reparations

By 1589 the next Renter, Thomas Elliot, was ailing and revealed to be “very ignorant of such things as chiefly concerned his office”. His ill health was not however the reason for such misdemeanours. It was suggested that the former Clerk, Mr Warner, had continued to undertake all the record-keeping assigned to the post of Renter until his death, leaving Richards, May and then Elliot in the dark as to these important processes. Since Warner’s death in 1587 the records had therefore been neglected. Elliot was ordered to receive all documents relating to his post from the new Clerk and produce a ‘breviat’ of all leases to address his deficiency (see figure 5.4). In this he was to consult with the Clerk Stephen Wilkinson.⁷⁸⁵ Perhaps the Court had in mind ‘Cheke’s Survey’ as a reference point. This document had been compiled by the Mercers in the 1570s by their own Renter Warden in order to make sense of the Company’s extensive lands and income.⁷⁸⁶ These archival tendencies were a reaction to intensifying managerial responsibilities and the desire to better steward their estate. For the avoidance of future disorder, all documents and accounts relating to Company properties were to be held by the Clerk for safe-keeping so that the Company might peruse them at any time and check that the Renter was on top of his duties.⁷⁸⁷ Ailing Renter Thomas Elliot was dead by the following October and a new balloting box was deployed in the election of his successor. Though, before their election a radical proposal was tabled: should there be any Renters at all in the form and quality of Elliot? Should the structure be reformed again and in which way? Three ballots voted for change, whilst thirteen voted to maintain the status quo. This time no less than five suitors duly presented themselves for Elliot’s post. Another former Warden, Thomas Wicken (Warden 1578-9), was elected by unanimous ballot, providing he brought in three sureties.⁷⁸⁸ In the meantime Elliot’s wife Agnes was left to settle up her deceased husband’s accounts, requesting reimbursement from the Company for two rents and a bill of the baker.⁷⁸⁹ She submitted the accounts on his behalf and was duly discharged from office.⁷⁹⁰ The new

⁷⁸⁵ DCA, MB10, f.277, f.437-39.

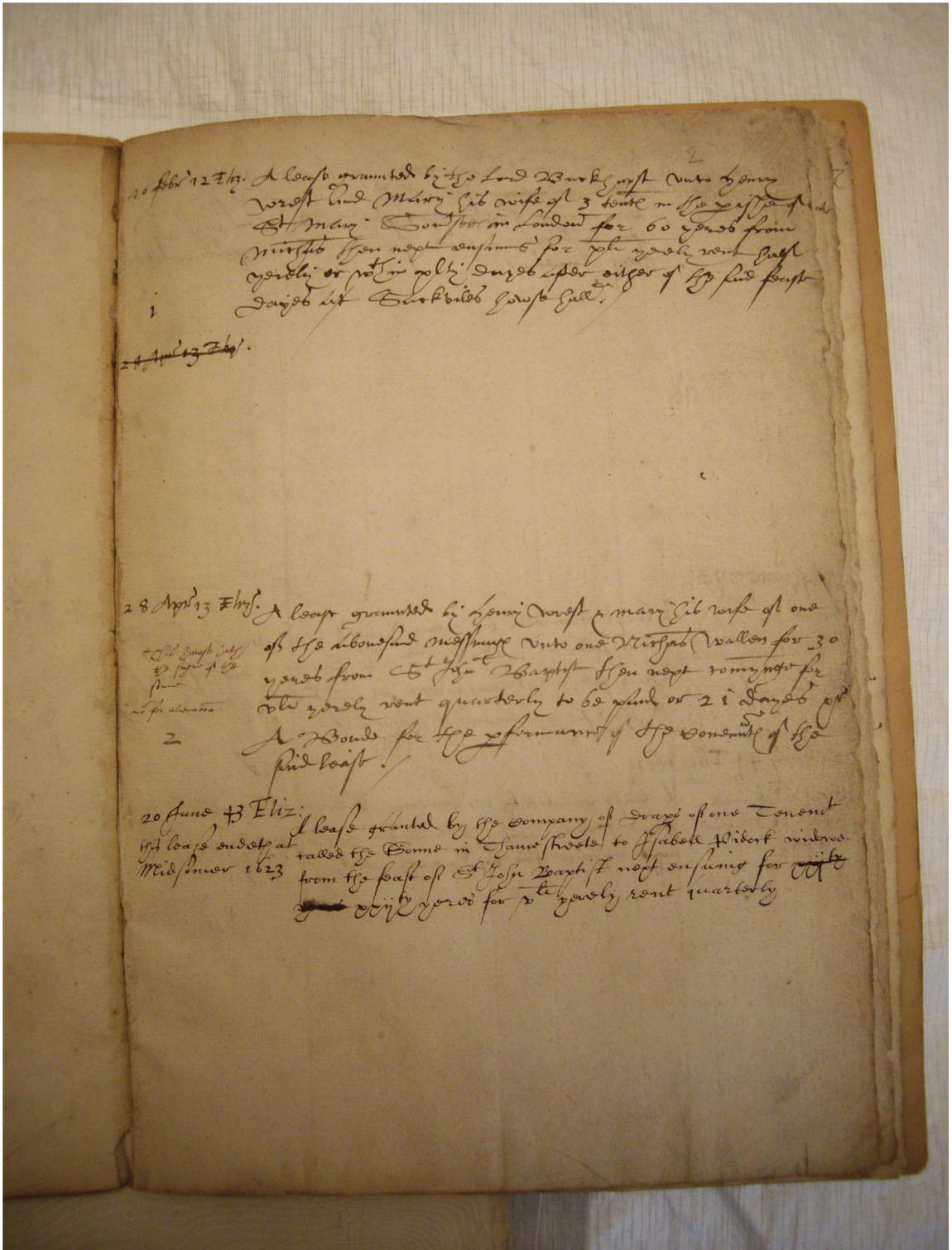
⁷⁸⁶ Imray, Jean. *The Mercers’ Hall* (London: London Topographical Society, 1991) p.500.

⁷⁸⁷ DCA, MB10, f.379.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.* f.400.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.* f.413.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.* f.416.



12 Feb. A lease granted by the Lord Bury knight unto Thomas
Wright and Mary his wife of 3 tows in the parish of
St Mary. Situate in London for 60 years from
Michaelmas next ensuing for the yearly rent
of 10s or 10s in gold. To be paid on the first of
January at Bartholomew's Gate.

28 April 13 Eliz.

A lease granted by John Wright a man his wife of one
of the above said messuages unto one Thomas Waller for 30
years from the first of January next ensuing for
the yearly rent quarterly to be paid on 2^d January
at Bartholomew's Gate.

20 June 13 Eliz.
A lease granted by the company of Drapers of one Tenement
situate in the parish of St Dunstons in the County of London
called the Dome in Lane Street to Robert Wilder
Merchant from the first of January next ensuing for
the yearly rent quarterly

Figure 5.4. Sample page from the sparsely populated 'Record of Leases granted 1570-86' (DCA, CR4, p.2)

appointment was not without incident however as a few years later, for the second time, the 'collector of rents' failed to pay his own. It was recorded that the Drapers "very benevolently" released Wicken from the paying of it and instructed him to spend the equivalent sum on the repair of his property instead. But the Drapers were anxious that this lapse is not a sign of trouble to come warning Wicken that he should "proceed in his good service unto the company as he hath began".⁷⁹¹

The practice of documenting reparations had been long established, taking the form of a View Book. This allowed for reparations to be checked and the Court to have access to detailed information about the state of their properties and gaining managerial insights in the process. As was their habit, in April 1571 this book was "laid before the whole board and certain thereof read" in order for a decision to be taken regarding which reparations were to be prioritized and "most necessary" in summer. After having heard the items read out, the Court delegated its power to the Wardens' discretions.⁷⁹² Tenants were given until one month before the second view (in July) to complete their repairs. If not undertaken, the Wardens would request the tenant to appear at the Court to account for their failure to act in accordance with the Company's instruction. The tenants were also required to pay the officer that fetched them 4d.⁷⁹³ As previously noted, if the tenants insisted on leaving their reparations unattended to, a penalty fine would be incurred. The capacity to hold tenants to account therefore depended on careful record-keeping and systems for checking. Were these neglected, properties could be left to fall into disrepair as reparations required of their tenants fell silently through the net with the Company ultimately left to foot the bill.

Suspecting their 'house' (i.e. estate) was not in order after Elliot's death, in February 1590 the Court sought to conduct an even more thorough view. To this effect the Renter and the Company's workmen were instructed to make a special 'pre' view of particular reparations that ought to have been completed. If reparations previously stipulated were not satisfactorily undertaken, the tenants were to receive warning to take action and the work checked by the Wardens on the next view day in March.⁷⁹⁴ But the scale of the problem was

⁷⁹¹ Ibid. f.202.

⁷⁹² DCA, MB8, f.143v.

⁷⁹³ DCA, MB10, f.379.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid. f.434.

worse than was supposed. After the March view it was observed that many tenants were failing to maintain their properties to the extent that the Court elected to increase the related penalties in order to dissuade further persistent neglect. The Company was indeed concerned enough to hastily send their own workmen under the direction of the Renter to extraordinarily view and repair relevant properties. The tenants were then liable to pay the Company back for whatever work was undertaken by the Company's craftsmen and given only one week to make the payment. If tenants did not repay the Company for this service, the Renter was instructed to begin legal action to evict them from their properties immediately. These were strong words with severe consequences in the competitive City environment.⁷⁹⁵

After having reformed outstanding reparations and re-assessed the status of their tenants-at-will in the 1590s, in December 1604 there was an effort made to bring leases into a standardised and therefore more easily manageable system of tenure. A number of long standing lease-holders were requested to appear before the Court with the lease or counterpane document to prove how long remained on their lease implying the Company had lost track. On their renewal, leases were to be granted for 21 years across the board. This 21 year length was intended to set a new benchmark, discouraging short-term leases that were harder to administer and allowing for a greater security for leaseholders. This change was perhaps an encouragement to tenants with a persuasion for rebuildings, but also it enabled the Company to charge lucrative fines at regular intervals. The policy was however less stringently followed than the Company envisioned it might be.⁷⁹⁶ Although with admittedly less frequency, leases continued to be granted for a range of terms such as 7, 14, 31 or 40 years alongside the more usual length of 21 years and the extraordinary 99 years depending on the circumstances. It seems that the complexity of negotiations was irreducible to such a standardized system: the Court wished to use its prerogative in spite of the administrative struggles it produced. In spite of its imperfections, in 1606 the Merchant Taylors matched the decision of the Drapers, electing that new leases should not be granted for any longer than 21 years and suits for the properties would not be considered until two years before its expiration. Assistants acting out of turn were to be fined.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid. f.449.

⁷⁹⁶ DCA, MB13, f.20r.

⁷⁹⁷ Sleight-Johnson, 'The Merchant Taylors', p.76.

It was on account of this investigation into leases that a more serious problem came to light, bearing the mark of previous disorder. In September 1605 the Court was informed that “many things concerning the state and good of this house at this present are far out of order and for many years past have been neglected”.⁷⁹⁸ Wicken was scolded for a lack of attention to record-keeping but this was not the whole of it. A survey of the archive revealed that the wills of many benefactions of legacies and lands “lie scattered in loose papers” and had not been entered into a book which was “for that purpose” as they ought to.⁷⁹⁹ This criticism therefore spilled over to the Renter Warden and the Clerk. Of the View Book, the Court was informed that it had been practically abandoned since 1587, the year of Warner’s death. The fact that such neglect was not identified in the reforms of 1590 indicated that the Renter’s work remained unchecked by the Court, who must have been at least partially to blame for failing to inspect the book. Perhaps records had been kept in a far more piecemeal manner, written up on loose paper and then disregarded. With echoes of the recent past the Court once more found that “all the defects of reparations hath not been kept” as a result of which, “dozens of the Company’s houses have gone to ruin”. The descent into ruination had not occurred overnight, the failure effectively to record necessary reparations had caused hundreds of the small repairs to go unreformed. The Court noted that as a result of this record-keeping activity, “the parties never called in question...according to the covenants of their lease to repair the same.” These years of neglect had allowed small problems to gestate into larger, more costly, structural problems.⁸⁰⁰ Characteristically reticent to dismiss a Company officer, Thomas Wicken was forgiven and allowed to continue in his post without fine. He henceforth returned to old patterns of record-keeping despite his increasing infirmity. To this end, in July 1607 he was allowed “the keeping of a young man to write his accounts for the Company’s business the Court considering his great age and that his sight is much decayed”.⁸⁰¹ However, by August, Wicken was dead and his wife and son were called into the Court to discuss the transferral of “all books and specialities” that were currently in

⁷⁹⁸ DCA, MB13, f.28v.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid. More than this, the Ordinance book was too full to be able to enter the most recent gifts to the Company from benefactors such as Mr Chamberlain, Mr Thorowgood and Mr Goddard among others. Two leaves at the back of the book were especially reserved for this brief list, but these too were full up. Furthermore the Ordinance Book, with all its revisions, was “so confusingly engrossed... as they cannot be read on Quarter days without much trouble” (DCA, MB13, f.28v).

⁸⁰⁰ DCA, MB13, f.28v.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid. f.49r.

their custody stored in their house. Clearly the earlier order that they were to be kept by the Clerk in the Hall had been forgotten.⁸⁰²

After the appointment of Humfrey Downes in the place of Wicken, the Company enjoyed almost twenty years of relative order and stability in the administration of its estate. Downes appears to have made good on his promise to “make them a true and perfect account from time to time” of the money that came into his hands at the time of his appointment.⁸⁰³ Yet, in 1624 Downes admitted his “acquaintance is decayed” with his accounts. The record of reparations, but also the lengths of leases, he claimed were held in his own memory. Uncommitted to paper, the Court was prevented from attending to new rental agreements with any certainty or speed.⁸⁰⁴ Two years after allowing his “true record” to fall into decay, a suitor for his position was proposed. Ferdinando Clutterbuck was a Draper and former Warden who had “fallen into extreme poverty being a man in former times of good place and respect in this company”.⁸⁰⁵ Although the proposal remained just that and Downes was able to hold onto his post for another six years presumably after renewing his efforts to keep accounts. Doubt remained about his efficacy however and the Youngest Warden was instructed to check over Downes’ accounts quarterly to ensure that “no arrears of rent unreceived be brought to account by the said Renter as of late years it hath been”. Tenants in arrears were then required to present themselves at the Hall to pay their dues or explain themselves.⁸⁰⁶ In 1633 an ailing Downes was still in place as Renter. His eyesight and strength had deteriorated in old age. Considering his condition, the Drapers weighed up their Renter’s situation. It was observed that, despite the sought after and profitable position, Downes was “very poor” and without his salary his family would face destitution.⁸⁰⁷ Responding sympathetically, the Court appointed the Clerk to make receipts and payments on his behalf in the meantime. Downes however was dead by the next Court meeting.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Ibid. f.51r.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid. f.190r.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid. f.199r. Ferdinando Clutterbuck was noted just a few months earlier receiving £3 to buy him clothes and a hat “to cover himself for the hiding of his nakedness” (DCA, MB13, f.170r).

⁸⁰⁶ DCA, MB13, f.229r-230r.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid. f.277r.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid. f.277r, f.279v.

Reflecting the increased status of the role, eight suitors presented themselves in pursuit of the Rentership in 1634. All were Drapers, one an Assistant of the Company and former Warden, and another was already a member of the Livery. Only the Assistant and the Liveryman reached the shortlist of two and the post fell to the man of highest rank, Richard Trymnell (Warden of 1622-3, 1630-31, 1632-3). Johnson reported a detailed account of his unfortunate term as Renter. He attributed Trymnell's appointment to his 'fallen' circumstances which had forced him to depend on the Company's charity in 1634, receiving £20 quarterly.⁸⁰⁹ A particular note was made by the Court that the money he managed must be kept in the Hall in the allocated chest for these purposes.⁸¹⁰ At this time Trymnell was also granted the role of Garden Keeper which came with the privileged use of the garden house formerly held by Downes. In December 1636 it was discovered that Mr Trymnell had directed £9 of the Company's money to furnish and embellish the house now in his keeping with new hangings, a rebuilt privy and other items, without the approval of the Court.⁸¹¹ His accounts were deemed unsatisfactory and examined. Some years later a more serious and persistent error surfaced, that rents for Company properties were in arrears and record-keeping out of order under Trymnell's watch. Furthermore, he was reported to have held as much as £110 8s. in his hands, when the Court had approved him only a maximum of £40. The accounts were to be reformed once more and amends made for his discretions. Drawing attention to the personal failings that led to Trymnell's early poverty, Johnson concluded that his death the following year saved the Company from more potential mishap.⁸¹²

Although the role of Renter Warden proved to be less problematic than that of Renter, there was one particularly disturbing case of abuse and disorder in the early seventeenth century. The unusually detailed description of the case of Thomas Goodyear, Renter Warden for the year 1628-9, shows the Company in opposition to a trusted insider and requiring him to answer accusations of corruption in his accounts. In this the Clerk recognized that in the records "the cause expressed at large". After Goodyear had submitted his accounts, four auditors found that "upon examination and perusal of the account" there were "diverse and several exceptions thereunto". More specifically, Goodyear was accused of "ill husbanding of

⁸⁰⁹ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.207.

⁸¹⁰ DCA, MB13, f.295v.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.* f.305v.

⁸¹² Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.208.

the company's moneys by suffering of their needless taking up of interest moneys and their payments of use moneys for the same when he...contrary to ancient custom and the consent of the Company, having taken great sums of the Company's moneys out of their common hall to his own dwelling house". Acting without consultation with the Court, Goodyear was clearly taking liberties with the large sums of money under his care.⁸¹³ At first Goodyear did not oppose the accusation, agreeing to pay £12 fine by the following morning in return for the trouble and loss he had caused. An entry was to be made in the book for receipt of the fine. None was made however since Goodyear refused to offer up his payment and the dispute escalated. The Company deemed Goodyear's later communication "unbrotherly and uncharitable" and Goodyear accused the auditors of producing an untrue report for "they of malice pretended much" and used "new tricks". Goodyear, as a result of his "unseemly carriage and unreverent and violent behaviour" was banned from all meetings of the Company, his seat in the Court of Assistants was to remain vacant until he showed remorse. He was allowed to receive his £400 surety back, in order to return it to the two others who stood bound with him in it.⁸¹⁴ After several aborted attempts to reclaim his seat over the course of two years, Goodyear finally made payment of £12 and submitted himself claiming that he was "misled" about the difference between himself and the Company. The Clerk duly recorded that "this Court thereupon received him again to his place of an Assistant and so this day he took his said place accordingly."⁸¹⁵

Seeking to more closely monitor the activities of their Renter Warden in order to avoid additional embarrassing internal disputes, the new Renter Warden was instructed to keep a running total of his accounts for the greater clarity of the Court.⁸¹⁶ Later the following year more explicit instructions were issued regarding this. The Renter Warden was instructed to keep a "case book...of all his receipts and payments" which should be written "in his own hand". The book was at all times to be left on the parlour table so that any member of the Court might have access to it. Sub-totals were to be kept so that at the time of the sitting of the Court it might be laid open on the same table at the most recent page so that those in attendance might have a better understanding of the financial health of the Company. With

⁸¹³ DCA, MB13, f.232v.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid. f.226r-227r.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid. f.253v.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid. f.220v.

regards to the holding of the balance of the Company, the surety deposited by the Renter Warden was £400 and therefore it was ordered that this was the maximum amount he was able to keep in his possession. This money was to be stored only in the Company Hall and not “carried out to his private house as by a late Renter Warden...it hath been.” Finally these new orders were to be annually written out by the then Renter Warden at the beginning of his account, as proof that that he had knowledge of these rules.⁸¹⁷ Again the recordation process was utilised and seen as an appropriate method of good governance, the writing out of text a guarantee of undeniable transfer of knowledge, to be used both positively and negatively to extend Drapers’ good ordering of its internal affairs (see figure 5.5).

The Bookhouse

With records increasingly recognized and utilized as mechanisms for efficient centralized governance, the secure storage of them became more pressing. Like the storehouses and storeyard, the Company’s bookhouse was upgraded and grew larger in order to accommodate the proliferation of documents, many of which related to the estate. Access to the spaces reflected a privilege of responsibility.

Johnson described the early set-up of the records in the first Company Hall which consisted only of two chests. The Company’s writings were kept alongside the plate in the Wardens’ Box which had three keys held between the Master and two Wardens. The second box of ‘evidences’ and leases had only two keys, one kept by the Master, one by a Warden.⁸¹⁸ In the new Hall four chests were divided between two new secure storage rooms, the bookhouse and the jewel house. Both rooms were situated adjacent to each other and next to the parlour. The picture that emerges of both the bookhouse and the jewel house is of two high-status spaces of relatively occasional use and longer-term storage, housing items necessary only for intermittent ceremonies or rubber-stamping of documents. The bookhouse contained two large boxes in which were stored evidences and documents relating to properties and the chantry returns.⁸¹⁹ Within this the jewel house held a great iron chest which required four keys to open and a lesser iron chest next to it.⁸²⁰ Inside the great chest

⁸¹⁷ Ibid. f.229r.

⁸¹⁸ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.155.

⁸¹⁹ The inventory is located: DCA, MB5, f.88-89. For more comments on discipline enacted in the hall see: Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, pp.78-79 and DCA, MB10, f.90.

⁸²⁰ DCA, MB5, f.160.

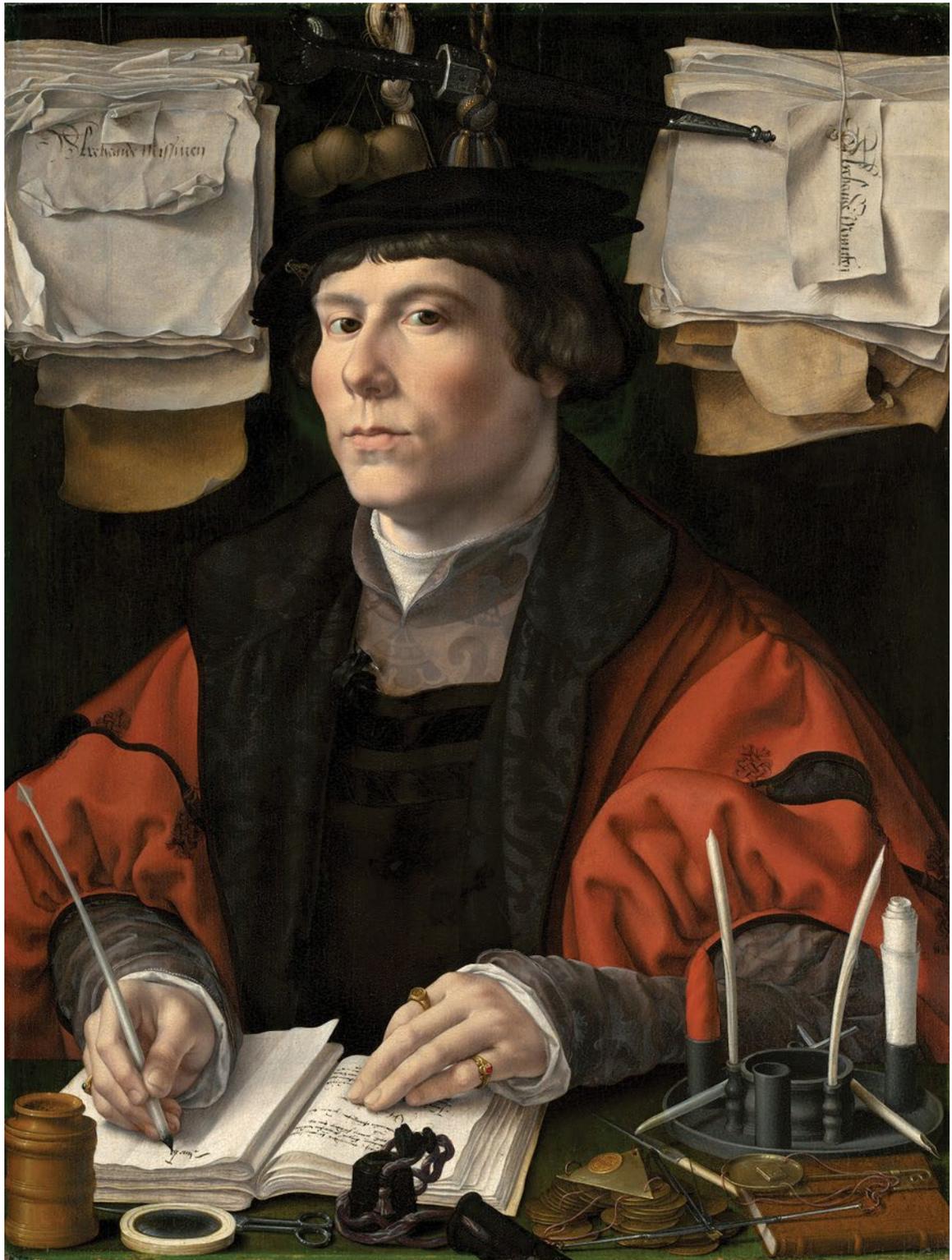


Figure 5.5. Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of a Merchant* (c. 1530) National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

cash was sealed in bags of £100.⁸²¹ Likely this was the chest which was used “to lock up such money as they shall receive of our tenants”.⁸²² One of these also contained “our common seal of silver” as well as unspecified bunches of keys.⁸²³ The Clerk was responsible for the apparently single key to the bookhouse.⁸²⁴ The door to the jewel house, located inside the bookhouse, had five keys, each distributed amongst the Master and Wardens.⁸²⁵ The oath of the Clerk attested to the desired physical immovability of these documents. In comprehensive language he swore neither to carry any copies, abstracts, or original writings out of the house, nor show or read them to anyone, other than at the expressed instruction of the Master and Wardens.⁸²⁶ It was in fact the Renter Warden that appears to have been charged with the particular care of the lease documents and deeds. Each property was likely assigned a separate box under its own lock and key (see figure 5.6).⁸²⁷ For instance, in 1554 Renter Warden Mynors received twelve documents relating to two new tenements transferred to the Company at St. Martin’s Gate. These were placed in two new boxes which were then placed within the larger boxes in the bookhouse.⁸²⁸

When the parlour was re-wainscoted in the 1575-6 the bookhouse underwent considerable refurbishment, effectively reconstructed and most likely enlarged. Presses and wainscots of the parlour were taken down and put up again in this space.⁸²⁹ Shelves were installed, the joiners used scaffolds to reach the upper levels of the apparently tall room which was lit by a high level clerestory window.⁸³⁰ It received a new doorpost and door for which four keys were produced.⁸³¹ In 1608 the Court issued an order that “a case or cupboard shall be made

⁸²¹ DCA, MB10, f.419.

⁸²² DCA, MB1C, f.816.

⁸²³ DCA, RA6, 1604-5, f.9r.

⁸²⁴ DCA, MB13, f.61r.

⁸²⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.980.

⁸²⁶ DCA, OB1, unfoliated, ‘The Oath of the Clerk of the Company’.

⁸²⁷ For example see DCA, MB7, f.275.

⁸²⁸ DCA, MB5, f.78.

⁸²⁹ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.18v.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.* f.8v, f.157-6; RA6, 1605-6, f.20.

⁸³¹ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.18r; RA5, 1599-1600, f.14r.



Figure 5.6. Original deed box lined with 1618 treatise, 17th century, Lincoln's Inn Archive, London. Photo: <http://www.lincolnsinn.org.uk/index.php/105-linn/inns-archives/archive-of-the-month/past-documents/605-april-2015-the-king-s-grocer-s-house> [accessed online 19 May 2016]

with lock and key to shut in the nest of boxes wherein the legacy bonds are kept”, the key was to be kept by the Renter Warden alone.⁸³² This upgraded space seems to have allowed necessary documents to be located more efficiently and correlated with decisions taken by the Court. After the installation of this new cupboard, filing instructions were noted in the margin of the Minute Book by the Clerk directing readers towards boxes such as L, G or W for different writings and counterpart leases.⁸³³ This shelving and boxing system might have resembled Smythson’s closet of c. 1600 (see figure 5.7).

From the 1550s spending and repairs in relation to the Hall reflected a growing preoccupation with locks, keys, iron bars and measures of security in spite of apparently no attempted break-ins or intrusions. A typical Minute in 1559 contained for instance the instruction that many diverse locks in the Hall were to be amended or replaced and new keys produced, whilst a “new strong door” with bolts and cross-bars was commissioned for the key entrance out of the courtyard leading towards the hall.⁸³⁴ The process of legally endorsing leases became more arduous and ceremonial as the Company seal was secured behind ever more locks and keys. After a flurry of activity surrounding the seal’s removal out of the jewel house, leases were stamped with the Company’s Arms in front of the assembled Court to encourage transparency (see Chapter Two for discussion about practices of bribery). After use, the high status object was then “immediately...again sealed up” by the Clerk in the locked “Masters’ box” in the press through the bookhouse and within the jewel house.⁸³⁵ The ordinances stipulated that a £10 fine would be levied against any Wardens who left the seal unsecured after its use, for it carried the Company’s authority.⁸³⁶ The records relate a similar level of carefulness when it came to accessing the jewel house for money. In 1589 this ritual was described. The Master and Wardens, “having brought their keys” and “in the pleasure of diverse of the Assistants aforesaid”, proceeded to open the door to deposit some money in the iron chest. The chest and room was then “locked again” and “every one received their

⁸³² DCA, MB13, f.61r.

⁸³³ *Ibid.* f.55v-56r, f.170v, f.172v.

⁸³⁴ DCA, MB7, f.199; MB10, f.90.

⁸³⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.979.

⁸³⁶ DCA, OB1, unfoliated.

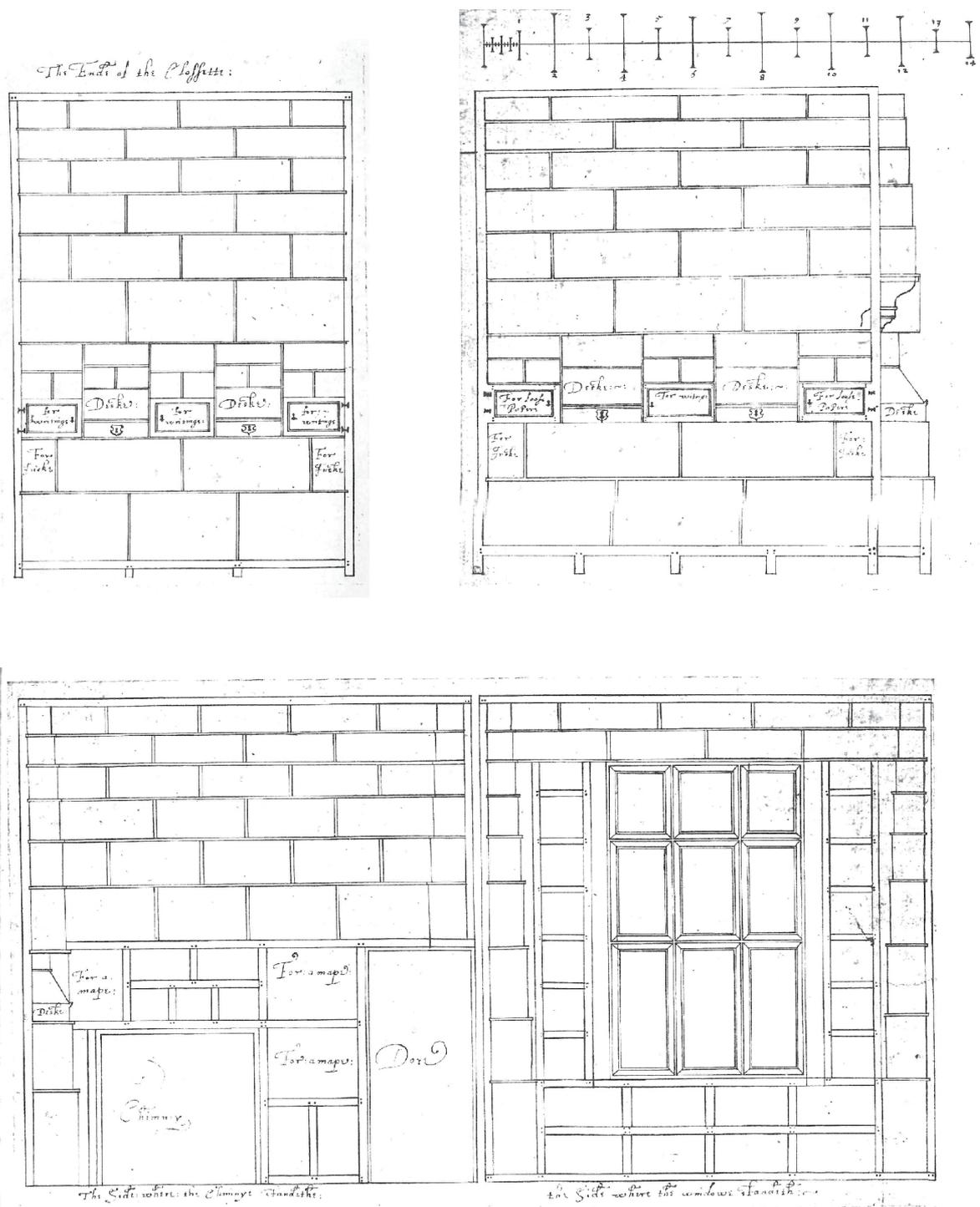


Figure 5.7. Robert Smythson, *Design for a closet or business room* (c. 1600). RIBA Library Drawings Collection, London

keys” back.⁸³⁷ Access to the bookhouse was therefore intentionally restricted to the Wardens, Master and Clerk as a means of asserting control and bestowing privilege. Keys became imbued with symbolic importance. By 1567 the handing over of the keys held by the outgoing Wardens and Master to the new Wardens and Master was a critical part of their investiture. The morning after the Election Dinner the departing Wardens would formally and one by one hand over keys to his new counterparts in the parlour. This was noted in the Minute Books to confirm the transaction and the dispensation of responsibility. The Renter Warden bestowed a bunch of keys on their successor, latterly alongside an inventory of the house, none of which has survived to the present day.⁸³⁸ This pattern continued unchanged for the remainder of the sixteenth century.

Housing Officers within the Hall

Although the Renter was particularly responsible for overseeing the daily running of the estate, it was the Clerk that was primarily accountable for the Hall and all its business. To this end, by the early seventeenth century it had become regular practice to house company Clerks and Beadles within company halls. This is true of the Goldsmiths,⁸³⁹ Mercers,⁸⁴⁰ Fishmongers⁸⁴¹ and Vintners for example.⁸⁴² Ward described how the Clerk of the Joiners’ Company in 1700 noted “it was unusual for a company Clerk in London to pay for his own housing, whereupon they allowed him to live in one of the company’s houses rent free.”⁸⁴³ In the crowded city, employment by the Drapers came with the increasingly valuable assurance of decent and centrally-located housing. Given its size, the Drapers’ Company Hall at Throgmorton had the potential to house a number of employees at any one time. In contrast,

⁸³⁷ DCA, MB10, f.419.

⁸³⁸ DCA, MB8, f.1v.

⁸³⁹ Kilburn-Toppin, ‘Crafting Artisanal Identities in Early Modern London’, p.213.

⁸⁴⁰ Imray, *Mercers’ Hall*, p.19.

⁸⁴¹ Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers’ Company*, p.22.

⁸⁴² In 1604 the Vintners spent £54 on “our clerk’s building for the hall” (Crawford, Anne. *A History of the Vintners’ Company* (London: Constable, 1977) p.92).

⁸⁴³ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.89.

the Clothworkers' Hall of 1612 could claim only two small tenements as part of its complex. One was occupied by the Company Beadle, and the other by a middling sort of merchant.⁸⁴⁴

Although possessing greater capacity for housing, which Drapers' employees were housed where and at what time shifted over the period and in weighing up the importance of the Renter in relation to the Clerk, the quality and location of their housing can offer insights. Throughout the period, housing for the Clerk was prioritized, but the Renter was also given privileges in relation to his house. The old St. Swithins Hall had housed the Clerk and his family for many years and upon viewing the new Hall in 1545, the Clerk was similarly allocated a small house for himself and his family next to the main gate and courtyard. His accommodation was thus copied out in the Minute Books to include: "the office by the gate, two third parts of the cellar under the same, the low chamber next the said office, the scullery house for his kitchen, a dark chamber or a coal house. Three chambers over the Ladies Chamber & over the pantry with the garrets over the same."⁸⁴⁵ His rooms were therefore divided between his office and kitchen on the ground floor and his living and sleeping areas in the upper reaches of the Hall. This was a characteristic corporate and domestic sandwich.

Residence in the hall enabled subsidiary profits, outside of official duties, to be maximised and allowed for a greater involvement of wives and children in the family business. The Clerk continued to inhabit the gatehouse of the Hall requesting regular improvements. In 1570 Bartholomew Warner requested that a door and wainscot used for his "new counting house...in his lodging" be paid for by the Company.⁸⁴⁶ Three years into his post as Clerk, in 1573 Warner was granted the addition of a chimney in his kitchen at the expense of the Company.⁸⁴⁷ His two daughters and sons were paid for their involvement in the Election Day organization. His daughters were paid 3s. 4d. and his sons were paid 8d. for running errands.⁸⁴⁸ His daughters were again paid in 1580 for "helping to dress up the house and

⁸⁴⁴ See Treswell's c.1612 drawing of Clothworkers' Hall reproduced in: Schofield, *The London Survey's of Ralph Treswell*, p.94.

⁸⁴⁵ DCA, MB1C, f.799.

⁸⁴⁶ DCA, MB8, f.98v.

⁸⁴⁷ DCA, RA5, 1573-4, f.26v.

⁸⁴⁸ DCA, DB1, 1578 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.129r).

Ladies chambers”.⁸⁴⁹ In 1584 his son Thomas stepped into the place of Francis Tull, assistant to the Clerk, for three quarters of the year, “helping to write and to warn the Company”. He was paid £3 15s. accordingly.⁸⁵⁰ Later, Stephen Wilkinson, the new Clerk of May 1587, complained that his study was too small. The door on one side was “too far set inward” and the portal which marked its entrance “did rather do hurt than good”. In response it seems that an internal wall was moved and a new smaller corridor created. A “handsome light” was made in the new wall in order to channel light from the front-facing study into the rear window-less corridor (see figure 5.8).⁸⁵¹

In contrast to the Clerk, the Renter was not always guaranteed a house within the confines of the Company Hall. This was surely in part due to the post’s changeable nature. In 1545 whilst the Clerk was granted a house, the Renter was granted only limited space in the Hall. This consisted of: “the Porter’s lodge with the cellar under the same, and the Buttery at such times as he doth prepare for any potation or dinner.”⁸⁵² For the years after the dissolution of the employed Renter, it is unclear precisely how the Porter’s lodge was occupied before it was re-substantiated as a space in the Renter’s keeping in 1556. Even at this stage it is uncertain whether the Renter was granted a house also or just a room within the Hall for his use for no rental income is noted for employees living in this arrangement. However Robert Richards already occupied a house on the site (AF6a) when he took up his post as the Company’s Renter in 1569 and it appears that the Porter’s lodge was transferred to the keeping of the Beadle on account of this.⁸⁵³ Since 1547, the Beadle had held a small house in the garden. However after the death of Beadle Robert Holmes in 1569, this house was granted to the Gardener who was at the time the problematic Walter Coates.⁸⁵⁴ Holmes’ widow continued to serve the Company for many years as evidenced in the Dinner Book and

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid. 1580 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.132r).

⁸⁵⁰ DCA, RA5, 1584-5, f.8r.

⁸⁵¹ DCA, MB10, f.330.

⁸⁵² DCA, MB1C, f.799.

⁸⁵³ DCA, RA5, 1567-8, f.29r; RA5, 1578-9, f.8r-8v. Richards was required in 1578 to give up a room of his house in order for an expansion of the Company armoury.

⁸⁵⁴ Assignment to the Beadle in 1547: DCA, MB1C, f.515. Later confirmation of Walter Coates’ tenancy: DCA, RA5, 1573-4, f.21r.



Figure 5.8. Detail of the Clerk's house on Drapers' Hall plan, marked as 'Mr Waters' House' (DCA, A X II 121)

there are indications she lived in a chamber in the Hall until 1586.⁸⁵⁵ The situation of Renter Henry May's house is uncertain but Thomas Wicken, the Renter from 1589 onwards, was clearly housed off-site. In 1595 it has already been noted that he struggled to pay his own rent. And in 1598-9 he was granted £33 6s. 8d. towards the charges of his house "where in I dwell in St. Swithins Lane". For which goodwill Wicken noted, "I praise God for them".⁸⁵⁶ Richards, then the Armourer, continued to dwell in Drapers' Hall until his death in 1606. Thereafter his widow Christian was further granted leave to remain as tenant-at-will. Although by 1608 the new Renter Humphrey Downes and Beadle Richard Barnard, complained that "they were both unhoused and had no dwelling in London" to the extent that they could not "do the Company such service as they desired". The Company agreed to move Christian out and Humphrey Downes was granted her tenancy although he appears to have sub-let the house to Barnard and taken up another Company house in St. Nicholas Shambles.⁸⁵⁷ Despite this, in 1616 it seems that Barnard's dwelling house was shifted to Broad Street, probably on account of Henry Garway's rebuilding of AF6 and AF6a. In 1623 his new house was afflicted by a 'great' fire which spread from Broad Street and necessitated the building's demolition. Barnard was immediately granted £5 to find alternative accommodation whilst he waited for another tenant, Mr Bowers of Mark Lane, to vacate his property to make way for him. In this Bowers was commanded to leave by the Wardens on account that he had "no right in the same house"; he was likely a tenant-at-will.⁸⁵⁸

Although the Company had an incentive and responsibility to ensure employees were well housed, the lack of provision for a house for the Renter within the bounds of the Company Hall does indicate a differentiation with the Clerk in terms of status and the nature of his work. His role was more independent than the Clerk, but the location of the accommodation at a distance from the centre of Company business proved to be problematic. The Renter and Renter Wardens were more often found to be abusing and taking advantage of their position.

Returning to the Garden House occupied by the Gardener, Walter Coates, since 1569, a much improved and expanded house was granted to the new Clerk in 1604. Between 1604 and 1616 Thomas Moore duly enjoyed the post of Clerk and Garden Keeper from this location,

⁸⁵⁵ DCA, RA5, 1580-1, f.8v; RA5, 1586-7, f.10v.

⁸⁵⁶ DCA, RA5, 1598-9, f.10r.

⁸⁵⁷ DCA, MB13, f.63r, f.122r.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.* f.183r.

presumably keeping the rooms at the front of the Hall for his work space.⁸⁵⁹ The Renter, Humphrey Downes, petitioned the Company for the Garden House and the position of its Keeper upon Moore's death.⁸⁶⁰ In respect of his old age and long service Downes was also granted the same privilege Moore had enjoyed, namely the keeping of a gelding for his pleasure. This privilege was conditional on his ensuring a new set of keys for the garden were cut and given to the new Clerk to allow his free access to the space as well. Perhaps concerned that his benefits were being eroded and status within the Company challenged, the new Clerk requested (and was given) assurance that he could move into Downes' house upon the Renter's death but was not given the benefit of 'keeping' it (see figure 5.9).⁸⁶¹ Upon Downes' death a new brick house was built in its place and inhabited not by the Clerk but by a separate newly appointed Garden Keeper.⁸⁶²

Conclusion

The reorientation of the Drapers' Company away from the regulation of the cloth trade towards the regulation of a collection of diverse buildings was not without its administrative challenges. Observing the changes to the role of the Renter, Renter Warden and wider management structure illuminates of the difficulties inherent to the management such large and varied urban estate in the early modern period. Absent merchants, profiteering officers and uncooperative tenants threatened the Drapers' ability to maintain order and quality across its holdings. Responding to these issues, the Court increased financial and logistical support for employees involved in this important area of Company business. A larger team of craftsmen held on retainer ensured adequate attention was paid to repairs, whereas increased storage and workyard facilities allowed for proactive improvements and rebuildings of properties to be undertaken with relative ease. Although this process of maintaining quality in its estate was less obviously 'performed' than in the waning practice of the search of the yards, the show of protecting quality took on a more everyday quality. While houses were not branded with corporate arms, the Court clearly felt that empty or under occupied houses were dishonouring to the Company. This was exemplified in the cases

⁸⁵⁹ DCA, RA5, 1582-3, f.17v-18r. The Company completely dismantled the original one near the gate in the period 1582-3 and rebuilt a far enlarged two-storey structure to a cost of £31 14s. 15d.

⁸⁶⁰ DCA, MB13, f.122r.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid.

⁸⁶² DCA, RA6, 1626-7, f.17, f.23.

of Sadler and de Guerras most noticeably. The Company's activity in property-management and construction work was also given articulation in the establishment of the 'great' storeyard next to the Erber, which displayed the Company's Arms in stone above its street-facing entrance.

Furthermore, the Court displayed a strong belief in record-keeping as a means of effective estate management, utilizing written accounts both to protect financial profits from unchecked corruption and to plan for the continuous rental of their properties. That the Company's leaders evidently recognized the benefits of understanding and recording the extents of their estate was further reinforced by the position and furnishing of their bookhouse which grew to contain a proliferation of documents and deeds. This space was close at hand for the quick retrieval of books when the Court sat in the parlour. In this part of the Hall, symbolic access to the Company Hall, and the bookhouse in particular, was ritually expressed in the formalization of the ceremony of the key transferal between outgoing and incoming Wardens. Griffiths has regarded that early modern London was a "'paper city' in a 'paper state', described in maps, censuses, and many more written records".⁸⁶³ Produced in this ever more vigilant society, the spur to greater accountability that was channelled through documents was an important mechanism for good governance of the estate.

⁸⁶³ Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p.418.

Chapter Six – Honour, Order and the Corporate Household

Joseph Ward's *Metropolitan Communities* argued that the material benefits of guild membership ensured the Great Twelve companies remained vital to the structure of a changing city - in spite of a general growing dislocation from their trades.⁸⁶⁴ It has already been demonstrated that the Drapers' Company utilised its considerable estate to house its members, especially those of the upper tier, and to preserve its honourable reputation. In Johnson's view, "if the guilds were ceasing to devote themselves to any special trade or industry, their social functions as benefit societies and social clubs were becoming more important".⁸⁶⁵ In the Company's stewardship of its property, material and social concerns were united in support of corporate legitimacy.⁸⁶⁶ If the Drapers came to hold a large urban estate and if it was consequently utilised to negotiate challenges to the Company's original source of authority, to what extent did this expanded landlordism register in corporate representations, in collective rituals and symbolic architecture? Was this shift in Company business expressed or suppressed in the Company Hall? This chapter argues that 'signs' or icons of this role as estate-managers were more subtle and embedded within existing corporate cultures than might be presumed.⁸⁶⁷

In the context of their corporate self-expression, the Drapers appeared uneasy about the implications of their weakened hold on the cloth trade and reticent to embrace the

⁸⁶⁴ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.3.

⁸⁶⁵ Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.176.

⁸⁶⁶ The use of this term infers Robert Zaller's deployment of 'discourses of legitimacy': "All political languages express legitimacy, the cluster of ideas, assumptions, and significations by which men explain, enact, and contest authority...The discourse of legitimacy will be understood in its broadest sense, as the sum total of articulated statements from, to, or about power and its instruments. Such statements may be intentional, ritualised or expressive." (Zaller, R. *The Discourse of Legitimacy in Early Modern England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007) p.2).

⁸⁶⁷ Foucault's sixteenth century sign is trifold in its formation resting on a visual mark, the content represented by it and a resemblance between the two. He states, "Let us call the totality of the learning and skills that enable one to make the signs speak and to discover their meaning, hermeneutics...To search for a meaning is to bring to light a resemblance. To search for the law governing signs is to discover the things that are alike. The grammar of beings is an exegesis of these things. And what the language they speak has to tell us is quite simply what the syntax is that binds them together. The nature of things, their coexistence, the way in which they are linked together and communicate is nothing other than their resemblance" (Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p.33).

representative potential of their position as managers of property and wealth. This chapter and the next reinforce the view that corporate articulations of power continued to be tied closely to well-established social practices consistent with elite culture more widely. In clinging to older expressions of authority, internal guild hierarchies and representations of honour were celebrated and accentuated. Acknowledgements of change, especially in relation to the source of its authority over the trade of drapery, were minimised. The aim of corporate architectural and visual manifestations was rather a projection of continuity with a mythical and idealised past. Built, decorative and ritualistic variations were sanctioned by the Court in so far as they served this goal. The following two chapters especially consider the 'new' headquarters of the Company in more detail, identifying the Throgmorton Company Hall as a site fashioned to accommodate spatial performances of order and stability tied to ideas of land-ownership. They therefore respond to Orlin's idea of the 'lingering medievalism' evident in the Company's perpetuation of iconographical and architectural typologies typical of previous centuries as a means of legitimizing the present. However these chapters suggest that such a trend could more accurately be described as a 'creeping' or even 'escalating' medievalism.⁸⁶⁸ In this way the investigation traces Eric Hobsbawm's potent idea of the nineteenth century English 'invention of tradition' back to the sixteenth century.⁸⁶⁹ Although the Drapers are focus of this study, it should be noted that the livery companies shared a common institutional culture and visual language which largely functioned without peculiarised representations of their associated trades.⁸⁷⁰ Observations made of the Drapers can be applied as indicative of the broader inclination of the Great Twelve companies as a whole. Indeed, examples from a number of other companies will be discussed in this chapter to support specific evidence drawn from the Drapers' Company.

At the same time, this corporate unease can also be linked to the closely-related anxieties of the mercantile elite, who were achieving unprecedented personal levels of commercial success, but unsure of the extent to which the invested capital generated from their new

⁸⁶⁸ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.150. For further discussion of this idea see: Fugelso, K. (ed.) *Corporate Medievalism II, Studies in Medievalism XXII*, (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013); Archer, I. W. 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London' in P. Kewes (ed.) *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008) pp.201-222.

⁸⁶⁹ Hobsbawm, E. 'Introduction' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (ed.) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) pp.1-14.

⁸⁷⁰ There was also therefore an easy overlap with other organizational bodies such as the Oxbridge Colleges and the Inns of Court, which also came to acquire large tracts of land.

commercial exploits was able to lend them higher social status and confer honour.⁸⁷¹ For although Howell held that the mercantile classes were engaged in navigating and directing innovative shifts in the culture of capital, it was to a very familiar and potent myth that they returned, both at the level of the individual and the corporation.⁸⁷² It was the specific appropriation of an idealised image of the paternalistic lord and his manor expressed through ceremonial processions, iconic projections and architectural adaptations, that reiterated a recognised language of institutional authority. There was certainly some natural synergy between this vision of an earlier 'model' society and the Drapers' stewardship of its estate. Both operated as 'worlds within worlds' (to quote Rappaport and Griffiths) and claimed to organise a broad range of people into one coherent, unified social entity which was structured spatially. In the localised rural household, all of society was indeed defined by their relationship both to the land and, through this, to each other. For the Drapers, and the other companies, attempts to justify a growing internal stratification of its corporate structure through the invocation of the goodly lord sprang out of a number of desires. Firstly, this myth projected morality on the governors or lords of the estate. Their position was 'rightful', necessary for the ordering of society, for protecting the people and land under their care. This top-down stewardship was a corporately orientated rather than individually inclined endeavour. Secondly, the medieval country estate symbolised harmonious inter-relationships between different levels of society and kinship, defined by mutual understanding, submission and rule. Finally, this was a stable image where positions within the household were defined, fixed and dignified. Orlin astutely regarded that "political patriarchy...in the late sixteenth century first analogized the household's structures of authority with those of the state...The political branch cannibalized domestic ideology in order to advance the doctrine of royal absolutism."⁸⁷³ What Orlin described as 'political' might just as easily be replaced with 'corporate' and this pattern of domestic analogy can be clearly identified in the Drapers' occupation and decisions regarding the form and occupation of their Company Hall. For the sake of clarity in the following discussion, it is helpful to note that the Company Hall at Throgmorton will be regarded often as a distinct entity, separate

⁸⁷¹ Howell, *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe 1300-1600*, p.13.

⁸⁷² Referencing Barthes' discussion of how myth functions as a representational system and as a meta-language expressed in: Barthes, R. 'Myth Today' in *Mythologies*, trans. A. Lavers (London: Vintage Books, 2000).

⁸⁷³ Orlin, Lena Cowen. *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994) pp.3-11.

from its associated tenements and houses, and of particular representative and social value to the Company.

Intention, Invention and the Company Hall

As the specialised headquarters of the Drapers' Company, the Company Hall served a number of purposes and facilitated a range of activities essential to the effectiveness of the Company. Aside from housing members and employees in adjacent accommodation, it was organized to hold meetings, to produce and store records, to administer the estate, to dispense charitable giving and to frame important corporate rituals. The Election Day Dinner represented the most highly charged event in the corporate year and its staging defined the largest space within the Hall, the 'great hall'. Considering the relevance of the Election Dinner to the Company, close observations regarding changes to its form allow for analysis of corporate self-expression. It is also important to acknowledge at this moment the significance of the active inhabitation of the interior of the Hall, working with the evidence that remains to interpret a building lost to the Great Fire. It is appropriate to provide a brief overview of the significant Dinner at this juncture - it will be returned to several times from different angles across both chapters.⁸⁷⁴

At a city-wide level and in a pattern mirrored across the other companies at different times of year, the Election Day Dinner of the Drapers was held on the first Monday in August until the 1620s and was an intensive four day operation.⁸⁷⁵ Saturday was spent preparing. Wardens and their families and staff bought, transported, cleaned, cooked and set up the Hall for the events to follow. On Sunday the Company Livery gathered to hear a sermon at their patronal church, St. Michael Cornhill, and the Wardens ate a potation together in the Hall. On Monday

⁸⁷⁴ See important discussion of urban ritual in: Phythian-Adams, C. 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450-1550' in P. Clark and P. Slack (ed.) *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) pp.57-85.

⁸⁷⁵ For more than one hundred years the Election Day Dinner was held on a Monday. However, in 1623 a proposition was made that it should be shifted to the first Tuesday in August, rather than the Monday. The main reason for this was a godly/pious one, "the better observation...of the Sabbath day". However, there was a snag in this plan, for the Company's charter required that the election be held on the Monday. In order to satisfy this requirement, the Company clarified that the election itself would take place on Monday. The Assistants and livery gathering at the Hall for 2pm, voting, and then going to St. Michael's to hear a sermon before returning for a banquet which was usually held on Sunday. On Tuesday the same group would assemble at 10am and walk to church to hear another sermon before returning to take the Election Dinner when the election results would be "published with performance of such ceremonies as the custom in that case requireth" (MB13, f. 172r, f. 181r).

the Company lined up in the courtyard of the Hall in their livery to process together, two by two, to church. Herbs were strewn before them and at their head the Master was positioned. This procession then snaked back to the Hall for Dinner. On Tuesday morning the outgoing and incoming Masters and Wardens met in the parlour to exchange keys and take oaths related to their offices. Afterwards a slightly smaller group of the Company elite gathered in the Hall to partake in another dinner. Over these four days, the well-oiled wheels of governance and administration worked overtime while the spaces of the Hall itself were occupied to maximum capacity. In the great companies, invitations to such feasts were confined to the Company Livery and elite guests but this was the closest moment to a full meeting of 'household' as the great hall accommodated.⁸⁷⁶

For Tittler, such institutional and corporate halls were already "a widely understood symbol of civic authority, power and legitimacy" closely linked to this ceremonial activity.⁸⁷⁷ Since the Drapers purchased Cromwell's former Hall, it was not purpose-built, and it is therefore apt to join with Giles in questioning how this symbolic authority was constructed spatially through this process of adaptation. She asked to what extent "are [guildhalls] a result of an active and conscious decision" by fraternities or guilds?⁸⁷⁸ In the guildhall of Norwich, Victor Morgan observed a sixteenth-century trend which sought to "re-order physical space in order to meet...institutional needs as pursued through ritual practices".⁸⁷⁹ In the Drapers' Company Hall, unsensationally there was no significant re-ordering of any key spaces used during the Dinner during the period of consideration. Conceivably the Company remained consistent with Cromwell's domestic use of it when it was likely constructed in the 1530s.⁸⁸⁰ Over time

⁸⁷⁶ There was however a regular re-assessment as to who should and should not be included on the attendance list. In 1530 "according to old custom" the sisters and wives of Drapers were to be invited and "no outward guests" but for subsequent smaller dinners guests could be decided upon "at the Wardens' pleasure" (DCA, MB1B, f.386). In 1554 the Wardens were restricted by the Court to invite only citizens, that is, no 'strangers' without the city companies (DCA, MB5, f.72). Two years later this decision was revisited and the Wardens were given more freedom to invite such guests "as shall seem to them mete" as long as they were citizens. Further, the invitation could also be extended to strangers such as Sir Roger Cholmley "or such like" and also those of the Drapers' "learned council" (DCA, MB5, f.181). The power to include or exclude was a potent privilege of the Wardens.

⁸⁷⁷ Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p.97.

⁸⁷⁸ Giles, 'Guildhalls and Social Identity' Vol. 1, p.120.

⁸⁷⁹ Morgan, V. 'A ceremonious society' p.134.

⁸⁸⁰ Holder, Nick. 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011) p.168.

however the institutional expressions of self-identity became increasingly particularized and differentiated from domestic fashions through their insistence on emphasising the past. In this way, in spite of the rebuildings taking place elsewhere within their estate, a careful reading of the Drapers' records shows only small-scale changes to the configuration and furnishing of the corporate spaces of the Hall. However, subtle re-calibrations which linked architecture, material goods and corporate rituals in fact demonstrated a responsiveness to the Company's changing circumstances. Such details could be easily overlooked by the modern observer unused to such ceremonial practices. To this end Howard has made convincing arguments that architectural adaptations or 'transformations' in the Tudor period should be treated as carefully as new builds and therefore attention will be paid to even small material tweaks over time in this significant space.⁸⁸¹ The same strategy might be applied to the ritual choreographies that were performed within these spaces. In the stable reiteration and continuation of increasingly outdated architectural forms, a desire to paper over the real challenges threatening the Company can be observed and an emphasis on a mythical continuity with an 'authoritative' past detected.

Reflecting back on her initial question, Giles admitted that "in those cases where guildhalls were simply converted domestic buildings" it is difficult to ascertain how consciously guilds appropriated and emulated the operative model of the great hall.⁸⁸² But the Drapers' story is less straight-forward for although their second Company Hall was acquired from Cromwell, the Drapers' first Hall was purpose-built and therefore there is some clarity in its architectural intention. Unfortunately, this Hall is even harder to discern than the Throgmorton one, lacking any sort of plan in the Archive. Yet a few details can be gathered together allowing us to trace its beginnings indicating it followed the pattern of ground-floor halls. In planning this first Hall, Schofield noted that the Drapers visited the monastic palace of the Celestines at Sheen and the Arundel Hall of the Bishop of Bath on the Strand. After Girouard, he held that the basic form of these ground-floor halls "ultimately derived from the domestic models of the fourteenth century" (see Baron's Hall at Penhurst, figure 6.1).⁸⁸³ Similarly, of the sixteenth-century Inns of Court, Schofield also observed that, in form, they "resembled halls

⁸⁸¹ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, pp.1-13.

⁸⁸² Giles, 'Guildhalls and Social Identity' Vol. 1, p.120.

⁸⁸³ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.212; Schofield, *The Building of London*, pp.115-6; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p.31.



Figure 6.1. Baron's Hall at Penhurst Place, Kent (c. 1341 with later additions). Photo: <http://www.penhurstplace.com/explore/see/the-house> [accessed online 12 August 2016]

of two hundred years before".⁸⁸⁴ There was some historic stability in this form therefore. However, as noted, the Drapers' second Hall had been built to Cromwell's specification between 1535-39. Surveying the mansion before its division by the Drapers, Nick Holder held that it would have been "one of the most spectacular private houses in London" due to its two first-floor halls positioned in what became the Drapers' capital house and the other contained within the Company Hall. It also possessed projecting windows and a great garden.⁸⁸⁵ After arriving in the grand courtyard lined with elevated galleries and topped with symbolic vanes, a visitor would have been invited to progress up the main processional staircase in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard to reach the decorative screens passage into the eastern first floor hall. On feast days of the Drapers' Company three tables were arranged in a U shape around an open central hearth (see figure 6.2). The high table occupied the high dais end behind which lay the bookhouse, jewel house and a door to the parlour. Cromwell's urban mansion house mimicked high status episcopal, monastic and aristocratic comparisons which positioned the hall on top of more utilitarian accommodation (see Trinity Hall in figure 6.3).⁸⁸⁶ The later-medieval model of the first-floor hall can be identified in a number of livery company halls of the period, judged to prioritise the prominent display of status and wealth as well as offering greater security. Still the new "compact house" with classical ambitions and symmetrical exterior stylings signalled a departure from these well-established configurations and would increasingly define houses of the gentry from the late sixteenth century onwards.⁸⁸⁷

In contrast to shifting domestic ideals of the court and landed country elites, the companies' adherence to the courtyard plan was persistent. Any rebuilding activities in the company halls of the Great Twelve almost exclusively re-substantiated this earlier architectural model. For example, between 1584 and 1592 the Vintners undertook extensive re-construction work at their Hall but very little change was made to the existing arrangement of rooms and in fact a

⁸⁸⁴ Schofield, *The Building of London*, pp.115-6.

⁸⁸⁵ Holder, Nick. 'The Medieval Friaries of London', p.168.

⁸⁸⁶ Giles, 'Guildhalls and Social Identity' Vol. 1, p.121.

⁸⁸⁷ Cooper, Nicholas. 'Ranks, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1750' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002) pp.291-310, p.300; Cherry, 'John Pollexfen's House in Walbrook', p.90; Brown, 'Continuity and change in the urban house', pp.558-90; Henderson, P. *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005) pp.22-25.

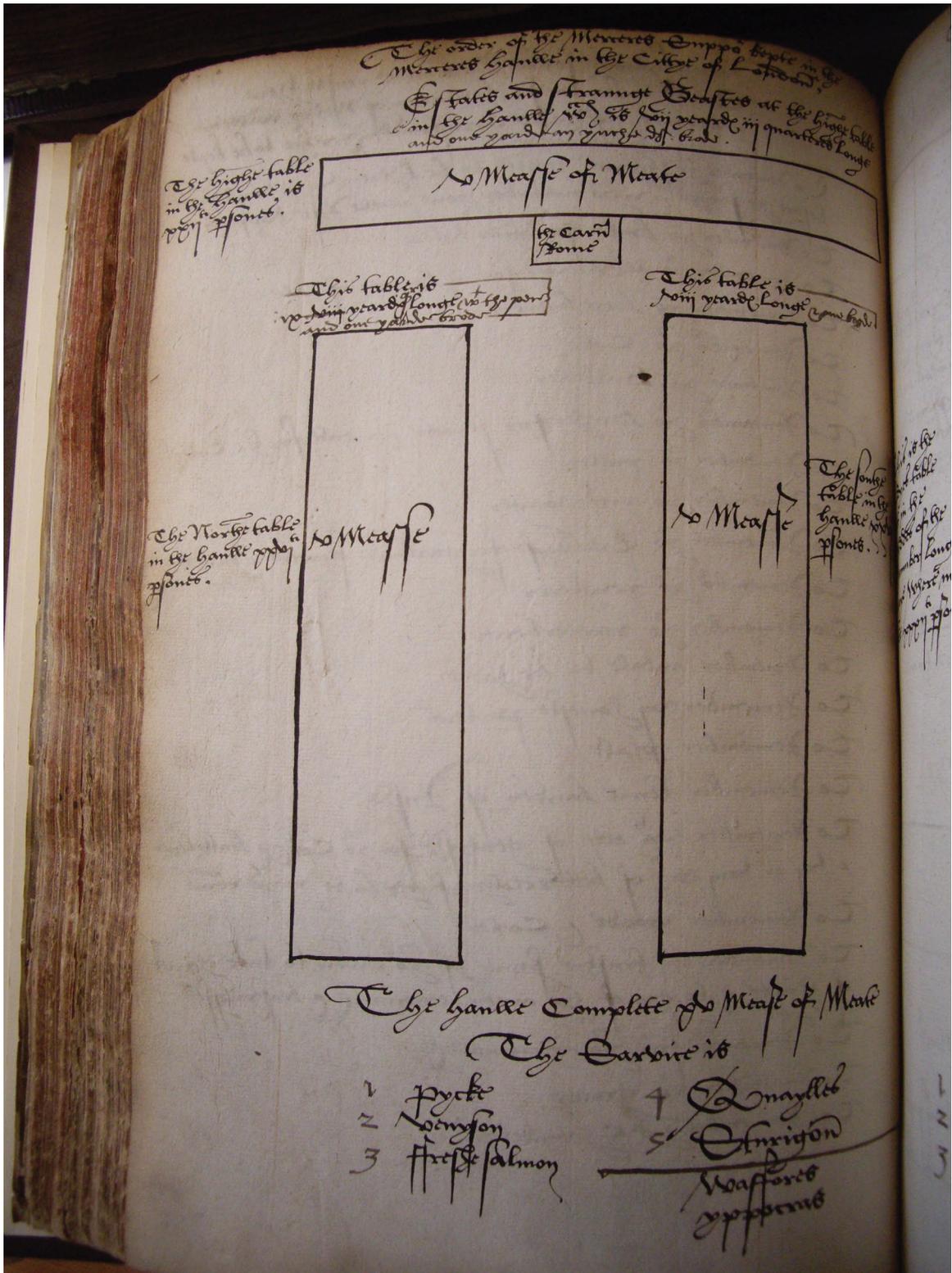


Figure 6.2. The Order of the Mercers' Supper kept in the Mercers' Hall in the City of London (c. 1567) (MCA, Register of Writings, Vol. 2, f.191v)

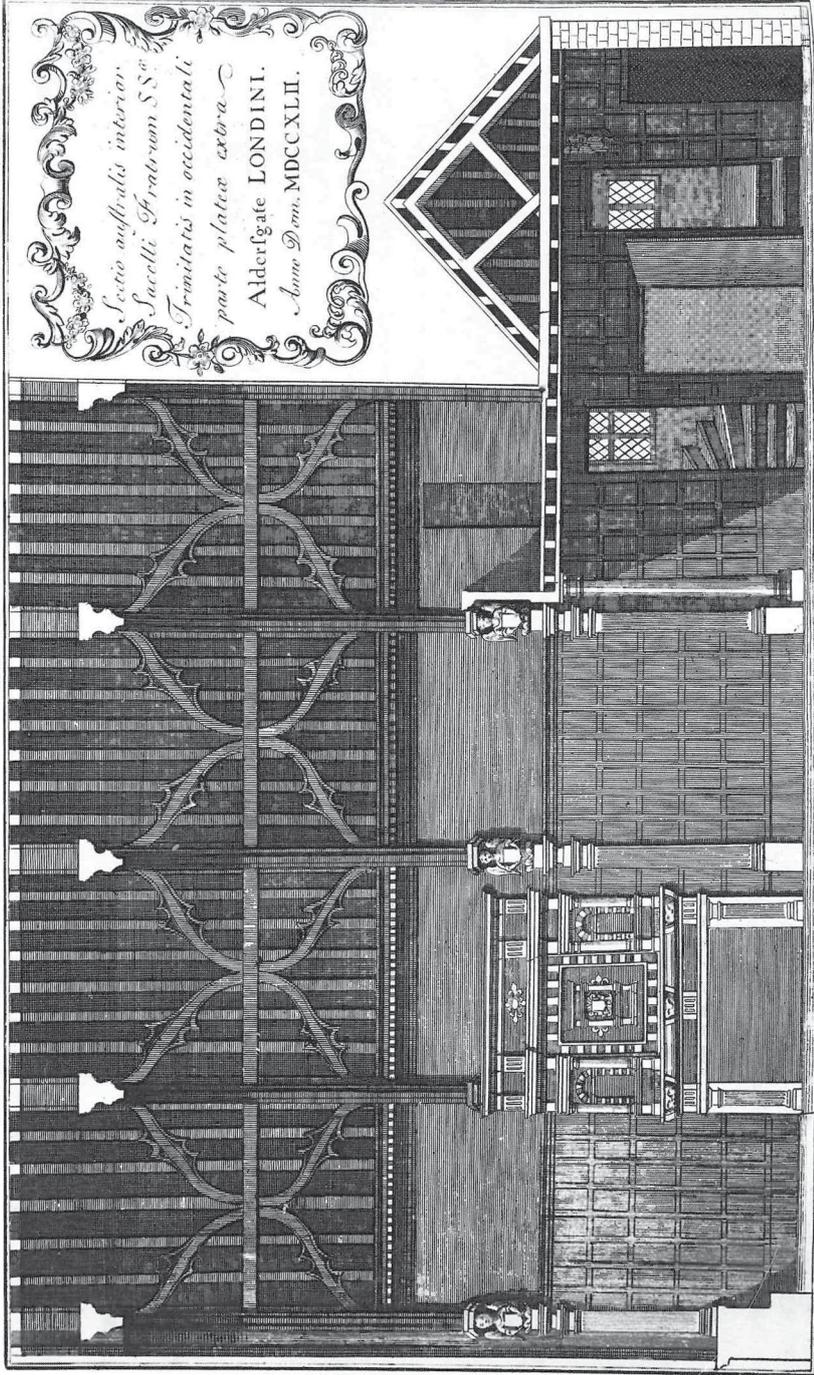


Figure 6.3. Engraved section (1742) through first floor hall of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity, Aldersgate, interior elevation of south side (c. 1480-1500), (Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.116)

courtyard was newly enclosed. The hall, parlour and other rooms appear to have been set back from the street edge but were finally completed by a new brick front-range and gate house to encapsulate a paved courtyard within. The entrance was set with the Company's arms in stone above the gate.⁸⁸⁸ When the Goldsmiths completed the new building of their Hall in the early seventeenth century with a newly symmetrical facade, it retained the asymmetrical internal configuration of its predecessor gathered around a courtyard (figure 6.4). Reflecting on the case of Nicholas Stone, the chief designer of the new scheme, Newman held that "tradition forced such a sequence and disposition of rooms on the designer".⁸⁸⁹ As the Goldsmiths considered entirely rebuilding their Hall in 1634, it is possible that the Drapers may have done also.⁸⁹⁰ On the 1620s plan of Drapers' Hall there is a curious band of yellow watercolour and pencil which runs along the western edge of the site and spreads out to form a substantial courtyard house within the garden (see figure 6.5). The plan's proportions bear a resemblance to the Goldsmiths' scheme, whilst the arrangement of rooms is typical for the typology (for an earlier asymmetrical example see the Clothworkers' Hall, figure 6.6). More unusually however a long entrance alley leads to a preliminary courtyard defined by a gatehouse with a centrally positioned gate. Through this entrance the second courtyard, which is overlooked by a ground-floor hall, and a parlour, which is accessed only from the high dais end of the hall. A screens passage divides the hall from the ground-floor kitchen. In terms of scale this almost archetypal plan matched the original size of the great hall, but the parlour was almost double the size and faced onto both the courtyard on one side and the garden on the other. If the plan of the Hall was produced in 1622, after the extraordinary view of the site by Renter Warden Trymnell and his men, there is a chance that the Company considered a significant relocation and rebuilding of its Hall perhaps to make way for an expanded capital house that occupied the frontage of Throgmorton Street. The 1620s indeed saw no less than four Lord Mayors drawn from the Company. However, a new position for the Hall in the garden would deny the Company itself a prominent presence on the street front and represent a retreat from local visibility. No discussions to this effect were noted in the Minute Books for the period and it is just as

⁸⁸⁸ Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company*, p.97.

⁸⁸⁹ Newman, John. 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall: Design and Practice in the 1630s' in *Architectural History* 14 (1971) pp.30-141, p.35.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*



Figure 6.4. John Ward, Goldsmiths' Hall ground floor plan (c. 1691), Goldsmiths' Company, London. This watercolour reflects 1630s rebuilding to the designs of Nicholas Stone. Reproduced from: Newman, John. 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall: Design and Practice in the 1630s' in *Architectural History* 14 (1971) p.40

The hall was located on the far side of the courtyard, opposite the main entrance gate. Behind the high dais on the Maiden Lane external wall, the parlour was positioned. The lower end of the hall was defined by a screens passage and service rooms led on through to the kitchen.

possible that the ghostly outline should be attributed to Edward Jerman, who was responsible for designs of post-fire rebuilding of the Hall.⁸⁹¹

There is no extant plan depicting the 1670 rebuilt Hall which was built on the same Throgmorton site as its predecessor, however later iterations conveying information about consequent rebuildings reveal a striking lack of re-organization of accommodation on the site as far as can be ascertained. Previous property boundaries between tenements were maintained and the configuration of the Hall itself seems to match its desecrated predecessor with remarkable parity (see figures 6.7 and 6.8). In this trace of a building long since lost, Mark Cousin's idea of the 'first house' can be brought to bear. He described how, "first houses leave ineradicable traces of what spatial relations are, and what the body's place in those spatial relations might be. They lay down an initial phantasy of what the first house is, in respect to all subsequent houses". This ordering of later spaces in relation to the memory of the first, he claimed, creates a "mysterious repetition".⁸⁹² In terms of the Drapers there was both a general memory of the past houses of authority (i.e. manor houses of rural lords), and a more specific memory of their own previous Halls.⁸⁹³ There were also likely to have been two more practical reasons for this deferment to the forms of past buildings in Jerman's 1670 design. Given that the core business and rituals of the Company continued largely unchanged after the fire, the architecture of the Hall, if effective, had no reason to mutate into something completely other at this particular moment. Familiarity fostered efficiency and invented tradition smoothed over change. Secondly, in the haste for a new Hall it may have been more speedy and cost-effective to rebuild upon existing foundations which may have survived more-or-less intact.⁸⁹⁴ The medieval 'open' hall, which was already on a

⁸⁹¹ For an account of Jerman and his involvement in Drapers' Hall see: Collins, H. *Edward Jerman 1605-1668: The Metamorphosis of a Master-Craftsman* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004) pp.154-157.

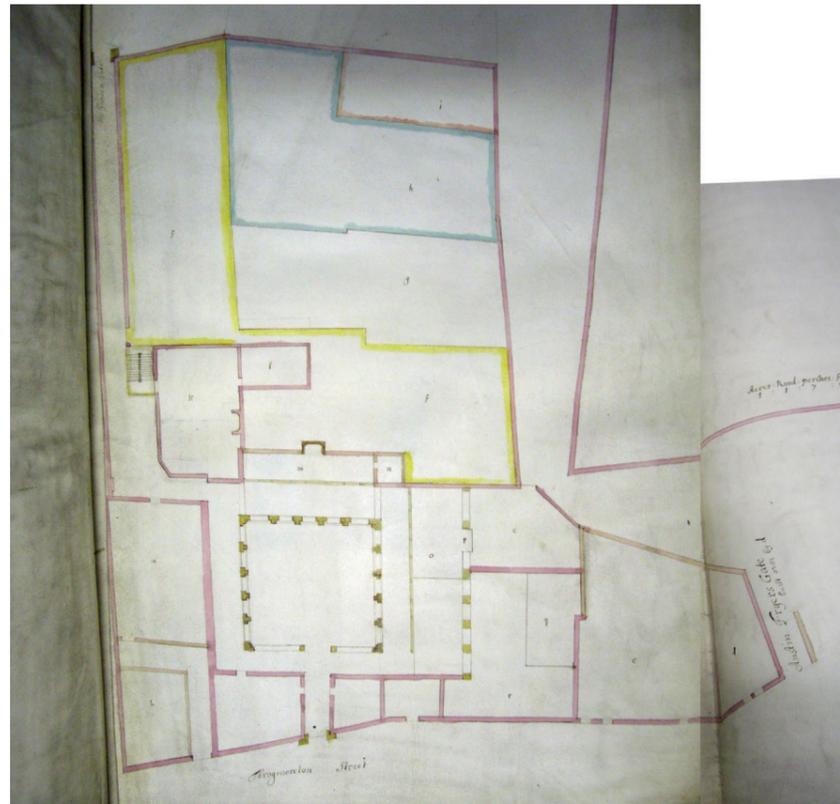
⁸⁹² Cousins, Mark. 'The First House' in D. McCorquodale (ed.) *Arch-Text 1* (London: Central Books, 1993) pp.35-38.

⁸⁹³ Kewes draws parallels between three types of urban civic pageantry seeing the "glorification and edification of the monarch, celebration of the mayoralty, and the commemoration of local history" as part of a "shared responsiveness to current political anxieties" (Kewes, P. 'History and Its Uses' in Kewes (ed.) *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp.1-30, p.8).

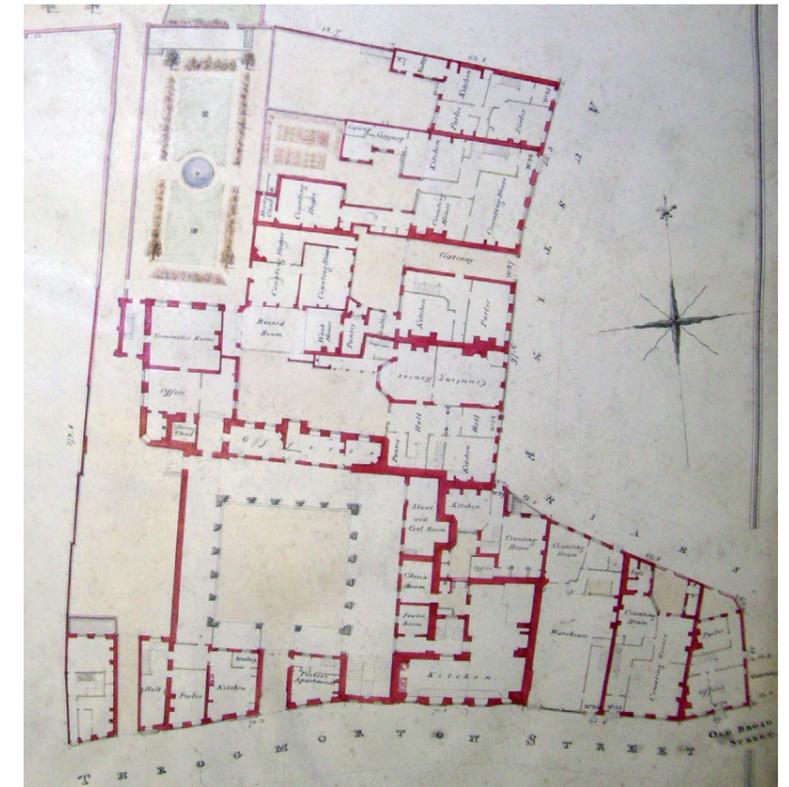
⁸⁹⁴ For example, corroborating inventories of different incarnations of halls, former archivist of the Clothworkers, David Wickham, held that a lot of the Clothworker's 1633 Hall "survived to form the foundations and walls of the 1668 hall." (Wickham, D. *All of One Company* (London: 2004) p.99). This is also true of the redevelopment of the Erber after the fire. Discussion about the extent to which this pattern may have played out have gathered pace recently with John Schofield supporting the



Plan likely produced around 1620 (re-drawn by the author). This hall was mostly destroyed in the the 1666 fire.



Plan likely produced after a fire in 1772 and before the date when the first plan book was compiled in 1812. The fire of 1772 only destroyed the front part of the hall (the Throgmorton Street facade) and therefore what is depicted here can still largely be ascribed to Jerman's designs of 1667/8.



Plan likely produced c.1855 after a number of minor structural alterations were made to the hall in 1825. The plan still bears the imprint of Jerman's hall (and Cromwell's before it). In 1866 a more substantial extension to the northern edge of the Company Hall took place, but the layout and courtyard were retained with little change.

Figure 6.7. Anon. Ground floor plans of Drapers' Hall (DCA, A X II 121; Plan Book of 1812; Plan Book of 1855)

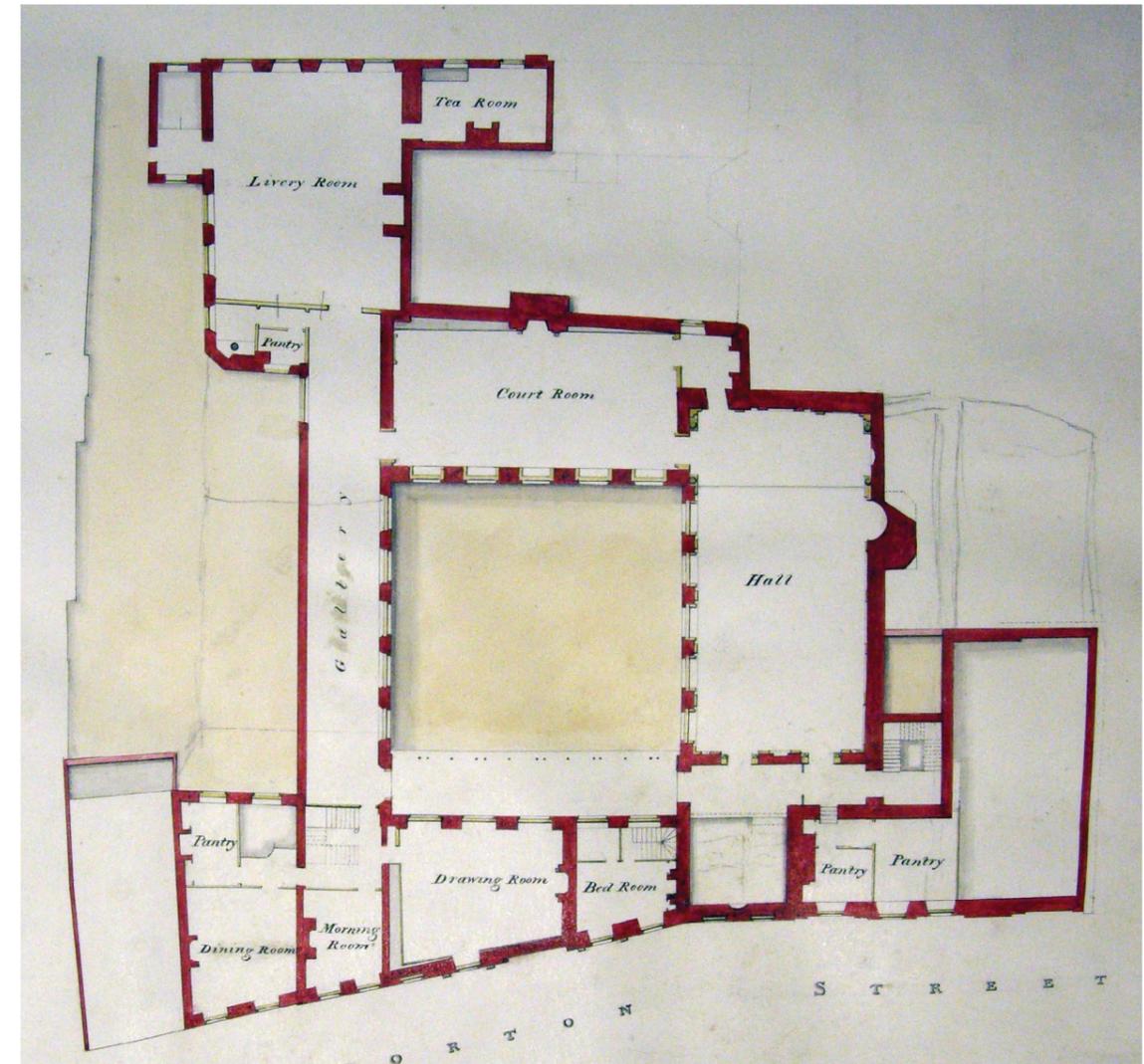
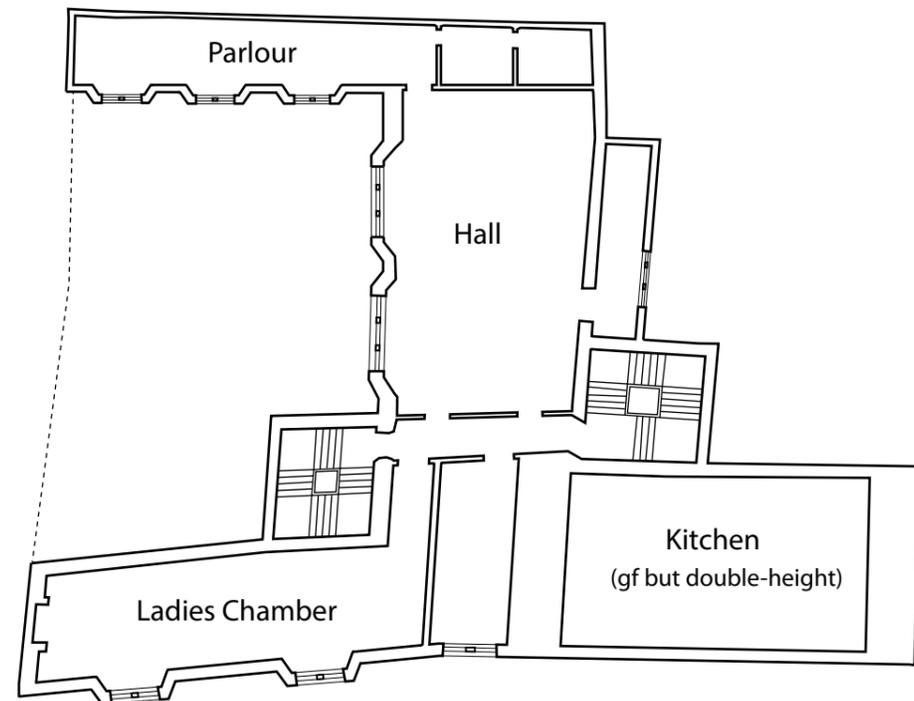


Figure 6.8. Projected reconstruction of the first floor of the Drapers' Company Hall in c.1620 and first floor plan of the Hall c.1855 (DCA, Plan Book 1855)

Lena Orlin and Nick Holder disagree over the location of the Ladies' chamber and the parlour. Holder's first floor projection was drawn principally from his reading of the 1620s map (DCA, A X II 121) alongside the 1543 inventory (DCA, MB1C, f.759-762). This inventory is inconclusive as to the exact location of either room, confirming only that they were both indeed situated on the first floor with any certainty. Orlin's work drew on a far broader range of documents within the Drapers' Archive and her understanding that the Ladies' chamber was situated towards the front of the courtyard, facing Throgmorton Street, appears to be in keeping with the numerous references to the room in the Minute Books and Renter Accounts across a broad period of time. In particular the Ladies' chamber location over the Drapers' entry gate is confirmed in DCA, MB8, 6 December 1571. The location of the Parlour towards the rear of the courtyard, and therefore above the open gallery beneath, is confirmed in DCA, RA 1607-8, f.21r.

trajectory towards being “old-fashioned” throughout the sixteenth century, must have appeared positively archaic in terms of domestic fashions by the end of the seventeenth, when Jerman’s designs were constructed.⁸⁹⁵ Pervasive even in later iterations long after the fire, the medieval courtyard plan essentially continued on sites large enough to house it having become the institutional prototype from which divergence was exceptional rather than normative for the companies.

Performative Spaces

With the Election Day Dinner at the centre of the corporate year, Schofield seems justified in his suggestion that the value placed on this extraordinary event and its associated rituals ensured the survival of the livery company ‘open hall’.⁸⁹⁶ On such days the high table was positioned on a raised dais. The second and third tables ran at right angles to this prestigious table, parallel to each other and extended down the length of the hall with benches on either side. The seated Livery were served by members of the Bachelors while stewards and cooks were drafted in to organise and produce the dinner. Of course, the model and arrangement of the great hall itself only held meaning in so far as it structured the interactions through the carefully calibrated placement of bodies within it. The great hall of the country lord, which has been hitherto fore only alluded to, was an especially delicately attuned space where embodied hierarchies gave everyone “an immutable social and geographical place and fixed all within a network of duties and responsibilities”. Naturally, the centre point of this clear socio-economic structure was occupied by the lord and lady or master and mistress.⁸⁹⁷ And yet, for much of the year the roomy livery company hall must have stood as an empty monument to the hierarchies and hospitality fully displayed only at the time of the Election Dinner.

possibility based on archeological research. Schofield, J. ‘Did the fire radically change London’s architecture?’ paper presented at ‘The Great Fire of London: Myths and Realities’ (Museum of London, 6 October 2007).

⁸⁹⁵ Schofield, *The Building of London*, pp.115-6.

⁸⁹⁶ Schofield regarded that “The need for a central hall for feasting, working meetings and ceremony helped to prolong the natural life of the large open-roofed hall as a building form” (Schofield, *The Building of London*, pp.115-6).

⁸⁹⁷ McRae, A. ‘Husbandry Manuals and the Language of Agrarian Improvement’ in M. Leslie and T. Raylor (ed.) *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992) pp.35-62, p.35.

Further to this, there is little evidence that the whole Company ever inhabited the Hall at any one time. Perhaps Quarter Days, when members were required to pay their membership fees to the Company, were the closest to a full gathering of the 'household' as was possible in the sixteenth century. In spite of this, the Election Day Dinner was evidently a symbolic and intentional representation of the Company - therefore changes to it, and its implicated spaces, were of the highest-stakes. In structuring social relations and expressing hierarchies through ceremonial and dining performances, Jenstad suggested these livery company dinners can be read as "a kind of theatre". Indeed, the great halls of the livery companies she took to be "architecturally and spatially analogous to the lords' banqueting halls from which the 'private' playhouses developed".⁸⁹⁸ In processing back and forth to church before the Dinner, dressed in their livery gowns and ordered according to precedence, the Company ensured city-dwellers were also aware of this important corporate event. Part of the same civic culture which sought to legibly perform power structures within city spaces, the Lord Mayors' shows of the early seventeenth century snaked through decorated streets and have already received much recent scholarly attention, most notably Anthony Munday's 1610s shows for the Drapers in Tracey Hill's lucid 2004 publication.⁸⁹⁹ Of the 'propagandist' pageant-makers, she held that "the bulwark of tradition that...[they] shore up is so resolutely self-contained and so assured in its historical lineage that one cannot help but regard the shows as a covert response to their [the shows] increasing irrelevance, trying to put forward an ideological alternative to the sprawling, unrestrained and fractures reality of London in the early decades of the seventeenth century".⁹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, in his essay on civic consciousness in 1993, James Knowles memorably argued that: "we lack an account of London that locates

⁸⁹⁸ Jenstad, J. D. 'Public Glory, Private Gilt: the Goldsmiths' Company and the Spectacle of Punishment' in R. I. Frost and A. Goldgar (ed.) *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) pp.191-217, p.209. Several plays were performed within Drapers Hall. For example, in 1530 the "Duke of Suffolk's players" were paid for their performance at the first St. Swithins Hall (DCA, MB1B, f.379), in 1538 the "Queen's players" performed at the Election Day Dinner (DCA, MB1B, f. 586-7) and in 1540 the "King's players" entertained guests (DCA, MB1B, f.615-17).

⁸⁹⁹ Hill, T. *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Berlin, M. 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London' in *Urban History Yearbook* (1986) pp.15-27; Knowles, J. 'The Spectacle of the Realm: Civic Consciousness, Rhetoric, and Ritual in Early Modern London' in J. R. Mulrune and M. Shewring (ed.) *Theatre and Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp.157-89; Bergeron, David M. *English Civic Pageantry, 1558 – 1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971); Lancashire, Anne. *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁹⁰⁰ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p.162.

civic ritual firmly within the cultural ethos that fostered an explosion in civic ceremony after 1603.”⁹⁰¹ Company dinners, acted out within the particularised space of the institutional great hall, present a contextual precursor to the post-1600 escalation of performances that followed. Perhaps it was primarily within the Company Hall that these mechanisms for representation were meaningfully incubated before being used by the same sorts of men on a larger city-wide stage.⁹⁰²

It should be noted that the dramatic potential of these company dinners was widely recognized by playwrights of the day, indicating the familiarity audiences would have had with such events. Heywood and Dekker among others utilised the City feasts as a motif in popular culture to explore the merchant’s changing relationship to the courtly elite and monarchy.⁹⁰³ Due to their proximity, regularity and visibility, few Londoners could have been unaware of the opulence of company dinners of the Great Twelve and livery halls were surely best known by those within and outside the City for the social events held within them, not the estate management or corporate administration worked out from them. Logged alongside other notable city happenings, chronicler of the 1560s, Henry Machyn, frequently referenced funeral and Election Day Dinners held in the livery company halls.⁹⁰⁴ According to

⁹⁰¹ Knowles, ‘The Spectacle of the Realm’, p.157.

⁹⁰² In relation to the Drapers Company, of particular interest (because they were commissioned for Lord Mayors who were of the Company) are ‘Himatia-Poleos’ (1614) and ‘Metropolis Coronata’ (1615). Both narratives directly responded to the cloth trade crisis prompted by the Cockayne project which sought to dissolve the monopoly held by the Merchant Adventurers over the woollen export trade. This was much to the Drapers’ distain because of their prolific membership of the association. For further detailed analysis of the shows see: Kennedy, Emma. ‘“Not barren of invention”: Texts, Contexts and Intertexts of the London Lord Mayors’ Shows, 1614-1619’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2014). Also see: Trevisan, S. ‘The Golden Fleece of the Drapers’ Company: Politics and Iconography in Early Modern Lord Mayor’s Shows’ in J. R. Mulryne, M. I. Alivertie and A. Testaverde (ed.) *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016) pp.245-266.

⁹⁰³ See Heywood’s Edward IV (Grocer John Crosby dines the King as Lord Mayor) and Thomas Dekker’s ‘The Shoemaker’s Holiday’ (Shoemaker Simon Eyre again dines the King as Lord Mayor). For discussion of these scenes see: Stevenson, L. *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) pp.115-119.

⁹⁰⁴ Although he commented on the Goldsmiths, Barber-Surgeons, Grocers, it was his own company, the Merchant-Taylors that was most prominent in Machyn’s text. For references to feast see Machyn, *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle, 1550-1563*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed online 3 February 2015]: Goldsmiths - f.138r, f.150v, Barber-Surgeons - f.153r, Grocers – f.56v. On 1 July 1562 the Merchant Taylors’ feast was especially well-endowed, attended by the Lord Mayor (as Grocer), two earls and several of the city mercantile elite (including the Drapers’ Master, Richard Champion). At this

Stow, particular dinners, or accounts of the *greatness* of such dinners, could become embedded within the civic memory to the extent that they were “fables”. He regarded the Election Dinner of Goldsmith Lord Mayor Bartholomew Read in 1502 to be so “far incredible and altogether impossible” due to the alleged number of people in attendance (one hundred of “great estate”) and wealth of food.⁹⁰⁵ Companies too were aware of the form and scale of each other’s feasts. Members of the Court and Aldermen frequently attended dinners of other companies as invited guests and whilst some aspects of the corporate rituals were familiar across the companies other aspects differentiated one from the other. Keeping in step with other companies’ material and social culture, the Drapers specifically referenced the practices of the Merchant Taylors in 1554.⁹⁰⁶ The Mercers dispatched their officer, Stockbridge, to observe the election ceremonies of the Goldsmiths in 1567.⁹⁰⁷ The courtly elite too were regular guests at such events. The Recorder of London, William Fleetwood, himself a Merchant Taylor, wrote in July 1583 to Lord Burghley to report on the most recent notable events in the city, which included a change in the manner of election for a city Sheriff (known as the ‘Queen’s Sheriff’). He regarded the associated livery dinners of the Sheriffs to be of enough importance to place the two “great” dinners of the Grocers and Haberdashers first in his report, assuming Burghley’s familiarity with the culture and function of the same.⁹⁰⁸

Evidently well broadcast even to those uninvited to the dinners, the narrative of prosperity and honour that was constructed inside Hall and enacted by those in attendance demands greater attention. The criticality of appropriate expressions of hierarchies cannot be underplayed here. Robert Tittler’s essay on the emerging symbolism of public seating in late sixteenth-century English town halls confirms a wider civic anxiety regarding the appropriate

dinner William Allen (then sheriff) was also in attendance as well as “many ladies and gentlewomen” (f.151v).

⁹⁰⁵ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.305.

⁹⁰⁶ DCA, MB5, f.72.

⁹⁰⁷ MCA, Acts of Court ii, 1527-1560, f.318.

⁹⁰⁸ Stow, John. *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, John Strype (ed.) (London: J. Strype, 1720) Vol. 1, p.327.

arrangement of individuals in space in relation to their status or power.⁹⁰⁹ The Colleges, Inns of Court and Royal Palaces all paid careful attention to this aspect of dining as did the livery companies. Stipulations regarding seating, penned in the Drapers' Ordinance Book, were a point of some negotiation (see figure 6.9).⁹¹⁰ This was an exercise in the protection of honour as well as in the continual re-making of it through corporate mechanisms. As an example of these careful considerations, at the Election Dinner the Company set down that they should seat "as many strangers as can conveniently sit" at the high table. In such case as so many honourable strangers gave their attendance, the Master was to sit in his chair at the upper end of the second table, the Assistants and Livery "in order" after him. However, they judged that if there were even too many strangers for the high table, they should be placed at the upper end of the third table, facing the Master.⁹¹¹ A flurry of activity surrounding a new Master's chair inscribed with the Company's Arms and an upgrading of the garlands (used in investiture ceremonies) in 1569-70 are only two examples of a glut of self-fashioning commissioned by the Court that aimed to increase articulations of rank, a trend which characterised much of this period (see figures 6.10).⁹¹² Reflecting its higher status, the high table at the furthest end of the hall was embellished with green cloth while the others were left bare.⁹¹³ Two resplendent sideboards were positioned close to it, bearing the Company plate upon fine tablecloths marked with a 'D'.⁹¹⁴ Details from the Wardens' Accounts indicate that behind the high table, a decoratively painted wall with a round oriel window separated the hall from the parlour, jewel house and the bookhouse.⁹¹⁵ Symbolic imagery was therefore clustered around the high dais end of the great hall reinforcing the prestige of those seated there.

⁹⁰⁹ Tittler, R. 'Seats of Honor, Seats of Power: The Symbolism of Public Seating in the English Urban Community, C. 1560-1620' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 24, no. 2 (1992) pp.205–223.

⁹¹⁰ DCA, OB1 and OB2, unfoliated. Also the particular case of seating a 'commoner Master': DCA, MB10, f.407-9.

⁹¹¹ DCA, MB10, f.407-9.

⁹¹² DCA, WA5, 1569-70, f.7v. It was embroidered with the Company's Arms (f.9r).

⁹¹³ DCA, MB13, f.43r; RA6, 1612-13, f.19.

⁹¹⁴ DCA, MB13, f.44r.

⁹¹⁵ DCA, WA5, 1580-1, f.3r.

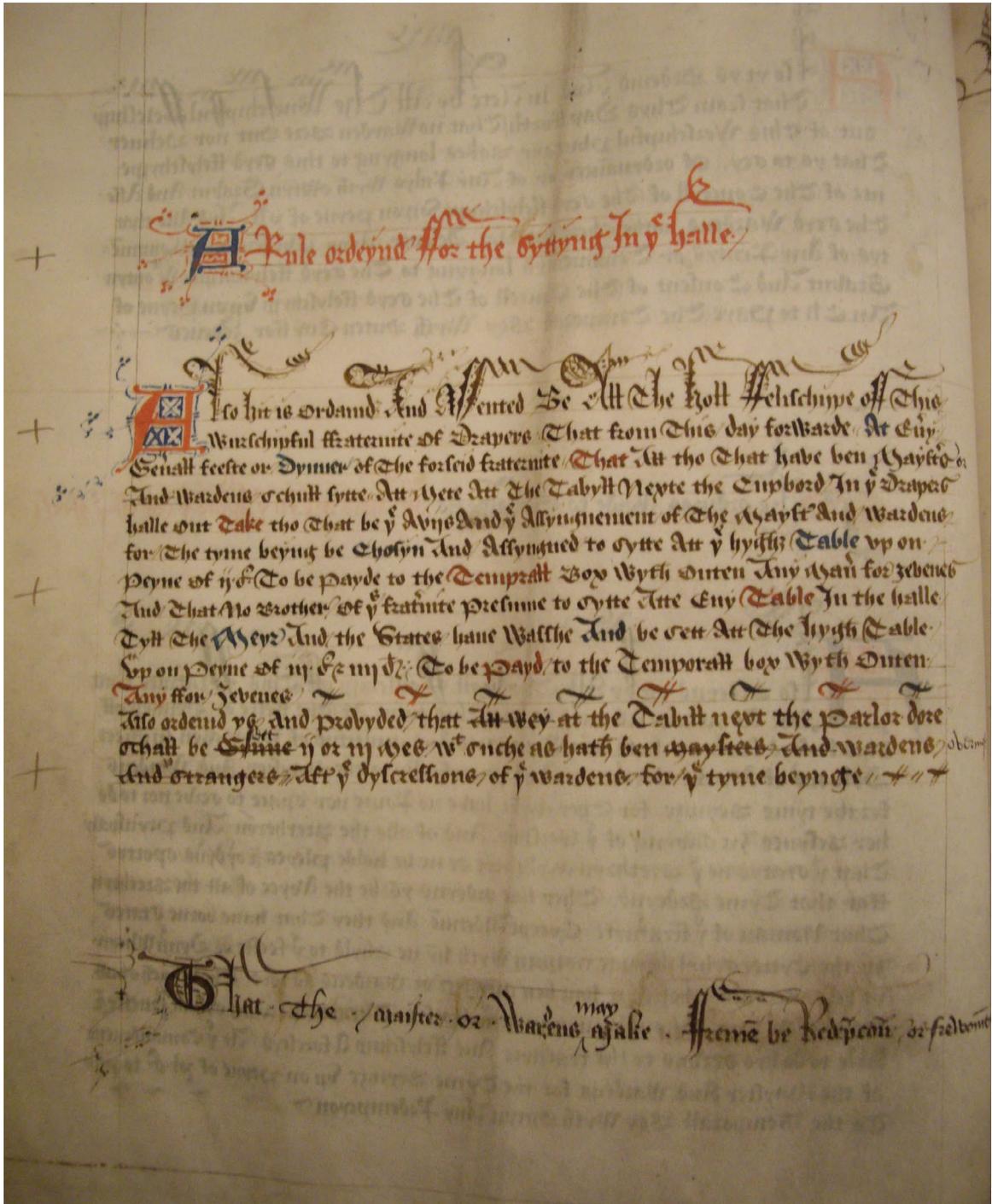


Figure 6.9. Ordinance for Order of Seating for the Hall (DCA, OB1, unfoliated)

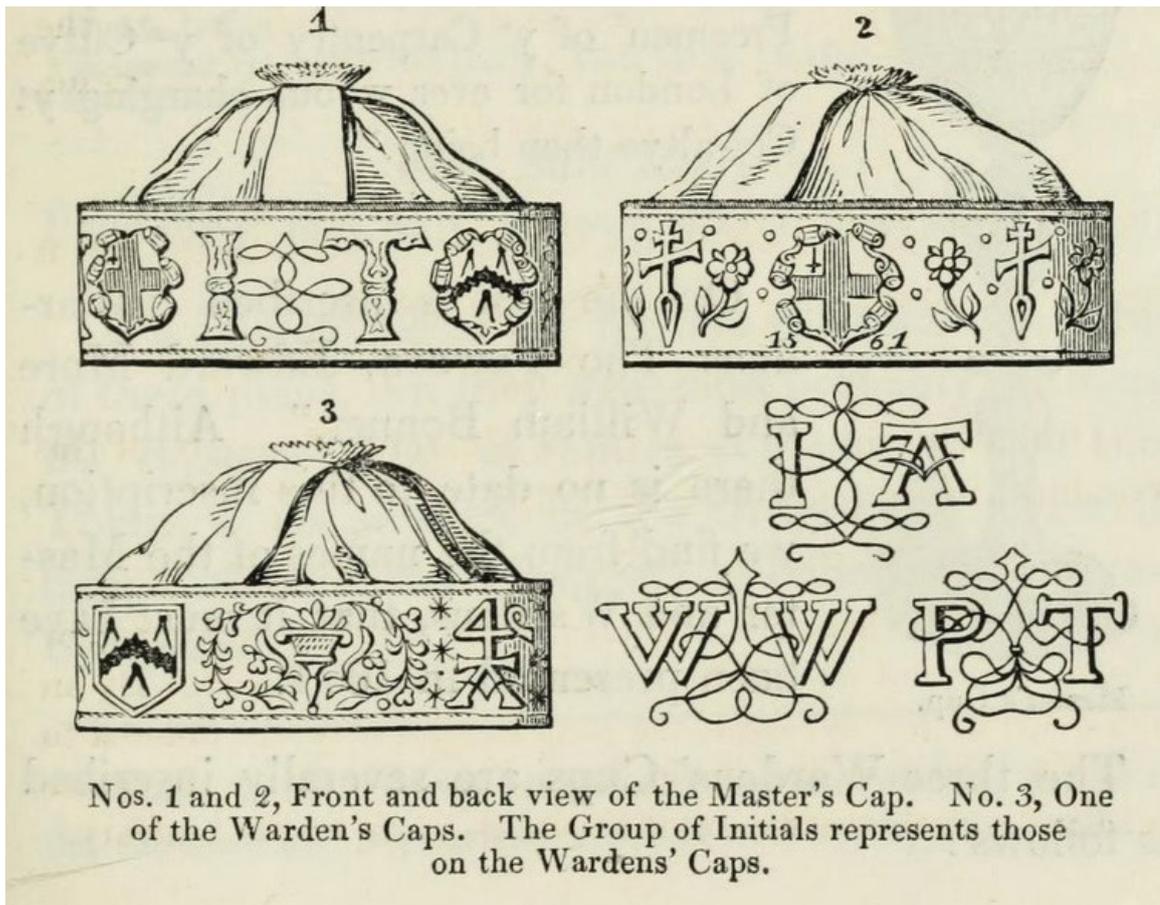


Figure 6.10. Engraving of garlands of the Carpenters' Company (c. 1561). Reproduced from Jupp, E. B. *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters* (London: William Pickering, 1848) p.211

Once seated appropriately in the hall, the concern for honour and order continued through the rituals associated with the transferral of the governing rights which passed from one group of officials (the Master and four Wardens) to another new group. Movement through space was as important as one's static allocated position within it. Taking the early 1550s as a starting point, the Election Day events began around midday. As noted, the Company processed together two-by-two from their Hall to the patronal church with herbs strewn in front of them and processed back again after hearing a sermon.⁹¹⁶ Upon arrival at the Hall, dinner was served to up to one hundred and thirty members of the Livery and invited guests. Near the end of dinner, but before the final service of sweet wines and wafers, the outgoing Master and his Wardens retired out of the main hall and organised themselves to re-enter with garlands and cups of hippocras (see figures 6.11 and 6.12). Firstly, the Master re-entered with a garland on his head, a cupbearer before him (an appointed servant carrying a silver cup which the Warden would use to toast the new first Warden) and minstrels. He made a show of tendering his garlands at both ends of the high table, before settling the garland on the head of the new Master and making a toast to him. Next the four Wardens exited the parlour with minstrels in front of them. They processed down the eastern (third) table and around the central hearth stopping in the middle of the hall with their cup bearers while the minstrels moved to play on the step of the raised dais on which the high table was positioned. The first Warden and cupbearer moved to tender their garland to the high table before finding the new Warden (most likely seated at the second table), then he returned to his seat. Next the remaining three Wardens and cupbearers processed around the hearth with the minstrels playing before them, again pausing in the middle of the hall. The second Warden then progressed to tender his garland to the high table before finding the new second Warden. The party would circle the hall once more, the third and fourth Wardens taking their respective turns but only offering to the second and third tables. Programmed into this performance were moments of jest when Wardens deliberately offered garlands to those unable or unsuitable to take up office, for example to women in attendance or to elite men from outside the Company. In participating in these playful exchanges all those involved were implicitly assenting to participation in the established corporate structure.

Within the hall at the Dinner itself, the repetitive nature of Election ceremonies was a key component of their stabilizing intent. Challenges to this regularity were clearly explained and

⁹¹⁶ For a more detailed description of this order and the stipulations about the dress to be worn see: DCA, MB8, f.80r-81r.



Figure 6.11. Diagram of Election Day Dinner procession (1551)

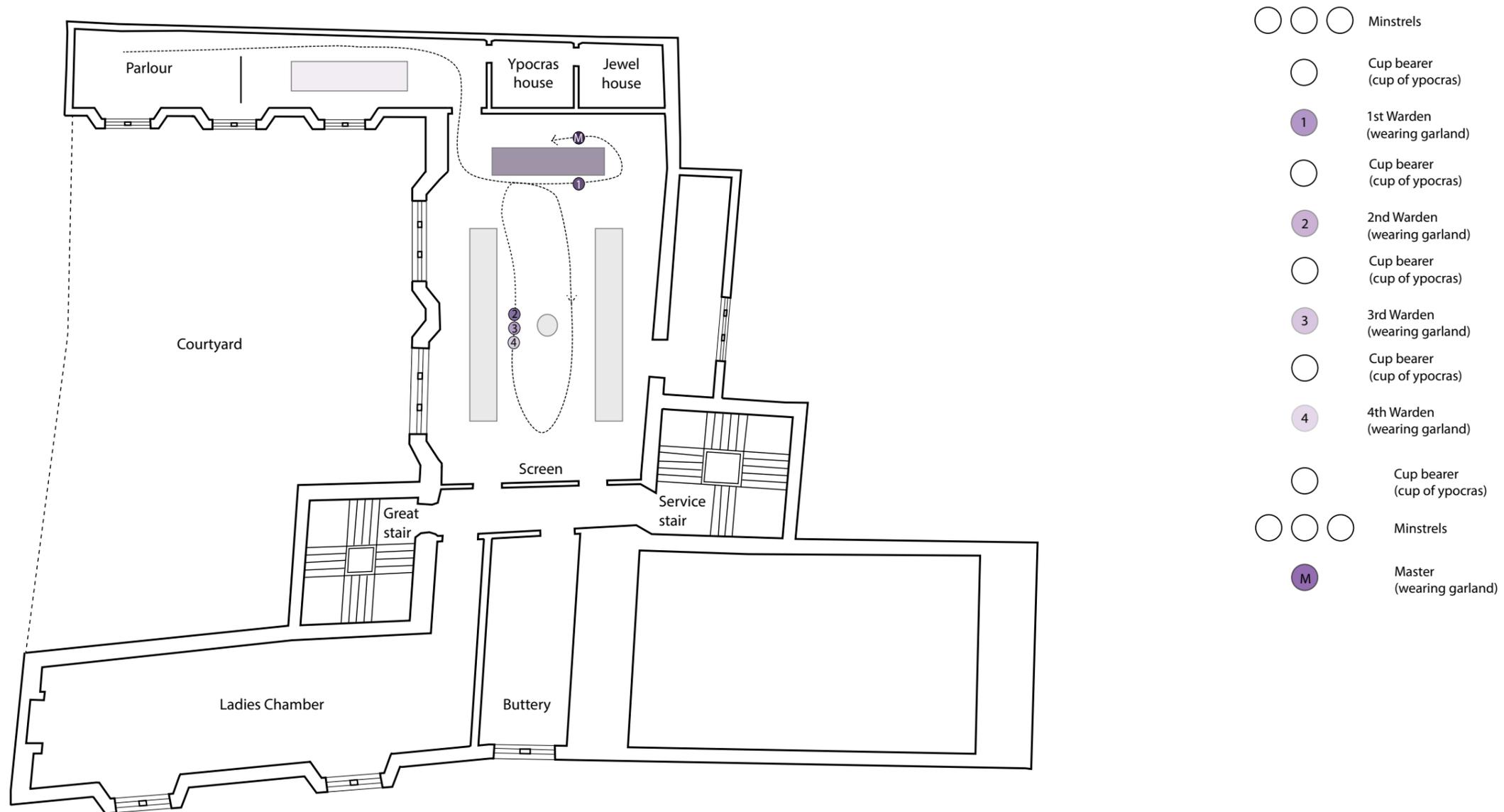


Figure 6.12. Election Day Dinner procession of 1551 plotted onto reconstruction of first floor Drapers' Hall set out for the dinner (DCA, A X II 121)

justified in the Drapers' records.⁹¹⁷ Regular minor adjustments to the existing format were captured in the final pages of the Minute Books for every year - a full account of the ceremonials was reported annually from the 1540s to the 1580s.⁹¹⁸ Using this detailed series of narratives it is possible to trace a clear upturn in hierarchical language from the middle of the sixteenth century. In the articulations of internal hierarchies through etiquette and performance, bows or 'obeisances' by the Wardens to those seated at the high table were first noted in 1555.⁹¹⁹ Two years later the manner of vacating the main hall was described for the first time: "and so all the four Wardens orderly reporting to the upper end of the high table and standing in course one by another before the old master they had executed their turns made low obeisance and reverence to the highest guest at the middle of the table and the rest of the lower end and likewise to the old master and gave thanks and departed."⁹²⁰ This type of honorific language and action continued to imbue the accounts for the next twenty years. Important guests at the high table were increasingly referred to as 'superiors', Masters and Wardens became 'Right Worshipful', and the form of livery to be worn also received greater yearly attention.⁹²¹

Through these recorded Dinner choreographies, it is also possible to observe the Drapers' desire to represent the increased importance of the Clerk, the Renter (or Under-Renter depending on the period) and authoritative objects associated with them in the feast procession. Therefore, in 1553 when a new amendment was made "according to Merchant Taylors", for the first time the Clerk and the Under-Renter were incorporated into the Election procession (figure 6.13).⁹²² To this end, the Under-Renter was fitted with a livery gown and bore the newly made silver yard (the same used for the search), while the Clerk

⁹¹⁷ For example, in 1575, the Clerk reported that: "The open election of the new master was not *as in times past* for that our master being blind could not do *as in time past*." On this occasion he remained seated, receiving the garland placed on a cushion "between his hands" before directing others to perform his duties on his behalf (DCA, MB9, f.56r).

⁹¹⁸ This is mirrored in a number of other corporate accounts. The most consistent is in the Grocers who also continued an annual report of feast choreography in the same way as Drapers from at least the mid-1550s until 1586. See GL, MS 11588/1, Grocers Company, Court Minutes 1556 – 1591. For further discussion see Volume II of this thesis.

⁹¹⁹ DCA, MB5, f.187.

⁹²⁰ DCA, MB7, f.11.

⁹²¹ A point also noted by Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.200.

⁹²² DCA, MB5, f.33-4.



Figure 6.13. Diagram of Election Day Dinner procession (1553)

held a scroll containing a list of the names of the Livery known as the 'roll'.⁹²³ This change reflected the increased stature of both these administrative offices and signified the spaces out of which these objects were drawn, namely the bookhouse and jewel house. As noted in Chapter Five, the yard was used in the searches of cloth, a recognised symbol of the Company's power and jurisdiction over a territory of trade, albeit one that was becoming increasingly fraught and divorced from the reality. Regardless of this diminution in its practical use, a new silver yard was commissioned by the Master and Wardens of 1553-4 (William Chester, William Chevall, William Watson, John Mynors and John Nash), "having their marks graven on all of their own papers, costs and charges".⁹²⁴ This yard was explicitly modelled on that of the Merchant Taylors (see figure 6.14).⁹²⁵ The new prominence given to it through its introduction into the Dinner procession just a few years later may have represented an attempt to redress the actual erosion of the monopolistic powers it symbolised. In its reinforcement at that moment the Court showed its confidence in the yard as an enduring representation of authority, even if its deployment outside the hall was declining. In the Under-Renter's inclusion as the bearer of this instrument, the Company's stewardship of its estate, as a new locus of its power, was implicitly acknowledged. Meanwhile the Clerk's roll substantiated and lent validation to the position of the Company's Livery and office-bearers in attendance at the feast. Hierarchies were expressed and given legitimation through small adaptations such as this, worked out through existing ceremonies intrinsic to the Dinner.

Lineages of Legitimacy

As the centre of the corporate household, Foyster and Bryson have suggested that the Company Hall was "the ideal forum for a show of wealth, lineage and generosity".⁹²⁶ Just as ritual practices were prone to small annual modifications which sought to emphasise the hierarchal corporate structures of governance, it is possible to discern an active adaption of existing spaces to reinforce the concept of 'ancientness'. The Drapers increasingly articulated

⁹²³ DCA, MB10, f.116.

⁹²⁴ DCA, MB5, f.33.

⁹²⁵ Ibid. f.72.

⁹²⁶ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*, p.37. Also see discussion of Nicholas Cooper in: Cooper, N. 'Rank, Manners and Display'; Cooper, N. *Houses of the Gentry: 1480-1680* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

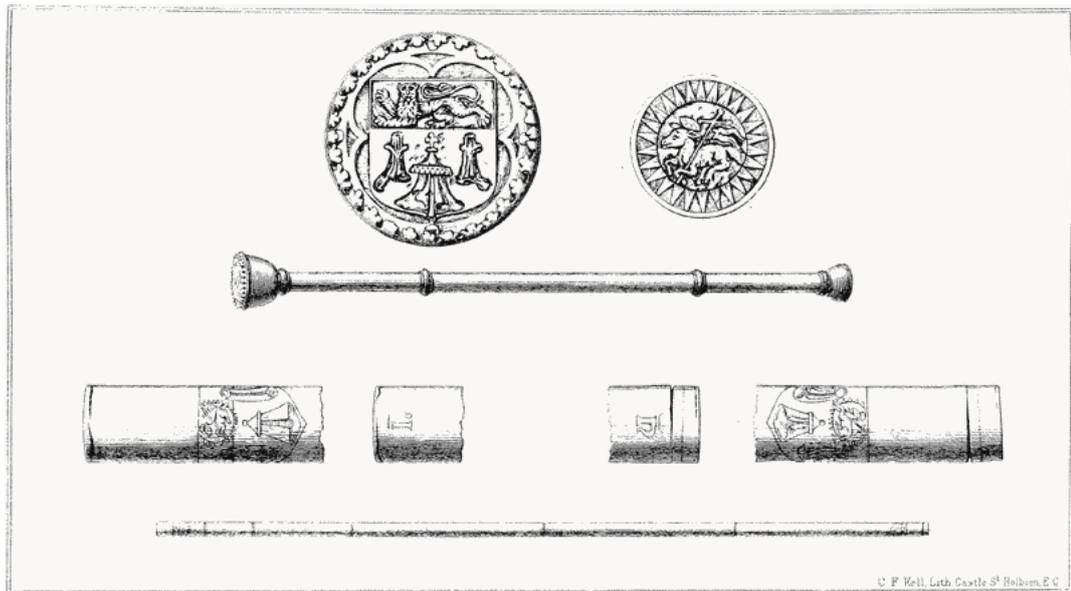


Figure 6.14. Merchant Taylors' Silver Yard and Mace (c. 1597). Reproduced from *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London*, ed. C M Clode (London, 1875), pp. 114-115. British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/taylors-guild-london/pp114-115> [accessed 14 July 2016].

a line of power that highlighted associations both with the monarchy and with ‘successful’ governors from its own the past. In the cultivation of honourable authority in the traditional household, lineage was of distinct importance and was prominently displayed through the use of symbolic imagery.⁹²⁷ In terms of lineages of power, the companies together asserted that the mandate to govern was dispensed from God to his Kings and Queens, who, in the form of renewable charters, delegated their power among them for regulation of City commerce and craft. This narrative was perfectly illustrated in Holbein's ‘King Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons’ painting of 1543, for which there are no comparators amongst the other London companies (see figure 6.15).⁹²⁸ The singularity of this painting is notable, suggesting that the companies were not generally open to experimentation with different artistic media to carry their corporate messages of power no matter how coherent the visual language on offer may be. Heraldry was the established form of representative expression, shared across public, religious and domestic buildings and also widely utilised by the livery companies and their associated buildings of governance. The guildhall, for example, framed the stained glass arms of previous Alderman in their windows.⁹²⁹ In the urban houses of wealthy merchants too, King identified “a conscious display of familial antiquity and status” through the inclusion of heraldic icons (see figure 6.16).⁹³⁰ The continuation of this form of iconographic expression in corporate spaces should not however blind us to a discernible upturn in the use of such imagery within the livery hall during the sixteenth century.

Around mid-century, the heraldic arms of the Drapers were modified in relation to the granting of a new charter. Reliant on consistent re-negotiations of their corporate authority, such privileges were granted by each incoming monarch. It was soon after the Company received their new charter from Elizabeth that its Arms were amended and ratified by the College of Arms. The amendment would appear to be relatively minor; two politically correct spotted lion supporters were added in replacement of the earlier ‘superstitious’ angels (see figures 6.17 and 6.18). The inclusion of the spotted lion however expressed a religious change that carried with it political undertones, the shift ensuring the Company clearly associated itself with prevailing protestant iconographies. The addition of a helm and crest depicting a

⁹²⁷ Bryson, Anna. *Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁹²⁸ For further commentary on this painting see: Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p.52-3.

⁹²⁹ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.272.

⁹³⁰ King, ‘The interpretation of urban buildings’, p.482.



Figure 6.15. Hans Holbein, *Henry VIII and the Barber-Surgeons* (c. 1543), The Royal College of Surgeons of England, London

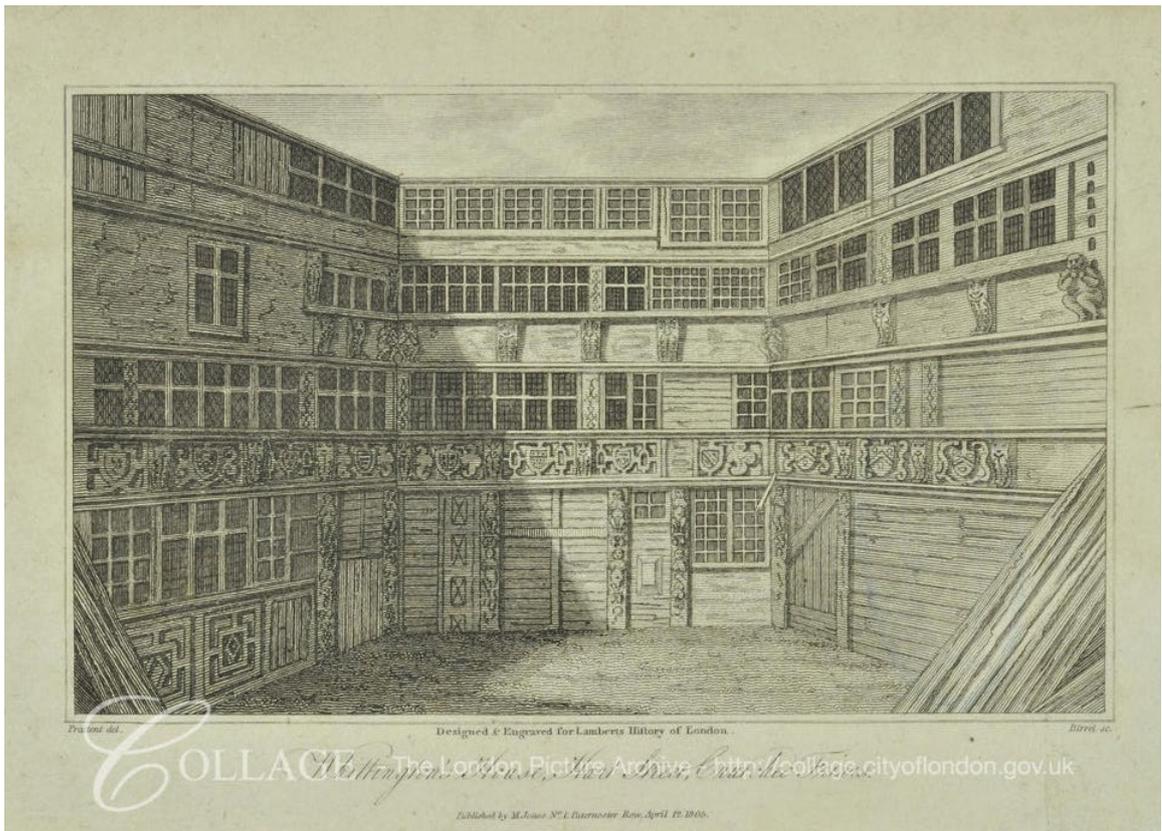


Figure 6.16. Thomas Prattent, *Whittington's House, Hart Street* (1805), Collage Online, London Metropolitan Archives (Collage rec. no. 316064)

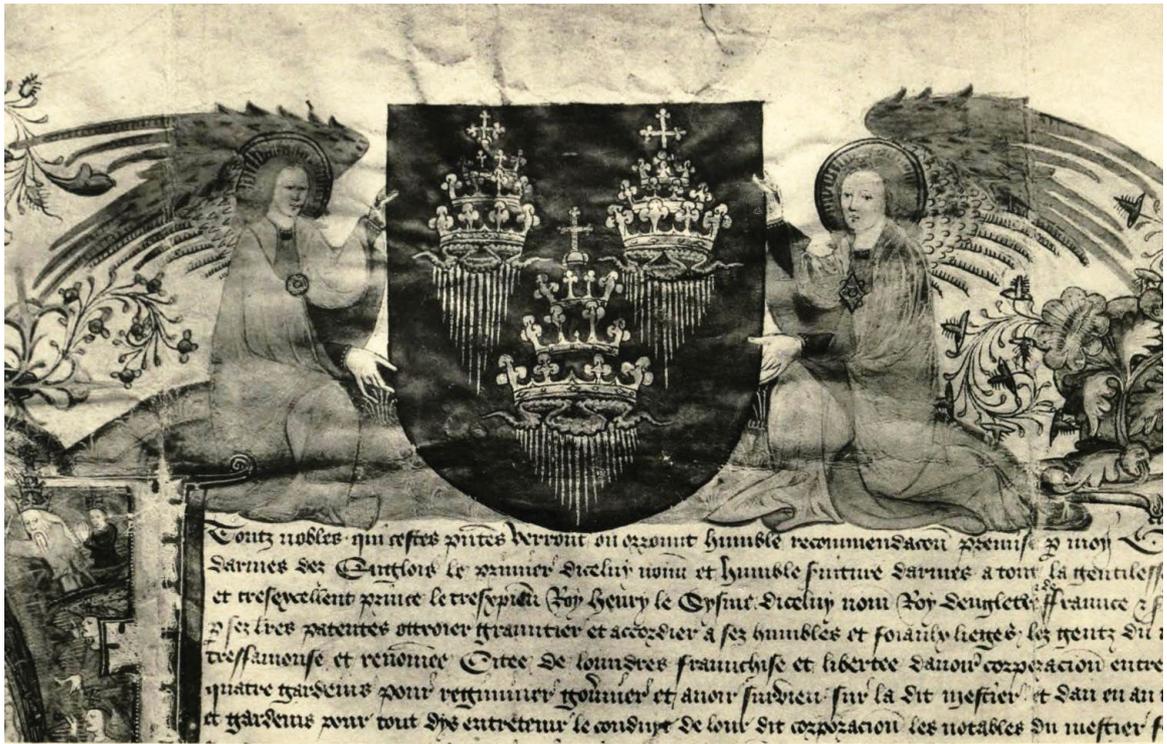


Figure 6.17. Original arms of the Company from the Charter of 1439 (DCA, Ch. IX) Reproduced from Johnson, *History*, Vol. 1, p.221



Figure 6.18. Updated arms of the Company from the Charter of July 1561 (DCA, Ch. XIII)

golden ram supported the Company's association to the trade of drapery. The potential to capitalise on the iconic value of the new Arms and the new charter, confirmed in 1561-2, was seized upon by the Company. The opportunity legibly to represent their re-established powers was not lost on the Court. Although there was already a series of heraldic shields decorating the Drapers' great hall, the expanded symbolic imagery endorsed by the documents was projected *en masse* onto Company Hall with the intention of maximum visibility at times of the Election Day Dinner - when the Hall was most fully occupied.⁹³¹ Almost immediately it seems, a painting of the new Arms was commissioned and hung in the hall.⁹³² Moreover, two painters were also paid £35 to apply images of the new Arms to banners, streamers and shields, which were used especially when the Lord Mayor was a Draper.⁹³³ Two long streamers with yellow and blue fringing bore further depictions of the Drapers' Arms, flanked by two similarly large square Drapers' banners all positioned in the hall.⁹³⁴ In addition, fifty-four individually painted escutcheons were produced in order to brand the Hall, the accoutrements of wider city processions as well as the Company church of St. Michael Cornhill.⁹³⁵ The following year, while eighteen existing vanes were repainted, a "new great vane...of...iron work" crowned the hall. Notably a carved and painted lion stood on top of it – a reference to the new charter and the new Arms.⁹³⁶

As the new Arms were being applied to flags, banners and shields, an unnamed carver of wood was paid £3 13s. 4d. for the 'Arms of England' to be added to the hall.⁹³⁷ This panel, which depicted not Elizabeth's but Henry VIII's Arms, was then painted and gilded by John

⁹³¹ For example DCA, WA5, 1562-3, f.10r.

⁹³² DCA, RA5, 1561-2, f.9v.

⁹³³ DCA, WA4, 1561-2, f.8r. The hall was particularly adorned with celebratory accoutrements in these years. For example, gearing up for John Branch's Mayoralty in 1580, streamers were positioned in the hall held up by staves and painted in black and white (DCA, RA5, 1578-79, f.9r). One banner bore the Arms of the City when the Lord Mayor was a Draper (DCA, RA5, 1578-79, f.9r).

⁹³⁴ DCA, RA5, 1578-79, f.9r.

⁹³⁵ DCA, WA4, 1561-2, f.8r. In 1607-8 a painted escutcheon of the Drapers Arms was placed at the company tacklehouse (DCA, RA6, 1607-8, f.19). In 1622-3 the Court paid for a stained glass window bearing the Drapers arms to be installed in "the new church in Dukes place" (DCA, WA7, 1622-3, f.41).

⁹³⁶ DCA, RA5, 1562-3, f.26r.

⁹³⁷ DCA, WA4, 1561-2, f.9r.

Shute.⁹³⁸ Its representative value was reflected by the addition of an ironwork canopy to hang over it.⁹³⁹ Elizabeth herself was not left out for long and was shortly analogised, a large round oriel window at the north end of the hall was set with a unicorn, probably signifying the Virgin Queen, in 1569.⁹⁴⁰ There is also evidence that her Arms were set up in wainscot in the hall after her death, although the exact date of this addition is unclear.⁹⁴¹ Some years after the 1560s re-fashioning activity, John Knight, likely the later herald painter to Charles I, decoratively painted the “nether end of our great hall over the gallery window”.⁹⁴² The Wardens’ Accounts for 1578-9 note a payment of £23 6s. 8d for further work undertaken on the hall above the high table as well as the gilding and painting of another set of the Company Arms already in existence in the parlour and the chimney piece itself.⁹⁴³

Celebrating the Royal connection which substantiated the Company’s authority, after their new charter was confirmed again under James in 1607, ‘pictures’ of the King, Queen Anne and Prince Henry were set up in the hall. Wainscot running around its walls was also repainted and gilded by John Norman at a total cost of £58.⁹⁴⁴ The new images of the monarchy were issued with protective taffeta curtains.⁹⁴⁵ At this time the Joiner and Carpenter were paid £3 10s for thirty lions “which were lacking about the hall”.⁹⁴⁶ Intriguingly it was at this time that the wainscot Arms of Elizabeth, of the Drapers and “one of the Warden’s marks” were taken down and replaced with plain wainscot panels, perhaps so that

⁹³⁸ DCA, WA5, 1562-3, f.6r. As an early exponent of classical architecture in England, he would have been newly returned from Italy and soon to publish his treatise ‘The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture’ (1563). For further discussion see: Harris, E. *British Architecture Books and Writings, 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). He was also implicated in the production of the hall screen.

⁹³⁹ DCA, RA5, 1561-2, f.10v.

⁹⁴⁰ DCA, RA5, 1569-70, f.21r.

⁹⁴¹ DCA, WA6, 1606-7, f.46.

⁹⁴² DCA, WA5, 1580-1, f.3r.

⁹⁴³ DCA, WA5, 1578-9, f.11r.

⁹⁴⁴ DCA, MB13, f.46v; WA6, 1606-7, f.46.

⁹⁴⁵ DCA, WA6, 1606-7, f.48.

⁹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* f.47.

Norman could complete a new decorative painting.⁹⁴⁷ It was not until 1609-10 that the Drapers elected to have their own Arms carved in wainscot again for the purposes of display in the hall. These were duly painted, gilded, and installed not in the wainscoted walls but in the hall screen.⁹⁴⁸ Stained-glass Arms of both the King and the Company were added to windows in the parlour and hall in 1612-13.⁹⁴⁹ The sustained accretion of symbolic imagery in the space of the hall and the parlour shows that a consistent level of attention was paid to the icons of legitimacy and governance there. In particular, the representative drives associated with the confirmation of charter and Arms in the 1560s, and then again at the beginning of the seventeenth century, demonstrate a corporate desire to support a lineage of power through this well-established form of visual expression. For whilst the charter legally validated the Company's regulatory activities, it carried little weight without the recognition and endorsement of its powers from its related community. Toulmin Smith and Smith noted: "Charters of Incorporation do not and cannot create Corporations."⁹⁵⁰ Nor, it could be argued, could charters secure their continued relevance. Their validity rested on the presence of a 'communitas' and the reception this document was given by this same group of people. The charter therefore needed to be enacted, represented and acknowledged for the Court's authority to be justified.

Seats of Governance

In Berger's view, the continuous attention paid to the form and iconography on show at such corporate dinners was motivated by the need "give legal weight to [the] most mundane business decisions".⁹⁵¹ The everyday transactions of the governing Court and the wider community were solemnized through the complicit performance of participation at the dinner. In this, the choreographed movement around the great hall was not the only method of substantiating the validity of this group of men. The spaces and places in which they resided, in which they sat and were closely associated with, were also of importance as has been previously noted. Indeed, smaller meetings of the Court, the Master and Wardens were

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid. f.46.

⁹⁴⁸ DCA, RA6, 1609-10, f.16; RA6, 1610-11, f.14.

⁹⁴⁹ DCA, RA6, 1612-13, f.20.

⁹⁵⁰ Smith, T., Toulmin Smith, L. *English Gilds: The Original Ordinances* (London: Early English Text Society, N. Trubner and Co., 1870) p.xii.

⁹⁵¹ Berger, *The Most Necessary Luxuries*, p.204.

not held within the great hall but within an elite space of governance occasionally called the courthouse, but more often known as the parlour. In the case of the Drapers, this long first-floor space overlooked the courtyard and was also referred to as a gallery due to its situation bridging the hall and the capital house. This room was not only utilised for meetings of governance but became also a place for private socialising. Around 1600 formal Court of Assistants dinners began, served following meetings, and in 1602-3 nine dinners were had throughout the year at a charge of just over £20 altogether.⁹⁵² The growing significance and expanded use of this room was reflected in decisions to embellish the space and represent its prestige to those excluded from it.

In Elizabethan country houses great halls were still self-consciously utilized by the elite for their evocations of power in spite of their increasing practical redundancy.⁹⁵³ For, just like the lesser rural landlord, the leaders of households retreated from the regular occupation of their large open halls preferring smaller segregated rooms. Historians have previously argued that corporate structures were also becoming more stratified and have noted the reflection of this in the increasing spatial privatization of power, focussing on the place and rebuildings of the parlour.⁹⁵⁴ For Orlin, the turn away from usage of the great hall for meetings of the Company represented a move away from participatory civic governance which required the involvement of the Bachelors to sanction changes to corporate policy. This point was especially relevant in relation to the process of electing a new Master and Wardens. Instead corporate practices and “procedures” were “determined by a small group of selected officers behind closed doors” in the parlour.⁹⁵⁵ In this context the performative function of the dinner served in the great hall became even more critical as the one moment when the often unseen governing activities of the elite were publicly endorsed by the community.

⁹⁵² DCA, WA5, 1602-3, f.13v. Six dozen trenchers were purchased to serve these dinners in 1601-2 (DCA, WA5, 1601-2, f.18r).

⁹⁵³ McBride, K. *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A cultural study of landscape and legitimacy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁹⁵⁴ For example, Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.119. Also see Tara Hamling’s and Catherine Richardson’s forthcoming book: *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: The Materiality of Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016). Of the domestic parlour, they have stated that “our case study is the parlour, a room considered crucial to the construction of elite identities because of the way it articulated social differentiation, providing a dedicated space for sociability and leisure time.”

⁹⁵⁵ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.147.

The parlour's role in this process of political validation was perhaps more complicated. It has been suggested that these smaller spaces such as the parlour, jewel house and bookhouse were arranged around the hall in order to bear "visible witness" to the reputation of the Company.⁹⁵⁶ Certainly in its position behind the high table and next to other high status rooms such as the jewel house and bookhouse, the parlour was difficult to access and therefore implicitly more exclusive. The interiors of this cluster of rooms at the far end of the great hall were mostly unseen. This being so, how could their existence, imbued with important associations with authority, be usefully broadcast? The place and use of the bookhouse will be considered more closely in Chapter Seven, this chapter rather examines the function and form of the parlour. Although the two spaces were linked, they were also distinct.

Sitting weekly on Mondays and Wednesdays from 9am in the morning, after processing through the great hall, the Wardens and Master sat around the 'great' parlour table to conduct regular company business.⁹⁵⁷ If summoned to appear in the parlour, citizens would be notified by the Beadle of their appointment in advance. On arrival petitioners lined up on the benches in the hall before being called into the smaller room to voice their concerns before the Council. Inside, the Clerk sat in the parlour at his own desk, writing notes of actions and decisions.⁹⁵⁸ Like the great hall at the time of the feast, though presented as an exclusive space of elite governance, the parlour was in fact observed and experienced by a broad range of petitioners with business with the Company. In this way encoded messages of legitimacy projected through its furnishing, iconography and decoration were absorbed by the governed as well as the governors. Although decisions may have been effectively made before entering the parlour, this was the symbolic space of validating judgements and writing them down (see figure 6.19).⁹⁵⁹

Supporting ideas of legitimate governance, the form of its adornment and furnishing can be traced in some detail. In 1554 the parlour housed a ship's chest and a regular chest, both

⁹⁵⁶ Berger, *The Most Necessary Luxuries*, p.204; Morgan, V. 'A ceremonious society' p.134.

⁹⁵⁷ DCA, MB5, f.83. This arrangement is exemplified by the frequent phrase in relation to decisions taken by 'the whole table' or 'the whole board' (for example, DCA, MB8, f.34v) In fact the table was constructed of three tables, and was replaced by one long table in the early seventeenth century.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* f.88-89.

⁹⁵⁹ DCA, MB8, f.79r. At the gathering of the Company at the Lord Mayor's election at Guildhall in 1569 the Assistants note they had already come to a decision "before they went into the parlour".



Figure 6.19. Anon. *The Somerset House Conference* (1604) National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 665)

filled with napery and plate. The ship's chest also held Company plate including four gilt cups and four garlands as well the silver yard. These chests paralleled the corporate parlour's domestic counterpart. Whilst divergent in one way, the Master of the Company would not sleep there as a Master of the house might do, it was similar in that the parlour was deemed a place of secure storage for precious goods. Chests were positioned within it containing the most valuable household goods: deeds, money and silverware.⁹⁶⁰ A brief inventory for the Hall does not specifically locate a "long settle" but it is highly likely that this too stood in the parlour. It is described as holding seventeen journals covered in buckram, possibly the Minute Books, as well as garments and banners used for civic festivities.⁹⁶¹ The walls of the parlour were decorated with hangings.⁹⁶² In 1562-3 three new green carpets fringed with green silk were also installed in the parlour and likely covered the 'great' table.⁹⁶³ The iconography of this sixteenth century room was therefore largely consistent with that of the hall (later seventeenth-century additions will be explored in Chapter Seven) and like the hall, the parlour was also increasingly filled with instruments of governance and symbols of order. The parlour windows facing into the courtyard were set with four vanes in the form of the evidently ubiquitous Drapers' lions (although these were dispensed with in favour of three carved 'lily-pots' by the 1620s).⁹⁶⁴ At the time of the Election Day Dinner in 1566, three pieces of hanging arras were set up in the parlour on a specially made partition. Hired from the Tower of London, the arras depicted the biblical story of King David and Uriah (see figure

⁹⁶⁰ DCA, MB5, f.88-89; Johnson, M. *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010) p.149.

⁹⁶¹ DCA, MB5, f.88-89. For more comments on discipline enacted in the hall see: Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.78-79.

⁹⁶² Ibid.

⁹⁶³ DCA, RA5, 1562-3, f.10v; WA5, 1565-6, f.5v.

⁹⁶⁴ DCA, RA5, 1569-70, f.19r, f.20v, f.21v, f.22v. They were replaced at a cost of £3 17s. in 1626-7 (DCA, RA6, 1626-7, f.16).

6.19).⁹⁶⁵ An hourglass was used to measure lengths of meetings.⁹⁶⁶ By the early seventeenth century a clock was positioned within the parlour as a more reliable replacement.⁹⁶⁷ Like Merchant Taylors, an ivory hammer represented the place of the Master in directing and controlling debates and disagreements.⁹⁶⁸ There was a hanging almanac made up of a table with “pricks and pins” so that the calendar year could be referenced in relation to decisions, events and leases.⁹⁶⁹

Not only was the space filled with symbolic things, but it was subject to a number of more significant alterations. Having already been moderately enlarged in 1555 at the same time as the cellar and gallery below were extended, the parlour was the location for additional upgrades from the 1570s.⁹⁷⁰ In 1573 the Election Dinner was passed over in respect of “the new wainscoting of the parlour” which was finally to be undertaken two years later.⁹⁷¹ The work took nearly a year and a half to complete and two hundred wainscots procured by Warden Megges were stockpiled in the Dowgate storeyard for this purpose.⁹⁷² At this time the parlour was also embellished with a decorative fretwork ceiling.⁹⁷³ A wainscot carving

⁹⁶⁵ DCA, DB1, Election Dinner 1566, unfoliated pages (f.48v). This tapestry belonged to the Crown and it seems likely it was later installed at Somerset House for it is recorded in a 1649 inventory as part of a set of five Flemish hangings valued at £994 10s. (Pegge, S. *Curialia: or an historical account of some branches of the royal household, Parts IV and V* (London: Nichols and Son, 1806) p.103). Because of this it is also probable that the hanging depicted on the left of ‘The Somerset Conference’ painting of 1604, behind the Spanish delegation, is the same that hung in the Drapers’ parlour. It has been described by Campbell as “King David giving Uriah the Hittite the sealed message that will send him to his death”. He regarded this story to be “a well-known exemplum of deceitfulness” (Campbell, T. (ed.) *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008) p.111). The relevance of this hanging to the Drapers’ parlour may be found in the partition’s potential pretense that the room ended at its boundary, when in fact it extended beyond, concealing a ‘hidden’ space.

⁹⁶⁶ DCA, MB10, f.281.

⁹⁶⁷ DCA, RA6, 1610-1, f.14.

⁹⁶⁸ DCA, RA5, 1565-6, f.10r. For Merchant Taylors see: Sleigh-Johnson, ‘Merchant-Taylors’, p.26.

⁹⁶⁹ DCA, RA5, 1574-5, f.6r; WA5, 1565-6, f.5r.

⁹⁷⁰ DCA, MB5, f.118.

⁹⁷¹ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.17v-19r.

⁹⁷² DCA, MB8, f.223r.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.* f.236r.

above the chimney place depicted the Drapers' Arms.⁹⁷⁴ Additionally, in 1576-7 a painter was employed to produce a "clerestory with antique work" in the parlour. This grotesque early modern form of classicism mimicked a fashion for continental visual imagery - although the content of this painting is unspecified.⁹⁷⁵ The gaze of the Drapers settled once again on their parlour in August 1596 when it was decided that a new long table was to be purchased to replace the three then standing therein. "A fair light" was also to be made in the west end of the parlour. Suggesting its importance, the execution of this window project was entrusted to Alderman Goddard.⁹⁷⁶ In a burst of additional activity, after James' ascension to the throne the Drapers' instigated a more significant rebuilding project. In April 1604 the Company's 'great parlour' was given a new fretwork ceiling, replacing that of the 1570s which was evidently not up to par. The plasterers received £52 for their fee.⁹⁷⁷ The walls were decorated with new carved 'tafferell' wainscot panels costing £30 in all.⁹⁷⁸ Perhaps the work undertaken in the 1570s had not kept pace with the increasing prestige appropriate to this space of governance. Clearly keen to ensure its use during the Election Dinner, the work was instructed to be finished in time for this event.⁹⁷⁹ Unspecified structural work was undertaken by the Company Carpenter, Mr Moore in 1606-7.⁹⁸⁰

If the icons and decorative attention paid to the space of the parlour reveal a growth in its prominence, spurred on by the same concerns, the form of apparel required to be worn in the space also received further consideration. Coinciding with the second 'rebuilding' of the parlour and following Elizabeth's 1574 'Statutes on Apparel', a new ordinance was approved in 1576 which required members of the Company to wear gowns and cloaks to any meeting within the hall, paying a 3s. 4d. fine for disobedience.⁹⁸¹ Yet it appears that members were only penalized for failure to comply when they appeared inappropriately dressed before the

⁹⁷⁴ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.19v.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid. f.9v.

⁹⁷⁶ DCA, MB10, f. 211.

⁹⁷⁷ DCA, MB13, f.41r; WA6, 1604-5, f.23; WA6, 1605-6, f.44. Canvas sheets were hired of a linen Draper "to save the dust from the wainscot when the fretwork of the ceiling was made" (DCA, MB13, f.28r).

⁹⁷⁸ DCA, WA6, 1604-5, f.23.

⁹⁷⁹ DCA, MB13, f.23v.

⁹⁸⁰ DCA, RA6, 1606-7, f.16.

⁹⁸¹ DCA, OB1, unfoliated.

Court in the parlour, not in any other room. Demonstrations of honour were apparently even more carefully monitored in this highly charged room. The first fine was issued in 1576-7 to Henry Swinnerton (charge 16d.)⁹⁸² This proved to be the beginning of a consistent trail of fines for the same misdemeanour. In 1580 seven Liverymen were fined 6d. each for their offence.⁹⁸³ In 1588 William Wheatley appeared to have been particularly harshly reprimanded for “coming this day into the parlour before them in his cloak not wearing any gown” and was charged 20d.⁹⁸⁴ By 1595-6 twenty-one offenders were variously charged 4-14d. depending on their position within the Company.⁹⁸⁵ That new fashions were to be suppressed and ancientness celebrated was made even clearer in 1613. The Clerk recorded that elite members attended meetings in nightgowns of “sundry fashions and colours” and wearing the even more fanciful ‘falling bands’. The Court solemnly declared that these trends were wholly inappropriate for “so grave and worshipful a society” and claimed they were even against “ancient orders”. Assistants or Livery who appeared sporting such new styles of dress were to be fined accordingly.⁹⁸⁶ In evoking the memory of past rulers who donned suitably ‘ancient’ gowns and colours, the prescription of attire within the parlour was utilised as another method of corporate conditioning. It served as a tool to emphasize the stability and intentionally ancient narrative of the Company requiring adherence to these performances even from those in the upper reaches of its hierarchy.

Like the seating in the great hall on Election Days, a careful attunement to the appearance of order and hierarchy was also worked out in the order of seating within the parlour. In the listing of those attendees at the start of every new entry of the Court in the Minute Books, the Clerk always began with the Master and Wardens and appears to have processed down each side of the tables in his account, reflecting those in highest importance and office to the least. This was a sort of a visual tour of the parlour table. The carefulness with which such hierarchies were calibrated finds a parallel across other companies.⁹⁸⁷ Indeed, Sleigh-Johnson regarded that masters of companies were “consciously modelled on the office of Lord

⁹⁸² DCA, WA5, 1576-7, f.4v.

⁹⁸³ DCA, WA5, 1580-1, f.7r-7v.

⁹⁸⁴ DCA, MB10, f.307.

⁹⁸⁵ DCA, WA5, 1595-6, f.11v.

⁹⁸⁶ DCA, MB13, f.95r.

⁹⁸⁷ See for example the Merchant Taylors: Sleigh-Johnson, ‘Merchant-Taylors’, p.25.

Mayor". This intentional mimicking was evidenced in discussions of the Court regarding seating arrangements.⁹⁸⁸ Just like in the hall, the Drapers especially appear to have highlighted the superior position of their Master in the parlour in the 1560s. The new chair of 1569-70 has already been noted, which probably sat in the hall.⁹⁸⁹ However before this in 1563-4 a new 'green' chair was purchased, likely for the parlour although possibly used in the great hall for dinners as well. It was covered in red buckram to protect it between uses.⁹⁹⁰ Its production was a significantly labour-intensive undertaking with a range of Drapers involved in procuring luxurious materials to support its creation and its detailed embellishment.⁹⁹¹ The rest of those Assistants sitting in the parlour sat on unadorned stools or benches.⁹⁹² Suggestively, there is a notation in the Barber-Surgeons' Minute Book that confirms that speech too was regulated to conform to this order of seating. The Master was to speak first, then the Wardens in order of rank, followed by previous Masters "in order of their ancient" and finally all the Assistants were allowed their say.⁹⁹³

Whereas the parlour was an internally orientated site of exclusive corporate governance, seating in the hall on the other hand was more sensitive to city-wide forces and was affected by more complex authoritative civic structures. The seating plan that applied to one did not necessarily translate into the other. In 1589 the Company discussed issues of precedence regarding the Master and the Aldermen in both the parlour and the hall. After a change in policy which ordered that Masters could not also be city Aldermen, the question was raised, how should a 'commoner' Master (i.e. one that was not an Alderman) sit in relation to those who were Aldermen? With regards to the parlour, it was decided that the Master should "sit uppermost at the table" in his chair. At dinners in the hall however, he was to sit below any Aldermen, knights and judges in attendance.⁹⁹⁴ The distinction indicates the difference in

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid. p.27.

⁹⁸⁹ DCA, WA5, 1569-70, f.7v, f.9r.

⁹⁹⁰ DCA, RA5, 1563-4, f.11r.

⁹⁹¹ See Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.139, 288.

⁹⁹² DCA, RA6, 1616-7, f.19.

⁹⁹³ Chamberland, C. 'Honour, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London's Barber-Surgeons' Company, 1570-1640' in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 64 (2009) pp.300-332, p.327.

⁹⁹⁴ DCA, MB10, f.407-9.

perception of these two sites of performance. The hall was a theatre of a larger web of social hierarchies and the placement of bodies within it could be the source of some debate and contention as a result, this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. In its position ‘behind closed doors’, the parlour on the other hand prioritised internal corporate orders of precedence regardless of wider civic structures.

Absences and Emptiness

Whilst the Court desired to uphold the appearance of legitimate governance within the hall and the parlour, the everyday reality was that Company leaders were no less susceptible to neglect in relation to their responsibilities. In fact, as these spaces received more embellishment, becoming filled up with signs of order and honour, they were often marred by emptiness of another sort. The absence of members attending corporate events and meetings proved to be an endemic problem in many livery company halls. This led to strict financial penalties and increasingly unsympathetic language designed to encourage expected participants towards engagement.⁹⁹⁵ Most frustratingly, seats allocated to Wardens, Assistants and even Masters were recorded as remaining unfilled on many diverse occasions, undermining the performative endorsement of their corporate authority. This was an affront to the order so clearly sought after by others within the Court.

Naturally, the practice of acting out lineages of power through urban processions, and the careful adherence to seating plans, relied on the good attendance of all involved. Company rhetoric therefore correlated a failure to participate in such hierarchical demonstrations with a failure to recognize the perceived ultimate source of the City (and consequently the Company’s) power. Rather than downplaying their significance, absences were interpreted as threats to an order which, at its heart, began with the very Lordship of Christ. This link was made particularly clear in an instance of 1588 involving the dispensation of charity after the Spittle sermon at Easter. This annual event was attended by large numbers of city-dwellers, the Lord Mayor and other City authorities (see figure 6.20). Since the Lord Mayor of that year was Draper Martin Calthorp, the Livery of the Company, totalling sixty-one, were required to appear at the Spittle in order to gather in the charity of “well-disposed persons” and then distribute it out to those who presented themselves to be in need. The Clerk was instructed by the Court to warn all the Livery of their responsibilities in this regard. The resultant number who obeyed the instruction was unsatisfactory to the Court; many excuses having

⁹⁹⁵ For example, see: Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of the Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.153.



Figure 6.20. John Gipkin (Gipkyn), *Bishop King Preaching at Paul's Cross before King James I* (1616). Society of Antiquaries of London: Burlington House, London

been made by individuals to justify their non-attendance. Language recorded in the Minute Books invoked the personal accountability between these absentees and God, appealing to consciences, for the Lord “admitteth no excuses contrary to his will”. However, this trail of responsibility was also traced downwards. The Clerk noted that Liverymen were required to submit to the Company’s commands, all members being, under God, “commanded to obey the authority of higher powers”. This religious cloak also revealed the troubling heart of the issue for Company leaders - the fear that disorder would prevail and the cascade of established authority overturned. Regarding the Court, the Clerk solemnly warned, “how dangerous a thing it is to have their precepts and commandments disposed or neglected”. Liverymen who had neglected their duties were consequently summoned to appear in front of the Court. Only four of many non-attendees presented themselves to receive discipline. Three were charged with a fine of 5s. while one was dismissed without fine on account of his old age and bodily infirmity. The three charges were lectured on their transgression by the Master who reminded them, having been warned by the Clerk, that they were not to leave the City nor be diverted by other business to the extent they were absent from Company business.⁹⁹⁶ Tellingly, in spite of these strong words, the other offenders were not pursued perhaps as a result of their willingness to admit disobedience.

The problem of absence was not confined however to the Livery. It seems that members of the Court of the Assistants could also be unenthusiastic in their attendance at both wider civic and internal corporate events. Wardens were guilty of neglecting their duty in failing to dine with the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs at their special investiture dinners in 1554. On account of this embarrassment, the Court ruled that Wardens were required to seek permission to leave town from the Master and two other Wardens before their departure. They were also required to find another of the Assistants to stand in their place at such dinners if they were to be absent. If they did not follow these instructions, the offending Warden was to be fined 20s. At the same time, the Court also extended its discussions to absences of Wardens in its own meetings in the parlour. To this end, the Court reminded each other of the penalty instituted in September 1534 regarding instances of lateness, or non-attendance at any Court sessions or other summons. It was agreed that at least two Wardens should be present at any Court day otherwise a fine of 5s. would be levied for those absent without license or claiming a “liefeful excuse”.⁹⁹⁷ This warning does not appear to have

⁹⁹⁶ DCA, MB10, f.275.

⁹⁹⁷ DCA, MB5, f.71.

had much effect however, for in April 1555 it was noted that on several occasions Assistants had failed to attend Court and the resolution of “well weighty matters” (including the discussion of the new Renter system) was therefore held up. According to the ordinances of the house, decisions required the attendance of at least twelve members of the Court (as well as the aforementioned two Wardens). It was decreed that if any of the Assistants were found to be in the City at the time of his summons but did not appear at the Court before three strikes of the Master’s hammer he would be fined a sum of 12d. If the Assistant did not appear at all the fine would be increased to 3s. 4d.⁹⁹⁸ This order was apparently sporadically enforced for only in 1590 does evidence of a fine of absence appear for Assistants. Mr Megges, incumbent Master, and Mr Daniels were fined for arriving after three strikes of the hammer.⁹⁹⁹ In the same year, much to the annoyance of those in attendance, the Court was left “wanting three persons” before it could take any decisions regarding the serious business of the Company’s lands. The Clerk read over the list of the Assistants as a roll call before the non-attendees were deemed to be “absent without good cause” and issued with a fine.¹⁰⁰⁰

In the later accounts of the sixteenth century grating absences of Wardens at dinners littered the choreographic narratives, stand-ins were named and noted.¹⁰⁰¹ In 1551, for instance, five out of the eight elite Drapers involved in the ceremony were absent.¹⁰⁰² The Election Day Dinner and meetings around it in 1556 were similarly under-attended, “contrary to the good order and worship of this fellowship”. The Master, Alderman Chester, declared “what disorder is in this Company for neglecting their duties”. All offenders were required to pay their fines although there is little evidence that they did at this moment.¹⁰⁰³ Before the dinner itself, the Company’s linear procession to church also became marred by neglect. As a result, in 1556, late attendance and absences were particularly harshly reprimanded and 12d. fines were instituted.¹⁰⁰⁴ As indicated previously, in 1588 the Wardens were ordered that if they were not able to attend a Court day or dinner with the Lord Mayor or Sheriffs he was to

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid. f.109.

⁹⁹⁹ DCA, MB10, f.458.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid. f.490.

¹⁰⁰¹ For example: DCA, MB7, f.11.

¹⁰⁰² DCA, MB1C, f.1072-3.

¹⁰⁰³ DCA, MB5, f.189.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid.

ensure another Assistant “of like quality” be ready to stand in for him. This resolution was a point of some contention however but was passed nonetheless after some debate and dissension.¹⁰⁰⁵ Returning to the Livery, also in 1588 a Quarter Dinner was so badly attended by this group that, when the Clerk came to reading out the ordinances relating to them, it was decided he should refrain as a result of the lack of Liverymen in attendance.¹⁰⁰⁶ The collection of quarterage money was important for several reasons one of which was its subsequent use by Wardens to pay for the Election Dinner and other dinners throughout the year.¹⁰⁰⁷ A reticence to appear on Quarter Days likely reflected a reticence to pay the Company fee and therefore fully participate as a member of the Company. In December 1605 a further Quarter Day was badly attended with “small appearance” to hear the ordinances read. The fine was imposed on those absent.¹⁰⁰⁸ Again in June 1608 a roll call of names of the Assistants and Livery was read out at the Quarter Dinner of that month. The Court once more levied the fine on those not in attendance. In an additional punishment designed to shepherd offenders back into line, no apprentices of those absentees were to be bound until their masters had paid their fines.¹⁰⁰⁹ The temptation to neglect duties of attendance evidently affected members of all levels within the Company, but of especial concern were the absences of Court members.

As discussed in Chapter Three, when many of the newly elected Masters and Wardens were notably absent from the Election Day Dinner in the mid-sixteenth century the Court noted that it “often falleth out” that they were not in the City but “in the country”.¹⁰¹⁰ As a result, those newly elected were not able to publically accept the post, and on their return to the City often declined to even take it up. In having to appoint an alternative afterwards and accepting a stand-in on the Election Day itself, the credibility of the election rituals was weakened. Of course it may have been difficult enough to keep track of all the many meetings which made demands on the time of these men with a multitude of responsibilities, but in 1609 an attempt was made to address another supposed reason for these

¹⁰⁰⁵ DCA, MB10, f.348.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.* f.344.

¹⁰⁰⁷ DCA, MB13, f.294v.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.* f.32v.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.* f.57v.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*

absences.¹⁰¹¹ According to former Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Hayes, the cause of so many absentees was in fact the inadequacy of servants, who did not effectively communicate the details of these events to their masters. Hayes claimed they failed to pass on the messages sent out by the Clerk regarding all sorts of meetings. Specifically, the servants forgot the time, place, occasion and dress-code of the summons. Rather than admit their forgetfulness, Hayes suggested that they preferred to simply deny they had been given notice in the first place. To address this concern it was decided that the Clerk would issue paper tickets and deliver them to the houses of the Assistants and Livery so that they might have no excuse of absence on account of their servant's forgetfulness.¹⁰¹² Indicating the superficiality of Hayes' claim, absences continued regardless. Enacting their earlier order, a hefty 20s. fine was imposed on those elected officials in 1613 who were absent. Offenders were also required to attend the next Court of Assistants and explain themselves.¹⁰¹³ In 1616 Quarter Day meetings were still troubled by absence. The Clerk recorded the "great lack and want of appearance" of members of all sorts. He also noted that two of the four Wardens of the Bachelors were late. The other two, despite having received warning of their required attendance, were absent and had gone "out of town".¹⁰¹⁴ In 1623 a further string of fines was imposed on account of the Livery's neglect in attendance at burials and other diverse corporate occasions and meetings.¹⁰¹⁵ Reaching even greater heights of frustration, in 1634 the Court complained that many Liverymen "constantly, every year" absented themselves from the election of the Master and Wardens. The reason for their neglect, it was suspected, lay in their desire to avoid paying the quarterage of 16d. As a result, the provisions procured for the banquet were excessive for the numbers in attendance. The Court further noted that the Company was "much dishonoured" publicly because of the small numbers walking from the Hall to the church and back again.¹⁰¹⁶ To the concerned Court, failing to process corporately through the city streets, where internal hierarchies were on show to all, was as damaging as a complete absence in the Company Hall at dinner time.

¹⁰¹¹ Grassby, *The Business Community*, p.229.

¹⁰¹² DCA, MB13, f.57v.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.* f.97v.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid.* f.120v.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Ibid.* f.181v.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.* f.294v.

More substantial refusals to co-operate and serve in wider structures of City governance also caused the Company to lose face. Men nominated to serve as a Sheriff could elect to pay a fine for refusal but such unwillingness to take up office was a continued anxiety for the City corporation. Moreover, the implications of refusals unsettled the subtle balance of relations between company and civic hierarchies. Finding appropriate expressions of precedence within the company halls, which acknowledged the two intertwined modes of governance but undermined neither, was an increasing issue after the turn of the seventeenth century as refusals proliferated. Joseph Ward has indicated that, even if company members rejected a position within the City as a Sheriff or Alderman, they could be afforded a higher position within the company hierarchy.¹⁰¹⁷ The Drapers were not without their own controversies in this respect. In 1611 after rejecting the position of Alderman, Liveryman Mr Jansen was fined £200 by the City but was granted a seat at the table of Assistants by the Drapers in spite of the fact he had never served as Warden. It was specifically noted that he was seated next to Mr Butler, a former Master, and therefore likely above many others in precedence.¹⁰¹⁸ Mr Jansen's reticence to serve the city in this way was by no means unusual. The most striking example of these sort of refusals can found in 1639, the year of another Draper Lord Mayor, Henry Garway. Eight Drapers in turn were chosen to serve as Sheriff of the City. Each refused and paid a fine to be granted exemption. The question as to what honour should be paid to these men when the Company gathered then arose and, further, whether those who had not yet even been installed as Liverymen (elections into this group were irregular) should be eligible to serve within corporate office, directly moving from Bachelor to Warden. The Court sought the input of other city advisors on this delicate matter. In reference to an Act of Common Council about civic precedence, and having been "informed and fully satisfied" that they were acting in line with the practice of many other companies, the Court agreed that those who refused City office would be admitted as Assistants and become eligible to serve as Master or Warden of the Company thereafter. Men who had rejected a civic position would sit just below the Aldermen in the hall and parlour, but since the number of men in this category was plentiful their exact order was left open for negotiation. The flexibility of seating at this level was given so that they might "receive better contentment by their own agreement and placing of themselves" this way and more widely that the Company would

¹⁰¹⁷ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.85.

¹⁰¹⁸ DCA, MB13, f.80r, f.81r.

maintain "loving and brotherly respect of every of them".¹⁰¹⁹ This comment recognized that competing notions of hierarchy in the hall were worked out through visible performances and any changes or upgrades to the established order could cause very public disputes. Ward cited an extraordinary example at the upper tables of the Goldsmiths' 1612 Election Dinner between two members. The controversy regarded who should be seated higher at the dinner, the Alderman, George Smythes or the Assistant and "knight commoner" Sir William Herrick. In order to bring the internal dispute to resolution, the Company was forced to call in an external city official to confirm the correct seating arrangement. The decision fell against Herrick and in favour of City Aldermen. Affronted, he departed.¹⁰²⁰ Corporate and personal honour was to be closely guarded but did not always directly correlate in a way that satisfied all parties leading to inevitable conflict.¹⁰²¹

The Burden of Hospitality

Writing as a citizen of the eighteenth-century City, Strype's 1720 edition of Stow claimed that "our ancient wise forefathers" had "many times attempted the redress and amendment of the great excess in fare and other things, in Mayors and Sheriff's houses" on account of which "almost all good citizens fled and refused to serve in this honourable city".¹⁰²² As has been suggested however, city offices were not the only ones plagued by avoidance. For instance, the cost of Wardenship in the London companies was well-known and also proved to be a consistent stumbling-block for those nominated for the position. Despite the financial and administrative support of the Company, the burden of corporate hospitality weighed heavily on the shoulders of the four elected Wardens, who invested their personal resources and reputations in the maintenance of the quality of dinners. Again personal and corporate honour were intertwined.

Anxious to keep standards high, Wardens frequently overspent house funds on both Quarter and Election Day Dinners but could show some reticence in footing the bill for these

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid. f.332r, f.336r.

¹⁰²⁰ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, p.85.

¹⁰²¹ Fletcher, A. J. 'Honour, reputation and local officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England' in A. J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.) *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp.92-115; Kelso, R. *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929); Foyster, E. *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999).

¹⁰²² Stow, *Survey (1720)*, Vol. 1, p.246.

increased costs. In 1556 two Wardens spent £20 of corporate funds on three Quarter Dinners, this represented a £5 overspend. The offending Wardens were therefore required to pay for this overambitious dinner out of their own pockets. The first Warden Mr Clunne obediently offered a ring to cover his expenses. The second, Mr Parker, was less amenable and the disagreement was recorded in unusual detail in the Minute Book. Parker “vehemently denied” that he owed the Company the sum and although he was “gently required” to go and fetch the money. Once outside the Hall and escorted by the Clerk, he refused to return to his home, declaring insolently that he would “go about his business”. Parker dismissed the Clerk who returned to the hall to “incontinently declare” this story to the Court. Intent to redress the dispute with haste, the gathered Assistants ordered that the Beadle find Mr Parker, taking with him an officer in case more force was needed. Perhaps forewarned, within half an hour however Mr Parker appeared in the parlour “of his own mere will” with a gilt goblet, representing his share of the costs.¹⁰²³ Despite his discontent Parker did submit himself to his Company and order was upheld. His anger was however indicative of the way in which corporate and individual performances of hospitality were woven together in the hall and that expectations of financial support from both sides might be mismatched. There were moments in fact when the Court could sanction overspends from the corporate purse. For example in 1589 the Wardens were benevolently granted an additional £8 from the ‘house’ over the ordinary allowance (at the time £5) for a dinner costing in excess of £64.¹⁰²⁴ However the cost of dinners in the sixteenth century apparently reached their peak in the late 1560s and early 1570s when expenditure for three feasts came to over £100 each.¹⁰²⁵ Information is not complete from the mid-1570s but a reduction in the house allowance around this time perhaps suggests a correlation with more modest dinners, or that Wardens were taking on more of the financial burden. The house allowance rose back up in the 1590s to £20, probably in response to the general economic difficulties of the decade which significantly impacted individual Drapers. A few years later in 1605, the Wardens again requested the house allowance for the Election Dinner be increased on

¹⁰²³ DCA, MB5, f.183.

¹⁰²⁴ DCA, MB10, f.416. Each Warden personally also contributed £13 to this dinner. Masters too were expected to contribute a buck or the equivalent in money (40s.) to the Election Dinner. In 1638 Clement Underhill refused much to the annoyance of the Wardens who increase their contributions to cover his lack of co-operation (DCA, MB13, f.323r).

¹⁰²⁵ DCA, DB1, 1565 Election Dinner, f.29r; 1566 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.49v); 1571 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.108r).

account of the higher numbers of Liverymen and also the inflated prices for food and drink. The allocated sum was duly upped to 100 nobles (c. £33).¹⁰²⁶ These negotiations show that Wardens were as interested in maintaining the show of quality at Company dinners as the Court was more generally, personal and corporate honour was interrelated in this regard.

However, expanding on Mr Parker's earlier discontent, there is evidence that Wardens were becoming more begrudging of their personal contributions and responsibility for the dinners. It seems that even though house allowances increased, the expense incurred in the provision of dinners was still significantly troublesome. Wardens of the Bachelors were not exempt from the difficulties having responsibility for their own lesser Election Dinner. In 1613 a Warden of the Bachelors, Francis Martin, revolted against the Company in his refusal to pay for part of this Dinner as his post required of him. The other three Bachelor Wardens were commended by the Court for being "willing and conformable to ancient custom". Martin on the other hand was dismissed from his office and another was selected in his place.¹⁰²⁷

Meanwhile corporate funds designated for the provision of such dinners could be withheld if the quality of the fare was not deemed up to standard. In 1617 Mr Ladbrook, a steward and Liveryman responsible for the organisation of a dinner which celebrated the Lord Mayor, was not paid as generously by the house as previous stewards in his position. The Court deemed his efforts inadequate, stating that he "came short in providing ordinary cheer and provision as other stewards formerly have done".¹⁰²⁸ By 1639 the spiralling costs of providing for dinners spilled into a far more wide-ranging discussion of the expectations of Wardens and the difficulties of identifying suitable Liverymen to serve in these offices. The Court noted that Wardens were personally expending £120 each per year in the provision of Quarter Dinners, View Dinners and the Election Dinner. Evidently concerned about these large sums, the Court attributed the growth in expenditure to the "extraordinary price of victuals and of the great addition of fare and number of dishes to every messe" which was more than the Company had enjoyed in "former times".¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁶ DCA, MB13, f.28v. Looking to 1618, probably in recognition of his efforts in servicing larger dinners, the Cook's annual fee doubled from £2 to £4 (DCA, MB13, f.139r).

¹⁰²⁷ DCA, MB13, f.98v.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.* f.132v.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.* f.336r.

In view of the extensive entertainment costs necessitated by service in leadership positions, Grassby argued that the seventeenth-century Warden was a successful businessman “sucked into political office” who toiled in often “thankless posts” out of “duty and loyalty rather than for self-advantage”.¹⁰³⁰ His comments draw attention to the declining attractiveness of these offices. The Court was certainly conscious of the costs and heavy responsibilities borne by Wardens. Following a discussion about the costliness of providing dinners, they observed that this work in service of the Company was commonly undertaken to the detriment of the officers’ businesses. This had two unfortunate consequences. Firstly, the Court noted that the particular costs of serving as a Warden in the Drapers’ Company dissuaded relevant men “who might have proved hopeful and profitable members” from joining the corporation. The Court observed that these men preferred instead to join the Mercers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths and Salters, where Wardens were lumbered with lesser charges. Some prospective members even elected to join “inferior” companies, where they lived (likely outside London), which required no fees to be paid. The second consequence was that, in spending such large sums in service of the Company, there was little left for these former Wardens to gift the Company upon their death. The Company’s poor were shamefully short-changed in this scenario and the corporate estate slowed in its growth. The Court turned to consider the reformation of this worrying situation. In order for the Wardens to go about their duties “with like cheerfulness as in other companies” and leave funds for the benefit of the Company and the Company’s poor on their death, the Court resolved that the ordinary allowance of the house towards the dinners should be increased significantly. The contribution towards the Quarter Dinners was increased from £10 to £30. The allocation for the Election Dinner (inclusive of the days either side of it) rose from £40 to £80.¹⁰³¹ In regards to the steward’s provision for the Lord Mayors’ Day dinners, the Court would decide on the amount to be granted in retrospect, in relation to the quantity and goodness of the fare provided (as Ladbrook had unfortunately experienced).¹⁰³²

¹⁰³⁰ Grassby, *Business Community*, p.229.

¹⁰³¹ DCA, MB13, f.336r.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*

Conclusion

In considering early modern structures of power, Griffiths, Fox and Hindle noted that “order was never inevitable; authority had to be disseminated.”¹⁰³³ Of the Drapers, whilst there was no whole-scale change in the visual language deployed by the corporation, established forms of architectural, spatial and ceremonial expression were subtly modified to amplify their effectiveness as vehicles for the projection of legitimate governance. According to Joanna Innes, the adaptation and development of these practices can be interpreted as “self-reproducing strategies”, unabashedly designed to further the future interests of the Company.¹⁰³⁴ This chapter has shown that the language of an ordered household became more pronounced in the Drapers’ Company as the Court negotiated significant changes in corporate life. An especial anxiety found manifestation in the identification of leaders of the Company and their willingness to participate in legitimizing expressions of governance.

The invocation of the ideal household, with its connotations of a rural society structured by its relationship to a manorial estate, coincided neatly with the Company’s own growing role as landlord and property-holder in the City. The persistence of increasingly anachronistic characteristics of the great hall, the greater articulation of rank and status in the performed rituals at the Election Day Dinner, and the reinforcement of regulated behaviour in the parlour, drew attention to the authority of the Company’s governors. Lineages of legitimacy were iconographically traced back to the monarchy. In particular, the Drapers recognised the potent representative value of the Company charters, even if their practical hold on the cloth trade was in the descent. The imagery of these, and their confirmation by successive monarchs, was celebrated inside the Company Hall. Meanwhile delicate negotiations of honour and order between civic and corporate hierarchies played out in the arrangement of bodies in the hall and parlour. Refusals to serve in corporate and civic governance were at least in part tied to the burden of maintaining such high standards of entertainment and hospitality, activities for which the livery company hall, and the homes of its leaders, were well-known as personal and corporate honour combined.

¹⁰³³ Fox, A., Griffiths, P., Hindle, S. ‘Introduction’ in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds.) *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) pp.1-9, p.2.

¹⁰³⁴ Innes, J. ‘Afterword’ in R. I. Frost and A. Goldgar (ed.) *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) pp.350-353, p.353.

Chapter Seven – The Theatre of Hospitality¹⁰³⁵

Like Chapter Six, this chapter advocates that livery company feasts and ceremonies were highly-charged and carefully orchestrated political events fashioned for the dispensation of honourable hospitality. Spatially rooted in the company halls, their usefulness in upholding the status quo of corporate governance ensured their survival well beyond the sixteenth century into the present day. Writing just after the Great Fire, Rolle acknowledged the reputation for opulence associated with company dinners, but challenged what must have been, in his view, a typical misconception regarding the company halls in which these events were produced. He contended that, “if any think those halls were built merely for feasting and entertainment (or at the most but for pomp) they are much deceived. Certainly they were both intended and improved to higher and better uses.”¹⁰³⁶ Offering an alternative view of the benefits of membership, Gauci held that the attraction of the ‘clubbable’ livery companies in the late seventeenth century lay in the “kaleidoscope of connections” accessible through the socialization at their halls. The “pomp of [their] ritual ceremonies” was in essence a necessary evil for many diners, he implied.¹⁰³⁷ But in this focus on opportunities to network within the hall, Gauci downplayed the self-consciously legitimising purpose of the dinners and their ceremonial punctuations which largely defined the space of the hall. Perhaps there is some truth in the claim that by 1700 the dinner may have become a largely empty vessel for messages regarding lineages of power but Rolle’s attention to the livery halls’ “higher and better uses” suggests otherwise.¹⁰³⁸ Considering early modern office-holders, for Braddick, the justification for governing activities did not solely lie in theoretical legalities (confirmed in documents, deeds and charters), but “on the assertion of a wider claim to authority.”¹⁰³⁹ The active performance of the Drapers’ Company’s honour and power

¹⁰³⁵ Phrase borrowed from Wotton: “Every Man’s proper Mansion House and Home being the *Theatre of his Hospitality*, the Seat of Self-fruition...” (Wotton, Henry. *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) (Reprint - Farnborough: Gregg, 1969) p.82).

¹⁰³⁶ Rolle, S. *The Burning of London, Part 3* (1667) p.55 as quoted in Heath, J. B. *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers* (London: privately printed, 1869) p.1.

¹⁰³⁷ Gauci, P. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660-1720* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) p.143.

¹⁰³⁸ Rolle, *The Burning of London*, p.55.

¹⁰³⁹ Braddick, ‘Administrative Performance’, p.171.

through practices of hospitality, mostly clearly articulated at the Election Day Dinner, was as intrinsic to the continuing reality of these claims as secure storage of its charters in its bookhouse.

Heal has convincingly argued that an honourable reputation in the early modern period was still intertwined with “good lordship, generosity and the *appearance* of an open household”.¹⁰⁴⁰ The previous chapter outlined some of the ways the Drapers, indicative of other livery companies, deployed ceremonial, architectural and iconic means to this end. This chapter extends these ideas continuing to examine the occupation of the great hall but also moving beyond it. Regarding the courtyard of the Company Hall, it observes how charitable practices connected to the dinner were enacted by Company governors as a means of also substantiating the morality of their control. The allocation and dispensation of food both at the dinner and beyond clearly paralleled the paternalistic behaviour of the ‘good lord’.¹⁰⁴¹ Moreover, in the representation of benefactors in the hall and parlour, acts of charity often linked to gifts of property were celebrated and further acts encouraged. The following discussion also considers the peculiar space of the ‘Ladies’ chamber’. In the enduring use of this apparently gendered room, however self-consciously, the Company extended the image of the godly ‘household’ of good governance through the deployment of increasingly anachronistic architectural languages. In the corporation’s cultural and spatial practices, the desire to emphasize continuity (in all its forms) rather than change has been linked with Hobsbawm’s idea of the ‘invention of tradition’ in the Chapter Six. This concept will receive continued attention.

Threats to Corporate Credibility

If the company dinner was designed to purport the “myth of virtuous common purpose and distinctive moral worth”, the circumstantial cancellation of a dinner deprived companies of an important means of projection of the image of corporate harmony and justification of its governance.¹⁰⁴² In 1603 the Merchant Taylors adopted a special prayer for times of plague and passed over their dinner for that year. They petitioned that the sickness would abate so

¹⁰⁴⁰ Heal, F. *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) p.13 (emphasis added).

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid, p.320, p.331-2; Rosser, G. ‘Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England’ in *Journal of British Studies* 33, no.4 (1994) pp.430-446, p.435.

¹⁰⁴² Rosser, ‘Going to the Fraternity Feast’, p.444.

that “we may often in *brotherly and true love* assemble and meet together, to thy glory, and *our mutual comfort* in Christ Jesus.”¹⁰⁴³ This sort of rhetoric revealed the perceived significance of sociability to the corporate body. However, it also indicated a concern for the spiritual health of the Company which was worked out relationally. The influence of Protestantism on attitudes to charitable giving has already been considered in relation to the bequests of property and although there were shifts in these religious patterns, authority and order was still intrinsically connected to a theology of stewardship. In this context, moral and religious concerns were woven into the design of Election Day Dinners and, although the corporate procession to hear a sermon was a significant visible enactment of the Company’s collective loyalty to the faith, such spiritual expressions extended far beyond the visit to church.

In times of city-wide dearth, the Court’s desire to be perceived as morally upright was balanced with the desire to continue to meet as a corporate community to promote cohesion. Sometimes dinners were abandoned or scaled back in order to avoid disapproval in the face of scarcity. It was far from uncommon for the Lord Mayor, for example, to issue a prohibition of dinners in particular years when it was felt that their enactment may cause disgruntled criticism or draw unwanted attention to the prosperity of the companies. In the words of Clode, “the feasts of the citizen were then always made subordinate to the higher law of charity.”¹⁰⁴⁴ At a corporate level, in 1591, a year of severe plague, the Drapers were apprehensive about the response of afflicted merchants within their own ranks to their continued feasts.¹⁰⁴⁵ Moreover, they feared that partaking of their dinner in the usual way would lead to requests for increased contributions towards city projects. A great number of the Assistants “earnestly requested” the Election Dinner to be withheld in that year, “lest by their public show, they might be had in suspicion of wealth”.¹⁰⁴⁶ Instead house funds allocated for the Dinner were re-directed towards the poor. Supporting this practice and clearly aware of the significant sums spent on livery company dinners, the Privy Council, through the Lord Mayor, issued a precept in 1593 which forbade Election Dinners. Associated

¹⁰⁴³ Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of the Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, pp.128-131.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.8.

¹⁰⁴⁵ In the following year the Clerk included an unattractive caricature of William Garway with the words ‘flea bite’ next to his name in 1592 presumably indicating he had been afflicted. Evidently he survived. (DCA, MB10, f.609r).

¹⁰⁴⁶ DCA, MB10, f.534

funds were to be distributed to the poor suffering as a result of the plague. Coinciding with these difficult circumstances, in 1595 a new press was purchased for the Hall so that “more meat shall be set unto upon the same press at any feast day”.¹⁰⁴⁷ This was likely to expand the Company’s ability to store leftovers and, plausibly, for its deployment for charitable purposes. In July 1596 another exhortation was received from the Lord Mayor to the effect that the Company should refrain from their Dinner, contributing part of the assigned budget to provide bread for the poor. The Company obeyed, giving over at least £40 for this purpose.¹⁰⁴⁸ In 1603, on account of another bout of plague, “all public feasting and common dinners” in the city ceased and a third of company costs were directed towards the needy.¹⁰⁴⁹ Later, in 1635 due to extreme scarcity of food because of a harvest failure, the Lord Mayor proclaimed that corporate dinners were to be prohibited. However on this occasion, rather than abandon the election completely, the Drapers agreed to hold a streamlined version of usual events. The election would only be held on one day instead of the accustomed three or four. The whole Livery would still meet and attend a dinner during which the garlands would be bestowed on the new officers as usual, but they conceded there would be no musicians to accompany the events. Attempting to justify their actions and avoid the potentially critical gaze of outsiders, the Court was keen to stress this was to be done in a “private still manner”.¹⁰⁵⁰ In spite of their attempted restraint, the Wardens overspent their allocated funds. Likely aware of the criticism this might draw, the displeased Court conceived the charges for the banquet were “overmuch”.¹⁰⁵¹ This anxiety about the response of citizens to such displays of prosperity reflects Braddick’s observation that: “early modern office-holders engaged in these attempts at impression management...their credibility depended on the reception of their performance” or in this case the lack of performance.¹⁰⁵²

Even within Hall it has already been shown how order was carefully policed to maintain hierarchical harmony. Any disruptions to an idealised representation of corporate cohesion were suppressed and/or reprimanded. A number of scholars have observed that internal

¹⁰⁴⁷ DCA, MB11, f.191.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Ibid.* f.209.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.8.

¹⁰⁵⁰ DCA, MB13, f.297v.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Ibid.* f. 300r-300v.

¹⁰⁵² Braddick, ‘Administrative Performance’, p.171.

frictions also coloured the election dinners of other city companies but ‘uncivil’ behaviour at the Drapers dining table does appear to have been relatively unusual, if the records are to be taken at face value.¹⁰⁵³ When such instances occurred, it was the relation between served and servers that seems to have caused more problems than between diners themselves. In 1613 the Master of the Company, Edward Rotherham (Sheriff 1613-14), complained about the behaviour of a Draper by the name of Nevill as well as the Sergeant at Mace, who both served at smaller Court dinners. The Court was told that the men had abused their position against Hall resident and Draper William Garway, although the form of this transgression was not noted. The offence was of such a degree that both were dismissed from serving at any of the Company’s dinners from then on.¹⁰⁵⁴ Once more, in 1629, a slovenly and disrespectful service of dinner in Drapers’ Hall was addressed. When men of particular note, such as Aldermen and others, sat down at the side table to enjoy the food presented it was reportedly “unmannerly and unfittly” taken away from them before they had even reached half way through the course. This left only an embarrassment of emptiness on display at tables. It was claimed that servants were concerned about saving this food for themselves. It was normal practice for any left-overs to be assigned to them but in this action the employees had substantially overstepped the mark. To correct this shameful attack on hospitality, the Wardens were to ensure that no food was taken from tables until the diners had finished and arisen from the tables. The only exception was in respect of the Under-Cook and Scullion in the kitchen who were allowed a dish allocated directly by the Cook for their dinners. Furthermore, after the diners had left their tables, it was only food from the side tables that was to be divided up between the Beadle, Porter, Butler and Scowerer. These men were allowed to sit down within the hall in order, presided over by the Beadle.¹⁰⁵⁵

In the Hall, access to food and its apportioning was carefully controlled. In 1564 the Dinner Book noted the stationing of employees at strategic thresholds of the Hall to monitor the movement of produce. Marking three significant spatial transitions, one porter was stationed at the gate, two at the foot of the staircase and one kept the great hall door. Also at the

¹⁰⁵³ In 1623 at the Barber-Surgeons’ Hall, John Newman was accused of using “unseemly and unfitting words” while sitting at the Assistants’ table at dinner (Chamberland, ‘Honour, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London Barber-Surgeons Company’ p.321). Also see: Rosser, ‘Going to the Fraternity Feast’, p.411.

¹⁰⁵⁴ DCA, MB13, f.95v.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.* f.230r.

boundary of the hall was the servant of a Warden, Mr Skerne, who “kept a book of all the meat and vessels that was spent out of the house by whom it was sent, and to whom it went”.¹⁰⁵⁶ And yet in the same year, the Drapers’ second table at Tuesday’s Election Dinner included guests “bidden and some unbidden”.¹⁰⁵⁷ In 1611, ‘inferior’ company, the Barber-Surgeons, unhappily complained that “children, servants, apprentices” and other uninvited attendees to their feast had caused “much disorder” to the “disparagement and discredit” of the Company.¹⁰⁵⁸ Giles identified a similar rhetoric in the York Guildhall of St. Anthony’s where in 1622 the Court decried that “great numbers of people have resorted unto the same feasts and very many not invited or bidden to the same”. So many flocked to the hall that, “by such disorder”, many of the invited guests had to be turned away for lack of space.¹⁰⁵⁹ Likely pre-emptively taking preventative measures to avoid such trouble, the Drapers’ Bachelors dinner of 1638 required that those members who could not spare 12d. for its provision, or were of the poorest sort “who prove disordered”, were left uninvited.¹⁰⁶⁰ Intruders or unbidden guests were understood as a threat to the Court’s ideal of a harmonious and ordered corporate household where control was key.

The extent of access granted to visitors to the Hall was clearly a matter of concern for the Court at all times of year, although naturally the election period was a moment of particular tension. The prominent place given to the transferal of keys from one set of Wardens to another in corporate rituals which took place after the Election Dinner on Tuesday has already been noted and it seems that at least one more set of doors was installed on the route from the gate to the parlour in the period, increasing opportunities to control access. In 1604-5 this new door was installed at the top of the main stairs which led up into the great hall and screen gallery.¹⁰⁶¹ Around the same time Sleight-Johnson reported a similar prevention against intruders at the Merchant Taylors’ hall. New doors secured the entrance to the central meeting space and the smaller council chamber “to prevent many annoyances

¹⁰⁵⁶ DCA, DB1, 1564 Election Dinner, f.15v.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid. f.14r.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Chamberland, ‘Honour, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London Barber-Surgeons Company’, p.321.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Giles, ‘Guildhalls and Social Identity’ Vol. 1, p.181.

¹⁰⁶⁰ DCA, MB13, f.323r.

¹⁰⁶¹ DCA, WA 1604-5, f.23.

which happened by reason as the same lieth too common to all comers".¹⁰⁶² Such measures do not appear to have solved the issue however for in 1629 it was noted that, at every meeting (and probably dinner) of the Drapers' Court of Assistants, there were a "needless number of hangers on". These people claimed to be employed on the business of the Company. "Of late years" these extra persons, apparently serving under the Clerk, Renter and Beadle, had caused "unnecessary expenses and many abuses". It was ordered that only those appointed directly by the Wardens would be allowed entry "in and about" the great hall on Court days.¹⁰⁶³ The maintenance of exclusivity through spatial control was desired.

Bucks and the Bookhouse

While representations of power were receiving greater articulation in the Company Hall, Griffiths has argued that authority was also exhibited by closing doors and chests.¹⁰⁶⁴ Perhaps as a result of some of these shows of control, the Company Hall was held to be a secure site by those within and without the guild. Not only was the Company itself an apparently trustworthy receptacle for bequests of property and cash directed in service of its members, but the Hall therefore also functioned as a secure site of storage for valuable objects to which the corporation laid no claim. Several persons sought to utilise the Drapers' bookhouse as a neutral deposit for their own papers, particularly when the goods were implicated in a dispute or long running legacy. In 1608 Warden Wheeler applied to receive a chest of books and accounts belonging to his deceased father. The chest was left with the Company "only" as a result of a disagreement between the executors of Wheeler's father. It was checked for any contents of value and disbursed to the Warden on the condition that he left a record of the chest's contents and writings.¹⁰⁶⁵ Moreover in 1623 a Warden, Mr Ross, received permission to "leave and put up" an iron chest in the Company's jewel house (see figure 7.1.). This contained the papers of a Fishmonger who had died and had named Ross as one of his executors. He explained the rationale behind the request for storage as one of both safety and access; specifically he wished to safeguard the chest on behalf of the Fishmonger's wife

¹⁰⁶² Merchant Taylors Company Archive, Court Minutes of the Merchant Taylors Company 7, p.115. As quoted in Sleigh-Johnson, 'Merchant Taylors', p.67.

¹⁰⁶³ DCA, MB13, f.230r.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Griffiths, Paul. 'Secrecy and Authority in Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century London' in *The Historical Journal* 40 (1997) pp.925-951, p.927.

¹⁰⁶⁵ DCA, MB13, f.56r.

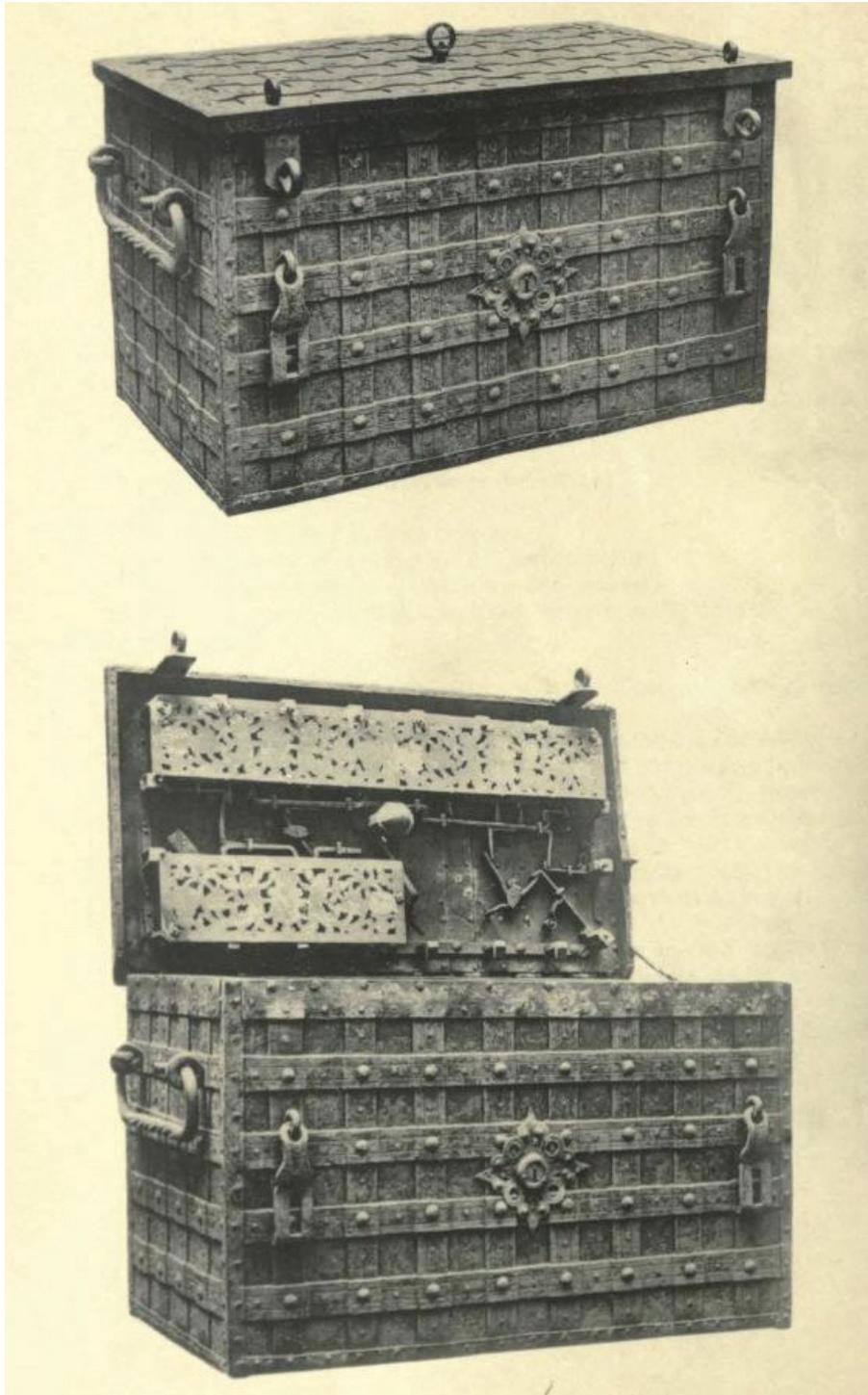


Figure 7.1. 16th century chest, Drapers' Company. Johnson speculates it may have contained Howell's ledger etc. Reproduced from Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.257

and children.¹⁰⁶⁶ Having lain in the jewel house for ten years, the claimants duly returned and claimed the iron chest as stipulated in the deceased man's will.¹⁰⁶⁷ Legacy money was also given unto the Drapers for safe keeping until their claimants came forward. For example, in 1634 Edmond Travis citizen and Haberdasher and Susan his wife claimed for £50 placed in Drapers' safe-keeping by Susan's mother.¹⁰⁶⁸ Later, in 1638 Robert Oxwick approached the Company to claim "certain writings" left in the care of the Company in 1599 by a previous Warden, William Megges, intended for his grandchildren. Unaware of the details surrounding the chest and its contents, the Court resolved to check "to what end and to whose use the same were left" before discharging the records to Oxwick.¹⁰⁶⁹

The symbolic potential of this site was not lost on the Court and came into especial focus during the Election Dinner. As described in Chapter Six, the bookhouse and jewel house were the most deeply recessed spaces in the hall, used for storing only the highest status objects in the Company's possession. Their situation, behind the high dais and within the parlour, mutually reinforced the material and architectural linkages to power and honour at work during the Dinner. The Wardens' and Master's ceremonial disappearance into and re-emergence from the parlour with garlands and cupbearers was strategic. The previous chapter described how objects housed within this space were taken out and paraded during the Dinner procession, and how the imagery of the charters stored securely within a lockable leather box was projected into the hall.¹⁰⁷⁰ But the bookhouse was an especially knotty space of some functional fluidity. Its high status - but also its changeability - was demonstrated by the numerous names assigned to it (see figure 7.2). The initial 1543 inventory referred to this space as the "buttery with a clerestory...and a Jewel House within the same".¹⁰⁷¹ In 1564 however the Dinner Book referred to this buttery as an "Ypocras House".¹⁰⁷² This name

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid. f.180r.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid. f.279r.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid. f.294r.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid. f.320r.

¹⁰⁷⁰ DCA, WA7, 1621-22, f.42.

¹⁰⁷¹ DCA, MB1C, f.759-762.

¹⁰⁷² Merchant Taylors are the only other guild who possessed a space with such a name, although their 'Ypocras House' was an outdoor banqueting house in their garden. This is described in: Davis, Catherine. 'London Livery Company Gardens: The Merchant Taylors' and the Girdlers' Gardens (1331-



Figure 7.2. Diagram tracing the varying uses and names of the spaces originally known as 'The Buttery and the Jewel House'

Refs: DCA, MB1C, f.759-762; DCA, DB1, 1564 Election Dinner, f.16r; DCA, DB1, 1569 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.88v); DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.18v

* Later known as the 'treasury' (for example see DCA, MB13, f.45v; DCA, MB13, f.180r)

signified the storage of a highly valued spiced wine used in the ceremonial cups borne ahead of the Wardens during their procession around the great hall and partaken of more liberally during the last course. At the Election Dinner of 1564, three people, including one woman, were stationed in this room and charged with ‘keeping’ various types of drink, spicebreads, fruits and wafers although hippocras itself was not specifically mentioned. The room was also used at the end of the service, when the “comeliest” Bachelor waiters were strictly charged with bringing the meat back to the chamber afterwards, and ensuring “none to be carried elsewhere”. Meat was set on shelves “safe” and the “broken” was sorted from the “unbroken”.¹⁰⁷³ Five years later in 1569 reference was made in the Dinner Book to this same room as the “bookhouse” and operations within it had expanded to involve six servants during the Election Dinner. Leftover meat was transported from the hall to the parlour door by two men, set up in the room by two others, and apportioned for later distribution by two trusted women.¹⁰⁷⁴ In this year there were six porters minding different thresholds into the hall and a new guard positioned at the top of the kitchen stairs to check that “meat accordingly went to furnish the house and that nothing was purloined”.¹⁰⁷⁵ In the mid-1570s, when the parlour underwent major work, it seems the bookhouse was elevated to an even higher status. The room was set with wainscot reused from the parlour, and the presses containing the ceremonial banners also defaulted to the refurbished room. The existing shelves, which seemingly held both books and meat at various points in the calendar year, were renewed.¹⁰⁷⁶ In its dual functionality, the bookhouse spatially reinforced the position of both the Company records and its high status foods as key instruments in the maintenance and extension of Company honour at the feast.

1666)’ in *The London Gardener or Gardener’s Intelligencer* (London: London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust, 2010-11) pp.69-78.

¹⁰⁷³ DCA, DB1, 1564 Election Dinner, f.16r.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 1569 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.88v).

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁶ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.18v; The Mercers’ Company also claimed a comparable space. They gave permission in 1564 for the Merchant Adventurers (who lodged within Mercers’ Hall) to construct a “handsome press” for monies and writings in the wardrobe in the hall “where the gentlewomen’s maids do sit”. In return the Adventurers were required to pay £6 13s. 4d. for the privilege and, notably, giving over the use of the same press to the Mercers on every Quarter and Election Day (MCA, Acts of Court iii, 1560-1598, f.131).

As demonstrated by the room specially allocated for its storage and its careful distribution, it was the service of meat, and specifically venison, that was the ultimate status symbol at any dinner. The propensity of the English to consume meat did not go unobserved by visitors to the city. One Venetian visitor, Alessandro Magno, reported of Londoners that “it is almost impossible to believe that they could eat so much meat in one city alone”.¹⁰⁷⁷ In the context of the livery companies, the accrual and dispersal of large numbers of bucks for the Election Dinner functioned as a demonstration of advantageous connections.¹⁰⁷⁸ For the Merchant Taylors’ 1562 feast, sixty bucks and four stags were available to the Wardens, either gifted by wealthy well-wishers or proactively sourced by the Wardens themselves. Their quantity was clearly noted by Machyn as a measure of the prestige of the feast.¹⁰⁷⁹ In 1567 John Isham, Renter Warden for the Mercers, “welcomed the opportunity to advertise [his] status” by laying out all the bucks he had sourced in a gallery within the Company Hall. He invited “diverse of his company” to view all thirty-three of them (see figure 7.3).¹⁰⁸⁰ This lavishness did not go un-noted by those within the city and beyond. Regardless of their status as regular attendees at livery company dinner and indeed as bestowers of venison to this very cause, in 1570 the Drapers’ Clerk solemnly noted in the Minute Book that “the nobility and gentlemen about the Court are much offended at the great number of bucks being consumed in the halls of companies within London at their feast dinners”. In light of this the Drapers’ Court resolved to limit the Wardens to the ‘bringing in’ of only ten bucks between them. If this total was exceeded a fine of 40s. was to be levied.¹⁰⁸¹ Unfortunately the Dinner Book is limited in the number of years it recorded of the quantity of bucks allocated for dinners but of those noted, in 1570 a clear downturn in response to the courtly criticism is observable. In 1569

¹⁰⁷⁷ Magno, A. ‘The London Journal of Alessandro Magno 1562’ in C. Barron, C. Coleman, C. Gobbi (ed.) in *The London Journal* 9, no.2 (1983) pp.136-152, p.143.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p.117; Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.139. For more discussion about significance of early modern gift giving see: Davis, Natalie Zemon. *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Ben-Amos, I. K. *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Heal, F. *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Woolgar, C. ‘Gifts of food in late medieval England’ in *Journal of Medieval History* 37 no.1 (2011) pp.6-18.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550-1563*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed online 3 February 2015] f.151v.

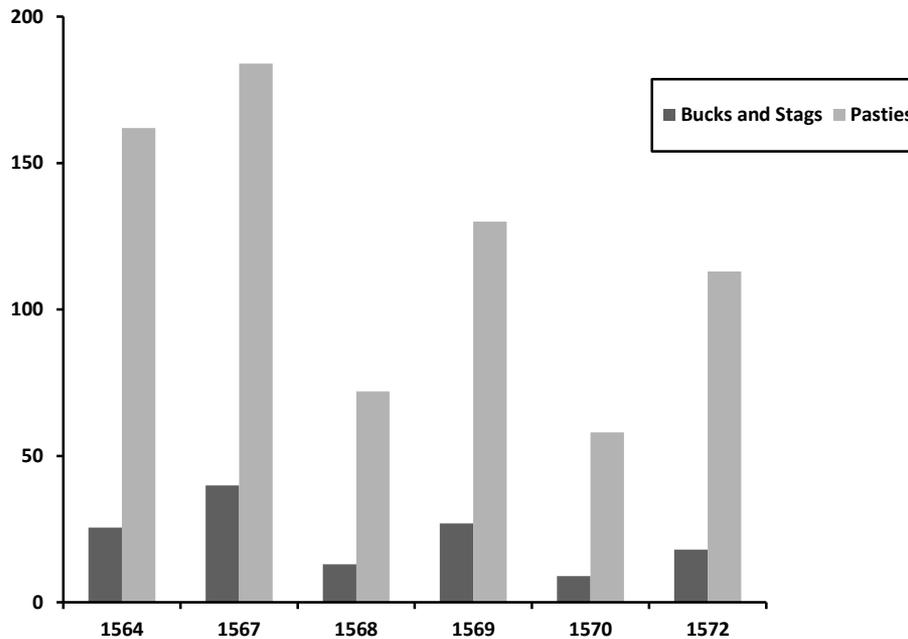
¹⁰⁸⁰ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p.117.

¹⁰⁸¹ DCA, MB8, f.91r.



Figure 7.3. Anon. *John Isham* (c. 1567), Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire. (Cooper, T. *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012) p.74)

twenty-seven bucks were noted whereas 1570 saw only nine.¹⁰⁸² However there is little evidence that the Company scaled back consistently, for the total had risen up to eighteen again in 1572.¹⁰⁸³



Referencing DB1 (see Volume 2), this graph shows the quantity of bucks received or purchased for the Election Dinner of the Drapers' Company and the subsequent number of pasties produced for gifting purposes.

Living up to its reputation, the standard of food was clearly high at Company dinners and predictably tended towards well-established models of service. In 1565 eighty-nine attendees were invited to enjoy fare which included twenty-five bucks, eighteen swans and 180 pigeons.¹⁰⁸⁴ Indicating the level of service which produced a dinner of some magnificence, the Drapers' Cook in the 1560s and 70s, Stephen Treacle, also worked for the exclusive Star Chamber.¹⁰⁸⁵ Notably, Balthezar Sanchez, former confectioner to the Spanish crown,

¹⁰⁸² DCA, DB1, 1569 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.85r); 1570 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.99r).

¹⁰⁸³ DCA, DB1, 1572 Election Dinner, unoliated pages (f.115r-115v).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984) p.32.

¹⁰⁸⁵ It has been possible to trace something of the career of the rather aptly named Stephen Treacle from the 1560s to 1604. In 1569 Treacle was allowed to take on an apprentice of Draper Lord Giles Paulet. 'Richard Hill' was set over to Treacle and on completion of his indenture would be made free in the Company of Cooks (DCA, MB8, f.96v). Treacle is found on the London 1582 Subsidy Roll in the

provided marchepanes in 1565.¹⁰⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the Company invested in two rebuildings of their ovens in order to service their dinners. New brick ovens were constructed in 1564-5 and a further new oven was installed in 1576-77.¹⁰⁸⁷ The first oven rebuilding was likely completed before August 1564 for the Election Dinner for this year appears to have been especially exuberant. These improvements mirrored the rebuildings of Calthorp and Pullison's kitchens which serviced their own civic offices and reinforce the importance of impressive shows of hospitality. Fashioning of houses to better support these practices was far from unusual. After dinners, left-over meat from the bucks (stored temporarily in the bookhouse) was often directed back out of the Hall by the Wardens in proportion to the quantity of animals each individual had been able to bring in. In 1565 the quantity of meat left-over from twenty-five bucks was such that 162 pasties were produced – each carefully accounted for. The feast was an opportunity to display the 'allocative authority' over provisions both within the great hall at the tables, and without it spreading across the City in miniature form.¹⁰⁸⁸

Charity in the Courtyard

Griffiths, Hindle and Fox noted that notions of power were "expressed in a web of ideological and institutional instruments".¹⁰⁸⁹ Although the great hall was a critical site for socially structured systems of food distribution, the courtyard of the Company Hall can also be seen

Broad Street Ward, very close in proximity to Drapers' Hall, possibly suggesting service within Paulet's household too (*Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls For the City of London 1541 and 1582*, R. G. Lang (ed.) (London: London Record Society, 1993) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol29> [Accessed online 25 March 2015] pp. 169-176) Interestingly, Treacle is cited as the cook for the powerful Star Chamber in Westminster, travelling with his men and "stuffe" by boat from the City in 1593 (Scofield, L. 'Star Chamber Dinners' in *American Historical Review* 5 (1899) pp.83-95). In these accounts Treacle is referred to as a 'Master Cook' confirming his corporate status as a guildsman in the Company of Cooks. In this study of the Cooks, Borg considered that "it was already established practice for all City Dinners to be placed in the hands of a member of the Guild." (Borg, Alan. *A History of the Worshipful Company of Cooks* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills Publishing Limited, 2011) p.36).

¹⁰⁸⁶ DCA, DB1, 1565 Election Dinner, f.24v.

¹⁰⁸⁷ DCA, RA5, 1564-5, f.26v; RA5, 1576-7, f.20r.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984) p.32.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Fox, A., Griffiths, P., Hindle, S. 'Introduction' in Griffiths, Fox and Hindle (ed.) *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, pp.1-9, p.2.

as an alternative 'theatre of hospitality'. Whilst pasties tended to be gifted by the Wardens to their neighbours, servants, kinsmen and other gentlemen, service of the poor through other means of food allocation materially substantiated the Company's authority and morality. For if Election Dinners were lavish times of entertainment and feasting for the Livery and Company elite, were they also used in support of harmonious relations with those of the lower sort?

As a space where the Drapers lined up before processing through city streets, where water was dispensed from a decorative conduit, and where 'the dole' was distributed, the enclosed courtyard functioned more accurately as an exceptional indoor room than an ambiguous void.¹⁰⁹⁰ The paved courtyard of the Throgmorton Hall was a space of distinction, crowned by the visually prominent first-floor hall and lined with galleries around the other three sides (the parlour, the ladies chamber and the long gallery of the capital house). The paintwork of the large glassed windows on all sides of this space were given particular attention in 1569. Timber work was painted a lead colour, the plasterwork in 'Spanish' white and details picked out in red ochre.¹⁰⁹¹ The courtyard was judiciously maintained, the paving regularly weeded and broken glass replaced. A newly employed Porter in the early seventeenth century was sternly instructed that "no boys to play in the yard to break the glass windows".¹⁰⁹² Entrance to the Hall was theoretically controlled by the Porter who, as in great houses, was charged with minding the gate and wicket. Johnson regarded that any visitor was essentially an exposed figure in the space of the courtyard, overlooked and unable to ascertain the extent

¹⁰⁹⁰ For further instances of sixteenth century courtyards with prestigious conduits see: Theobald's 'Conduit Court' (1572-85) and the 'Great Court' of Cowdray House, West Sussex.

¹⁰⁹¹ DCA, RA5, 1569-70, f.14r.

¹⁰⁹² DCA, MB13, f.10v.

to which he was being observed by the household.¹⁰⁹³ The courtyard model therefore also offered the opportunity for surveillance as well for the control of access.¹⁰⁹⁴

Eric Mercer's important 'Houses of the Gentry' essay traced a continuation of the courtyard plan in elite country houses up until the 1580's before the tide turned against this familiar typology. The internally orientated courtyard space represented "the hub" of a miniature world. However Mercer held that these courtyard houses were increasingly "turning inside-out" in order to "face the world" rather than enclosing an inward-looking exclusive one. This transformation from "introvert into an extravert" was also expressed in the decorative schemes which more often paid greater attention to the exterior façade rather than the internal elevations.¹⁰⁹⁵ He linked this decline to the disintegration of a communal character of a wider feudal structure of local society for which the courtyard was the "general living-room of a large community".¹⁰⁹⁶ Yet Matthew Johnson suggested that it was not so much the lived reality of this space that continued to hold weight but its representational value. He noted the potency of the space to convey a household unified around a central point. The courtyard therefore symbolized "the notion of community...to the outside world". In his view it was also a "spatial and stylistic expression of social inequality within the household."¹⁰⁹⁷ In this way, the early modern urban courtyard needed not to be regularly occupied to hold meaning. Contemporary emptiness did not mute the potency of the memory of its past.

Accessed through the courtyard, in manor houses of the rural elite the 'great chamber' (or parlour) was typically thought fit to receive only men and women of high rank and the great hall was reserved for those of lesser rank. Notably occupying the margins of the house, the

¹⁰⁹³ An example of this overlooking is noted by the Venice Ambassador staying at Wilton Hall in 1603 when he was granted an audience with the King: "The King, Queen, and Prince stood at a window to see us cross the courtyard on the way to his apartments; all the other windows were full of ladies and gentlemen." (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. 15, 1617-1619*, Allen B. Hinds (ed.) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909) *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol15> [Accessed online 1 August 2015] p.400).

¹⁰⁹⁴ This observation is in contrast to Giles' assertion that their spatial organisation ensured that "the full architectural splendour of the guildhall itself was only visible to those with the status and/or confidence to negotiate access" (Giles, 'Guildhalls and Social Identity' Vol. 1, p.122).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Mercer, E. 'Houses of the Gentry' in *Past and Present* 5 (1954) pp.11-32, p.13.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Mercer, 'Houses of the Gentry', p.14.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Johnson, Matthew. 'Meanings of Polite Architecture in Sixteenth-Century England' in *Historical Archaeology* 26, no.3 (1992) pp.45-56, p.49.

gatehouse was associated more closely with the poor.¹⁰⁹⁸ Entrance into the courtyard for this lower sort was given only at specific times of choreographed charity. Across the livery companies, the dispensation of charity came into sharp focus at the time of the Election Day Dinner. In the case of the Drapers, overlooked by the parlour and at particular strategic moments in the corporate year, the Wardens descended into the courtyard to act out the distribution of charitable funds and left-overs from the dinner to those who sought their charity. In the households of lords and bishops, food was ritualistically put aside or offered to the ‘alms dish’ between courses overseen by the carver. Like in aristocratic houses, there is certainly evidence that religious parish guilds invited the poor to sit with them at dinner. With reference to one such fraternity in Cambridgeshire, Heal described how “open doles” were sometimes provided after guild feasts, utilizing a portion of food from the feast specifically saved for that purpose.¹⁰⁹⁹ However, Heal noted the practice of distributing the dole at the gate of great city houses in the sixteenth century was far less extensive than it was in the counties. Despite spending a greater proportion of their year within London, landed men and women from the Royal court often elected not to maintain a grand city house with a substantial kitchen (see figure 7.4), or at least did not find the opportunity to do so. The lack of suitable houses in the City, combined with a distinct reticence to work out responsibilities to the poor outside their traditional territory, ensured that patterns of hospitality for courtly elites were meditated in the urban environment.¹¹⁰⁰ So the saying went that: “As every fish lives in his own place, come in the fresh, some in the salt, some in the mud: so let everyone live in his own place, some at court, some in the city, some in the country.”¹¹⁰¹ But many ‘fishes’ were treading water outside their natural habitats, causing some complications.

In the City routine acts of charity were certainly performed but these were often unbounded by the enclosure of the courtyard and prone to disorder. In the civic context, Heal described

¹⁰⁹⁸ For one account of these sorts of practices see the Earl of Worcester at Ragland Castle, before the Civil Wars. *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland*, Thomas Percy (ed.) (London, 1827) p.420.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p.230.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pp.85-6.

¹¹⁰¹ Uttered by James I and VI in 1616 during a meeting of the Star Chamber. As quoted in: Palmer, D. *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1991) p. 10.



Figure 7.4. Gillis van Tilborch, *The Tichborne Dole* (1670). Tichborne House, Hampshire

the expectation that the sixteenth-century Lord Mayor would offer food to the poor “even if...[it] was not discharged personally”, implying that sometimes it very well was.¹¹⁰² Furthermore Stow informed his readers that Leadenhall was often the site of doles drawn from civic coffers, as it “hath been used to be done and given”.¹¹⁰³ However, Protestant theology which encouraged a differentiation between the deserving and undeserving poor was extremely influential in the post-Reformation period. An increasing concern was therefore the difficulty of distinguishing between people of the lowest sort. As a result Giles held that such “indiscriminate” outdoor dole distributions were by end of the sixteenth century a rarity, identifying a decline which began in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁰⁴ And yet Harding reported that, after the 1601 London funeral of Lady Ramsey, widow of a former Lord Mayor, the pattern of dole distribution in the City continued. Seventeen poor beggars were “thronged and trampled to death” by the crowds vying for the apparently indiscriminate allocation of the dole.¹¹⁰⁵ Moreover, there are many accounts of extraordinary funeral or daily parish doles made outside religious establishments in London. Of the companies, Machyn described how the Livery of the Skinners, after hearing a funeral sermon, distributed a “great dole of money” outside the church.¹¹⁰⁶ This also occurred as part of election day proceedings in the case of the Merchant Taylors. Machyn noted that after their 1557 attendance at church “offered every man a penny”.¹¹⁰⁷ However, equivalent charitable performances at or within domestic and corporate halls are harder to identify. In a rare notation, Clode observed that the Merchant Taylors offered a seat at their Quarter Dinner in 1607 to “almsmen of the Livery as in ancient time hath been accustomed”.¹¹⁰⁸

The Drapers’ use of their courtyard and gate for such acts of charity therefore stands out. Significantly in relation to the Company’s Throgmorton Hall, Stow recalled how huge

¹¹⁰² Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p.85-6.

¹¹⁰³ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.158.

¹¹⁰⁴ Giles, ‘Guildhalls and Social Identity’ Vol. 1, p.152.

¹¹⁰⁵ Harding, V. *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.244.

¹¹⁰⁶ Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550-1563*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed online 3 February 2015] f.147v.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* f.78r.

¹¹⁰⁸ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.3.

numbers of daily poor had graced Thomas Cromwell's gate in the 1530s, receiving food from him at what was to become Drapers' Hall only ten years later. Somewhat nostalgically, he praised Cromwell for continuing the "ancient and charitable custom as all prelates, noble men, or men of honour and worship his predecessors had done before him" in "that declining time of charity".¹¹⁰⁹ This memory perhaps held a bearing on the Drapers' commitment to personally distribute alms to the poor from their Hall. For the Election Dinner in 1564, 12d. was spent by the Wardens in purchasing onions to make "porridge for poor folks".¹¹¹⁰ Produced from the surplus meat of the feast, Warden Thomas Lawrence assigned one venison pasty to "the neighbours afore our gate". A clue as to the location of the charity dispensed was provided in relation to the 1565 Election Dinner. The margin title noted how 5st. of meat and "all manner of...venison, swans, goose, capon etc." were distributed to poor folks "within and roundabout our great court of our hall".¹¹¹¹ The year after, the Dinner Book recorded that 20s. of beef was given to the poor at the hall "on Tuesday after dinner", namely the day after the main Election Dinner had taken place.¹¹¹² Similar notes, sometimes with the addition of bread, were made in 1567, 1568, 1570 and 1571.¹¹¹³ In a significant expansion in the quantity of meat purchased especially for the poor, 38s. was spent on 28st. of beef in 1569 – a year of plague. This was more than three times the amount of three years earlier and was apparently served up on Tuesday alongside potage "ordained only for that purpose". The distinction implies that there was also left-over food in service at that time.¹¹¹⁴ In 1572, a departure was made and instead of receiving food from the dinner, 40s. in cash was divided among the poor "about the hall" and sent to "poor prisoners".¹¹¹⁵ Later in 1604-5 Mr Moore, the Clerk, distributed 4s. to "certain poor women at the gate" on the Election

¹¹⁰⁹ Stow, *Survey (1603)*, Vol. 1, p.89: "I myself, in that declining time of charity, have oft seen at the Lord Cromwell's gate in London, more than two hundred persons served twice every day with bread, meat and sufficient, for he observed that ancient and charitable custom."

¹¹¹⁰ DCA, DB1, 1564 Election Dinner, f.8v.

¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 1565 Election Dinner, f.24r.

¹¹¹² *Ibid.* 1566 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.45r).

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.* 1567 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.58v, f.61r); 1568 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.69v); 1570 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.94v); 1571 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.105r).

¹¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1569 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.80r, f.88v).

¹¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1572 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.114r).

Day.¹¹¹⁶ The Company Hall therefore acted as a site not only of internally directed hospitality, but externally orientated charity as well.

Still, there is only one rudimentary list at the back of the Dinner Book that seems to relate to the dispersal of a cash dole and the date of the event unclear. The sum of £7 12s. 2d. was distributed to fifty-four men and women likely in the later sixteenth century.¹¹¹⁷ A more consistent account of the public distribution of charity exists in regards to Mr Clonne's bequest, which was yearly dispensed to the poorer sort by Company Wardens on the morning of the Bachelor's dinner. Following a dispute over the use of Clonne's legacy money, a "book of charity" was commissioned to record the legitimate dispensation of these funds and the Company's ability to effectively manage such monetary gifts.¹¹¹⁸ Although the book does not survive, the Minute Book for 1553-1555 unusually also contains a series of lists of those receiving charity from Mr Clonne's legacy covering the period 1595-1616. The lists confirmed the names and status of the recipients (i.e. almsperson, widow), often alongside the portion of money they were given and occasionally the general location of dwellings. In 1595 sixty-two men and women received a total sum of £54. The four Wardens responsible for the distribution received 10s. each for their trouble, and signed off the account. Only one year later the number receiving the same £54 dole increased to 106 and in 1612 this had risen further to 167.¹¹¹⁹ Administering this number of people gathered at the gate of the Hall could not have been a minor undertaking. In 1630-1, upon the city-wide cancellation of all company dinners, the Wardens remained at the Hall for two hours distributing £50 to the poor.¹¹²⁰

Observing these activities allows for a better understanding of the bookhouse. In acting as a place of safe-keeping for both cash (in locked chests) and food that was soon to be distributed to the poor, the sometime 'Ypocras House' could also therefore be interpreted as an 'almery'. The Hall of the Merchant Taylors' possessed three rooms all referred to as 'almeries' in a 1609 inventory. One, presumably the smallest, was noted to have been situated "behind the parlour door". Clode noted that this room functioned as a "receptacle

¹¹¹⁶ DCA, RA6, 1604-5, f.10.

¹¹¹⁷ DCA, DB1, unfoliated pages (f.135r).

¹¹¹⁸ DCA, MB13, f.16v.

¹¹¹⁹ DCA, MB6, f.1-3, f.6-9, f.127-128.

¹¹²⁰ DCA, WA8, 1630-1, f.50.

for broken meat". Another, which he regarded as having endured a significant change of use in the period switching from larder to archive (or bookhouse), received the Company's plate. Meanwhile the formation of a new "double almy" was funded by the Company's Clerk in the early sixteenth century. It was fashioned to contain "diverse boxes and books of Masters accounts and others". It seems that it was out of this room that the Clerk too worked.¹¹²¹ Bearing a similarity to the Drapers' bookhouse and jewel house, this double-almery was positioned adjacent to the parlour and behind the high table.

Considering the distribution of "broken meats" outside medieval halls, Elaine Clarke highlighted the social and political implications of such practices. Intriguingly she stated that guests at feasts "neither welcomed nor ignored beggars who gathered outside of halls". In her view dinner attendees simply tolerated the poor rather than consciously acknowledged their position within a wider moral society.¹¹²² Drawing attention to the complicated web of relations at play in such moments, Steve Hindle observed that doles were often "explicitly value-loaded". He argued that both recipient and distributor participated knowingly in the maintenance of a community driven by the status-quo, of ascribed order and placement, each group legitimized the position of the other within a wider social structure.¹¹²³ However Ben-Amos held that livery company courts grew to see such almsgiving practices as a danger and consequently he observed that they "forbade their almspeople from approaching the livery following their dinners to request alms and food."¹¹²⁴ The Drapers appear to have been far more sympathetic to the continued practice of distribution of the dole from the Company Hall than Ben-Amos implied.

Like the dinner itself, the form and continuation of this sort of gathering was questioned in the light of outbreaks of the plague. In 1603 there seemed to be a glut of poor petitioners as a result of "this long time of sickness", their agedness and "previous wants". The Company was sympathetic to their plight but sensitive to the risk of disorder at their Hall and designated a new system of dispersal to be enforced at this time of especial need. The

¹¹²¹ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, Vol. 1, p.103.

¹¹²² Clarke, Elaine. 'Social Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Medieval Countryside' in *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 4, (1994) pp.381-406, p.404.

¹¹²³ Hindle, S. "'Good, Godly and Charitable Uses': Endowed Charity and the Relief of Poverty in Rural England, c.1550-1750" in R. I. Frost and A. Goldgar (ed.) *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) pp.164-190, p.187.

¹¹²⁴ Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p.175.

Wardens were to consider each and every petition on an individual basis and decide upon the sums that were most appropriate to each case. A total of £25 was dedicated to this cause and the Wardens were to distribute it to the poor in their homes so that they would not appear at Drapers' Hall and also so that the amount given to each might remain private.¹¹²⁵

In some other halls, rooms or houses for almspeople were integrated into the actual fabric of the company hall complex, spatially reflecting the integration of this group within the corporate household.¹¹²⁶ Notably however, the Company Hall of the Drapers' did not provide accommodation for almspeople. In fact corporate almshouses were located at a fair distance from the Hall. By 1600 the Company managed three sets of almshouses to varying extents, namely: Sir John Milborne's at Crutched Friars (est. 1535, no. 33, see figure 7.5), Askew's almshouses at Beech Lane (est. 1540, no.37-38) and William Lambard's almshouses at Greenwich (est. 1574, no. 56). From the early seventeenth century, the intimate connection between the Drapers' Company and its almspeople was represented iconographically through a brass badge of Company arms worn on their lapels. For Hindle, reflecting on similar practices in other corporate circumstances, this form of branding was "as a symbol not only of subordination but also of patronage."¹¹²⁷ The Court held that the purpose of these badges was so "each of them may be known to be a pensioner to this Company". The punishment for refusal to conform was strict, the cancellation of the offending almsperson's pension.¹¹²⁸ Perhaps it was because of the almshouses' dislocation from the Company Hall and Cromwell's well-known use of the site for dole distribution that the Drapers consciously continued the increasingly anachronistic practice of distributing the dole whilst other companies appear to have abandoned it. The visibility of Company almspeople and the distribution of public charity made contributions to the image of the ideal 'moral' corporate household.

As William Scott so ably articulated and Roger Sadler experienced, positions within this societal structure were not as neat as this projected image would suggest.¹¹²⁹ The fragile

¹¹²⁵ DCA, MB13, f.5v

¹¹²⁶ For example, in 1423 a building at the gate of Brewers' Hall was converted into almshouses for members of the Company (Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p.153).

¹¹²⁷ Hindle, 'Good, Godly and Charitable Uses', p.181.

¹¹²⁸ DCA, MB13, f.169v.

¹¹²⁹ Scott, *Essay on Drapery*, p.5.



Figure 7.5. Thomas Shepherd, *Sir John Milborne's Almshouses* (1851). The British Museum, London (reg. no. 1880,1113.3442). This is a representation of the 1668 rebuilding on the site of the original almshouses in Crutched Friars (Coopers Row), however the original plaque of 1531 was reinstalled above the gate and is visible here.

nature of the mercantile trade produced many casualties. Previous men of fortune found themselves drawing on the Company's charity. The case of Richard Hull (Warden, 1605-6) has already been detailed in relation to the rebuilding of certain tenements to the north of the Hall, but there are several similar instances of financial misfortune. During the year of his service, Nicholas Manley (Warden, 1606), was forced to remove himself from his position due to his "decay".¹¹³⁰ The Court of the Company was compassionate in their dealings with men who had fallen from a great height, perhaps all too aware that this could also prove to be their own fate. In 1635 the son of previous Renter and Warden, Thomas Wicken, was granted a place in the almshouses at Crutched Friars with his wife on account of his "great poverty" and lack of house.¹¹³¹ More often however citizens of repute who found themselves in difficult circumstances were privately granted charitable corporate funds. The former Lord Mayor who once held the Erber, Thomas Pullison, found himself dependent on the charity of the Company in the early seventeenth century. Citing his service to the Company and the City he requested the Court's "friendly consideration...of his antiquity" and was granted maintenance of £300 pa.¹¹³² William Watson (Warden, 1591-2) was noted to have previously been "a man of sorts and borne office in the Company". Despite the fact that Watson was so sick and aged that he was no longer able to maintain himself, he applied to become Renter of the Company. The Court instead saw fit that he was granted a £4 pension instead.¹¹³³ Furthermore in 1610, an elderly and infirm Robert Turke, who had been a merchant in his younger days and had shown "good demand and honest carriage" as a draper, sustained "diverse losses". After he appealed to the Court for support, the Company granted him a modest pension.¹¹³⁴ By 1634 Richard Trymmell (Warden of 1622-3, 1630-31, 1632-3) had fallen on hard times and was elected to the post of Renter in January of that year. He was however also granted a one off payment of £20 in order to get him back on his feet after his "decay in estate, present poverty and want" likely partially resultant from his Wardenship the previous year.¹¹³⁵ Moreover in 1639 a Liveryman, Robert Osborne, came to the Drapers

¹¹³⁰ DCA, MB13, f.38r.

¹¹³¹ *Ibid.* f.299r.

¹¹³² *Ibid.* f.56v.

¹¹³³ *Ibid.* f.51r.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid.* f.76r.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.* f.291r.

requesting a charitable sum on account of his financial ruin prompted by his "bad debtors" and "extreme casualties". He considered changing trade because of his losses.¹¹³⁶ These examples support Archer's claim that Company governors were largely responsive to personal losses within their ranks and beyond, spurring loyalty from its membership.¹¹³⁷

Theatres of Memory¹¹³⁸

As the Company's prosperity and relevance became closely tied up with the material benefits of past charitable benefactions, the Court sought to prominently display representations of these corporate patrons. Their gifts had secured a profitable estate which was utilised in favour of housing members, providing suitable houses for Company governors and funding acts of charity. Archer held that "the rhetoric of commemoration was insistent and pervasive".¹¹³⁹ However, the acquisition of images of patrons was not only about the memorialization of historic 'good works' but also intended to actively endorse further benefactions in the future.¹¹⁴⁰ These men were held up as 'ideal' Company governors and it seems that generosity was a key criterion in their selection. By the 1570s the Mercers could claim a series of terracotta busts of brethren.¹¹⁴¹ The Haberdashers hung lists of their corporate charities on wooden framed boards around their great hall. The Court noted that these were purposed so that members might remember these benefactions and "stir up and incline to works of this nature".¹¹⁴² The Haberdashers are understood to have been the first livery company to commission paintings of "ancient benefactors". In 1598, ten such representations were ordered, although there is only evidence that five reached completion

¹¹³⁶ Ibid. f.335v.

¹¹³⁷ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.49.

¹¹³⁸ After Archer, who argued that livery company halls were "theatres of memory in which the elite constantly recalled the charitable acts of previous members of the ruling group, as a spur to further charitable endeavour" (Archer, 'The Acts and Arts of Memorialisation in Early Modern London', p.90).

¹¹³⁹ Archer, I. 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London' in P. Kewes (ed.) *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008) pp.201-222, p. 213.

¹¹⁴⁰ The idea of philanthropy spurring more philanthropy through its visibility is explored in: Ward, Joseph P. *Culture, Faith and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹¹⁴¹ Imray, *Mercers' Hall*, p.20.

¹¹⁴² Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p.154.

and were hung in the hall.¹¹⁴³ Following the Haberdashers, Ironmongers and Merchant Taylors, it took until the late 1610s for the Drapers to commission their own statues and paintings of "worthy and bountiful benefactors" of the Company which were displayed in the parlour (see figure 7.6).¹¹⁴⁴ The spur to action sprang out of a fear that the charitable deeds of these worthies would be "buried in forgetfulness". Those represented were to be selected by the Court and positioned within the parlour at their discretion. Before the wider series was commissioned, the Wardens selected the "fittest" benefactor of the group to be made up by "the most exquisite and best artist in that profession as they can hear of".¹¹⁴⁵ By 1620-1 Robert Buck's "picture or statue" was in production, likely the first.¹¹⁴⁶ Sir John Jolles, William Dummer, Thomas Russell and Robert Buck were all memorialized in this way by a Frenchman carver at a cost of £15, with a further payment to Merchant Taylor John Terry for gilding and painting these busts, probably formed of wood or stone, for £3 5s.¹¹⁴⁷ By June 1622 several "pictures" had been set up in the parlour.¹¹⁴⁸ The Company also apparently followed the Haberdashers in inserting boards of their own benefactors into existing wainscoted walls in the Hall (also see the Carpenters' wainscot panels, figure 7.7). In 1621-2 Mr Munday was paid for painting the arms and names of Sir Richard Champion, Sir John Milborne and Mr Clonne in gold on a devise.¹¹⁴⁹ The trend for busts however continued into 1625 when the Court elected to find the "best skilful workman" to produce a carving of John Kendrick. Master Carver Mr Christmas was paid £5 for "making and finishing of Mr Kendrick's picture in the parlour" in 1630.¹¹⁵⁰ A Joiner was paid 2s. 6d. "for work about" the picture, suggesting the

¹¹⁴³ Ibid. pp.55-56.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p.56.

¹¹⁴⁵ DCA, MB13, f.138r.

¹¹⁴⁶ DCA, WA8, 1620-1, f.37.

¹¹⁴⁷ DCA, WA7, 1622-3, f.41. For more information on John Terry and other painters used by the Drapers' Company see: Town, Edward. 'A biographical dictionary of London painters, 1547-1625' in *The Seventy-Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society* (Huddersfield, Charlesworth Group, 2014) pp.1-186.

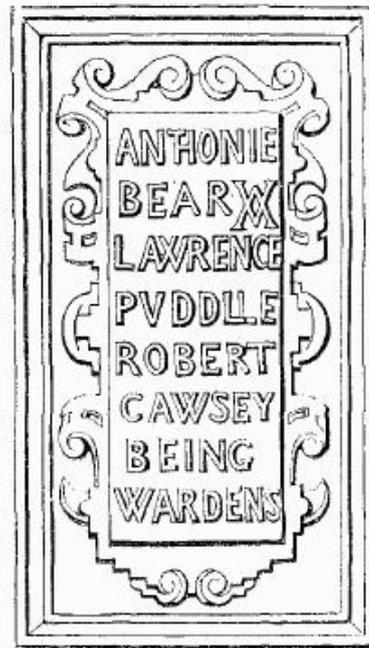
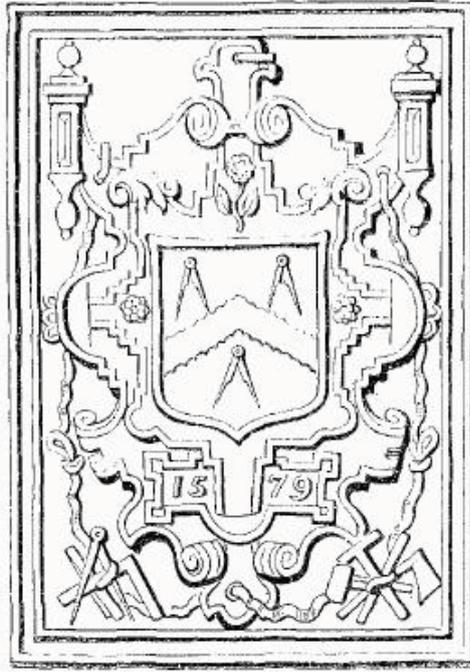
¹¹⁴⁸ DCA, MB13, f.169v.

¹¹⁴⁹ DCA, WA7, 1621-2, f.41. Richard Munday was also paid 45s. for colouring the tables in the hall (DCA, RA6, 1612-13, f.15v).

¹¹⁵⁰ DCA, MB13, f.196v; WA8, 1630-1, f.56. Almost certainly this was Gerard Christmas (1576-1634), Master Carver to the Navy and prolific in his work within the city. See: Chilvers, I. *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, Third Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p.149.



Figure 7.6. Anon. *Sir William Chester* (c. 1560), The Drapers' Company, London. This was a personal portrait only gifted to Drapers in 20th century.



THREE CARVED OAK PANELS.

Now in the Court Room of the Hall of the Carpenters' Company. Removed from the former Hall.
PERIOD: ELIZABETHAN.

Figure 7.7. Carpenters' wooden panels commemorating the Master and Wardens' contributions to a wainscoting project in the Hall (1579). Reproduced from Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters* (1848), p.224

setting up of a wooden plinth on which to set it.¹¹⁵¹ The situation of these carvings within in the parlour further reinforced the room's representation as an exclusive site of moral governance and acted as a constant reminder to the Court of their potential to support the Company in their gifts.

Recognising the privilege of such memorialisations, the Court also received requests from descendants of notable members for permission to place images of their forefathers within the parlour. This proactivity on the part of children of members is illustrated in the case of a painting of Sir Allan Cotton, a former Lord Mayor of the City and Master of the Company. After his death in 1628 his son John Cotton requested permission to set up his father's image in the Company parlour, amongst those other Company benefactors (see figure 7.8). The Master tabled the issue to the Court of Assistants on behalf of John. The verdict appears to have fallen in his favour.¹¹⁵² Cotton was likely following a precedent set three years earlier in 1626 when Henry Garway too petitioned for a picture or statue of his deceased father Sir William Garway to be set up in the parlour. In putting forward his case Henry recalled that William had gifted the Company a large Turkey carpet.¹¹⁵³ He also noted that his father had contributed £120 towards the maintenance of the Company's problematic Irish plantation and £50 towards a funeral dinner. However, rather than follow Garway's instructions, his executors decided to invest the money in a commemorative basin and ewer emblazoned with the arms of William. It was on the day that Henry presented this sanctioned artefact to the Court that he made his request for a representative image of its benefactor. In respect of this gift, the Drapers agreed that the Company would allow William's picture to be placed in the parlour, but only at his son's expense.¹¹⁵⁴ Henry's fervency may have been linked to a desire to establish the honourability of his lineage. At the time of his appeal, having served as Warden in 1623-4, Henry Garway was an Assistant of the Company but the following year he

¹¹⁵¹ DCA, RA6, 1627-8, f.15.

¹¹⁵² DCA, MB13, f.235v.

¹¹⁵³ William refused Mastership in 1607-8 (Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p.417). Perhaps in response to this, in 1609-10 a 'Turkey' carpet (or Persian) was given by William Garway and hung on the parlour wall (DCA, RA6, 1609-10, f.15). It was described as "fair and large" and was "right thankfully received" by the Court (DCA, MB13, f.78v).

¹¹⁵⁴ DCA, MB13, f.198v.



Figure 7.8. Anon. *Sir Allen Cotton* (1624), Guildhall Art Gallery, London (cat.1986, inv.no.1495)

became Sheriff and Master of the Company, undertaking the rebuilding of his house on the site (see Chapter Three).¹¹⁵⁵

A representation of former Lord Mayor (1614-15) and Master of the Company, Sir Thomas Hayes, fared less well.¹¹⁵⁶ Extraordinarily, it seems his picture was produced and hung in the parlour during his lifetime. Since he died in 1617 this image therefore pre-dated the earliest statues commissioned by the Court. Similarly Merchant Taylor John Vernon pre-emptively secured the display of his image before his death and stated that his portrait was purposed to remember his "faithful true love" to the Company.¹¹⁵⁷ Nine years after Hayes' death however the Court scathingly recorded that Hayes himself had put it up in the parlour and that after his decease the Company "pulled [it] down". This act of disrespect was primarily on account of the lack of generosity towards the Company in his will. The Clerk penned in no uncertain terms that Hayes was "no benefactor" of the Company nor the Company's poor. It seems the picture had lain, discarded, in a storage cellar at the Hall until his widow presented herself before the Court to request permission to remove it, so that she might have "remembrance" of him. This wish was granted.¹¹⁵⁸ In electing to exclude the painting of Hayes from the parlour, the Drapers revealed the circumstances under which a representation could remain in the space. Unless special permission was granted, as in the case of Cotton, it was a necessity that those represented were substantial contributors to the corporate welfare project, either through the giving of property or cash. The privilege of display was conditional and contractual in nature, implicitly envisioned to spur those with wealth to invest and entrust to the Company in a trade-off for memorialisation in the wake of the dissolution of the monasteries.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁵ Ashton holds that Henry was 'known to be a very poor man when he entered upon the customs yet left great treasures behind him' (Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603–1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p.25).

¹¹⁵⁶ TNA, PROB 11/130/423.

¹¹⁵⁷ Fry, F. M. *A Historical Catalogue of the Pictures, Herse-Cloths and Tapestry at Merchant Taylors' Hall* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1907) pp.67-68.

¹¹⁵⁸ DCA, MB13, f.198r.

¹¹⁵⁹ For discussion of the Company as a conduit for memorialization see: Branch, 'Fraternal Commemoration', pp.115-136.

The Ladies' Chamber

No female benefactors were commemorated in this way in Drapers' Hall, but Robert Tittler has identified three portraits of female benefactors which hung in the halls of the Cutlers, Ironmongers and Brewers respectively.¹¹⁶⁰ However the agency of women was not altogether absent in the Company Hall of the Drapers. In 1616 widow Elizabeth Bond gave the Company "a fair green carpet of broad cloth bordered about with needlework". It was noted that the handiwork was her own and her gift was "registered amongst the good deeds of the benefactors."¹¹⁶¹ The carpet was most probably displayed in the parlour, either hung on the walls or used to cover the great table. Considering the Company Hall as a world within a world where the myth of a harmonious society was spatially perpetuated, the place afforded to women presents an intriguing case-study full on tension. Broadly, they appear to have been conveniently included in the corporate myth but more often excluded in practice.

Women were comprehensively barred from participating in the governance of companies and from holding corporate office and yet widows of members held special rights to continue the businesses of their husbands and could retain their leases. Under these circumstances widows often paid quarterage and took on apprentices. Claiming past precedence, occasionally unsuccessful attempts were even made by senior male Drapers in the sixteenth century to apprentice single women.¹¹⁶² In spite of this, Rappaport held that "very real participation [of women] in the economic and social life of the...companies was mediated through their social roles as wives and widows, daughters and domestic servants" (see figure 7.9).¹¹⁶³ In their exclusion from full membership of the Company, the voice of women within the Hall was limited but not entirely muted, even within the high status parlour.

Surveying the Drapers' records from the later sixteenth century onwards, the frequency with which women and widows in particular presented themselves in front of the Court of Assistants in the parlour, seeking the protection of their rights, is notable. Laura Gowing has already demonstrated how London women made especial use of the legal system to negotiate disputes intrinsic city life. Gowing noted that at both sessions of the City and

¹¹⁶⁰ Tittler, *The Face of the City*, Appendix A.3., p.174.

¹¹⁶¹ DCA, MB13, f.199v.

¹¹⁶² See discussion around William Dummer (Warden 1566-7, 1570-1, 1573-4) in 1570 (DCA, MB8, f.97).

¹¹⁶³ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p.42.

church courts by the early seventeenth century women “constituted the majority of litigants – they made complaints, pursued disputes and testified.”¹¹⁶⁴ In the Drapers’ parlour, negotiations for transferal of tenancies into the names of widows after the death of their husbands was the most common appeal from city women but there were a diverse range of other requests.¹¹⁶⁵ Like men, petitioners waited in the great hall before being ushered into the parlour to have their case considered. In June 1610 two women, Widow Selby and her daughter-in-law, were in an unspecified dispute and sought arbitration through the Company. After hearing their complaints, the Court sent both women back into the hall to await a judgement. The Court decided that “they would meddle no further with their clamours and troublesome complaints” and asked the Renter, Humphrey Downes, to convey this message and their related dismissal to the women.¹¹⁶⁶ The parlour was therefore not a space where women were excluded from but their role within it was limited. Despite this in equality, it seems many women petitioners elected to make full use of the potential access to this space brought.

Regardless of the frequency of their petitions made within the parlour, at face value another room in the Hall claimed a closer association with women in the Company through its name. The ‘Ladies’ chambers’ of livery company halls have been mostly un-interrogated by historians in both their use and meaning, surely in large part due to their elusiveness. Whilst proving to be something of a misnomer in relation to the claims inferred by its engendered name, the situation of this room within the halls indicates that the image and rhetoric of the ‘ideal’ household was still being played out through representative architectural forms and occasionally implicated with gender. Carol Levin’s work on the domestic spaces occupied by elite women in the medieval period led her to divide the rural manor house of the time thus: “the hall was consistently associated with the knight and lord, while the chamber was the woman’s province”.¹¹⁶⁷ The spatial dominion of women was separated, self-contained and

¹¹⁶⁴ Gowing, ‘The Freedom of the Streets’, p.133.

¹¹⁶⁵ See for example: Johan Holland (DCA, MB1C, p.852), Eunice Dere (DCA, MB1C, p.852), Mrs Daniels (DCA, MB7, f.189r), Mrs Phillips and Mrs Croxton (DCA, MB8, f.22v), William Fowler’s widow (DCA, MB8, f.64r), Mrs Chevall (DCA, MB8, f.147r-147v) and Elizabeth Stubb’s long-running dispute beginning (DCA, MB7, f.41-2).

¹¹⁶⁶ DCA, MB13, f.72v.

¹¹⁶⁷ Levin, C. *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1987) p.105.



Figure 7.9. Anon. *Lady Ingram and her two boys Martin and Steven, or Alice Barnham and her sons Martin and Steven* (c. 1557), Denver Art Museum (TL-19034)

relatively small in scale. There is perhaps something of a residue of this history in the persistence of rooms described as ‘Ladies’ chambers’ in an early modern urban setting however, in her study of social spaces in seventeenth century Norwich, Fiona Williamson warned that “although there was some correlation of gender with certain urban spaces, such distinctions should be treated with caution.”¹¹⁶⁸ The same attitude might be deployed in relation to the specific site of company halls too. Claiming a Ladies’ chamber of its own, Orlin speculated that the Drapers’ Hall iteration may have been so-called as a result of wall hangings or paintings which hung in the space, but the fact that there were a number of these rooms across the companies, and little evidence of such hangings, would suggest there was probably a more meaningful reason behind the continuation of the name.¹¹⁶⁹ Furnishings that might apply to the Ladies’ chamber of one livery company may not necessarily apply to another. Indeed, not all halls possessed such a room. Of the Great Twelve, it appears that four other halls incorporated a space identified by its feminine associations (figure 7.10). These rooms cannot therefore be interpreted as pervasive mechanisms for the representation of women in a corporate setting but their peculiarity does offer some insights.

In some ways the Ladies’ chamber was the spatial twin of the parlour. In the Drapers’ Hall at Throgmorton, it horizontally reflected the parlour in its first-floor position. Both spaces addressed each other across the central courtyard, bridging the gaps between the corporate hall and the principal house to form the enclosed central space. At different times both were referred to as galleries, indicating their proportional length, prestige and situation. Both were wainscoted, possessed a hearth and accommodated one round oriel window.¹¹⁷⁰ Making observations of the four Ladies’ chambers is useful here for it seems to confirm a suggestion that these spaces were positioned as a counterpoint to the company parlour, situated either directly above or below them and similar in size. The Ladies’ chamber of the Mercers, for example, was positioned directly above the parlour overlooking the hall.¹¹⁷¹ Clearly utilised for accommodation of women at the time of the Election Dinner, the room was also

¹¹⁶⁸ Williamson F. *Social Relations and Urban Space: Norwich, 1600-1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014) p.10.

¹¹⁶⁹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.119.

¹¹⁷⁰ DCA, RA5, 1575-6, f.17r.

¹¹⁷¹ Imray, *Mercers’ Hall*, p.19.

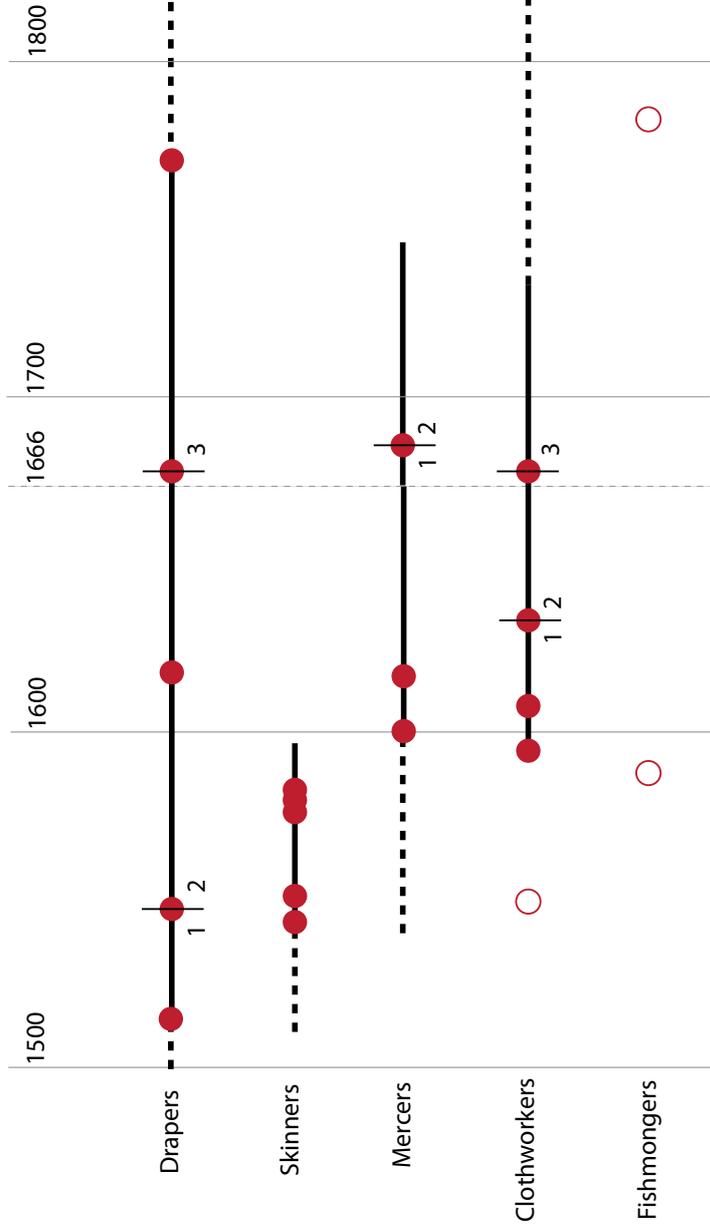


Figure 7.10. Timeline tracing evidence of Ladies' Chambers across the 'Great Twelve' company halls

Drapers' St Swithins Hall: Johnson, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 4-5; Way, *The Ancient Halls of the City Guilds*, p.38; DCA, MB1B, p.471. The Throgmorton Hall: MB1C, f.759-762; DCA, A X II 121, Plan of Drapers' Hall (c.1620). The rebuilt post-fire hall: DCA, MB/71, Committee for the Rebuilding of Drapers' Hall, f.7r, f.12r, f.16r, f.20r, f.28r. The continuation of the space is confirmed in 1773: Noorthouck, *A New History*, p.566-576: "in the room called the ladies chamber, where the company sometimes treat their ladies with balls".

Skinners: GL, MS 30727/3, *Skinners Company, Payments book 3*, f.96, f.192-3; GL, *Skinners, Register Book of Evidences*, MS 30817, f.40v, f.57r, f.63r; GL, MS 30727/4, *Skinners Company, Payments book 4*, A.f.299

Mercers: Imray, *Mercers' Hall*, p.19, p.41-2, p.137; MCA, *Register of Writings*, Vol. 2, f. 119v-121v

Clothworkers: CCA, *Book of Deeds and Wills*, p. Y-Z Aa; CCA, *Payments Book 1594-5*, f.5, f.25 f.26, f.28; CCA, *Treswell Plan Book (1612)*, unfoliated; CCA, *Inventory 1653*, f.15; CCA, *Inventory 1670*, f.45v

Fishmongers: Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers' Company*, p.26, p.33.p.105

- Probable Ladies Chamber
- Clear evidence for Ladies Chamber (inventory etc.)
- - - Speculative life-span of Ladies Chamber
- 1 | 2 Hall number

described as the ‘great chamber’ despite the fact that no one slept there.¹¹⁷² Also routinely styled as a ‘great chamber’ and situated vertically above the parlour, the Fishmongers constructed a room “fit to receive gentlewomen at any time of assembly” in the 1590s.¹¹⁷³ There are more detailed reports of the furnishing and form of the Ladies’ chambers in the Skinners’ and Clothworkers’ Halls. In a 1594 rebuilding of their ground-floor parlour, the Clothworkers assigned the newly constructed room above it to be the ‘great chamber’ or, they also noted, the ‘Ladies’ chamber’. This space was re-substantiated in the 1633 wholesale rebuilding of the hall. It was lined with benches and was furnished with a long table and a great chair at its head.¹¹⁷⁴ Meanwhile the Skinners’ ‘gentlewomen’s chamber’ can be identified as early as the 1540s, again located above the Company parlour. Like the Clothworkers’, in its furnishing, the Skinners’ chamber seems to have borne a particular resemblance to an alternative or secondary parlour. In the 1550s the crest of a recently deceased Alderman and presumably Company benefactor, Henry Herdson, was carved in wainscot and painted above the door as well as on the doors of two cupboards which stood in the space.¹¹⁷⁵ By the 1580s the room was bestowed with a plate cupboard, carving table, twenty-four cushions and Master’s hammer.¹¹⁷⁶ The Ladies’ chamber was reconstructed alongside other rooms at the hall in 1595, still holding a spatial and symbolic relevance.¹¹⁷⁷

The Drapers’ own Ladies’ chamber was incorporated into the first purpose-built Company Hall in St. Swithins Lane. The only clear evidence of its occupation is in relation to the Election Day Dinners. In a dinner of 1515, two spaces separate from the main hall accommodated women. The Ladies’ chamber seated the wives and widows of members, while the ‘checker chamber’, where accounts were audited, also accommodated the unmarried women at the

¹¹⁷² MCA, Register of Writings, Vol. 2, f. 120r.

¹¹⁷³ Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers’ Company*, p.26.

¹¹⁷⁴ See Wickham’s transcription of 1653 Clothworkers’ Inventory as published in: Wickham, *All of One Company*, 2004) pp.90-126.

¹¹⁷⁵ GL, MS 30727/3, Skinners Company, Payments book 3, f.192-3. For confirmation of his death see: Beaven, Alfred P. *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London, 1908) pp.1-8. *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912/pp1-8> [Accessed online 4 May 2016].

¹¹⁷⁶ GL, MS 30727/4, Skinners’ Company, Payments Book 4, f.290.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* f.308, f.296.

time of the feast.¹¹⁷⁸ The memory of these two spaces seems to have been carried forward to the new Throgmorton Hall. In their original survey of the Hall in 1543 the Drapers immediately identified one room as “a fair chamber for the ladies, silled and matted with a chimney, a fair jake and two bay windows “. ¹¹⁷⁹ This may have also related to Cromwell’s original designation of the space. It is not clear how the room was furnished, but it appears to have been relatively unattended to in comparison to the consistent adjustments and adaptations of the hall and parlour. Perhaps the room was rendered almost invisible to the Clerk and the Court on account of their masculinity but, more likely, it was simply unoccupied for much of the year and therefore unadorned. However, the Court’s attention did turn to the Ladies’ chamber in 1604. After the parlour had received a minor-refurbishment and whilst the hall was being repainted, Joiners and Plasterers renewed the wainscoted walls and plastered the ceiling. John Norman, who also painted the hall decoratively at this time, was paid £5 2s. for his work in the Ladies’ chamber.¹¹⁸⁰ A lack of furnishing also signalled a typically flexible ‘spatial ambiguity’ as highlighted by Sarah Pearson.¹¹⁸¹ Aside from its use at dinners, in Orlin’s brief musing about the purpose of the Throgmorton Ladies’ chamber, she could only detect rare occurrences of its inhabitation. When the parlour was first upgraded in the 1570s she observed that the Court “removed to the isolated Ladies’ chamber rather than return to the hall.”¹¹⁸² She concluded that it was mostly utilized for “occasional meetings, private dinners, and select suppers”.¹¹⁸³ A suggestion supported by the carving table located in the Skinners’ Ladies’ chamber.

At the time of the main Election Dinner it was far from certain that the Ladies’ chamber would have been occupied by female guests. In 1564 wives of the Assistants and other elite women were in fact positioned within the great hall, as they had been in earlier years, and in

¹¹⁷⁸ Way, T. R. *The Ancient Halls of the City Guilds: drawn in lithography* (London: G. Bell and sons, 1903) p.38. Johnson, *History*, Vol II, pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁷⁹ DCA, MB1C, f.759-762.

¹¹⁸⁰ DCA, RA 1607-8, f.19.

¹¹⁸¹ Pearson, S. ‘Rural and Urban Houses 1100-1500: ‘Urban Adaptation’ Reconsidered’ in K. Giles and C. Dyer (ed.) *Town and County in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 22 (Leeds: Many, 2005) pp.43-63.

¹¹⁸² Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.147.

¹¹⁸³ *Ibid.* p.132.

1566 they were seated within the parlour on one side of the partition hung with arras.¹¹⁸⁴ However in 1567, presumably writing from his office on the ground floor and directly next to the gate, the Clerk situated the 'ladies' "above in the gallery chamber", and therefore within the Ladies' chamber.¹¹⁸⁵ The last mention of the presence of Drapers' wives at the main feast was in 1569 when the wives of the Master and Wardens were seated in the great hall, their "gentlewomen and friends" were served again in the "gallery".¹¹⁸⁶ This notation may have reflected a space above the hall screen but since this was a relatively confined space fashioned for musicians it seems unlikely. After 1569 the attendance of women at dinner on the day of election was regarded as exceptional. They were however often included at smaller Quarter Day Dinners instead. At the Quarter Day of November 1569, an exclusive gathering of only two Wardens with their wives and neighbours was recorded to have dined at night "with the cold meat...prepared supped in the ladies chamber and the officers of the house also."¹¹⁸⁷ In February of the following year the Wardens were granted an increased contribution from the house for their Quarter Dinners on the condition that the wives of Aldermen, the Court and widows of Assistants were invited.¹¹⁸⁸ On the whole, the Ladies' chamber was therefore relatively unoccupied both by the Company and women associated with it. Its consistent emptiness was also a sign of the Company's prosperity, for in the congested city, few individuals could justify such an extravagant disuse of space. Its occasional use was no doubt the reason that it was in fact given over to tenants of the principal house so often. A door having been made giving access to this adjacent house, tenant and future Lord Mayor Martin Calthorp was allowed to occupy the Ladies' chamber for the whole year as long as the Company could have the use of it at time of the feast.¹¹⁸⁹ In spite of their apparent lack of use, rooms that carried the label 'Ladies' chamber' did not quickly fall out of use and there are traces that companies continued to design Ladies' chambers into their post-fire rebuilt halls, although the terminology for these spaces becomes ever more blurry. After the great fire, the Drapers' themselves rebuilt a new

¹¹⁸⁴ DCA, DB1, 1564 Election Dinner, f.12r-12v; 1566 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.41v).

¹¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 1567 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.57r).

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 1569 Election Dinner, unfoliated pages (f.87r).

¹¹⁸⁷ DCA, MB8, f.85r.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* f.94v.

¹¹⁸⁹ DCA, MB8, f.177r.

resplendent Ladies' chamber which was noted to have been used for balls (to which wives of members were invited) in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁹⁰

Conclusion

Whilst Griffiths et al. have observed that in "the platitudes of convention many people sought stability and in the familiarities of tradition they found security", Hobsbawm more closely aligned an inclination towards convention and tradition with a deliberate response to institutional change.¹¹⁹¹ Taking the examples of Chapters Six and Seven together, the process of accelerating symbolic complexes, of lingering-medievalism deployed in support of existing corporate structures, can be identified in the Drapers' Company. Threats to continuity were muffled as attention was drawn to older models of representing order and power. In this context it is notable that the form of the Election Day Dinner and the Company Hall's courtyard plan have remained mostly unchanged since the mid-sixteenth century, a period of critical transition in the company's base of authority. They have continued mostly in tact because a positive value has been set on their preservation.¹¹⁹² The formalization and indeed creation of anachronistic cultural practices can be suggestively linked to what Ronald Berger identified in 1993 as an area lacking in scholarship, "the mercantile community's response to the end of guild-dominated trade".¹¹⁹³

Incorporating of displays of charity into the Company Hall was important in reiterating the direct connection between morality, charity and governance. Meanwhile the vacancy that defined the sixteenth century Ladies' chamber caused no anxiety within the Drapers' Company, for, whilst the room may have been spatially fluid and often empty, it was not conceptually ambiguous. Its existence and continued association with femininity was more important than its practical use by women. In the persistence of its gendered designation, the room serves as a further indication of how the Company understood itself and represented its purpose. In failing to abandon the architectural language of landed lordship and the ideal

¹¹⁹⁰ Noorthouck, John. *A New History of London Including Westminster and Southwark* (London: Baldwin, 1773) pp.566 – 576.

¹¹⁹¹ Fox, A., Griffiths, P., Hindle, S. 'Introduction' in Griffiths, Fox and Hindle (ed.) *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, p.6; Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', p.5.

¹¹⁹² A similar observation of City gardens and open spaces was made by Schofield in *London 1100-1600*, p.44.

¹¹⁹³ Berger, R. *The Most Necessary Luxuries: The Mercers Company of Coventry, 1550-1680* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania, 1993) p.7.

household, the Company Hall became more deliberately backward-looking and a more evocative tool for legitimation.

Conclusion

“It is impossible for a man to govern the commonwealth that doth not know to rule his own house.”¹¹⁹⁴

This study has sought to close the distance between the City’s early modern architectural history and the wider history of its guilds. As important structures for society and substantial land-managers, the estates of these companies matter, as does their socialization. This thesis has demonstrated how the livery company estate particularly took on new meaning in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the same way as Unwin could declare that London was “literally honeycombed with fraternities in every direction” by the fourteenth century, by the seventeenth century London was honeycombed with fraternal estates.¹¹⁹⁵ In this way, for more than five hundred years the livery companies have accommodated a carousel of tenants within their properties. The extent of their landlordism has remained remarkably consistent in London until the most recent of decades. The pervasiveness of the livery companies across the life of the City renders them especially valuable as vehicles for explorations of the urban environment.

Throughout this thesis, the view has been taken that the developing urban environment of early modern London can be understood only through an examination of a complex interplay of shifting relationships at both corporate and individual levels. Several chapters have specifically considered the impact of negotiations between tenants of all sorts and the Drapers’ Court as acting landlords. In stitching together diverse stories of buildings and spaces closely related to one ‘great’ livery company, and in paying attention to the everyday economic, cultural and social transactions that shaped them, it has probed what Borden and Rendell describe as the “mobilising forces” that afford “the occasion and much of the substance for city development and architectural activity.”¹¹⁹⁶ A wide range of documents, from drawings, dinner accounts, Court Minute Books and Renter Accounts are indeed full of under-utilised architectural and spatial clues. These records, often addressing points of conflict in the built environment, provide insight into how the Company re-orientated a fair

¹¹⁹⁴ Cleaver, Robert. *A Godly Form of Household Government: For the Ordering of Private Families, According to the Direction of God’s Word* (London: F. Kingston, 1598) p.16.

¹¹⁹⁵ Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, p.98.

¹¹⁹⁶ Borden, Iain., Rendell, Jane. ‘From chamber to transformer: epistemological challenges in the methodology of theorised architectural history’ in *The Journal of Architecture* 5, no. 2 (2000) p.217.

proportion of its business from the management of its trade to the management of its estate. Illustrative episodes from the Drapers' Archive have shown that the administrative and managerial mechanisms through which buildings were planned, occupied, expanded, prioritized or neglected can be fruitfully accessed through guild accounts.

Furthermore, in its production within a school of architecture, this thesis is positioned in the context of a general inclination for designers to underestimate the value of the city's pre-twentieth century history.¹¹⁹⁷ The narrative that plots a clean upward curve of progress in the city's development is a false and dangerous one but it is subscribed to too often by present-day planners and architects. Bearing this tendency in mind, it is helpful to remember that London remains as unknowable as a comprehensive whole now as it did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Circuitous and transient, De Certeau's assertion that the 'city' in general is a "universe of rented spaces" continues to hold weight even with the endurance of the livery company estates in sight.¹¹⁹⁸ Consequently, the architectural historian in search of pure expressions of origin in the city, of complete spatial narratives, will be inevitably frustrated.¹¹⁹⁹ Despite this, the companies can serve as a tool through which to navigate the messy complexity inherent to the 'citiness' of cities, a complementary approach to more topological studies.

Summary of Research Findings

From the outset the research was framed by an overarching methodological question which concerned the ways in which livery company archives might offer access to the everyday developing built environment of early modern London. This can be achieved by spatial thinkers if they approach such specialised corporate archives with a wide-disciplinary

¹¹⁹⁷ Worryingly, Adrian Forty holds that: "in general late twentieth century architects showed a remarkable lack of curiosity about what had been going on in the discipline of history itself." (Forty, A. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p. 203). Arguing for a wider chronological interest in architectural education, Mark Swenarton asserted, "we need well-informed interpretations of the architecture of the mid-twentieth as well as of the mid-sixteenth century; and for both of these we need an awareness of what is happening now, as well as an intellectual mastery over what happened then." (Swenarton, Mark. 'The Role of History in Architectural Education' in *Architectural History* 30, (1987), pp.201-215, p.213).

¹¹⁹⁸ Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) p.103.

¹¹⁹⁹ The motivations of architectural historians find a counterpart in Cousin's description of nineteenth century philosophers who people were "haunted by the wish to find in the origin, a moment of pure expression" (Cousins, 'The First House', p.35).

viewpoint, and a willingness to engage meaningfully with the particular rhetoric and culture of the companies. Whilst aware of the limits this places on the scale of claims that can be made, the investigation has probed deeper into one company archive rather than prioritise a lighter reading of many. This approach has enabled internal connections to come to light, allowing buildings to be actively connected with people in a way that gives agency to both in the development of the city. Of course, gaining this level of familiarity with the governors, lease-holders, strategies and motivations of the Drapers' Company now raises the stakes when similar documents held by other companies are approached. As participants in overlapping mercantile and familial networks, connections between guildsmen as landlords, tenants, business-partners and rivals can be more effectively identified and, consequently, the web of interdependent spatial relationships unpicked. However, it must be acknowledged that livery company records do not reflect the full-range of tenants' concerns. Moreover, the voices of those of lower status can only be identified so far as their complaints, desires or requests coincided or clashed with that of the interests of the company courts.¹²⁰⁰

The analysis of the development of the estate has reinforced the view of this period as one of great change in the urban environment. But in spite of the trauma of the Reformation, the fundamental structures and cultures which framed and enabled property acquisition remained remarkably consistent before and after the 1530s. Although patterns of property benefaction were already established before the dissolution of the monasteries, there is evidence that the Company was increasingly regarded by affluent citizens as a suitable vessel for the management of charities as the consequences of the dissolution were worked out. At the same time, the Company made its own significant purchases of property in the 1540s. The Erber and Throgmorton Company Hall represented strategic corporate investments which allowed the continuation of the medieval practice of guildsmen to cluster together in specific areas of the city. This disposition was advantageous in the reinforcement of corporate honour and status, especially as both sites claimed well-known histories of high-status occupation. Company governors capitalized on their position to negotiate favourable lets and developments for themselves and their associates.

Through their estate, the Drapers also supported the honourable practices of hospitality which were required of governors at both corporate and civic levels. Maintaining undivided 'great' properties of notable quality, the Company sought to reserve houses suitable for such

¹²⁰⁰ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.102.

performances for occupation by Aldermen and Lord Mayors - drawn both from within the Company and outside it. It is clear that the Drapers, like other wealthy livery companies, pursued 'profitable and pleasant' properties. In this ambition the Drapers proved themselves more likely to maintain older forms of building, such as courtyard houses and lavish city centre gardens, where others with owners more intent on pure commercial profit succumbed to the pressure of a significantly enlarged population. Against a backdrop of institutional challenges and change, it has also been shown in this thesis that the Company was becoming more self-conscious in its use of performative, iconic and architectural means in asserting an ideology of 'political patriarchy' through the image of an ordered household.¹²⁰¹ The deliberate spatial invocation of great halls of the past and the growing conservatism at play in Drapers' Hall revealed a desire to fashion corporate architectural expressions and social activities as invariant and unchanging. Hierarchies were emphasized and 'invented traditions' celebrated in order to navigate a reconstitution of their authority in this transitional period.¹²⁰² Archer has complicated the supposed decline of the companies by drawing attention to the companies' change in function from the regulation of their trades to the governance of charitable bequests.¹²⁰³ This thesis has gone further to examine the buildings and property on which much of this charitable activity was reliant. In doing so, and in spite of benefits afforded to the corporate elite, it has shown the Drapers' Company to be neither "monolithic, nor impersonal" in its dealings with those implicated in the management and occupation of its estate.¹²⁰⁴

This research has supported the view that, towards the end of the sixteenth century, a buoyant property market and rising land values resulted in a more competitive climate for lease-holders. Chapter Four anecdotally traces an outline of the 'Great Rebuilding' in London through the Drapers' record books. Considering middling sorts of tenants, it demonstrated how, in the 1580s and 90s, Court Minutes became especially filled with petitions and negotiations for leases which were dependent on one type of property improvement or another. Meanwhile, recognition of the ever growing importance of their estate can be found

¹²⁰¹ For the relevance of 'political patriarchy' see Chapter Six's discussion of Orlin's use of the phrase in: Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*, pp.3-11.

¹²⁰² Hobsbawm, E. 'Introduction' in *The Invention of Tradition*, pp.1-14.

¹²⁰³ Archer, I. 'The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Gadd and Wallis (ed.) *Guilds, Society and Economy*, pp.15-28.

¹²⁰⁴ Gadd and Wallis, 'Introduction' in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, p.6.

in the desire of the Court to gain greater control over its administration through the tightening up of record-keeping processes. The stewardship of such a valuable estate tempted some Company officers and employees to corruption and exploitation. However, there is evidence that the Drapers' Court protected the rights of tenants of lower status and was benevolent to those in financial difficulty, whether members of the Company or not. Referencing William Cunningham, Wrightson emphasised the situatedness and social nature of what some might identify as 'capitalist enterprises' or 'profiteering' in relation to land. He noted that, in the sixteenth century, "economic relationships were conducted with constant regard to the relations of persons which gave them a certain moral character."¹²⁰⁵ In particular the Drapers seem to have upheld their moral obligations to widows of Drapers or employees and showed comparative patience with their almspeople.

Through a consideration of one indicative livery company estate, the investigation suggests that the urban environment that was defined by intermixed living situations where landlords, tenants and sub-tenants were spatially bound together in close proximity. The Drapers' Court of Assistants' own frequent status as both tenants and landlords of city properties, often connected to other companies, likely facilitated social cohesion and guarded against unreasonable behaviour. Company governors did not apparently provoke any co-ordinated uprisings from groups of citizens against their management.¹²⁰⁶ Effective systems for the airing of grievances and the dispensation of discipline tied to the management of the cloth trade seem to have well-equipped the Drapers for the demands of managing its expanded estate. The period of substantial acquisition (1500-1550) and the generally effective management of the estate that followed, secured the financial well-being of the Company and made contributions to the stabilisation of a city in flux.

Possibilities for Future Research

The Company's experience as landlords and developers outside London has been notably left out of this study. The English Crown was so convinced of the governing and organizational

¹²⁰⁵ Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p.15. Also Sleigh-Johnson's note that "the tendency to profiteer has not been remarked on by historians of the London livery companies, although it was alluded to by F. J. Fisher regarding the 1630s at a seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London, in March 1982" (Sleigh-Johnson, 'The Merchant Taylors', p.73).

¹²⁰⁶ Manorial estates that clung onto older systems of landholding, which likely slowed down development because of the complicated rights of successive sub-tenanting, could provoke coordinated attacks against their management, for example in the 1617 case of the Wentworth's Stepney estate (see Smith, H. *The History of East London* (London: Macmillan, 1939) p.53).

abilities of the livery companies, and well aware of their financial prosperity, that it thrust the management of the difficult Irish 'plantations' in Ulster upon the London companies in 1610. Alongside several others, the Drapers reluctantly accepted their enforced charge and decades of planning, investment and committee meetings ensued. In Northern Ireland, there is a concentration of extant built works commissioned by the Company over the [following](#) centuries and many architectural drawings and maps relating to them survive. A number of scholars have already undertaken analysis of the political and architectural implications of the problematic Ulster project [but](#) there is still scope to consider this venture, its impact upon the London Drapers and their decision-making. What influence did this project, located at some distance from the centre of corporate governance, have on the Company's London activities in the seventeenth century? How were concerns of identity and power handled differently in almshouses in Draperstown from Milborne's almshouses in London, for example? To what extent did the Company make adaptations to its usual practices in the alternative context of Northern Ireland through its land management and property development?

Considering this aspect of the estate would push research forward in time rather than back and open out the geographical sphere of interest. Such a further study would concern itself with the cultural implications of an increasingly mobile and globally connected mercantile elite, for their involvement in the new commercial 'adventures' would continue to weaken the economic and social clout of the guild as the decades passed. Several chapters have shown that the Company Hall was often empty of governors and under-occupied great city houses held by the Drapers also caused concern. Persuading suitable men to accept Company office indeed proved harder as trading companies that enabled international investments and lucrative adventures outflanked the more established forms of trade organisation.¹²⁰⁷

Therefore in many of its interests this thesis has teetered on the edge of what has recently been coined 'corporate constitutionalism'. This phrase reflects the study of corporate, state and transnational strata of governance taken up by new corporate bodies such as the East India Company, the Newfoundland Company and the Virginia Company.¹²⁰⁸ The seventeenth century trading companies would effectively come to function as miniature states, as

¹²⁰⁷ Johnson for example noted that fifteen men refused the office of Warden in the reign of Charles I (Johnson, *History*, Vol. 3, p.172).

¹²⁰⁸ Pettigrew, William A. 'Corporate Constitutionalism and the Dialogue between the Global and Local' in *Seventeenth-Century English History*, Itinerario 39 (2015) pp.487-501, p.493

worldwide networks strengthened and intensified in pursuit of mercantile profit. In contrast, the Irish plantations represented the first and only ‘foreign’ estates of the livery companies. The same men who oversaw the husbanding of company’s Ulster land from afar often concurrently led and funded international trading expeditions, enabling the financing of new country estates at home.¹²⁰⁹

Geographer Denis Cosgrove has argued that “the emergence of European capitalism involved radical changes in the social organization of spaces at different scales”.¹²¹⁰ An alternative approach to the study of the urban buildings of the livery companies would then be to consider them in dialogue with a wider-range of networked spaces. Grounded in the experiences of mercantile men as they traversed, adapted and governed new territories, the relatively stabilised Drapers’ estate of the seventeenth century could be set-up in relation to the management of the Ulster plantation but also to the international forays of its members. How did now established systems of governance and their related architectural expressions adapt to vastly new cultural and environmental contexts? How did these experiences register back in London? Already members of overlapping communities within the City, it has been noted that the mercantile elite generally used “combinations of institutions to solve one particular problem” and that “each of these institutions in turn contributed to solving multiple problems.”¹²¹¹ Such a perspective would demand that the livery company halls and wider estate be interrogated as incubators for new adventures in mercantilism. Indeed few would contest Derek Keene’s assertion that trade was “the prime force which conditioned the reordering and rebuilding of the [post-fire] city”.¹²¹² Beginning to collapse the spatial

¹²⁰⁹ For example, Draper John Jolles (d. 1621) served as Master of the Company and as Lord Mayor. He led early negotiations regarding the Ulster plantations. Among other lands, he acquired a significant estate in Stepney and leased a house in the City. Jolles held shares in the Levant, French, Irish and Spanish companies. This pattern of mayoral investment in international trading companies has been remarked upon by Richard Barbour, leading him to note that “it is no accident that the celebrations elevating these men to local office made global claims for London” (Barbour, R. *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.89).

¹²¹⁰ Cosgrove, D. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1998) p.4, p.64.

¹²¹¹ Grafe, R., Gelderblom, O. ‘The Rise and Fall of the Merchant Guilds: Re-thinking the Comparative Study of Commercial Institutions in Premodern Europe’ in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XL, no.4 (Spring, 2010), pp.477-511, p.478.

¹²¹² Keene, D. ‘Growth, modernization and control: the transformation of London’s landscape, c.1500-c.1760’ in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (ed.) *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp.7-38, p.30.

boundaries between global and local would allow for the mercantile Drapers to be examined as agents of globalization in the city.¹²¹³

¹²¹³ This ambition finds a synergy in an ongoing AHRC research network entitled 'Global Cities' which aims to complicate the narrative that great early modern cities smoothly transitioned toward "global modernity" in an upward curve of inevitable progression. 'The Global City: Past and Present', <http://globalcities.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/workshop-1/workshop-report/> [Accessed online 2 June 2016].

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Merchants of the City:

Situating the London Estate of the Drapers' Company, c. 1540-1640

Sarah Ann Milne

Volume II of II

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Westminster for
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Introduction

The Dinner Book is a singular account book covering the period 1563 – 1602. It presents an organizational and financial reckoning of the annual Election Day Dinner in August, the smaller Quarter Dinners taken throughout the year and also includes one View Dinner. In the archives the Dinner Book is referred to as 'DB1', although the period covered by 'DB2' does not begin until the late seventeenth century and contains only three sparse accounts. Some fragmentary evidence of dinners can be found scattered in other livery company records for the sixteenth century.

Depending on their own financial and archival practices, livery companies often included references to dinners in their Wardens' Accounts with ad hoc payments, allowances of the house, receipts and salaries traceable within the pages. Furthermore, there are a handful of more formal accounts for particular Dinners. The closest comparator to the coherence of accounts contained within the Dinner Book is held by the Clothworkers, who have a record of three dinners for the years 1560-62 located within the annual Wardens' Accounts. These accounts have been helpfully transcribed by the former Company archivist David Wickham and published by the Clothworkers in a book 'All of One Company' (2004). However, in the Dinner Book's consistency, compilation and detail, it appears to be unique. Lena Orlin has called the document "extraordinary" and "meticulously detailed".¹ To date, there have been no published transcriptions of the Dinner Book and the transcribed text that follows has been accepted for publication by the London Records Society (forthcoming 2018).

The Dinner Book itself is bound in a limp vellum cover with a fold edge flap for protection. A number of miscellaneous loose pages of gothic manuscript at the beginning and end of the volume protect the binding connection between the vellum structure and the paper. Within, the feasts in the DB1 are arranged sequentially in chronological order. The first Dinner recorded within is dated 1564. Thereafter follows a continuous series of accounts for Dinners at Drapers' Hall until 1575. Only three further additions are made after 1575, the feast Dinners of 1578 and 1580 and a small Dinner in 1601. Dinners towards the beginning of the book are the most comprehensively detailed in their recordation. Some later Dinners simply received a title and introduction with no further details provided. Mirroring the form of other contemporary accounts in the Drapers archive, the manuscript follows the charge and discharge double-entry system; the compiled and combined

¹ Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p.136

expenses incurred by the four Wardens in respect of the feast. In its narrowest form The Dinner Book is an itemized expenditure account. The records appear to be unaudited, which accounts for the incorrect footing and many mathematical and clerical errors. It does however appear to be a 'fair copy', a formal account written up by the Clerk from individual bills presented by the Wardens and other Company officers. Expenditure details are sometimes blank – suggesting the bills or receipts for these items had been lost or were not submitted. Clearly as a tool for accounting it was not terribly important or, at least, unsuccessful in such an attempt.

It is striking that a number of dinner accounts go beyond conventional lists of food receipts and venture into describing the service of the Dinner. From the deployment of specific people, their particular role and their placement within the Hall, we gain a snapshot of how the Dinner was set up from the point of view of the Steward, an official employed specifically to oversee the smooth running of the Dinner. It is possible that this apparent diversion from a standardised financial account takes inspiration from the burgeoning courtly 'scalco' literature of the period.²

Another likely spur to its production was the intention to aid Wardens in the practical organisation of the Dinners, an aide memoire and template for future Dinners. After a very detailed description of the 'Order of Dinner' for 1564 in the Mercers Company Archive, there is a list entitled 'Remembrance for Master Wardens' regarding the Election Dinner. Bearing a resemblance to a manual to feast organisation, each item on the list starts "To Remember". It begins with a note "To remember your stranger guests to be bidden 6 or 7 days before your supper and what number you would rest upon". It goes on to endorse Wardens to 'remember' the baker, pikemonger, waterbearer, "meal to be had", "ten burden of rushes" and "four trusty servants of your own to take charge of things and to go of your own errands and business".³ Evidently the potential for mischievousness and theft was a real one. Within the Dinner Book itself, one of the Warden's servants was given the task of keeping "a book of all the meat and vessels that was spent out of the house by whom it was sent, and to whom it went", another of the Warden's servants was positioned in charge of the drinks in the pantry.⁴ Pewter and linen consistently went missing around the time of the Dinner leading to an order in 1629 that any washer or butler assigned to clean it would not be allowed to carry it out of Drapers Hall without special permission to do so.⁵

² For discussion of this growing bureaucratization of banquets, see Albala, K. *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (University of Illinois Press: 2007) p.139

³ MCA, Register of Writings, Vol. 2, f.119r

⁴ DCA, DB1, f.15r

⁵ DCA, MB13, f. 229v-230r

The Dinner Book surely acted as a reference for the Wardens as they undertook the organisation of the Company's Dinners, a reminder that nothing should be forgotten or overlooked and everything overseen in order to protect against misbehaviour and loss.

The Dinner Book was also about the safe-guarding of reputation, honour and quality control. In this way it should be considered in tandem with the ceremonial narratives of the Dinners contained within the Minute Books. These pieces of text, which described the transferral of offices from the outgoing Master and his Wardens to the new, acted out in the space of the hall, functioned as the effective conclusion of the Company year. A sample of the 1557 narrative is found on pages 9-10 of this volume. A blank page following the account signalled bureaucratic break before the next began. While these narratives began sporadically in the late 1530s alongside some notes as to expenditure on the Dinner, the practice of routinely describing the election ceremonies was solidified with the appointment of a new Clerk in 1538. The Drapers' Company seemed to be unsure of Thomas Upton's merits and so he embarked on a probation period so he might prove his sufficient learning, behaviour and knowledge. How long it took for Drapers to become assured of his suitability is not clear but what becomes immediately obvious to the outside observer is the vigour with which the new Clerk undertook his archival duties. Maybe to prove his worth, and apparently without instruction, Upton developed the template of the ceremonial narrative that would change little for the next forty years. Throughout the terms of three successive Clerks, the text remained anchored in this descriptive form. The annual narratives abruptly ceased in 1588.⁶ Two years previously, in 1586, a new Clerk had taken up office. The archives show he half-heartedly followed his predecessors' pattern for a couple years before completely giving up the practice. Interestingly, notes regarding the payments for the feasts were omitted from the Minute Books from 1543, when the Company moved Halls. The new building perhaps prompted a re-organisation and specialization of accounts within the archive, for the next account we have of the foods and expenditure at the Dinners is for the year 1564, located within the Dinner Book. The expanding production of written information and its repetitive nature reflected a growing belief that feasts were important vehicles for corporate governance and enactments of company hierarchies. In speaking of Margaret Hoby's personal chronicle, Sharon Seelig wrote that "what may strike the modern reader as tedious or repetitious...is in fact a sign of order, stability, and meaning".⁷

⁶ The same sort of consistently recorded feast narrative also ceased around this time in 1585 in the Grocers' Company (GH, Grocers' Company, MS11588/1 (1556 – 1591)).

⁷ Seelig, Sharon. *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives, 1600-1680* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2006) p.22

Taken together, these continuous records begin to set the Drapers up as a Company that accumulated an unusual amount of information around their feasts. The detailed narratives of processional lineages act as a useful complement to the Dinner Book's organisational practicality. Specifically, these texts flesh out our understanding of the spatial set-up and use of the hall as a place where honour duly conferred. A guest list is provided for 1564, alongside the table designation for each person relating to their standing. Interestingly a guest list is also provided for the Mercers' Election Day feast for the same year alongside a detailed account of the form of the Election and the Company's visit to church.⁸ The inclusion of these lists, and the order and quantity of dishes that arrived at individual tables, shows that careful consideration was paid to hierarchy and the performance of honour in the hall. The coherence and awareness of the order of the feasts of other companies was also clear. The Mercers dispatched their employee 'Stockbridge' to observe the Goldsmiths in 1567 and he produced "A view of the choosing of the Wardens of the Goldsmiths and the order thereof" contained in the 'Register of Writings' next to the Company's own practices.⁹ A further step up in terms of prestige, expenditure and scale, when the Lord Mayor was pulled from the Drapers, the Company was required to take the lead in the organisation of the Lord Mayor's Day Dinner held at Guildhall. For this two diagrammatic table plans show the placement of companies within this vast hall with apportions of messes of food noted. One plan is located within the Mercers' own Register of Writings relating to 'The Order for the Feast at the Guildhall' in 1557.¹⁰ The second is far later in 1634 but also provides a detailed bill of fare and a seating plan for the layout of the Guildhall.¹¹ The importance of ensuring the correct amount of food was allocated to the particular tables was critical to the upholding of honour and the status quo. The anxiety to maintain standards is palpable in records relating to the Lord Mayor's Dinner in 1588, when Draper Martin Calthorp was invested in this role. Eight Assistants were nominated to oversee the receiving of the poultry for the feast ensuring that this be "good and sweet". These senior men also acted as stewards to the service of the individual tables, making sure that the food assigned for a table was actually delivered to it and not "bribed and conveyed away".¹²

⁸ MCA, Acts of Court, Vol. 3, f.61-3

⁹ MCA, Register of Writings, Vol. 2, f.117r

¹⁰ MCA, Register of Writings, Vol. 2, f.142v, f.143r

¹¹ LMA, MSS 88.8 (a), Lord Mayor's Feast 1634

¹² DCA, MB10, f.334

The gifting of food is also closely monitored as a means of social exchange and evidences the extended networks of the Drapers. The accrual of bucks by Wardens, and subsequent re-distribution in the form of venison pasties, is recorded with remarkable detail in several instances (see Chapter Seven for further discussion). Indeed, Ian Archer directly referenced the pasties recorded in DB1, suggesting their widespread distribution to both rich and poor recipients within the city was a way of broadcasting corporate wealth to as large an audience as possible.¹³ Then, as now, these high status ‘gifts’ in kind could be used to influence those in positions of power. For example, in 1566 the Clothworkers’ Company sent £4 10s. of fish to Sir Ambrose Cave (M.P. for Warwickshire) “for dinners at two several times when the committees of our bill met there”.¹⁴ Relating to the estate, tenants frequently gifted food in lieu of paying a fine. The practice was still going strong in 1616 when Isaac Jones, tenant at the hall, promised a “fat buck” for the next Election Day Dinner.¹⁵ The Cook of the Steelyard, Thomas Whyte, was granted a lease of a tenement in the Emperor’s Head Lane in Thames Street in 1553. He gifted the Drapers two swans for their feast as a fine.¹⁶

With a continuing emphasis on high status meat such as venison, the food that was actually served at dinners of the companies appears to have remained largely medieval in nature. Three cooks for the Drapers Company can be identified, all Englishmen. Firstly, Stephen Treacle served the Company from at least the 1560s possibly up until 1604. He also served the Star Chamber in the 1590s, travelling with his men and “stufte” to Westminster by boat in 1593.¹⁷ Next Robert Wood, the Company’s tenant, was appointed Cook for one year’s probationary period. The Company evidently liked his work and he displayed good behaviour, for a permanent post was duly granted.¹⁸ Promised the reversion of the post in 1624, Simon Hammond was personal cook to the Lord Mayor of London and Master of the Company, Sir Martin Lumley, at the time of his application.¹⁹ However, in 1635 upon Wood’s death and Hammond withdrawing his suit, and the post was in fact given to Richard Marshall. It was likely on account of Marshall’s long service as

¹³ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.117

¹⁴ CCA, Renter Warden Accounts, 1566-7, f.4v

¹⁵ DCA, MB13, f.124r

¹⁶ DCA, MB5, f.40

¹⁷ Simon, A. *The Star Chamber Dinner Accounts*, (G. Rainbird for the Wine and Food Society: 1959). Also see: Scofield, Cora L. ‘Accounts of Star Chamber Dinners, 1593-4’. *The American Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (October 1, 1899) pp.83–95

¹⁸ DCA, MB13, f.11v

¹⁹ DCA, MB13, f.187r

Wood's assistant cook for 26 years that he was given the reversion of the post. Marshall moved into the tenement formerly leased by Wood, belonging to the Company.²⁰

²⁰ DCA, MB13, f.297r; f. 335v

Editorial Notes

The document is principally in early modern English, with headings in abbreviated Latin. I have modernized the main text in order to broaden accessibility, especially in light of the intended audience for this thesis. Contractions commonly used in such in early modern manuscripts, for example 'wth', 'y^e' and 'Itm', have been expanded without note. Latin phrases broadly still understood such as 'in primis' have been retained. Capitalisation has been modernised and standardised. In order to allow for greater accuracy in their future identification, original spellings of places and names have been retained. Spellings of foods that seem particularly fluid, or depart significantly from modern English (i.e. Verjuice – Vergewse, vergens, Vertioys, Vertions), have been retained in their original form within the text. Weights of stuff, where written out in full, have been changed to their shortened version, for example, 'pounds' is now 'lb.' throughout. An index of all the food and drink mentioned in the book has been compiled and is located at the back of the transcription.

The tabulated layout of the original document has been translated and regularised into the transcription (see Figure 1) but for legibility a number of changes have been made to placement and frequency of titles and sub-titles. For example, rogue headings have been shifted into the left hand column for ease of reference and where there is a central duplicate heading in the original document for the same item, I have deleted the central heading. Emboldened words in the transcription denote underlined text or larger print in the Dinner Book. I have underlined totals and sub-totals for ease of identification. 'Summa pars' where noted with no numerical total indicated have been deleted to help the flow. Incorrect accounting, which is frequent, has been left as is.

In the original document, the first twenty-nine pages have been assigned folio numbers although in a different, probably later, hand. The remaining pages have not been numbered. For the purposes of this edition the foliation has been extended to rest of the document.

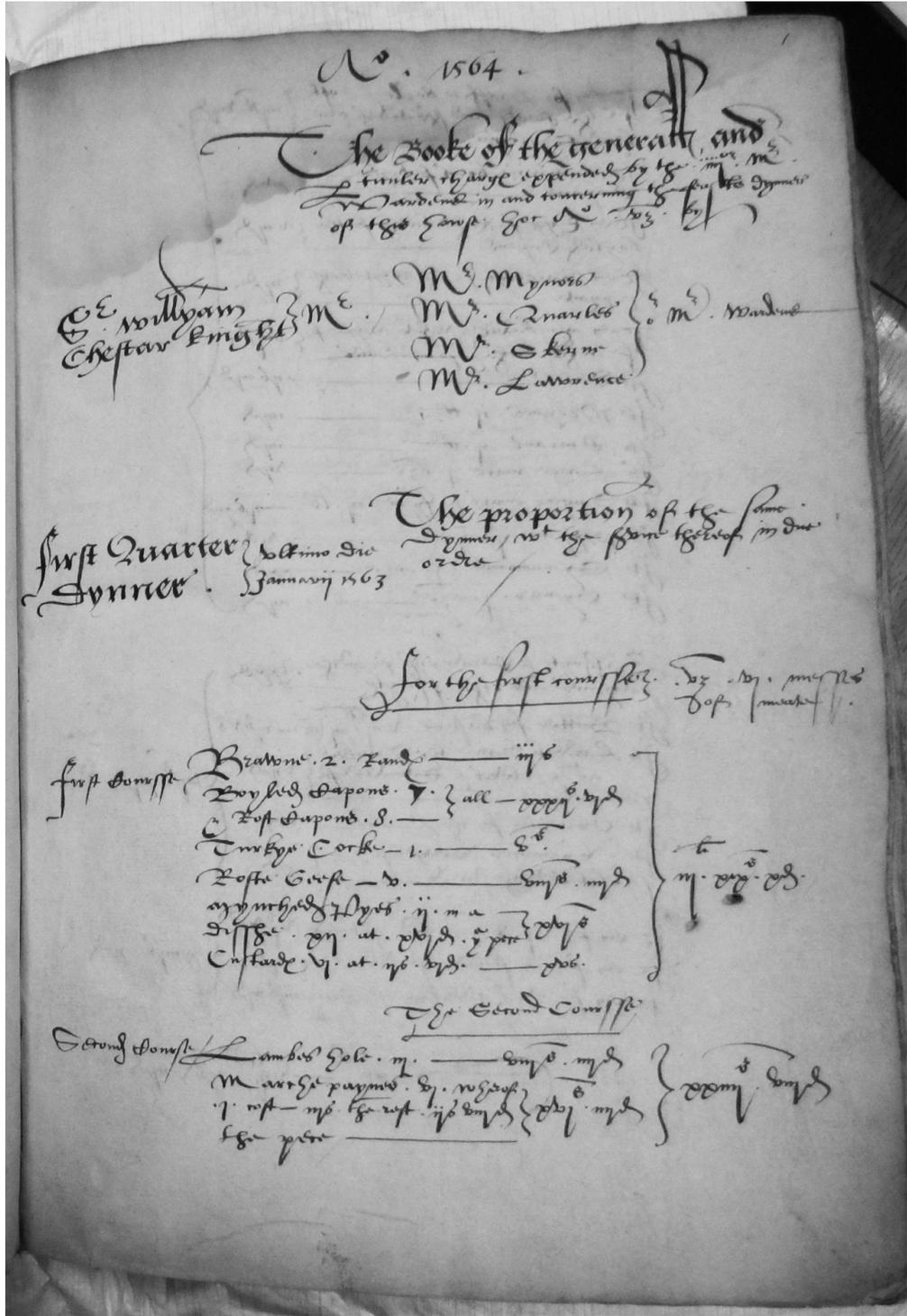


Figure 1. First folio of 'The Dinner Book'

Transcription of 1557 Election Ceremony at Dinner²¹

According to the old ancient and laudable custom heretofore used, the old Master Mr Chester (after Master Wardens at the table head required him) arose from high table and went in to the parlour and with minstrels and the cup bearers before him proceeded forth into the hall unto the high table and first assayed the garland upon the Superior's head being Mr Alderman Judd. The 4 Wardens following the said Master and the Clerk following them without hood or scroll to receive in the garland and afterwards assayed the same garland upon Mr Garratt's head, Knight and Alderman, and to others present and at last upon Mr Alderman Champion's head to whom he drank for to be our Master the next year ensuing who received the same.

Then immediately after the 4 old Master Wardens with minstrels likewise, the Clerk with his scroll in his hands and wearing his livery hood on this shoulder going next before the cup bearers issued out of the same parlour orderly passing by the high table making their reverence to the Master and Chief Estate, and so compassing the hall about the hearth Mr Watson, the first Master Warden, came up to the high table first tried his garland among certain of the Assistants there and afterwards, at the eastest table and at last drank to Master Pointer, sitting at the west table, to be the First Master Warden and next after the residue compassed the hall again, and then Mr Calthorp assayed his garland among the Assistants that had been twice Wardens before, at the high table and afterward at the west table and at length (for that Mr Stocker was absent) he repaired to the high table and proffered and delivered his garland unto Sir Andrew Judd, the highest estate, for Mr Stocker (because he was absent) for to be the Second Warden, and likewise Master Draner assayed his garland among such as had not been wardens at the west board and east board and at length set his garland on Mr Dymock's head to whom he drank to be the 3rd Mr Warden, and likewise immediately after Mr Cooke, one of the Assistants, who, by commandment & appointment of the Master and Mr Wardens and the Assistants, supplied the place for Mr Beswick, the Fourth Warden absent, tried his garland first at the east table and west table (and for that Mr Branche was absent) he also repaired to the high table and proffered his garland to Mr Alderman Garrett and drank to him for Mr Branch to be the 4th Mr Warden and so all the 4 Wardens orderly reporting to the upper end of the high table, and standing in course one by another before the old Master they had executed their turns made low obeisance and reverence

²¹ DCA, MB7, f.16-17

to the highest guest at the middle of the table and the rest of the lower end and likewise to the old Master and gave thanks and departed.

The same day immediately after dinner the Worshipful Mr Alderman Champion, our new Master elect, Master Pointer and Mr Dimock, 2 of our Master Wardens new elect being both there present, in the presence of the old Master and Wardens in the parlour, did take their oaths all at once being there also present diverse of the Assistants. God send them joy of their said office.

f.1r.

Anno 1564

The book of the general and particular charges expended by the four Master Wardens in and concerning the feast dinner of the house this year viz. by:

Sir Willyam Chestar Knight } Master

Mr Mynors

Mr Quarles

Mr Skerne

Mr Lawrence } our Master Wardens

**First Quarter
Dinner**

**The final day of
January 1563**

The proportion of the same dinner with the service thereof in due order

f.1r.	First course	Brawn two rondes	3s.	
	viz. six messes of meat	Boiled capons seven and roast capons eight	32s.	6d.
		Turkey cock one	5s.	
		Roast geese five	8s.	4d.
		Minced pies two in a dish - twelve at 16d. the piece	16s.	
		Custard - six at 2s. 6d.	15s.	
			<u>£3</u>	<u>14s.</u> <u>10d.</u>
f.1v.	Second course	Lambs whole three	8s.	4d.
		Marchpanes six whereof one cost – 3s., the rest - 2s. 8d. the piece	16s.	4d.
		Item for beef to boil and roast for the Cook and two servitors - one whole sirloin	4s.	8d.
		Item marye bones for boiled capons		15d.
		Item eggs for white broth for the boiled capons		8d.
		Item barberries for the white broth - one pint		6d.
		Item muskadel and white wine for the white broth		8d.
		Item dates	2s.	3d.
		Item prunes 2lb.		4d.
		Item currants 2lb.		4d.
		Item large mace 1oz.		6d.
		Item sugar coarse and fine 3lb.	2s.	9d.
		Item pepper 2oz.		5d.
		Item cinnamon 1oz.		20d.
		Item ginger 1oz.		4d.
			<u>24s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>

	Bisquytes and caraways for marchpanes and other fruits		20d.	
	Item butter for basting 8lb. 3oz.	3s.	5d.	
	Item lard to draw the turkey with and cloves and sanders for gallantyne		7d.	
	Item oranges for the lambs		5d.	
	Item vinegar, vergewse, salt and mustard		10d.	
		<u>6s.</u>	<u>11d.</u>	
	Item for six dozen di of bread	6s.	6d.	
	Item for a stand of ale	4s.		
	Item for a kilderkin of beer	4s.	4d.	
		<u>14s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>	
		<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£7</u>	<u>2s.</u> <u>3d.</u>
f.2r.	Wine			
	Item for one gallon of muskadell	2s.	4d.	
	Item for one gallon of malmsey		16d.	
	Item for seven gallons claret wine	9s.	4d.	
	Item for three pottles of sack	2s.		
		<u>15s.</u>		
	Pewter vessels			
	Item for six dozen of trenchers	2s.	5d.	
	Item for four garnish of vessels hired	2s.	8d.	
	Item 1lb. of candles and taps		3d.	ob.
	Item six sacks of coals	2s.	8d.	
	Item a pint of sweet rose water		12d.	
		<u>9s.</u>		<u>ob.</u>
	Officers' wages			
	Item to the Butler for his pain	4s.		
	Item to the Cook for his pains	6s.		
	Item to Goodwife Holmes		6d.	
	Item to the Clerk's wife for the washing of the naperies	2s.		
		<u>12s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>	
	Pots necessary			
	Item six or eight pewter pots, pottle, and quarts to carry ale and beer in			
	Furniture of plate for a quarter dinner for six or eight messes of meat			
	Plate			
	Salts for every mess – one			
	Standing cups for every mess – one			
	Item six basins and six ewers			
	Item four nests of gilt goblets			
	Item four nests parcel gilt goblets			
	Item four nests of bowls parcel gilt and gilt			

Item four dozen of drinking pots
 Item five or six dozen of spoons

**Napery
 ordinary**

Napery of the hall always provided of ordinary

f.2v.

**Provision for a quarter dinner kept in Drapers' Hall
 the third day of May, Anno 1564**

With the charges thereof as followeth:

**Six messes
 of meat**

Boiled capons seven, roast capons eight	31s.	4d.
Green geese fourteen	14s.	2d.
Chickens boiled five	2s.	6d.
Fresh salmon one	14s.	2d.
Custards six at 2s. 6d.	15s.	
Rabbits two dozen di	6s.	
Marchpanes one	3s.	4d.
Tarts of apples five at 2s. 8d. the piece	13s.	4d.
Boiled beef for cooks and servants		
Marye bones		
Eggs		
Butter		
Barberries one pint		4d.
Wine for the broth		4d.
Dates 1lb.		10d.
Prunes 2lb.		
Currants 2lb.		
Large mace 1oz.		
Sugar coarse and fine		
Pepper 2oz.		
Cinnamon 1oz.		
Ginger 1oz.		

**Bread, drink
 and wine**

Item a stand of ale	3s.	
Item a kilderkin of beer	2s.	4d.
Item seven dozen of bread	7s.	
Item claret wine, white wine and secke	11s.	8d.

f.3r. **Wages**

To the Butler for his pains	3s.	4d.
To the Cook for his pains		
To Holmes' wife		6d.
For washing the linen	2s.	

Pewter vessels

Item for four garnish of vessels		
Item for four sacks of coals	2s.	4d.
Item for two dozen trenchers		10d.
Item for a broom		1d.
Item for salts		3d.
Item for vinegar and vergens		11d.

A View Dinner of Fish	Provision of a view dinner kept in the hall fifteenth of March, Anno 1563, on a fish day		
Three messes of meat with the charges	Item two old ling	4s.	4d.
	Item green fish one fish di	3s.	
	Item pikes four	5s.	8d.
	Item carps four	5s.	10d.
	Item fresh eels four		18d.
	Item one quartern of lamprets		19d.
	Item four custards four lamprey pies and four pippin pies	26s.	
	Item 1lb. of butter	2s.	
		<u>51s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>
Herbs and sauce	Item barberries and salad oil		8d.
	Item oranges		2d.
	Item alexander buds and parsley		6d.
	Item for yeast		1d.
	Item for a pottle of wine		8d.
	Item for spinach and carrots		4d.
	Item for wafers		2d.
	Item for eggs		4d.
	Item for an earthen pot		5d.
		<u>4s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>
f.3v. Bread and drink	Item for three dozen bread	3s.	
	Item for a stand of ale	4s.	8d.
	Item for beer		10d.
	Item for four gallons of white and claret wine	5s.	4d.
	Item for a gallon of secke		20d.
		<u>15s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
Spice	Item for prunes		1d.
	Item for 1lb. of currants		5d.
	Item for 1lb. of dates		18d.
	Item for half an oz. of cinnamon		10d.
	Item for ginger 1oz.		1d. ob.
	Item for large mace half an oz.		6d.
	Item for one oz. of pepper		2d. ob.
	Item for one lb. of sugar		12d.
	Item for biscuits and caraways		8d.
		<u>5s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
Wages	Item to the Cook for his pains	4s.	
	Item to the Butler	2s.	

Item for washing the napery	2s.	
Item to Homes' wife		6d.
Item for hire of three garnish of vessels	2s.	4d.
Item for coals		14d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u>
		<u>9s.</u>
		<u>1d.</u>

f.4r.	The Feast Dinner	Proportion of the great feast dinner being the first Monday in August, Anno 1564, with the furniture and charge as followeth:				
	Butcher's meat	In primis for a boar	13s.	4d.		
		Item for seething, killing & sousing	6s.	8d.		
		Item for 114lb. of suet for baked venison and otherwise	£1	9s.	6d.	
		Item for two dozen and a half of long marybones with five dozen short		11s.	4d.	
		Item for 47st. of beef, mutton and veal at 13d. ob. the st., that is to say, one quarter of beef, a sirloin and a brisket, three sheep, and one veal, and one roasting piece of beef		42s.	10d.	ob
		Item for a peck of pricks			6d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>14s.</u>	<u>1d.</u>	<u>ob.</u>
		But we paid but	£6	13s.	4d.	
	Marchpanes	Item of Bagatte's wife ten marchpanes of the greatest scantling at 3s. the piece, and ten of the next scantling at 2s. 8d. the piece, and eight of the third scantling at 2s. 6d.	£3	16s.	8d.	
	Sturgeon	Item of Blage of the Kinges Heade in New Fisse Strete for 2 firkins of fresh sturgeon at 30s. the firkin	£3			
f.4v.	Hippocras	Item of the same Blage one gallon of hippocras on Saturday at 5s. and three gallons on Sunday at 5s. 6 gallons, on Monday the feast day at 6s. the gallon, and three gallons on Tuesday at 5s., being in all fourteen gallons and a pottle	£4			
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£7</u>			
	Wine	Item paid to Mathew Dolclough for a puncheon of French wine	£3	3s.	4d.	
		Item paid to Robert Ffryer for a hogshead of Gascon wine		50s.		
		Item for portage and carriage			18d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>54s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>	

Memorandum that we had our import allowed &
given us by Master Smyth the Customan.

	Other sorts of wines	Item for a roundlet of muscadel at Ratsclyffe containing eleven gallons and one pint at 2s. 4d. the gallon	26s.	
		Item there a roundlet of sack containing eight gallons at 16d. the gallon	10s.	7d.
		Item for carriage of a puncheon of French wine		8d.
		Item for three gallons of white wine for the cooks	4s.	
		Item to Mr Mynors for boat hire		6d.
		Item for a gallon of white wine on Tuesday for the Cook		16d.
		Item to a Cooper to part and divide out our wine left in the seller		4d.
		Item for the quills for the wine		4d.
		<u>Sum</u>		[-]
f.5r.	Spice for the feast dinner	Item of John Hartgown's saffron 1oz.		18d.
		Cloves & mace di.lb.	3s.	8d.
		Large mace 5oz.	4s.	7d.
		Cloves 2oz.		14d.
		Cinnamon 6oz.	9s.	
		Ginger 6oz.		12d.
		Sanders 1oz.		2d.
		Nutmeg one quarter of lb.		17d.
		Great raisins 6lb.		10d.
		Prunes 6lb.		12d.
			<u>26s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
		To Mr Mynors' man laid out for spice		
	More spice confectional	For biscuits and caraways 1lb.		14d.
		For cinnamon comfits 1lb.	2s.	8d.
		For ginger comfits 1lb.	2s.	
		For orange comfits 1lb.	2s.	
		For coriander comfits di.lb.		7d.
		For more biscuits and caraways 2lb.	2s.	8d.
		For clove comfits di.lb.		12d.
		For large prunes 10lb. at 2d. ob. the lb.	2s.	1d.
		For saffron		10d.
		For 2lb. of currants		9d.
		For nutmeg		2d.
			<u>15s.</u>	<u>11d.</u>
	More spice	Item of Mr Qwarles 25lb. three quarters sugar at 9d. ob. the lb. and 20 lb. at 11d. the lb., and 6 lb. at 9d. ob. the lb.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>44s.</u>	<u>50d.</u> <u>ob.</u>

	Item for 6lb. of dates, at 10d. the lb.		5s.		
	Item for 10lb. currants at 5d. the lb.		4s.	2d.	
f.5v.	Item for 2lb. of grains at 10d. the lb.			10d.	
	Item for 10lb. of pepper at 3s. 6d. the lb.	£3	10s.		
	Item for blades for spice			3d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>10s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
				<u>ob.</u>	
		<u>Sum total of the spice</u>	<u>£8</u>	<u>7s.</u>	<u>3d.</u>
	For poultry				
	Proportion for the Poulterer laid out by Mr Qwarles				
	Item for eighteen swans	£5			
	Item for earnest given			12d.	
	Item given in reward for them		3s.	4d.	
	Item for nine dozen pigeons of Mr Skerne, at 16d. the dozen		12s.		
	Item to Mason our Poulter for 30lb. roasting capons at 2s. 2d. the piece	£3	15s.	10d.	
	Item to him for 33lb. boiling at 2s. the piece	£3	6s.		
	Item for fourteen fat geese at 20d. the piece		23s.	4d.	
	Item for two rabbits			10d.	
	Item for four dozen quails at 8s. the dozen		32s.	10d.	
	Item for twelve roasting capons more, at 2s. 2d. the piece		26s.		
	Item for twelve boiling capons more, at 2s. the piece		24s.		
f.6r.	Item three dozen di. pigeons at 10d. the dozen		7s.	2d.	
	Item for oats to feed the swans			12d.	
	Item for 6cwt. and a half of eggs at 3s. 4d. the cwt.		21s.	8d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£19</u>	<u>14s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
	Pikes				
	Item paid to Robert Lucas, Pikemonger, for twenty-four pikes at 22d. the piece		44s.		
	Linen cloth				
	Item for half a piece of lockram for aprons containing forty-seven ells		31s.	8d.	
	Item for eight ells of souldage, and three quarters, and two ells of canvas for the kitchen		3s.	2d.	
	Item for two ells of fine holland for the sewers at 18d. the ell		3s.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>32s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>	
	Bread				
	Item paid the Baker for thirty-one dozen of white and wheaten bread		31s.		
	The Baker				
	Item paid him for boulting of our meal			13d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>31s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>	
f.6v.	Spice bread				
	Item paid him for boulting of our meal			8d.	

		<u>Sum</u>	<u>31s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>
Not spice bread	Item paid to Goodwife Wall for ten dozen of cakes and buns altogether		20s.	
Wafers	Item paid to Goodwife Thompson for six boxes of wafers after 2s. the box		13s.	
Beer	Item paid to Mr Mynors' Beer Brewer for two barrels of strong beer, at 8s. the barrel, and for three barrels of double beer, at 4s. the barrel		28s.	
Ale	Item paid to Martyn, our tenant in Smithfield, for three barrels of strong ale, at 5s. 4d. the barrel, and three stands of ale, at 2s. the stand		22s.	
The Chandler	Item for twenty-one green pots which were lacking of two dozen di.		25d.	ob.
f.7r.	Item for eight gallon pots lacking of two dozen		8d.	
	Item for seven pottle pots wanting of two dozen received		7d.	
	Item for a chafer wanting of eight chafers		3d.	
	Item for a pan lacking of nine pans		2d.	
	Item for white salt for the salt cellars half a peck – 3d., and a pot lacking with it 2d.		5d.	
	Item for white salt one bushel		20d.	
	Item for bay salt half a bushel		6d.	
	Item for red vinegar one quarter - 2d. and a pot, and the pot it was brought in – ob. qt.		2d.	ob. qt.
	Item verjuice 2d. and a pot with it lost ob. qt.		2d.	ob. qt.
	Item mustard one quarter and a pot lost with it		2d.	ob. qt.
	Item verjuice a gallon 6d. and a pot lacking 1d.		12d.	
	Item red vinegar one gallon 8d. and a pot lacking 1d.		9d.	
	Item white vinegar one gallon 12d. and a pot that is lacking 1d.		13d.	
	Item for mustard a pottle 4d. and the pot 1d.		10d.	
	Item for four earthen pans lacking at 2d. the piece		8d.	
	Item 3lb. of cotton candles		9d.	
	Item for 3lb. of white candles		7d.	ob.
	Item for three pecks of oatmeal		18d.	
	Item for packthread		2d.	
	Item for the loan or occupying of five dozen pots and pans at 4d. the dozen, one with another, lacking two pans		19d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>14s.</u>	<u>4d.</u> <u>ob.</u>

f.7v.	The Pewterer	Item for the hire of fifteen garnish of vessel of Mrs Catcher at 10d. the garnish	12s.	6d.
		Item for the loss of three platters, one plate, and three saucers which weighed 13lb. di at 7d. the lb.	7s.	10d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>21s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	Ashen cups	Item for one dozen of ashen cups		20d.
		Item for four Danisk trays	2s.	8d.
		Item for ten taps		2d.
		Item for a porter to carry them		2d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>4s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>
	Fruit, as pears, plums and filberts	Item for 12cwt. plums at 2d. the cwt.	2s.	4d.
		Item for 6lb. pears	3s.	6d.
		Item the filberts were our own growing in our own garden		[-] d.
		Item to a porter for carriage of the plums and pears		2d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>6s.</u>	
	Trenchers	Item for 24lb. dozen trenchers	10s.	
	Meal and oatmeal	Item for twelve bushels of meal at 2s. 3d. the bushel	32s.	
		Item paid to Goodwife Walls' maid for boulding out of the bran		12d.
		Item for six bushels of flour at 2s. 8d. the bushel	16s.	
		Item for a peck of oatmeal		4d.
		Item more for oatmeal		2d.
f.8r.	Butter	Item for a lb. of butter		3d.
		Item for 13lb. of butter	3s.	4d.
		Item for two dishes of sothery butter		11d.
		Item for 70lb. of butter at 3d. the lb., and 2d. for carriage	17s.	8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>22s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
	Cream and milk	Item for twelve gallons of cream at 14d. the gallon	14s.	
		Item for one gallon of milk		4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>14s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	Wood and coal	Item for 20lb. sacks of coals at 5d. the sack	8s.	4d.
		Item to Goodwife Homes for three sacks of coals		16d.
		Item for cwt. di of fagots	5s.	
		Item for one quarter of billets	2s.	6d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>17s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>

	Officers' fees and wages	Item to Christopher Fulkes our Sewar for two days service to saw and carve	6s.	8d.
		Item to four porters 3s. a piece, and to one other porter, 16d.	13s.	4d.
		Item to Stephen Trrackill our Cook for his wages	40s.	
		Item to him more for all his fees, the dripping only excepted	15s.	
		Item paid for the baking of 26lb. pasties of venison out of doors	4s.	4d.
		Item to William Fowler our Butler for his wage, he finding four butlers under him	26s.	8d.
		Item to Currans our Musician for two days service with his whole noise	13s.	4d.
		Item to one Small our Steward who took the charge and receipt of all the things into the house		
f.8v.	Not wages	Item paid to the Sexton for ringing of bells and all other service at Saint Michael's for Sunday and Monday	4s.	
		Item paid to Goodwife Holmes for three days labour, in the house and to a woman with her two days, at 6d. the day	2s.	6d.
		<u>Sum</u> £7	<u>15s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>
	Rewards for bucks	Item given to my Lord Grey's man for three bucks given to this house unto the Wardens	20s.	
		Item to the Lord Mayor's man for bringing of one buck	3s.	4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>23s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	Extraordinary charges	Item for six padlocks and keys	4s.	
		Item for one gallon of barberries	4s.	8d.
		Item for one quire of large paper for the cooks for pies bottoms		11d.
		Item for writing paper for the Steward		2d.
		Item for a quire of paper more for the cooks		3d.
		Item for a staff torch for the cooks to look in to the ovens		12d.
		Item for oranges		13d.
		Item for lemons		4d.
		Item for brooms		6d.
		Item for a strainer		4d.
		Item for carrying the sturgeon to the hall		4d.
		Item for onions to make porridge for poor folks		12d.
		Item for nails		1d.
		Item for a pottle of gooseberries		8d.
		Item for lathes		1d.
		Item for a bushel and a peck of white salt		15d.
		Item for a candlestick		1d.

	Item for candles beside the Chandlers' bill 2lb.	10d.
	Item for four per tankard of water our house then lacking	23d.
f.9r.	Item for a link and packthread	6d.
	Item for two men to carry a cowl of porridge to the Countess with meat therein	2d.

Sum [-]

Perfumes, flowers and sweet waters	Item for perfumes and pans for it	11d.
	Item for flowers for the sturgeon	2d.
	Item for flowers for the ladies' chamber	8d.
	Item for one quart of rose water	14d.
	Item for damask water and roses to Mrs Lawrens	3s.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>5s.</u> <u>11d.</u>

The total sums of all particulars as followeth:

	The Butcher's bill came to in the whole	£6	13s.	4d.	
	Marchpanes	£3	16s.	8d.	
	Sturgeon two firkins	£3			
	Hippocras fourteen gallons and one pottle	£4			
	Wine of all sorts	£12	18s.	8d.	
	Spice with sugar	£8	6s.	9d.	ob.
	The Poulterer's bill	£19	14s.	6d.	
	Pikes 24lb.		44s.		
	Linen cloth		57s.	10d.	
	Bread of all sorts		31s.	8d.	
	Spice bread		20s.		
	Wafers		13s.		
	Beer		28s.		
	Ale		22s.		
	Chandler's bill		14s.	4d.	ob.
	Pewterer's bill		20s.	4d.	
	Ashen cups, trays and taps		4s.	8d.	
	Fruit of all sorts		6s.		
f.9v.	Trenchers		10s.		
	Meal and flour		49s.	6d.	
	Butter		22s.	2d.	
	Cream		14s.	4d.	
	Wood and coal		17s.	2d.	
	Officer's wages	£7	15s.	10d.	
	Rewards for bucks		23s.	4d.	
	Extraordinary charges		9s.	3d.	
	Perfumes, pans, and flowers		5s.	11d.	
	<u>Sum total of all totals</u>	<u>£82</u>	<u>9s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	

Whereof

	Received	Received towards the said charges against as followeth:			
		First the ordinary allowance of the house towards this dinner	£10		
		Item more granted the assistance by act of court towards the augmentation thereof upon considerations	£6	13s.	4d.
		Item received of Thomas Bury transmuted from this house towards a hogshead of Gascon wine		40s.	
		Item of Peter Smyth towards two swans, one by him		13s.	4d.
		Item more received of [-] Clyff for two swans		10s.	
		Item for quarteredge received among the Assistants		18s.	8d.
		Item for quarteredge received of the Livery		32s.	
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£22</u>	<u>7s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
f.10r.	Receipts	Sum received as appeareth	£33	7s.	4d.
	Charges	And we have paid as at appeareth against it	£32	9s.	4d.
	Remaining	So the clear charges of our said dinner net standeth in	£60	2s.	
				Whereof	
	Division or dividend	Be equal division every man's part amounteth to severally and by poll to	£15		6d.
		Memorandum we sold to Messenger our Clerk for 10s. by him paid all the several quarteredge which was left by him to be levied and gathered, and also to Mr Mynors' wait money for 4s. and two hogsheads 16d., and two received 7d.		16s.	
		Which was equally divided among us			
f.10v.		Venison and bucks provided and given us to the said dinner			
		By Mr Mynors - eight bucks			
		By Mr Quarles - five bucks three quarters			
		By Mr Skerne - two bucks			
		By Mr Lawrence - four bucks			
		Nineteen bucks three quarters			
		Other bucks given in general			
		Item by the Lord Mayor, Sir John White - one buck			
		Item by Mr Vaghan - one buck			
		Item by George Braythwaite - one buck			
		Item by Mr Alderman Chestar - one buck			

Whereof one half was sent to Mr Champion
Item by the Lord John Graye – one buck

Five bucks di

Sum altogether - bucks – 25lb. one quarter

Whereof

Pasties baked of eighteen bucks and one quarter of
the same were made in pasties the number of - 134
pasties

And of the others seven bucks baked for Tuesday
were also made of pasties great, the number of - 28
pasties

So the twenty-five bucks and one quarter made in all
pasties to the number of - 162 pasties

For the which

Twenty-five bucks was provided in pepper and for the
other furniture of the dinner – 20lb.

Whereof

Spent – 13lb.

And so rest and left – 7lb. which was divided among
the Wardens, and the pepper spent to every buck
was about – di.lb.

f.11r.

**All which pasties of venison were bestowed as
followeth:**

The bestowing of the pasties

In primis on Sunday at dinner to take a taste and
make a proof - one pasty

Item for Monday at dinner - fourteen pasties

Item for the Wardens' dinner that day - one pasty

Item for the Cooks' dinner that day - one pasty

Item for the Wardens of the Bachelors' dinner - two
pasties

Item for Monday at supper to the Wardens - one
pasty

Item for the Wardens of the Bachelors' breakfast on
Tuesday morning - two pasties

Item on Tuesday at dinner - thirteen pasties

Item to the Cooks' dinner on Tuesday - one pasty

First Warden Mr Mynors gave first to his house on Sunday, one pasty to Mrs Hart, one pasty to Smythe the Hunt, one pasty to Martyn at the waterside, one pasty to Apton, one pasty to Mrs Mynors for her neighbours, two pasties to Wall, two pasties to the Bishops Head, and two pasties to Mrs Asshelyn

Sum – eleven pasties

Second Warden Mr Quarles allowed and gave to himself on Sunday, one pasty to Master Calthorpp, one pasty to Robert Bisshopp, one pasty to Randoll, one to Lamberd, one divided him at twice, three to Crofton, one to his cousin George, one to his brother's servant, one to Mr Clifford, one and to Thomas Eliot one pasty

Sum – thirteen pasties

Third Warden Mr Skerne gave to Mrs Hern one pasty, to Mistress Clyff one, to Mrs Morley one pasty

Sum – three pasties

Fourth Warden Mr Lawrence gave to Mr Best one pasty, to Mrs Lawrence two pasties

Sum – three pasties

f.11v.

Item more the Wardens gave generally to the Searchers one pasty, to the Poulterer one pasty, to the Lord Treasurer Gardyner one pasty, to the Porter of Blackwell Hall one pasty, to my Lord Grey one pasty, to Stokes and his man two pasties, to our four porters four pasties, the channel raker one pasty, to Messynger the Clerk one pasty, to Warner our Rentor one pasty, to Robert Holmes the Beadle one pasty, to Henry Starr our Labourer one pasty, to the Chandler one pasty, to John Chambers two pasties, to Smalle our Steward two pasties, to the Clerk of Saint Michaels two, to the Parson thereof one, to the Ale Brewer one, to the Wait Bailey one, to the Master of the Bachelors two, to a Sergeant one, to the neighbours afore our gate

Sum – fifty-four pasties

Item to the Wardens the remainder being eleven pasties a piece – forty-four pasties

Divided besides among them - four pasties

The expending and bestowing of the foresaid meat and provision as followeth:

Saturday Item on Saturday at the potation was spent two dozen cakes, two dozen buns being all spice bread, two gallons of hippocras, pears, plums, filberts, biscuits and caraways, French wine, ale, beer, and sack

Sunday Item on Sunday at potation was spent four dozen cakes, four dozen buns, spice bread, two gallons hippocras, pears, plum, filberts, biscuits, caraways, French wine, Gascon wine, ale, beer and sack

f.12r. Item the Wardens dined at the Hall on Sunday with a boiled capon, a roast capon, a sirloin of beef, a venison pasty, mutton and porridge

Item the same night they supped in the Hall with roast capon, rabbits, pigeons and baked venison

Order of service at the feast dinner **The order of the service for the said feast dinner on Monday foresaid**

Monday Item the hall was that day set with three tables throughout furnished

Whereof

Four messes of meat **The number of persons sitting at the high table**

First the Lord Mayor	Mr Symthe customan
Sir Richard Sackfield	Mr Holstock
Sir Hugh Pawlett and my Lady his wife	Mrs Mynors
Sir John Ratclyff	Mrs Quarles
The Lieutenant of the Tower	Mrs Skerne
Sir William Harper and my Lady his wife	Master Alderman William Chester our Master
Master Alderman Champion	Mr Stanley and my Lady his wife
Mistress Champion	Mr Chevall
Alderman Jackson and his wife	Mr Richards
Sir Thomas Offeley	Mrs Lawrence
My Lady Granado	

Sum of the persons sat at that board – twenty-five

f.12v. Five messes of
meat

Persons at the second table

Master Ambrose Nicolas and his wife
Mr Yonge and his wife
Mistress Cockeram
Mr Eaton Chamberleyn
Mrs Trott
Mr Hall and his wife
Mrs Chevall
Mrs Barnam
Mrs Calthroppe
Mr Wilbram
Mr Blont
Mrs Poynter
Mrs Beswick
Mrs Goslyng
And more to the number of twenty guests and the
table filled up with ladies, gentlemen with five or six
of the youngest Livery

Sum at that table sitting – thirty-two persons

Five messes

Persons at the third table

Mr Coverdale
Mr Philpot
And the rest of the same table furnished with the
Assistants and Livery of the Company to the number
of thirty-two persons

f.13r.

**The order and furniture of meat served in to all the
three tables**

First service

Service to the high table

Item to that table was served four double messes of
meat viz. of brawn, one shield and three rondes
sliced
Boiled capons two in every dish
Swans one in every dish
Roast capons two in every dish
Venison one pasty of a side in a dish
Pike large one in a dish
Custard one in a dish

Second service

Quails six in a dish
Sturgeon one jowl and three rondes sliced
Marchpanes one in a dish
And at last the table taken up was presented
Wafers and hippocras

First service

The second table

The said table was served with two double messes and three single messes viz.

Brawn sliced

Boiled capons two messes double and three single

Swans two, and for three messes three geese

Roast capons two messes double and three single, venison one side in every dish

Pike one in every dish

Custards one in every dish

f.13v. **Second service** Quails six for one mess, and four messes

Pigeons

Sturgeon sliced five messes

Marchpanes one in a dish, and the table taken up then

Wafers and hippocras

The third service at the third table

Then the said third table was served throughout with all sorts of dishes both in first and second courses and in all points with wafers also and hippocras as the second table was and as many dishes

Meat sent out abroad in to the town

Memorandum there was sent out to the Lord John Graye, brawn sliced, a boiled capon, a roast capon, a pasty of venison of a side, a swan, a pie of goose giblets, a custard, a tart, French wine and claret of each a gallon

Seven messes of meat left in store on Monday

Memorandum also there was provided on Monday seven messes of meat more than was served in, which was setup, and the most part reserved to serve for Tuesday

f.14r. **Order of service for Tuesday at dinner**

Four messes of meat

The high table

Item that table was furnished first with Master Alderman Champion and his wife, the four new Wardens and their wives, the four old Wardens and their wives, two of the Assistants and their wives, and other guests as Alderman Lodge and his wife with diverse others Worshipful to the number of nine more so as the table was set with the number of twenty-five persons

Two messes of meat

The second table

Item that table was set all most half throughout with guests bidden and some unbidden to the number of sixteen persons

The furniture of meat served into the hall on Tuesday foresaid unto the said three tables

First course

The high table

The high table was then served with four messes of meat viz. one shield of brawn at the high mess, and three messes sliced. Item two messes double served, and two messes single served with boiled capons, two swans, and two geese, roast capons venison pasties, pike, and custard

Second course

Item six quails in a dish two messes and six pigeons in a dish, other two messes one jowl of sturgeon and three messes of sliced sturgeon, and a marchpane in every dish, and after the table taken up served in with wafers and hippocras

f.14v. **First and second course**

The service of the second table

Item that table was served with the like meat in all sorts and every dish as the high table was with two double messes and three single messes. And likewise the second service in all sorts saving there was no quails but pigeons only in there instead

Service of the third table

Item the third table was served in all sorts with as many dishes as the second table was, saving two messes which was both single service

Hippocras spent on Monday and Tuesday

Memorandum that on that day being Monday was spent - six gallons

Item on Tuesday spent - four gallons and one pottle

Item there was also one gallon left and divided among the Wardens, so that Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday was spent in hippocras - fourteen gallons and one pottle

The order of the officers of the house during the feast aforesaid

In the larder, Steward and Clerk of the Kitchen

First there was a Steward whose name was Smalle who took the charge upon him to see that all the provision provided ready into the house and also did see it pointed unto every office, and had under his charge all the spice who did into the cooks hands and

other officers that which they should occupy. Also he kept reckoning with Butcher, Poulterer, Pikemonger, Grocer, Chandler and did set out the service of meat, and did set up that which remained and gave the Wardens account of the rest when the feast was done. - one

f.15r. **Larder**

Item he had under him John Chambers who kept a book of all the venison that came into the house to what warden it was sent, and what number of pasties were made, and where they were distributed, and also kept the larder spice and other things while the Steward was abroad, and noted up the service how it was served at and from the dresser and took in the meat that did remain above the server out of the kitchen into the larder. - one

Item the said Steward had another man of Mr Mynors' Ralph Kyng which man was always attending at his hand to fetch him spice, butter, suet, salt or any other things that the cooks lacked while the Steward was looking unto the cooks, and also to carry it from the steward's hand anything that he called for out of any other offices, or out of doors at all times when the Steward called for it. - one

Kitchen

Item in the kitchen was the Master Cook Stephen Triacle who did furnish the kitchen and pastio with all such cooks, scullions and turn-brochers as did appertain there as at his own charge & had his wages as aforesaid for the same, being 8 persons besides himself. - eight

f.15v. **The cellar and buttery**

Item one Dredgewede Mr. Skern's man did keep the bar, and stood there still continually to call for wine, ale, and beer to them that filled it and to deliver it from the bar to them that called to him for it. And George Daye Mr Skerne's man filled beer, George Smithurst Mr Lawrence's man filled ale. And John Dowd Mr Mynor's man filled wine. And two men kept continually without the bar to carry such drink for the butlers as they did call for that is to say Simon Stocke to carry drink for the second table, and Richard Tomson Mr Lawrence's man to carry drink to the third table. - six

The pantry

Item Hassoppe Mr Skerne's man did keep the bar of the pantry and did stand continually there to deliver such bread as was called for, and Robert Epton Mr Lawrence's man kept within the pantry to deliver bread to the bar, and two men kept always without

to carry bread to the butlers when they called for it. That is to say Humphrey Humble Mr Mynor's servant who served the high table and Thomas Knight Mr Quarles' man who served the second and third tables. - four

Porters four

Item there were four porters, one to keep the gate, two to keep the stairs feet, and one to keep the hall door which was Cartewright, who had with him John Ffetypace Mr Skerne's man who kept a book of all the meat and vessels that was spent out of the house by whom it was sent, and to whom it went. - four

f.16r. **The hippocras house**

Item to the hippocras house were pointed three persons, viz. Francis Quarles Mr Quarles' man, John Hilton Mr Mynor's man, and Anne Baxter Mr Mynor's maid which three did keep the muscatel, sack, spice bread, pears, plums, filberts and wafers. And also kept full within that house who delivered out all those foresaid things as they were called for, and also took in all the meat that was brought them and also did set them upon the shelf there safe, and sorted out all the whole messes of meat from the broken meat etc. - four

Butlers four

Item there was William Ffowler who was our Chief Butler, who had under him three other butlers, whereof one kept still the cupboard of plate, and had there wine and ale and beer to serve for the high table, and another butler to stand in the midst of the second table, and had his wine, ale and beer by him and brought to him when he commanded it that tended upon him and likewise bread, who did fill the cups that the waiters brought over unto him. And likewise another butler did stand and serve the third table in the same sort. And William Ffowler the Head Butler went out from table to table to see all things in order and too look to his plate and to deliver spoons and to gather them up. - four

f.16v. **The Yeomanry
Waiters**

Item there were pointed the four Master Bachelors of the Yeomanry to wait with twenty more of the Bachelors of the Yeomanry the best and comeliest that could be found and best apparelled, and the four Master Bachelors were appointed to be overseers to the residue to keep their order appointed who after they had broken their fast were sent to bring six guests that were bidden and to serve them with water and towels and after to bring up the whole service from the dresser with them, Sewar before them to the tables, and when all the first service was done, then the Chief Master Bachelor choseth, out of all those five persons with him to attend upon the high table, over whom he took the view to see them wait on that table and no other to see the meat and they carry in the meat from the said table unto the hippocras house and none to be carried elsewhere. And so the like order was kept at the second table with the second Master Bachelor and so likewise of the third Master Bachelor and the fourth Master Bachelor was appointed for the parlour and also to carry out such service as was sent out of the house in to the city unto my Lord Graye etc.

f.20r.

Anno 1565

Hereafter followeth the general and particular charges and expenses disbursed by the four Master Wardens of this year as it did fall out in order:

Mr Richard Champion Alderman } our Master

Mr Parker
Mr Nasshe
Mr Reynolds
Mr Hopton } our Master Wardens

Seven messes

The proportion of the first quarter dinner in gross kept the thirteenth of January 1564 as followeth delivered to the Clerk in form as he received it:

In primis ten capons at 20d.	16s.	8d.
Item five geese at 20d.	8s.	4d.
Item a turkey cock	4s.	
Item four capons at 3s.		12d.
Item for bacon	3s.	2d.
Item six dozen of larks	8s.	
Item di.cwt. of eggs		20d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>53s. 10d.</u>

f.20v.

Item more a sirloin of beef	3s.	6d.
Item six marybones	2s.	6d.
Item three lambs		9d.
Item in oranges		4d.
Item for six dozen trenchers	3s.	
Item for three horse loads of great coal	5s.	
Item for a kilderkin of beer	2s.	
Item for a stand of ale	2s.	
Item for borrowing a garnish of pewter vessels	3s.	4d.
Item for five dozen of bread	5s.	
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>35s. 8d.</u>

Item 2lb. of butter	2s.	
Item for a peck of salt		5d.
Item for a pottle of vertioys with a pot		3d.
Item vinegar with a pot		2d.
Item in brooms		2d.
Item taps and thread		1d.
Item a pan to melt butter		2d.
Item in mustard with a pot		1d.

		<u>Sum</u>	<u>4s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	
	Item claret wine five gallons		6s.	8d.	
	Item in white wine two gallons and a quart		3s.		
	Item in sacke one gallon and one pottle		2s.		
	Item for a quart of muskadyne			8d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>12s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	
f.21r.	Item to the Butler for his pains		4s.		
	Item to Goodwife Holmes			12d.	
	Item to the porter of the gate			4d.	
	Item to the Cook for his wages		6s.		
	Item for twelve pies		16s.		
	Item for six custards		15s.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>42s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	
	Item for 2oz. of pepper			6d.	
	Item for di.oz. of large mace			6d.	
	Item for 2lb. of prunes			4d.	
	Item for 2lb. of currants			8d.	
	Item for 1lb. of dates			10d.	
	Item for 1lb. of fine sugar			11d.	
	Item for 2lb. of coarse sugar			20d.	
	Item for a quarter of a lb. of biskts			4d.	
	Item for sanders			1d.	
	Item for washing the napery		2s.		
	Item to the Clerk's maid for washing and making clean the whole house			4d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>8s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>	
		<u>Sum total of this dinner</u>	<u>£7</u>	<u>15s.</u>	<u>8d.</u> <u>ob.</u>

f.22r. **Quarter Dinner** **Proportion of the second quarter dinner kept in
Drapers' Hall the fourteenth of May, Anno 1565, as it
was delivered by the Renter Warden to the Clerk**

Seven messes	In primis sixteen capons, whereof eight to roast, and the other to boil	34s.
	Item fifteen geese at 12d. the piece	15s.
	Item two dozen of rabbits	6s.
	Item six chicken pies	15s.
	Item six custards	15s.
	Item six marchpanes	16s.
	Item a sirloin of beef	5s. 4d.
	Item six marybones	2s. 6d.

	Item four dozen di of bread	4s.	6d.
	Item a kilderkin of beer	2s.	
	Item in ale		12d.
	Item six gallons of claret wine	6s.	
	Item a gallon of sack		20d.
	Item for white wine		20d.
	Item to the Butler	4s.	
	Item to the Cook	6s.	
	Item to the Chandler		18d.
	Item for washing the linen	2s.	
	Item to Goodwife Holmes		8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6 9s. 10d.</u>
f.22v. Spice	Item dates 1lb.		10d.
	Item prunes 2lb.		3d.
	Item currants 2lb.		8d.
	Item large mace 1oz.		12d.
	Item sugar fine 1lb.		12d.
	Item sugar coarse 2lb.		20d.
	Item pepper 2oz.		5d.
	Item ginger 1oz.		3d.
	Item biskette 3oz.		7d.
	Item for the hire of four garnish of pewter vessel	3s.	4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>10s.</u>
	<u>Sum total of the quarter dinner</u>	<u>£7</u>	<u>9s. 10d.</u>

f.24r.	The Feast Dinner } Anno 1565	Proportion of the said Feast Dinner kept the first Monday in August 1565, with all the whole furniture and charges thereof as followeth:			
	A.1. Meat from the Butcher	In primis a boar bought and fed at St Katherin's at Arnold's called the Hermitage Item for killing and dressing of it Item for seething of it Item for carrying it from St Katherine's Item given in reward to a fellow to ply him with feeding to brawn	50s. 2s. 8d. 6s. 8d. 6d. 12d.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>10d.</u>	
		Item paid to John Wolfstone for 18lb. of suet at 3d. the lb. Item to him for beef 134lb. at 1d. ob. the lb.	39s. 6d. 16s. 9d.		
		Whereof			
	Within and roundabout our great court of our hall	5st. was distributed to the poor, besides all manner of fees of venison, swans, goose, capon etc. Item for three muttons and one quarter at 6s. 8d. Item for long marybones two dozen and eight at 4d. Item veal three quarters Item middling guts three Item a peck of pricks	 21s. 8d. 10s. 8d. 8s. 7d. 2d.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>7s.</u>	<u>3d.</u>
		<u>Sum of both together</u>	<u>£8</u>	<u>8s.</u>	<u>1d.</u>
f.24v.	B.2. Marchpanes and confits	Item paid to Balthezar Sancheshe for eight marchpanes of the greatest scantling at 3s. 4d. Item for eight marchpanes of the second scantling at 3s. Item for ten marchpanes of the least size or scantling at 2s. 8d.	26s. 8d. 24s. 26s. 8d.		
	Confits	Item cinnamon confits 1lb. Item ginger confits 1lb. Item orange confits 1lb. Item colyander confits 2lb. 6oz. Item clove confits di lb. Item caraways and biscuits 1lb. 2oz.	3s. 2s. 4d. 2s. 4d. 3s. 2d. 14d. 16d.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>10s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>

C.3.	Item paid to Blage at the Castell in New Fysshestrete	£3	6s.	8d.
Sturgeon	for two firkins of sturgeon at 33s. 4d. the firkin			
	Item more for carriage thereof and other charges			8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>7s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
D.4.	Item paid to William Ffowlar our Butler for fourteen	£3	14s.	8d.
Ypocras	gallons of ypocras at 10s. 4d.			
To the Butler for his fee	Item to him for his ordinary fees and his five men		26s.	8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£5</u>	<u>16d.</u>
E.5.	Item paid to Mr Reynolds for one hogshead of		50s.	
Wine	Gascony wine			
	Item to Thomas Gardynar for thirty-five gallons		35s.	
	French wine			
	Item for a roundlet of muscadell containing thirteen		21s.	3d.
	gallons at 2s. 6d. and one pottle			
	Item thirteen gallons di of sack at 20d.		22s.	6d.
	Item white wine three gallons		3s.	6d.
	Item more white wine one gallon			12d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>13s.</u>
f.25r.	F.6.	Item paid to William Smyth our tenant for 1oz.		20d.
		saffron		
	Grocer	Item for cloves and mace one quartern	2s.	4d.
		Item for cloves 2oz.		14d.
		Item for mace large 4oz.	3s.	
		Item for cinnamon 2oz.	3s.	9d.
		Item for ginger 2oz.		4d.
		Item nutmeg one quartern		16d.
		Item damask prunes 22lb.	2s.	
		Item currants 12lb.	4s.	6d.
		Item dates 6lb.	4s.	6d.
		Item pepper 2lb.	5s.	8d.
		Item cinnamon di.lb.	14s.	
		Item ginger 6oz.		12d.
		Item nutmeg 6oz.	2s.	
		Item colyander seeds di.lb		3d.
		Item ysanglasse 1lb.	2s.	
		Item tormesall 1lb.		20d.
		Item two quires of paper		6d.
		Item sanders 1oz.		2d.
		Item pepper 2lb.	5s.	8d.
		Item nutmeg 3oz.		12d.
		Item ginger 2oz.		4d.
		Item cloves and mace di.oz.		4d.
		Item mace large 1oz.		11d.

	Item dates 1lb.			9d.
	Item pepper 1lb.		2s.	10d.
	Item sugar 10lb.			8d.
	Item sugar 1lb.			11d.
	Item currants 2lb.			9d.
	Item sugar 44lb. at 10d.		36s.	8d.
	Item pepper 10lb. at 2s. 10d.		28s.	4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>13s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
	G.7.			
	The Poulterer	Item paid to Robert Mason our Poulterer for seventy-five capons at 2s. 1d.	£7	16s. 4d.
		Item for twenty-six geese at 20d.		43s. 4d.
		Item for five signets at 8s. 4d.		56s.
f.25v.		Item for nine dozen pigeons at 20d.		15s.
		Item for two heronshaws at 3s. 6d.		8s.
		Item for 6cwt. of eggs at 2s. 10d. the cwt.		17s.
		Item for ten dozen of quails at 7s. the dozen provided by Mr Warden Renolds	£3	10s.
		Item for meat for the said quails		3s. 1d.
		Item for three signets bought of our bull		24s.
		Item for meat for the said signets		3s.
		Item for fifteen capons at 22d. provided by Mr Warden Reynolds		27s. 6d.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£20</u> <u>14s.</u> <u>6d.</u>
		Whereof		
		Rebated for fourteen quails		7s.
		And so paid the whole remain	£20	7s. 6d.
	H.8.			
	Pikemonger	Item paid to Richard Lucas at Qwenehive for twenty-seven pikes at 22d. the piece		49s.
		Whereof		
		Four to be of twenty-four inches long and all the rest, the one half to contain twenty inches long, and the other half eighteen inches long, all perfect, sweet and good		
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>49s.</u>
	J.9.			
	Linen cloth	Item bought of Thomas Fyssher, Draper, half a piece of lockeram		51s.
		Item two ells of white cloth which was provided by Mr Warden Reynolds		3s.
		Item for two ells of canvas		16d.
		Item for four ells of sowltwiche		2s.

		<u>Sum</u>	<u>57s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
Memorandum				
		Two ells of fine holland for the sewars at 18d. the ell Item eight ells of soultarge foresaid and three quarters beside two ells of canvas allowed for the kitchen	3s. 3s.	4d. 2d.
f.26r.	K.10. The Baker for bread			
	Saturday	Item paid to Homfrey Veron in St Clements Lane for Saturday of half penny bread, and penny bread being something stale - one dozen Item for rolls three at 1d. being all new baked - one dozen Item for halfpenny bread new baked - one dozen		
	Sunday	Item for penny bread and half penny bread being stale - five dozen Item for penny bread and half penny bread new - two dozen Item for wheaten bread - two dozen Item for rolls new - one dozen		
	Monday	Item for new half bread - ten dozen Item for penny bread new - two dozen Item for rolls three at 1d. new - three dozen Item for wheaten bread stale and new - two dozen		
	Tuesday	Item for penny loaves white bread - four dozen Item for half penny loaves white bread - one dozen		
		<u>Sum – thirty-one dozen</u>		
	Meal and oatmeal	Item more for wheat meal two quarters Item for received meal two bushels Item for flour four bushels Item more for halfpenny white bread four dozen Item for penny white bread one dozen	40s. 4s. 10s. 4s.	8d. 12d.
		<u>Sum in all</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>10s.</u>
f.26v.	L.11. Spice bread	Item paid to Joan Wall for five dozen buns, and five dozen cakes	20s.	

M.12.	Item paid to James Wharton minister for eleven	22s.	
Wafers	boxes of wafers viz. white, green, yellow, red & crimson		
N.13.	Item paid to the Beer Brewer for five barrels of beer	20s.	
Beer Brewer	at 4s. the barrel		
O.14.	Item paid to Martyn our tenant at the Bull in	18s.	
Ale Brewer	Smythfeld four barrels and one stand at 4s. the barrel		
P.15.	Item for the Cook and others white salt two bushels	3s.	
Chandler	Item bay salt one bushel		15d.
	Item red vinegar two gallons		12d.
	Item white vinegar one gallon di		21d.
	Item vertions two gallons		10d.
	Item mustard one pottle and 2d. besides		8d.
	Item cotton candles 3lb.		9d.
	Item weak candles 8lb.	2s.	
	Item packthread		4d.
	Item six earthen pans	12s.	
	Item great boiling pots six at 2d. ob.		15d.
	Item great pots eight		5d.
	Item pottle pots four		4d.
	Item oatmeal three pecks		20d.
	Item oatmeal groats for puddings for the butlers		4d.
	Item twelve green pots		8d.
	Item eight gallon pots		12d.
	Item twelve pottle pots		12d.
f.27r.	Item ten chafers		20d.
	Item two earthen pans		3d.
	Item for the lending of four dozen di of pots and pitchers		11d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>22s.</u>
Q.16.	Item paid to Mrs Catcher for nineteen garnish of	15s.	10d.
Pewterer	vessels		
R.17.	Item for two dozen of ashen cups and twelve taps	2s.	2d.
Ashen cups			
S.18.	Item for 11cwt. of plum at 8d. the cwt.	7s.	4d.
Fruits	Item 5lb. of cherries at 3d. the lb.		15d.
	Item 2cwt. di of pears, at 10d. the cwt.	2s.	1d.
	Item 5cwt. of pears at 12d.	10s.	
	Item 2cwt. plum at 5d.		12d.
	Item 1cwt. pears at 8d.		8d.
	Item 1cwt. codlings		20d.
	Item one peck di of filberts	4s.	8d.
	Item one quart of olives		8d.
	Item onions		7d.

			<u>Sum</u>	<u>26s.</u>	<u>3d.</u>	
	T.19.	Item in trenchers twenty-four dozen		7s.	4d.	
	Trenchers					
	Trays	Item for four Dansk trays		2s.	4d.	
	Bolts	Item for two bolts			4d.	
	Brooms	Item for two brooms			2d.	
	A staff torch	Item for a staff torch			11d.	
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>11s.</u>	<u>1d.</u>	
f.27v.	V.20.	Item paid for 84lb. of sweet butter		22s.	9d.	ob.
	Butter					
	X.21.	Item paid to Stephan Triacle for baking of one buck being sent before the feast		10s.		
	The Cook and his fees	Item for two legs and a knuckle of veal		2s.		
		Item for 22lb. di of lard		10s.		
	Cream	Item for thirteen gallons di of cream		13s.	6d.	
		Item for his ordinary wages the feast time		40s.		
		Item for buying all the fees of him		10s.		
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>5s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
	Y.22.	Item paid for 2cwt. fagots		8s.		
	Wood and Coal	Item paid for one quarter of billets		2s.	6d.	
		Item paid for one load of coals twenty-four sacks		12s.		
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>22s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>	
	Z.23. Officers' fees and wages	Item paid to Chrispofer Ffulks our Sewar and Carver		6s.	8d.	
		Item paid to Small our Steward		30s.		
		Item to the Waites		13s.	4d.	
		Item to the Clerk and Sexton of St Mighells		4s.		
	Gilding of brawn and jelly	Item to Semper for the gilding of our brawn and our jelly		13s.	4d.	
		Item to four porters keeping the gates and stairs		13s.		
			Whereof			
	Four porters	To Richard Seyntpere, Chief Porter, 4s. and to the other three porters 3s. a piece				

f.28r.	Women in the kitchen	Item the Beadle's wife Goodwife Holmes for four days labour in the kitchen and the whole house	3s.	4d.
		Item to Eeles' wife for three days		18d.
		Item to two women for scraping of trenchers at 6d. the piece for two days	2s.	
		Item to Robert Beaumont to help the Steward		
		Item to Henry Starr our Labourer for his pains Item to our Gardener	2s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>9s.</u> <u>2d.</u>
	24. Rewards for bucks	Item to Sir Hugh Pawlett's man for bringing one buck	5s.	
		Item to the Lady Graye's man for two bucks	10s.	
		Item to the Lady Wentworth's man for two bucks	8s.	4d.
		Item to Sir William Chestar's man for a buck		20d.
		Item to the Lorde Treasurer's man for a buck	3s.	4d.
		Item to Mr Thompson's man the auditor for a buck brought to our Master Mr Alderman Champion which he paid for		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>28s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	25. Perfumes, flowers and sweet waters	Item for two quarts of rosewater provided and bought by Mrs Reynolds		18d.
		Item for strewing herbs and flowers		12d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>2s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
	26. Extraordinary charges	Item for three little padlocks and keys		16d.
		Item for a glass of rosewater		2d.
		Item for two yards of bolt-cloth		8d.
		Item for a small line		1d.
		Item for a coal basket		8d.
		Item for wine tap		2d.
		Item for guts to the Cook		3d.
		Item for carnal white for the strainers		12d.
		Item for a quire of paper for the Steward		2d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>4s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
f.28v.	Here following the total sums in general of all the particulars:			
	The Butcher's bill amounteth in all to	£7	8s.	1d.
	Marchpanes and confits	£4	10s.	8d.
	Sturgeon	£3	7s.	4d.
	Ypocras	£3	14s.	8d.
	Wine	£6	13s.	
	The Grocer's bill	£6	18s.	4d.
	The Poulterer's bill	£20	7s.	6d.
	The Pikemonger's bill		49s.	

Linen cloth		57s.	4d.	
The Baker's bill	£4	10s.		
Spice bread		20s.		
Wafers		22s.		
Beer Brewer		20s.		
Ale Brewer		18s.		
Chandler		22s.		
Pewterer		15s.	10d.	
Ashen cups		2s.	2d.	
Fruit		26s.	3d.	
Trenchers, trays, bells, gowns and staff torches		11s.	1d.	
Butter		22s.	9d.	ob.
The Cook, his wages and fees	£4	5s.	6d.	
Wood and coal		22s.	6d.	
The Butler's fee		22s.	8d.	
Officers' wages	£4	9s.	2d.	
Rewards for bucks		28s.	4d.	
Perfumes, flowers and waters		2s.	6d.	
Extraordinary charges		4s.	4d.	
<u>Sum total of all the particular totals</u>	<u>£84</u>	<u>15s.</u>		

Whereof

f.29r.

Received towards the said charges per contra as followeth:

First the ordinary allowance of the house towards this dinner	£10		
Item granted by the Assistants by act of court towards the augmentation thereof upon certain considerations	£5		
Item of Rydley made free by redemption		53s.	4d.
Item for quarteredge money levied by 5s. and the rest compounded with Messenger our Clerk	£3	8s.	
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>£21</u>	<u>4d.</u>

Sum received as appeareth £21 4d.

And we have paid as it appeareth per contra

So the clear charges of our said dinner net standeth £63 14s. 8d.
in

Whereof

By equal division every Warden's particular dividend and part severally by poll amounteth unto £15 18s. 8d. net and clear

f.29v.

Venison brought in by the four Master Wardens for the said dinner

By Mr Parker - five bucks di

By Mr Nasshe - one stag and three bucks

By Mr Renolds - five bucks

By Mr Hopton - four bucks

One stag, seventeen bucks di

Other bucks in general given as followeth and paid for to the bringers as before

By Sir Hugh Pawlett - one buck

By the Lady Gray - two bucks

By the Lady Wentworth - two bucks

By Sir William Chester - one buck

By the Lord Treasurer - one buck

By Mr Tompson auditor to Mr Champion - one buck

Eight bucks

Sum in all together - bucks – twenty-five di and one stag**Whereof****Pasties baked**

Pasties baked of bucks viz.

f.37r.

Anno 1565 and 1566

Here after following the general and particular charges and expenses disbursed by the four Master Wardens for this two years aforesaid as it did fall out in order

Sir Richard Champion } our Master
Knight and Alderman
then Lord Mayor of
London yet

John Quarles } our Master Wardens
John Branche
George Braithwaite
William Throwgood

**First
Quarter
Dinner**

Proportion of the same dinner with the service thereof in due order:

5th Feb. 1565

The Lord Mayor with his train almost twelve viz. the Swordbearer, four Squires and the rest of Sergeants

viz. eight
messes
furnished

The two Sheriffs with the two brethren George and John Barnes

First course

One side bacon
First collops and eggs
Boiled capons
Turkey cocks eight viz. four at 3s. and four at 3s. 4d.
Roasted capons

2s. 6d.
4s. 6d.

**Of Mr
Wilkockes**

Minced pies - sixteen at 16d.
Custards - eight at 2s. 4d.

21s. 4d.
18s. 8d.

f.37v. **Second course**

Item woodcocks four and for greenplover two at 4s.
Item four lambs at 3s.
Item larks two dozen di at 3s. 4d.
Item eight marchpanes at 3s. 4d.

12s.
26s. 13d.

Of the Butcher

Item a sirloin of beef at 3s.
Item six marybones at 2s. 6d.

5s. 6d.

**Wine from the
Bisshop's
Hedd**

Item three gallons of claret wine at 4s.
Item two gallons of sack at 3s. 4d.
Item a gallon of white wine at 16d.

	Wine from the Mytar	Item four gallons of claret wine at 5s. 4d. Item in oranges Item rose water a pint		4d. 16d.	
f.38r.	Of the Grocer	In primis 2lb. at 2d. the lb. Item sugar 6lb. at 11d. Item sugar 2lb. at 10d. Item dates 1lb. Item currants 1lb. Item pepper 2oz. Item cinnamon di oz. Item ginger di.oz. Item sanders di.oz. Item biscaytes a quarter of lb. Item mace 1oz.	5s.	4d. 6d. 20d. 12d. 8d. 4d. 12d. 1d. 2d. 4d. 12d.	ob.
	To the Baker	Item of the Baker for eight dozen of white bread and 3d. worth of wheaten bread	8s.	3d.	
	To the Brewer, Campion	Item for one kilderkin of beer at Item for one kilderkin of ale at	2s. 3s.	6d.	
	The Butler	Item to the Butler for his ordinary	4s.		
	The Cook	Item to the Cook, Stephan Treakle, for his ordinary at this time	6s.	8d.	
	To the Chandler	Item for a peck of salt Item for three pints of vinegar Item for three pints of vertions Item for six pounds of butter at 3d. Item for a birchin brown Item for a pippin and packthread Item to Goodwife Holmes for washing and making clean the vessels		3d. 3d. 3d. 18d. 1d. 1d. 6d.	
	To the Pewterar, Mr Catcher	Item for the usage of five garnish of pewter vessels and a half at 10d.	4s.	6d.	
	Napery	Item to the Clerk's wife for washing the napery of the house	2s.		
f.38v.	To the Collier	Item paid for three horse loads of coals for the only and accustomed use of this dinner	3s.		
	Proportion of plate for this dinner	Item the just proportion of plate to serve for this dinner is written and contained by several parcels in the second leaf of the beginning of this book			

Napery The proportion thereof is always certain

Sum total of all this dinner £11 9s. 7d.

f.39r.

Proportion of the second quarter dinner kept the twenty-eighth day of May 1566, my Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, and his train with him

Second Quarter Dinner

Memorandum that the order of the proportion was not here written by reason the Master Wardens brought in their bill of the charges of that dinner in particulars by gross as hereafter doth follow:

Eight messes	In primis for a kilderkin of beer	2s.	6d.
	Item for kilderkin of ale	3s.	
	Item for three sacks of coals		18d.
	Item for butter		18d.
	Item for a sirloin of beef	4s.	4d.
	Item for a long marybone		6d.
	Item for other marybones		18d.
	Item for oranges		6d.
	Item for lemons		2d.
	Item for a pint of rose water		10d.
	Item to the Butler	4s.	
	Item to the Chandelor		22d.
	Item for six gallons of Gascon wine	8s.	
	Item one gallon French wine		20d.
	Item a gallon of sack		20d.
	Item a pottle of white wine		8d.
	Item six dozen trenchers	2s.	6d.
	Item for a fresh salmon	13s.	
	Item for sturgeon	6s.	
f.39v.	Item to the Pewterer	4s.	2d.
	Item Mrs Wilcookes for eight chicken pies at 3s. 1d.	26s.	8d.
	Item for eight custards at 2s. 4d.	18s.	8d.
	Item for eight marchpanes at 3s. 4d.	26s.	8d.
	Item to the Cook for dressing the dinner	6s.	8d.
	Item to the Poulterer for nine capons at 2s. 2d.	19s.	6d.
	Item for sixteen geese at 12d.	16s.	
	Item two dozen di of chicken	12s.	6d.
	Item two dozen rabbits	5s.	
	Item for washing the napery	2s.	
	Item for 2lb. of prunes		4d.
	Item for sugar 3lb.	2s.	9d.
	Item for sugar 2lb.		20d.
	Item dates 1lb.		12d.
	Item currants 2lb.		8d.
	Item pepper 2oz.		5d.
	Item ginger di.oz.		2d.
	Item sanders di.oz.		2d.

Item biskettes quarter lb.			4d.
Item long mace 1oz.			14d.
Item seven dozen breads		7s.	
Item to Goodwife Holmes			6d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>9s.</u>
			<u>8d.</u>

- f.41r. **Feast Dinner }
Anno 1566** The eighth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth etc.
- Sir Richard Champion Knight then Lord Mayor of London
- Preparation before the same dinner for two days as followeth:
- Saturday 27 July 1566 for potation**
In primis four dozen spice cakes and buns
Item rolls of white bread for servants and waiters – two dozen
Item codlings with rose water and sugar
Item biskettes and caraways
Item pears
Item plums
Item confits of all sorts
Item hippocras
- Two messes **Sunday 28 July two messes of meat for the Wardens and their guests viz.**
Item boiled capons - two
Item roast beef pieces - two
Item pastries of venison - two
Item bread, ale, beer and wine of the house
- Potation on that day in the afternoon**
Item like service in all things as on Saturday before etc.
- f.41v. **At supper that Sunday at night**
Item four shoulders of mutton roasted - four
Item capon roasted – two
Item pasties of venison – four
- First course** **Service on Monday at dinner being the feast day**
- Four messes **To the high table in the hall**
In primis brawn and mustard
Item boiled capons – eight
Item swans – four
Item venison pasties – four
Item pikes – four
Item roast capons and herons – eight
Item custards – four
- Seven messes **To the parlour for the ladies and their train**
Item brawn and mustard
Item boiled capons – thirteen

- Item swans – six
 Item goose – one
 Item venison pasties – seven
 Item pikes - seven
 Item roasted capons and herons - thirteen
 Item custards – seven
- f.42r. Four messes **To the second table in the hall**
 Item brawn and mustard
 Item boiled capons – eight
 Item swans – three
 Item geese – one
 Item venison pasties – four
 Item pikes – four
 Item four roasted capons and two herons – six
 Item custards – four
- Five messes **To the third table in the hall**
 Item brawn and mustard
 Item boiled capons – eight
 Item swans – one
 Item geese – four
 Item venison pasties – five
 Item six roast capons and one heron – seven
 Item custards – five
- Two messes **To the table in the parlour behind the Travers of Arras for the Wardens, Swordbearers and other officers**
 Item brawn and mustard
 Item boiled capons – two
 Item geese – two
 Item venison pasties – two
 Item pikes – two
 Item roasted capons – two
 Item custards – two
- f.42v. **Second course** **To the high table in the hall**
 Item Jelly dishes – twenty-six
 Item quails dozens – two
 Item pasties of red deer – four
 Item sturgeon jowl - one
 Item rondes of sturgeon – three
 Item marchpanes – four
- And at the last
 Wafers and hippocras
- Eight messes **To the parlour for the ladies' table**
 Item jelly dishes – forty-two
 Item quails three dozen and pigeons di dozen

Item pasties of red deer – one
 And the rest being sliced dishes – six
 Item one sturgeon jowl, three rondes and three
 sliced sturgeon dishes
 Item marchpanes – seven

And at the last
 Wafers and hippocras

Four messes

To the second table in the hall

Item jelly dishes dozens – two
 Item quails dozens – two
 Item red deer sliced dishes – four
 Item sturgeon dishes sliced – four
 Item sturgeon dishes sliced – four
 Item marchpanes – four

And at last
 Wafers and hippocras

f.43r. Five messes

To the third table in the hall

Item jelly dishes dozens – two di
 Item one quail and one di pigeons dozen – two di
 Item red deer sliced dishes - five
 Item sturgeon sliced dishes – five
 Item marchpanes – five

And at last
 Wafers and hippocras

Memorandum that day in the morning at seven of
 the clock the twenty-four bachelor waiters brake
 their fast with mutton and porridge

One whole
 mess

**Also provided for the four Master Bachelors, and
 the waiters of the Company for their dinner viz.**

Item boiled capon – one
 Item roast goose – one
 Item venison pasty – one
 Item roast capon – one
 Item custard – one

Monday at night supper for the Wardens

Item capon roasted – one
 Item venison pasties – three

Finis for that day

f.43v.

Service for Tuesday

First course

To the high table in the hall

- Four messes In primis brawn and mustard
 Item pudding both black and white
 Item boiled capons – eight
 Item swans – two
 Item geese – two
 Item venison pasties – four
 Item pikes – four
 Item roast capons – eight
 Item custards – four
- Five messes **To the second table there**
 Brawn and mustard
 Item puddings black and white
 Item boiled capons – eight
 Item geese – five
 Item venison pasties – five
 Item pikes – five
 Item roasted capons – eight
 Item custards – five
- Four messes **To the third table there**
 Item brawn and mustard
 Item puddings as above
 Item boiled capons – four
 Item geese – four
 Item venison pasties – four
 Item pikes – two
 Item roast capons – four
 Item custards – four
- f.44r. One mess **To the table in the parlour behind the Travers of Arras for Master Wardens, the Clerk and the Rentor**
 Item brawn and mustard
 Item puddings inow
 Item boiled capon – one
 Item goose – one
 Item venison pasties – one
 Item pike – one
 Item roast capon – one
 Item custard – one
- Second course**
 Four messes **To the high table**
 Item jelly dishes dozens – one
 Item quails dozens – two
 Item pasties of red deer – four
 Item sturgeon one jowl and three rondes
 Item marchpanes – four
- And after that
 Wafers and hippocras

Five messes	To the second table Item jelly dishes dozens – two and di Item pigeons dozens – two and di Item red deer sliced dishes – five Item marchpanes – five And after that Wafers and hippocras		
f.44v. Four messes	To the third table Jelly dishes dozens – one and di Item pigeons dozens – one and di Item red deer sliced dishes – four Item sturgeon sliced dished – four Item marchpanes – one At the last Wafers and hippocras		
f.45r.	Feast Dinner } 1566	The whole accounts with the expenses and whole charges by particulars as followeth viz.:	
	The Butcher	In primis for a boar Item for three shoulders of veal Item for four pairs of calves feet	45s. 2s. 8d. 12d.
	Saturday	Item for twelve pounds of suet Item for a sirloin of beef poize – 4st. di	3s. 4s. 6d.
	Sunday	Item for a quarter of mutton Item for two long marybones Item 60lb. of suet Item twenty long marybones Item two sirloins of beef poize 8st. and 2lb. Item two muttoms Item a quarter of mutton Item a peck of pricks	2s. 10d. 15s. 8s. 4d. 8s. 3d. 16s. 2s. 6d. 6d.
	Monday	Item twelve long marybones Item 40lb. of suet Item 6lb. of suet Item a sirloin of beef poize 4st. and 6lb. Item a quarter of beef for the poor distributed on Tuesday after dinner	5s. 10s. 18d. 4s. 9d. 20s.
			<u>Sum</u> £7 10s.
	Marchpanes	Item paid to Mrs Wilcockes for thirty marchpanes at 3s. 4d. the piece	£5
			<u>Sum</u> £5

f.45v.	Confits	Item 1lb. di of almond confits at 14d.		21d.
		Item 1lb. quarter of clove confits at 2s.	2s.	6d.
		Item 1lb. quarter of oranges confits at 2s.	2s.	6d.
		Item 1lb. quarter of ginger confits at 2s.	2s.	6d.
		Item 1lb. quarter cinnamon confits at 2s. 4d.	2s.	11d.
		Item 1lb. 3 quarters caraways at 14d.	2s.	
		Item 2lb. quarter of biskettes at 14d.	2s.	8d.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>16s.</u> <u>10d.</u>
	Sturgeon	Item to Mr Quarles for a firkin of sturgeon		27s.
		Item to Blage for a firkin of sturgeon		33s.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u>
	Hippocras	Item to Blage for seventeen gallons of hippocras at 5s. the gallon	£4	5s.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u> <u>5s.</u>
	Wine of all sorts	Item Robert Friar for one puncheon of French wine and two hogsheads of Gascon wine	£12	16s. 8d.
		Item to Cuthbert Buckell for a roundlet of sack containing twelve gallons at nineteen the gallon		19s.
		Item a roundlet of muscadell that thirteen gallons at 2s. 2d. the gallon		28s. 2d.
		Item for a roundlet of Rhenish wine that eleven gallons and a pottle at 23d. the gallon		22s. 2d.
		Item for a pottle of white wine		8d.
		Item for four gallons of wines for jelly bought by Robert Beamond		5s. 4d.
		Item for a quart of white wine by him bought to fill up sturgeon		4d.
		Item for four gallons and a quart of wine for broths by him bought		5s. 8d.
		Item for carriage of the roundlets of sack, muscadell, and Rhenish wine by him		4d.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£16</u> <u>18s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
f.46r.	Grocer, Brokbanck	Item two sugar loaves that 21lb. and quarter at 10d. ob.		18s. 7d.
		Item three sugar loaves that 19lb. at 9d. ob.		15s. 1d.
		Item sugar pieced that 24lb. at 8d. ob.		17s.
		Item nutmeg 6oz. at 6d.		3s.
		Item ginger 8oz. at 3s. 4d.		20d.
		Item colyander seeds 8oz.		4d.
		Item turnesall 1lb. di at 16d.		2s.
		Item ysonglas 1lb.		20s.
		Item pepper 16lb. at 2s. 8d.		42s. 8d.

	Item saffron 2oz.	3s.	4d.
	Item cloves 2oz.		12d.
	Item mace 4oz.	2s.	8d.
	Item nutmeg 5oz.	2s.	6d.
	Item cinnamon 4oz.	2s.	8d.
	Item ginger quarter lb.		10d.
	Item mace long 6oz. at 12d.	6s.	
	Item sanders 1oz.		3d.
	Item damask prunes 14lb. and 2d.	2s.	11d.
	Item currants 12lb.	4s.	
	Item dates 10lb. at 10d.	8s.	4d.
	Item rose water one quart and di quart	2s.	1d.
	Item cap paper three quires		9d.
	Item 1oz. cloves		6d.
	Item 1lb. of cinnamon bought by Mr Throwgood	12s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£7</u> <u>11s.</u> <u>6d.</u>
Poulterer, Mason	Item eight dozen and ten capons at 2s.	£10	12s.
	Item eight signets at 8s. the piece	£3	4s.
	Item a dozen of heronshewes at 3s. 4d.		40s.
	Item eight dozen of pigeons at 20d.		11s. 8d.
	Item two dozen and one goose at 20d.		41s. 8d.
	Item for one dozen capons bought by Master Warden Throwgood		20s.
	Item 7cwt. eggs and a quarter at 2s. 10d. the cwt.		19s. 10d.
	Item eight swans of Thomas Whelar at 7s. the piece		56s.
	Item eleven dozen quails at 9s. the dozen	£4	10s.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£27</u> <u>15s.</u>
f.46v. Pikemonger, Lucas	Item to him for thirty-six pikes whereof six of twenty-four inches, twelve at twenty inches and twelves at eighteen inches, price every pike one with the other – 22d.	£3	4s.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u> <u>4s.</u>
Linen cloth	Item paid to Mr Branchis man for four ells of soutledge		2s.
	Item paid for a piece of lockram and for holland cloth to Mr Quarles		48s.
	Item to Mr Throwgood for four ells holland thirteen ells lockram and two ells soultwiche		22s. 10d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u> <u>12s.</u> <u>10d.</u>
The Baker, Storar	Item for two dozen rolls at two a penny, and one dozen halfpenny bread on Saturday at night		3s.

		Item two dozen of halfpenny bread, two dozen of penny bread, one dozen of rolls at two a penny, and one dozen white bread on Sunday	6s.	
		Item seven dozen of penny white bread, seven dozen of halfpenny breads, six dozen of stale penny white four dozen of new rolls at three a penny, and two dozen of wheaten bread. Item more that day four dozen of penny white and three dozen of penny white	33s.	
		Item on Tuesday five dozen rolls at three a penny	13s.	
		Item four dozen new penny white, two dozen of wheaten, two dozen of stale penny white		
		Item bushels of fine flour at 4s. a bushel	12s.	
		Item by Mr Throwgood twenty bushels meal and the carriage	55s.	
		<u>Sum</u> £6	<u>2s.</u>	
	Spice bread	Item paid to Goodwife Wall for six dozen buns and six dozen cakes	24s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>24s.</u>	
f.47r.	Wafers, Wharton	Item paid to Wharton's wife for fifteen boxes of wafers at 2s. the box	30s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>30s.</u>	
	Beer Brewer, Mr Campion	Item to Mr Campion for four barrels of the Queen's beer at 5s. the barrel	20s.	
		Item more a barrel di of double beer of the Butler at 4s. the barrel	6s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>26s.</u>	
	Ale Brewer, Martyn	Item for four barrels of ale	16s.	
		Item for a stand of penny ale	10d.	
		Item for two pales of yeast	12d.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>17s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>
	Chandler	Item for three dozen green pots at 12d. the dozen		
		Item three dozen pots at 18d. the dozen and for all other particulars of his two bills	32s.	
f.47v.	The Pewterer, Catcher	Item paid to him for nineteenth garnish of vessels at 10d. the garnish	15s.	10d.
		Item for twenty dozen jelly dishes at 6d. the dozen	10s.	
		Item paid to him for 8lb. of pewter lost at 7d. the lb.	4s.	8d.

		<u>Sum</u>	<u>30s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
Ashen cups	Item bought by R. Beaumonde two dozen of cups at 10d. the dozen			20d.
	Item to the Butler for two dozen		2s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>3s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>
Fruits	Item for 6cwt. pears per Beaumont		5s.	8d.
	Item for 3cwt. plums		2s.	6d.
	Item for cwt. di of codlings		2s.	4d.
	Item for a gallon of barberries		5s.	4d.
	Item for radishes			4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>16s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
Trenchers and trays etc. with other trash	Item for twenty-four dozen trenchers		10s.	
	Item for four Danask trays		3s.	4d.
	Item for taps for beer and ale			2d.
	Item for strainers			8d.
	Item for brooms			6d.
	Item for two baskets and a coal shovel			12d.
	Item for taps of wine and broaching of the same			12d.
	Item for yeast for pike broths			4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>17s.</u>	
Butter and cream	Item for 102lb. of butter		25s.	6d.
	Item for fifteen gallons of cream and one pottle		16s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>41s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
The Cook	Item paid to Tryacle our Cook for his wages		40s.	
	Item to him for baking of twenty-four pasties of venison		4s.	
	Item for di bushel of flour by him bought			16d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>45s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
f.48r. The Painter	Item to Young, the painter, for gilding of brawn, jelly and sturgeon		36s.	8d.
Wood and coal	Item paid for cwt. di of fagots		6s.	6d.
	Item for di thousand of billets		5s.	
	Item for twenty sacks of coals at 6d.		10s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>21s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>

	Butler	Item paid to Edmond Wright our Butler and for nine men with him	36s.	
	Musicians	Item to the Waits of London	13s.	4d.
		Item to the Children of Westminster	20s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>33s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	Officers fees and wages	Item to Christopher Fulkes our Sewar and Carver	6s.	8d.
		Item to Robert Beaumont our Steward	40s.	
		Item to five porters viz. Cartwright and Semper for keeping the hall door 3s. a piece	6s.	
		Item to Robert Selby for keeping the middle door	3s.	
		Item to Robert Yeve for keeping the same		20d.
		Item to George Hills for keeping the gate	3s.	
		Item to Henry Starr our Labourer for three days	2s.	
		Item to Goodwife Holmes attending the kitchen	2s.	
		Item to two women also labouring the kitchen and the whole house	3s.	
		<u>Sum</u> <u>£3</u>	<u>7s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	Perfumes, flowers and sweet waters	Item for flowers and herbs	2s.	2d.
		Item to Bass' wife for a pottle of rose damask water	2s.	8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>4s.</u>	<u>10d.</u>
f.48v.	Extraordinary charges	Item to Pigeon of the Tower of hire of three pieces of cloth of Arras being the story of David and Uriah and for the carriage and re-carriage	21s.	
		Item for great hooks, fire pots, setting up the partition and hanging up the said clothes	4s.	6d.
		Item for carriage and portage of a puncheon of French wine and a hogshead of Gascon wine	2s.	6d.
		Item for salt to trim them		3d.
		Item for both hire and drinking at diverse times in bidding of guests	2s.	2d.
		Item for carrying of sturgeon		2d.
		Item for dinner on Saturday for the officers in the kitchen in bread, fish and drink		12d.
		Item for radish roots at supper on Sunday for Master Wardens		4d.
		Item to the water bearers for forty tankards of water		12d.
		Item for writing paper for the steward		1d.
		Item for oranges and lemons	4s.	
		Item for padlocks		19d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>38s.</u>	<u>7d.</u>

**Rewards for
bucks**

Item to the Lord Treasurer's man for a buck	5s.	
Item to Robert Friar's man for two bucks	3s.	
Item to the Lord Wentworth's man for one buck	5s.	
Item Morgan Richards for one buck		12d.

Sum 14s.

f.49r.

**Here followeth the total sums in general of all the
particulars aforesaid in brief:**

The Butcher's bill amounteth to	£7		
Marchpanes	£5		
Confits		16s.	10d.
Sturgeon	£3		
Hippocras	£4	5s.	
Wine of all sorts	£16	18s.	4d.
Grocer's bill	£7	11s.	6d.
Poulterer's bill	£27	15s.	
Pikemonger	£3	4s.	
Linen cloth	£3	12s.	10d.
The Baker	£6	2s.	
Spice bread		24s.	
Wafers		30s.	
Beerbrewer		26s.	
Alebrewer		17s.	10d.
Chandler		32s.	9d.
Pewterer		30s.	6d.
Ashen cups		3s.	8d.
Fruits		16s.	2d.
Trenchers, trays and other trash		17s.	
Butter and cream		41s.	6d.
The Cook		45s.	4d.
The Painter for brawn and jelly		36s.	8d.
Wood and coal		21s.	6d.
Butler		36s.	
Mustard		33s.	4d.
Officer's fees and wages	£3	7s.	4d.
Perfumes, flowers and sweet waters		4s.	10d.
Extraordinary charges		38s.	7d.
Rewards for bucks		14s.	

f.49v.

Sum total of all the particulars in general £112 12s. 6d.

Whereof

Received towards the said charges per contra as
followeth:

First the ordinary allowance of the house towards this dinner – £10, and for the Lord Mayor’s mess being of our Company – £10	£20	
Item for quarteredge money received among the Assistants present in the hall		21s. 4d.
Item for quarteredge received of the Livery then in the hall		26s. 8d.
Item the quarteredge of the rest being then absent sold to Messenger our Clerk for		10s.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>£22</u> <u>18s.</u>

f.52r.

Annis 1566 and 1567

In the time of William Beswick, Master of the
Mystery, and

Francis Barnham
William Dumar
Brian Calverley
Thomas Pullyson } Wardens

**Quarter Dinner Expenses of first quarter dinner kept the twenty-
third day of November 1566**

	First paid for six dozen of bread	6s.	
	For a kilderkin of strong beer	4s.	
	For a stand of strong ale	4s.	
To the Poulterer	For eight boiling capons at 22d.	14s.	8d.
	For one turkey cock at 4s.	4s.	
	For eight roasting capons at 2s. 2d.	17s.	4d.
	For six geese at 20d.	10s.	
	For one dozen woodcocks	7s.	
	For five dozen larks at 10d.	4s.	2d.
	For eggs		8d.
To Mrs Wilcockes	For fourteen minced pies at 16d.	18s.	8d.
	For seven custards at 2s. 6d.	17s.	6d.
	For five apple tarts at 2s. 6d.	12s.	6d.
	For two marchpanes at 3s. 4d.	6s.	8d.
For wine	Item for a gallon of muscadell	2s.	
	For one gallon of malmesey		16d.
f.52v.	Item for six gallons and three pints of claret	8s.	6d.
	For seven quarts of sack at 5d.	2s.	11d.
	Item for one pottle sack more		10d.
To the Grocer	Item for 2lb. of prunes		3d.
	For 2lb. of currants		7d.
	For 1oz. great mace		12d.
	For 1lb. fine sugar		11d.
	For 2lb. cast sugar		18d.
	For 2oz. pepper		4d.
	For cinnamon 1oz.		10d.
	For ginger 1oz.		2d.
	For 1lb. bisquytes and caraways		14d.
	For 1lb. dates		10d.

	To the Butcher and Poulterer	For three rondes of brawn	8s.	
		For a sirloin of beef	4s.	
		For six long marybones	2s.	6d.
	For other ordinary necessaries			
		For oranges		4d.
		For a pint of barberries		6d.
		For a pottle of vertgions		12d.
		For a pint of vinegar		2d.
		For mustard		1d.
		For salt and a birchin brown		3d.
		For 1lb. of candle		2d. ob.
		For a pint of rose water		10d.
		For 8lb. of butter	2s.	
		For six dozen trenchers	2s.	
		For a quarter of small ale		ob.
f.53r.		For three loads of horse coals	3s.	6d.
		For the Butler for his pains	4s.	
		For the Cook his pains	6s.	
		For the loan of four garnish of pewter vessel to the Pewterer	3s.	4d.
		For washing the napery to the Clerk's wife	2s.	
		For Goodwife Holmes for her pains		6d.
		<u>Sum total of this dinner</u>	<u>£9</u>	<u>6s.</u> <u>2d.</u>

Whereof

		Mr Calverley's part besides the house money being £5 beareth	45s.	7d.
		Mr Pullyson as much viz.	45s.	8d.
f.54r.	Second Quarter Dinner, Fish Day	The second quarter dinner charges kept the fourth day of March 1566:		
		Item for three ling di	8s.	4d.
		Item for three green fishes at 18d.	4s.	6d.
		Item for seven pikes at 2s.	14s.	
		Item for seven carps at 20d.	11s.	8d.
		Item for four roasting eels at 16d.	5s.	4d.
		Item for one quarter di of lampreys		19d.
		Item hundred and four quarters of smelts		18d.
		Item for sweet butter	3s.	
		Item for salt butter 6lb. at 3d.		18d.
		Item for salett herbs		5d.
		Item for alexander buds for salettes		8d.
		Item for eggs to the sallettes		6d.

f.54v.	Item for spice to the Grocer according to his bill	8s.	4d.
	Item for di cwt. oranges		3d.
	Item for a quarter of barberries	2s.	
	Item for di pecks of flour		4d.
	Item for a pint of sallet oil		6d.
	Item for salt		3d.
	Item for vergions, vinegar and mustard		8d.
	Item for a birchin brown and a pipkin		2d.
	Item for yeast to the pike broth		2d.
	Item for a pint of rose water		10d.
	Item for two dozen of trenchers		8d.
	Item for two sacks of great coals		12d.
	Item paid to Tracle our Cook for baking fourteen lampron pies at 12d. the piece	14s.	
	Item for seven custards at 2s. 4d. the piece	16s.	4d.
	Item for seven tarts at 2s. 6d. the piece	17s.	6d.
	Item to the said Cook for dressing that dinner	6s.	
	Item to the Butler	4s.	
	Item for six dozen breads	6s.	
	Item for a kilderkin of beer	3s.	
	Item for a stand of ale	3s.	
	Item for two gallons of sack	3s.	4d.
	Item for eight gallons of claret and white	10s.	8d.
	Item for four garnish and two dozen pewter vessels	3s.	10d.
	Item to the Clerk's wife for washing the napery	2s.	
	Item to Holmes' wife		6d.
	Item to the Clerk's maid for watering the fish		2d.
	<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£7</u>	<u>18s.</u> <u>4d.</u>

Whereof

Mr Calverley beareth over £5 allowed by the house his moitie and part viz.	29s.	2d.
And Mr Pullyson as much viz.	29s.	2d.

f.56r. Feast Dinner } Anno 1567	The ninth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth etc.
	Sir William Chester knight then our } Master
	Mr Barnam Mr Dumar Mr Calverley Mr Pullyson } our Master Wardens
	Preparation before the same dinner for two days as followeth } viz.
	Saturday 2 August 1567 for potation for four messes
	In primis cakes and buns dozens - three dozen Item biskyttes and caraways Item plums and apples Item confits - two dishes Item codlings and pears Item confits - two dishes Item philberds
	Potation Sunday 3 August 1567 for twelve messes Item for everything as aforesaid to the full content of twelve messes etc.
	First course Service on Monday at dinner being the feast dinner
f.56v.	Four messes To the high table in the hall In primis brawn and mustard Item boiled capons Roasted swan Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons and herons Custards
	Five messes To the second table in the hall Brawn and mustard Boiled capons Roasted swan Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons Custards
	Five messes To the third table in the hall Brawn and mustard Boiled capons

		Swan and goose Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons Custards
	Two messes	To the table in the parlour As above brawn and mustard Boiled capons Swan and goose Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons Custards
f.57r.	Two messes	To the women above in the gallery chamber Brawn and mustard Boiled capons Swan and goose Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons Custards
	One mess	To the cooks Item to them one mess of all the like service as above
	Four messes	To the Bachelor Waiters Received into the larder which furnished the table for the second dinner for the Bachelor Waiters and others as required
	Second course Four messes	To the table in the hall Item jelly dishes Quails Red deer Sturgeon Marchpanes
	Five messes	To the second table in the hall Jelly dishes Quails Red deer Sturgeon Marchpanes
f.57v.	Five messes	To the third table in the hall Jelly dishes Quails and pigeons Red deer

Sturgeon
Marchpanes

Two messes

To the table in the parlour

Jelly dishes
Quails and pigeons
Red deer
Sturgeon
Marchpane

Wafers and hippocras to them all

**Service on Tuesday at dinner ten messes prepared
in all things as on Monday at dinner**

**The whole accounts with the expenses and whole
charges by particulars as followeth viz.:**

	Pikes	Paid to Lucas the Pikemonger for twenty-eight pikes whereof six were scantling twenty-four inches, twelve of twenty inches and other twelve of eighteen inches at 22d. one with another. So paid him			£51
f.58r.	Poultry	Item paid to Robert Mason, Draper, occupying poultry as followeth viz.			
	Sunday	In primis for two boiling capons and two roasting capons for Sunday at dinner at 2s. 2d. one with another Item for 1cwt. eggs at 3s. the cwt.		4s. 8d. 3s.	
	Monday	Item forty-two boiling capons and thirty-seven roasting capons at 2s. 2d. the piece one with another Item for five herons at 3s. 4d. the piece Item ten swans at 7s. 6d. the piece Item twelve geese at 20d. the piece Item six dozen quails at 7s. 4d. the dozen Item five dozen pigeons at 20d. Item 4cwt. eggs at 3s.	£8 £3	11s. 2d. 16s. 8d. 15s. 20s. 8s. 4d. 12s.	
	Tuesday	Item twenty boiling capons at 2s. 2d. Item twenty roasting capons at 2s. 2d. Item four swans Item six geese Item four dozen quails at 7s. 4d. Item three dozen pigeons at 20d. Item 2cwt. eggs at 3s. the cwt.		43s. 4d. 43s. 4d. 30s. 10s. 29s. 4d. 5s. 6s.	

Sum paid £26

Sawyer the Butcher				
	Saturday for jelly	Item paid to the Butcher for four shoulders of veal price [-] the piece	3s.	4d.
	Sunday dinner	Item sirloin of beef at 12d. the st. for Sunday at dinner Item for a hind quarter of mutton Item for a shoulder veal at 10d. Item for two long marybones at 6d. Item for 21lb. of suet at 3d. lb.	5s.	10d. 12d. 3d.
	Monday	Item twenty-two long marybones at 6d. Item two sirloins of beef at 12d. the st. Item for a quarter of beef for the poor weighing — at 12d. the stone Item for di a mutton for the waiters' breakfast Item for 30lb. of suet at 3d. the lb. Item for a peck of pricks	11s.	
f.58v.	Tuesday	Item received of the Butcher ten long marybones at 6d. the piece Item one sirloin of beef Item one quarter of beef for the poor Item 52lb. of suet Item guts and blood Item one boar price	5s.	
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£8</u> <u>12s.</u> <u>8d.</u>
	Grocer	Paid to Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for 2lb. di of cinnamon at 7s. 6d. lb.		
	For hippocras	Item for 1lb. quarter of ginger at 3s. 8d. Item for 4oz. cloves Item for 8oz. nutmeg Item 3oz. colyanders Item for 24lb. middle sugar		
	For jelly	Item 1lb. di cinnamon 8oz. ginger Isenglas 1lb. at 18d. Corianders 6oz. Turnesall 1lb. di Nutmegs 6oz. Pepper 20lb. 2oz. at 2s. 7d. Cloves and maces beaten 6oz. Long mace 8oz. Ginger beaten 10oz. Cinnamon beaten 6oz. Nutmegs di lb.		

	Sanders 1oz.			
	Saffron 2oz.			
	Cloves 2oz. whole for perfume			
	Sugar fine 16lb. at 12d. lb.			
	Sugar middle 30lb. at 10d. lb.			
	Sugar coarse 20lb. at 10d.			
	Dates 10lb.			
	Currants 12lb.			
	Damask prunes 14lb.			
	Paper for custards three quires			
		<u>Sum paid the Grocer</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>16s.</u>
f.59r.	Sturgeon	Paid to Mr Blage dwelling in New Fyshe Streat for two firkins of sturgeon at 30s. the piece	£3	
	Marchpanes	Paid to Mrs Wilcockes for sixteen marchpanes on Monday for dinner at 3s. 4d. the piece and to her for eight marchpanes at the same price for Tuesday at dinner	£4	
		Item paid to Midleton Grocer for six parchpanes for Monday at dinner whereof three of them at 3s. and other three at 2s. 8d. the piece		17s.
	Baker	Paid to Storar the Baker for fifty-five dozen of bread to whit two dozen rolls seventeen dozen of three a penny, twenty-seven dozen of penny white bread, four dozen of half penny white bread and five dozen of penny wheaten bread set all as followeth:		
	Saturday - two dozen	One dozen rolls and one dozen of half penny bread		
	Sunday - seven dozen	Three dozen half penny bread, two dozen penny white bread, one dozen rolls and one dozen of wheaten penny bread		
	Monday - thirty-three dozen	Eight dozen penny white bread and twelve dozen penny white bread, eleven dozen at three for a penny and two dozen penny wheaten		
	Tuesday - thirteen dozen	Five dozen penny white bread, six dozen at three a penny and two dozen penny wheaten		55s.
	Meal	Item paid to him for twenty bushels meal at 2s. 11d. the bushel	58s.	1d.
	Flour	Item for 12oz. of flour at 3s. the bushel and to the carman for the bringing thereof to the hall 6d.	36s.	6d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£7</u>	<u>8s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
	Wafers	Paid to Wharton's wife for fourteen boxes of wafers for the two days		28s.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£16</u>	<u>13s.</u> <u>4d.</u>

f.59v.	Spice bread	Paid to Wall's wife for thirteen dozen of buns and cakes at 2s. the dozen viz. Saturday for the potation, one dozen buns and one dozen cakes and on Sunday at night for the potation five dozen buns and five dozen cakes		25s.
	Confits	Paid for 1lb. di of almond confits at 14d. the lb. - 21d. For 1lb. of clove confits - 2s. For 2lb. of orange confits at 2s. the lb. - 4s. For 1lb. quarter of ginger confits at 2s. lb. - 2s. 6d. For a lb. di cinnamon confits - 3s. For all of caraways - 14d. For 2lb. di of bisketts at 14d. - 2s. 11d. And for a lb. of corianders - 14d.		18s. 6d.
	Fruit	Paid for six pears – 4s. For 7cwt. plums – 2s. 8d. For 1cwt. di codlings – 18d. And to a porter carrying the same fruit at two times – 3d.		8s. 5d.
	Butter	Paid for 1cwt. 1lb. of butter in the market at 3d. ob. the lb.		29s. 2d.
	Wine	Paid for one hogshead, one tiers of Gascon wine and for one tiers of French wine	£5	8s. 4d.
	Sack	Item for roundlet of sack at eighteen gallons at 16d. the gallon		24s.
	Muscadel	Item for a roundlet of muscadel at ten gallons at 2s. 4d. the gallon		23s. 4d.
	Roundlets	Item paid for the two roundlets for the same sack and muscadel		2s. 4d.
	Portage and cartage	Item paid for carriage and portage of the Gascon wine and French wine into the cellar		14d.
	Ale	Paid to Mathew Marten, Ale Brewer, our tenant, for four barrels of ale whereof three at 5s. and one at 4s.		19s.
	Beer	Paid to Campion, Beer Brewer, for five barrels beer whereof two at 5s. the barrel, two at 4s. the barrel and one at 3s.		21s.
			<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£14 3d.</u>

f.60r.	Pewter	Paid to Catcher the Pewterer for the hire of pewter vessels viz. two dozen di of great chargers, three dozen di of small chargers, five dozen of three platters, five dozen of great French platters, five dozen small French platters, five dozen pie platters, two dozen barrels platters, four dozen dishes, twenty dozen saucers all that accounted for seventeen garnishes di at 10d. the garnish – 14s. 7d., and more eighteen dozen dishes for jelly and fruit at 6d. the dozen – 9s.	23s.
	Chandler	Paid to the Chandler for diverse things set of him as salt, mustard, vinegar, vergions and pots	41s.
	Coals	Paid for twenty sacks of charcoal at 6d. the sack	10s.
	Billets and fagots	Paid for billets and fagots	13s. 4d.
		Paid for half a piece and ten ells of lockram for aprons	£3 15d.
		Item for four ells holland for the Sewar and Carver	6s.
		Item for eight ells of canvas at 6d. ell	4s.
	Musicians	Paid to the musicians for the two days	13s. 4d.
	Lard	Paid for 12lb. of lard for the red deer	10s.
	Seething the boar	Paid for seething the boar	10s.
	Coal baskets	Paid for two coal baskets – 8d.	
	Coal shovel	Item for a coal shovel – 4d.	
	Taps	Item for taps for beer and ale – 2d.	
	Ashen cups	Item for three dozen ashen cups – 2s. 6d.	
	Trenchers	Item for twenty-six dozen trenchers – 8s. 8d.	
	Dansick trays	Item for four Dansick trays – 4s.	
	Brooms	Item for brooms – 4d.	16s. 8d.
	Sweetwater	Paid for a gallon of rose water and a gallon of damask water	12s. 8d.
	Barberries	Paid for barberries	2s.
	Cream and milk	Paid for fourteen gallons cream and one gallon milk	16s. 8d.

	Wine extraordinary	Paid for wine red, white and claret in all nine gallons for jelly, hippocras and broths at 16d. the gallon	12s.	
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£12</u>	<u>11s.</u> <u>11d.</u>
f.60v.	Painter	Paid to Bullock painter for gilding the brawn and jelly	13s.	4d.
	Porters	Paid to Cartwright, Porter – 3s. Item to Robert Yeve, Porter – 2s. Item to George Hills, Porter – 3s. Item to Robert Selby, Porter – 3s. Item to Richard Thompson, Porter – 3s.	14s.	
	Butler	Paid to Edmond [-] Butler for his fee and his men waiting here	36s.	
	Cook	Paid to Tryegle our Cook for his fee for the three days – 40s., and for his bran as he had the year last past – 2s. 6d.	42s.	6d.
	Steward	Paid to Robert Beaumont, Steward, for his pains in reward	40s.	
	Labourers	Paid to Henry Starr our Labourer for his pains for two days at 8d. per day		16d.
	Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes being in the kitchen for three days – 2s., and to two other women serving there also – 3s. in all	5s.	
	Sewer	Paid to Mr Ffulx the Sewer for his fee for the two days	6s.	8d.
	Clerks and Ringers	Paid to the Clerks and Ringers of Saint Michaelles	5s.	
	The Waiters	Paid to the Master Bachelors towards the baking of their venison for the waiters	5s.	
	Calves feet for jelly	Paid for four pairs or calves feet for the jelly at 3d. the pair		12d.
	Pepper	Paid for 2lb. of pepper as such time as hast required and could not sent to the Grocers that served as	5s.	
	Jelly bags and strainers	Paid for bags for jelly and strainers	2s.	2d.
	Scavenger	Paid to the Scavenger for carrying away the garbage and offal out of the street		4d.

	<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>6s.</u>	<u>5d.</u>	
f.61v.	<u>Sum total of all the whole charges of the dinner in general amounteth to</u>	<u>£103</u>	<u>9s.</u>		
	Whereof				
	Received of the masters and livery for their quarteredge and livery money	£8	7s.	6d.	
	Received more of the new livery last coming in according to the order	£9	9s.		
	More the allowance of the house ordinary towards the great dinner	£10			
	Sum received and allowed is	£27	16s.	6d.	
	<u>So the clear charges of the said dinner standeth us in</u>	<u>£75</u>	<u>12s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>	
	Which being divided in to four parts every man's part amounteth to	£18	18s.	1d.	ob.
	Bucks given to the Master Wardens in general				
	From the Lord Treasurer – one				
	Item from Doctor Gibbons – one				
	Item from the Parson of Saint Mighels – one				
	Item from John Prestwick – one				
	Item from Robert Fryar – one				
	Item from Sir Hugh Pawlet – one				
	Item from Richard Kelleetts – one				
	Item from Hall and Dawes – one				
	Item from Thomas Herdson and Richard Champion – two				
	Item from Sir Robert Chester – one				
	Item from Thomas Wigen and Low – one				
	Item from Jeffray Lewes – one				
	Item from Sir William Chester – one				
	Item from Thomas Yoward – one				
	<u>Sum – sixteen bucks</u>				
f.62r.	Bucks and stags sent to Mr Barnam				
	From the Dean of Salisbury – one stag				
	From John Chester – di buck				
	From Harding – one				
	From Sir John Sellynger – one				
	From William Carowe – one				
	From Mr John Brooke – one				
	From Mr Quarles – one				
	From Thomas Barnham – one				

From Humphrey Chafen – one
 From William Garway – one
 From Doctor Smyth – one

Sum – nine bucks di and one stag

Bucks sent to Mr Dumer

From Thomas Wheler – one buck di
 From Mr Tossyer of Kent – two
 From Mr Alford – two
 From the Lord of Buckhurst – two

Sum – seven bucks di

Bucks sent to Mr Calverley

From Mr Keme – two bucks
 From Forrand – one

Sum – three bucks

Bucks sent to Mr Pullyson

From Spenser – one buck
 From Mr Kempe – one
 From Mr Ffyshe – one

Sum – three bucks

Sum total of stags and bucks – forty

All which stags and bucks made in pasties – 184
 pasties

Besides five bucks di that were delivered again to
 the masters, di a buck to the Cook, one buck not
 sweet and one buck given to the Master Bachelors
 being waiters – eight bucks

f.64r.

In the time of the Masters:

William Parker
 Roger Sadler
 William Chestar
 John Kempe } Wardens, Anno 1567-1568

Sir William Chestar knight and Alderman then } Master

Proportion of the first quarter dinner, **Anno 1567**,
 kept the 9th day of December for the eight messes of
 meat as followeth:

First three rondes of brawn
 Item a sirloin of beef
 Item six long marybones
 Item sixteen minced pies
 Item eight custards
 Item six apple tarts
 Item two marchpanes
 Item eighteen capons
 Item eight geese
 Item six woodcocks
 Item eight dozen of larks
 Item one turkey cock

f.64v.

Proportion of the second quarter dinner kept in our
 hall the 7th day of April, **Anno 1568**, for eight messes
 of meat

First for four green fishes
 Item for four dried lings
 Item for eight pikes
 Item for eight carps
 Item for 2cwt. of smelt
 Item for five roasting eels
 Item for a quarter di of lamprons
 Item for sixteen lampron pies
 Item for eight custards
 Item for six tarts
 Item for di a fresh salmon
 Item for two marchpanes

f.65r.

Proportion of the third quarter dinner kept the first
 day of July, **Anno 1568**, for eight messes of meat

First for one dozen and three chickens
 Item for nine geese

Item for nine capons
Item for sixteen rabbits
Item for eight custards
Item for eight chicken pies
Item for a sirloin of beef
Item for long marybones
Item for a skegg of sturgeon
Item for seven tarts
Item for one marchpane

f.69r.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1568	The tenth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir William Chester knight then our } Master Mr Parker Mr Hewar Mr William Chestar Mr Kempe } our Master Wardens Provision for the same feast dinner and for the potations on Saturday and Sunday as also for the day after the said great dinner	
	Confits	Paid to Ballthaser the Confit-Maker for all and di of almond confits at 14d. the lb. – 21d. For 2lb. of orange confits at 2s. the lb. – 4s. For a lb. of ginger confits at – 2s. For all di of cinnamon confits at 2s. the lb. – 3s. Item for a lb. of pyneapple confits – 2s. For a lb. of corianders – 14d. For a lb. of caraways and 2lb. of bysketts at 13d. the lb. – 3s. 3d.	17s. 2d.
	Fruits	Paid for fruits of diverse sorts bought for the potations viz. first for 4cwt. pears – 2s. 8d. Item for 2cwt. of plums – 2s. Item for 3cwt. codlings – 3s.	7s. 8d.
f.69v.	Poulterer	Paid to Robert Mason our Poulterer paid for these parcels of poultry-ware bought of him as followeth:	
	Sunday	First for capon on Sunday at dinner price – 2s. 1d. Item for six pigeons the same day at dinner – 10d.	
	Monday	Item for five dozen of pigeons for Monday at 20d. the dozen – 8s. 4d. For four dozen of quails at 7s. the dozen – 28s. For four dozen di of capons at 2s. 1d. the piece – £5 13s. For 5cwt. of eggs at 2s. 10d. the cwt. – 14s. 2d. For twelve geese at 22d. the piece – 22s. For six swans at 8s. 4d. the piece – £2 10s.	
	Tuesday	Item paid for 17 capons for Tuesday at 2s. 1d. – 35s. 5d. For seven geese at 22d. – 12s. 10d. For two swans at 8s. 4d. for the piece – 16s. 8d. For two dozen of pigeons – 3s. 4d. For a dozen of quails – 7s. For a cwt. di of eggs – 2s. 10d. the cwt.	£15 17s.
	Butcher	Paid to Sawyer the Butcher:	

Saturday	First for four shoulders of veal for jelly on Saturday			
Sunday	Item for a sirloin of beef			
	Item for a hind quarter of mutton			
	Item for a dozen di of marybones			
	Item for 50lb. of suet			
	Item for two muttons			
Monday	Item for six sirloins of beef			
	Item for a boar received on Monday			
	Item for a mutton			
	Item for blood and guts for puddings			
	Item for 30lb. of suet			
Tuesday	Item for a sirloin of beef			
	Item for six marybones			
	Item for 12lb. of suet			
	Item for 6st. of beef for the poor	£4	11s.	8d.
	Item paid to him for above		56s.	8d.
	Item paid for four pairs of calves feet for jelly bought abroad			15d.
f.70r.	Grocer	Paid to William Smyth, Grocer, our tenant in Cheapside, as followeth:		
	For hippocras	First 2lb. of cinnamon Item 1lb. of ginger Item 24lb. of middle sugar Item 3oz. of cloves Item 3oz. of corianders Item 4oz. of nutmeg Item for two loaves of sugar quart 21lb. three quarters Item for two loaves of sugar quart 22lb. Item 24lb. of broken sugar Item for 16lb. of pepper Item for 2oz. of saffron Item for 6oz. of cloves and mace Item for 5oz. of nutmeg Item for 4oz. of cinnamon Item for 4oz. of ginger Item for 3oz. of large mace Item for 1oz. of sanders Item for 14lb. of damask prunes Item for 12lb. of currants Item for 10lb. of dates Item for three quires of cap papers Item for an oz. of cloves		
	For jelly	Item for di.lb. of cinnamon Item for 6oz. of ginger		

		Item for nutmegs 3oz.		
		Item for 4oz. coriander		
		Item for an oz. di of cloves		
		Item for di.lb. of isenglas		
		Item for 12oz. of turnesall		
		Item for 6lb. of middle sugar	£6	17s. 8d.
	Pikemonger	Paid to Lucas Pikemonger for twenty-seven pikes according to the old scantling of our book at 22d. the piece lacking 6d. in the whole		49s.
f.70v.	Baker	Paid to Storar, Baker, for bread set of him as followeth viz:		
	Saturday	First for a dozen of cakes and a dozen of buns spicebread Item for two dozen of whitebread of three for a penny		
	Sunday	Item for four dozen and four cakes and four dozen and four buns spicebread for the potation on Sunday at night Item for three dozen of white bread of three a penny for the dinner and potation the same day Item for a dozen of wheaten bread		
	Monday	Item sixteen dozen of white bread of three for a penny, four dozen stale white bread and two dozen wheaten bread		
	Tuesday	Item one dozen of white bread of three for a penny, one dozen of penny white, one dozen of stale white bread, two dozen of half penny white bread, one dozen of wheaten bread		55s.
	Beer and ale	Paid to Platt, Beer Brewer, for three barrels of double beer and one of stronger beer		18s.
		Item paid to Mathew Marten at the Bull in Smithfield for eight stands of ale		20s.
	Wine	Paid to Robert Ffryar for our hogshead of Gascon wine – 50s. Item to Mr Colclough for three gallons of French wine on Sunday at night for potation and fifteen gallons on Monday in all eighteen gallons at 12d. the gallon – 18s.		
f.71r.		Item paid to Lowe of the Myter for wine sett from his house viz: First for two gallons for red wine for hippocras Item for a gallon and di of white wine for jelly		

	Item two gallons of white wine for white broth		
	Item for one pottle of sack		
	Item for a pottle of white wine		
	Item for a gallon of sack		
	Item for eight gallons three quarters of sack in a roundlet at 18d. the gallon – 13s. 1d.		
	Item for eight gallons three pints muscadel at 2s. the gallon – 16s. 9d.		
	Item for two gallons of red wine	44s.	9d.
Marchpanes	Paid to Balthazar for sixteen marchpanes whereof eight at 3s. 4d. the piece four of 3s. and four of 2s. 8d. the piece	49s.	4d.
	Item paid to Triacle the Cook for twelve marchpanes whereof six at 3s. and six at 2s. 8d. the piece	34s.	
Wafers	Paid to Mrs Wharton for fifteen boxes of wafers at 2s. the box	30s.	
Pewterer	Paid to Catcher, Pewterer, for the loan of one dozen 7lb. chargers, one dozen of 5lb. chargers, three dozen of 4lb. trenchers, two dozen of 3lb. platters, five dozen of great French platters, five dozen of 3lb. platters, five dozen of small French platter, fourteen dozen of saucers, five dozen of small jelly dishes three dozen of large jelly dishes, three dozen of large jelly dishes, six dozen of plates	16s.	
Sturgeon	Paid for one firkin received from Thomas Chester price	33s.	
	Item for a jowl and ronde of sturgeon bought of Mr Blagge in Fish Street	10s.	7d.
	Item paid for bringing of the sturgeon to the hall		2d.
f.71v. Meal	Paid to Mrs Rookes for two quarters of wheat meal price	37s.	4d.
	Item for one bushel of rye meal		20d.
Linen cloth	Paid for fifty-three ells three quarters of lockeram at 13d. the ell	58s.	2d.
	Item for four ells of holland cloth at 16d. the ell	5s.	4d.
	Item for eight ells of canvas at 6d. ob.	4s.	4d.
Butter	Paid for 80lb. butter at 3d. the lb. and for bringing thereof to the hall in all	20s.	2d.
Cream	Paid for twelve gallons three quarters of cream for both days at 12d. the gallon	12s.	9d.
Lard	Paid for 7lb. three quarters of lard for the red deer at 10d. the lb.	6s.	5d.

Sweetwater	Paid for a pottle of washing water and a pottle of rosewater – 5s. 4d. Item for two glasses for the same waters – 6d. Item for a pint of rosewater more – 12d.	6s.	10d.
Chandler	Paid to the Chandler Richard Nelson for stuff set from as mustard, vinegar, vergions, onions, salt, oatmeal, packthread, staff torches, candles etc. in all	18s.	
Painter	Paid to Thomas Lambe for gilding the jelly and brawn	6s.	8d.
Wood and coal	Paid for a quarter of billets after 11s. the quarter – 2s. 9d. Item for 1cwt. of faggots – 4s. 8d. Item for eighteen sacks with coals – 7s. 6d.	14s.	11d.
Trays, ashen cups and trenchers	Paid for four trays – 2s. 2d. For three dozen of ashen cups – 2s. 9d. For twenty-four dozen of trenchers – 8s.	12s.	11d.
f.72r. Barberries	Paid for a gallon of barberries	4s.	
Flower and herbs	Paid for flowers for the lady's chamber – 12d. Item for herbs for the hall and flowers – 8d.		20d.
Taps	Paid for taps for wine and beer		4d.
Earthen pots	Paid for three steynes – 9d. For seven gallon pots and six pottle pots – 16d. And for two dozen of green pots – 12d.	3s.	1d.
Bowlters and jelly bags	Paid for two yards of boulter at 7d. the yard – 14d. And for two yards of boulter at 4d. the yard – 8d. And for two yards di of cartuall white for jelly bags – 14d.	3s.	
Extraordinary charges	Paid to Mr Lovell my Lord Treasurer's man for his reward for my Lord's warrant for impost of a tun of wine – 5s. Item for a quire of writing paper – 4d. For three padlocks – 16d. Item for the servant's dinner on Friday going about provision of things – 3d. Item for bread for the officers on Saturday – 4d. Item for salt for butter – 1d. Item for eggs – 2d. Item for tenter hooks – 1d. Item for bread for the Cooks on Sunday at night – 2d. Item paid for carriage of plate from Sir Richard Champions – 7d.		

	Item paid for carriage of a pot of porridge to the White Lion in Southwark – 6d.		
	Item the wine seller for two days – 20d.		
	Item to four labourers for carrying the meal in to the pastry – 4d.		
	Item for three roundlets for wine – 3s.		
	Item for carriage of the rubbish and offal off the kitchen away out of the street by the Raker – 2d.		
	Item for two birchin brooms – 3d.	14s.	3d.
	Item paid to the Cook for baking of venison at home at his own house	2s.	
f.72v.	Rewards for bucks		
	Paid to Crockson's man our tenant for his pains in reward bringing a buck – 6s.		
	Item to my Lord Giles' servant for bringing a buck – 5s. both brought in generally	7s.	
	Item paid by Master Warden Hewar a reward for a buck brought him	5s.	
	Item for charges and in rewards for bucks brought to Master Warden Parker viz. to Sir Richard Knightly's keeper – 6s. 8d.		
	For carriage of the same buck up to London – 8s.		
	Item paid to Barton's servant to ride to Bridgestock park for a buck – 3s. 4d.		
	To the keeper of the same park – 6s.		
	For carriage of the same buck to London – 10s.		
	Item paid in reward to him that brought Mr Mydleton's buck of Colchester – 5s.		
	Sum 39s. paid to Mr Parker	39s.	
	Item paid by Mr Chester in reward for a buck brought him and repaid	5s.	
	Item paid to Master Warden Kemp for summage by him disbursed in reward for bucks brought him to the hall	35s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£4</u> <u>11s.</u>
	Ffulke the Sewer		
	Paid to Fulke the Common Crier, our officer and sewer, for his pains for two days serving – 6s. 8d.		
	Musicians		
	Paid to Corrans' noise for two days serving here	13s.	4d.
	Porters		
	Paid to George Hill – 3s.		
	To Thomas Cartwright – 3s.		
	To Robert Selby – 3s.		
	To Richard Thompson – 3s.		
	To Robert Brushwood – 3s.		
	All porters waiting the three days viz. Sunday at night, Monday and Tuesday	15s.	

	Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes for four days labour in the kitchen and house – 3s. 4d. Item to Goodwife Eles for four days labour in the kitchen also – 2s. And to her sister for three days – 18d.	6s.	10d.
	Labourer	Paid to Henry Star our Labourer for three days sweeping and carrying of necessaries	2s.	
f.73r.	Clerk and Sexton at St. Michaels	Paid to the Clerk and Sexton of St. Michaels for the singing and ringing	5s.	
	Butler	Paid to Edmond Wright our Butler for his wages and his man the three days 26s. 8d. and in reward – 16d.	28s.	
	Cooks	Paid to Treegle our Cook for his wages And for his fees	40s. 10s.	

Sum total of the whole charges

Bucks brought in viz:

For the generality

From the Lord Giles Pawlet – one

Item from Croxon in Cheap – one

Two bucks

For Master Warden Parker

From Mr Kempe – one

Item from Mr Parker – one

Item from Bridgestock Park – one

Item from Sir Richard Knightley – one

Item from Mr Mydleton – one

Five bucks

For Mr Hewar

Received for him – one buck

For Mr Chester

Received from him – one buck

f.73v.

From Master Warden Kempe

Received from Mr Kempe – one

Item from my Lord Cobham – two

Item from Mr Henry Haward – one

Item from Mr Colt – one

Five bucks

Sum of the bucks – thirteen**Whereof**

Delivered to the cooks nine bucks and thereof baked
 in the house of large pasties for the table – thirty
 Item in Livery pasties – twenty-three
 More delivered to the Cook three bucks and thereof
 baked in the house in large pasties for the table –
 nine
 Item in Livery pasties – ten

Sum of the pasties baked in the house – seventy-two**Pasties of venison spent and given**

First on Sunday at dinner – two pasties
 Item to Mr Parker and Mr Kempe – one pasty
 Item to Mr Hewar and Mr Chester – one pasty
 Item from Mr Kempe to Mr Dimocke – one pasty
 Item on Monday at dinner spent – eighteen pasties
 Item in red deer the same day spent – four pasties
 Item to Mr Coverdale from Mr Kempe – one pasty
 Item for the latter dinner on Monday – two pasties
 Item from Mr Parker to Goodwife Powell – one pasty
 Item from Mr Kempe to Morris – one pasty
 Item in generality to him that kepeth the conduit –
 one pasty
 Item to Mr Hewars – one pasty
 Item to Mr Parkers – one pasty
 Item from Mr Parker and Mr Kempe to Walter – one
 pasty
 Item from Mr Parker to Mr Starkey – one pasty
 Item from generality to Mr Calverley – one pasty
 Item from Mr Parker to himself – three pasties
 Item from generality to Parker, Clark of the market –
 one pasty
 Item for dinner for Tuesday into the hall – nine
 pasties
 Item into the parlour by the Master's appointment –
 two pasties
 Item from Master Parker to the furner – one pasty
 Item from generality to Mason the Poulterer – one
 pasty
 To Plomtun of the Chamber – one pasty
 To the Cook – one pasty
 To the Clerk – one pasty
 To the Rentor – one pasty
 To Thomas Rombe – one pasty

f.74r.

		Divided amongst the four Master Wardens – twelve pasties
Four messes	Potation on Saturday to the Masters in the parlour at the secret nomination	Spiced cakes and buns Codlings and pears Bisketts and caraways Confits two dishes Philberds and plums Confits two dishes
Twelve messes	Potation Sunday at night to the Masters and Livery	In like manner as before
Four messes	Service for Monday at dinner at the high table	In primis brawn and mustard Boiled capons two Swan A pasty of venison Pike Roasted capons two Custard
Second course		Jelly, quails, red deer Sturgeon and marchpanes Wafers and hippocras
f.74v. Five messes	The second table	The first mess of all double the rest single the fare in all like unto the high table
Eight messes	The third table	The first mess double the rest as at the second table saving that in place of quails they were served with pigeons
Four messes viz. two double	Service on Tuesday at dinner at the high table	
The first course		Brawn and mustard Boiled capons Puddings Swan and goose Venison pasty Pike Roast capon Custard
The second course		Jelly Quails and pigeons Red deer

	Sturgeon Marchpane
Five messes single	The side table
The first course	Brawn and mustard Puddings Boiled capons Goose Venison pasty Pike Roast capon Custard
Second course	Jelly Pigeons Sturgeon Marchpane

f.80r.	Feast Dinner	In the eleventh year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God, eighth day August			
		Sir William Chester, knight and Alderman – our Master			
		Mr Quarles Mr Whelar Mr Maye Mr Colclough } our Master Wardens			
		Provision for the same feast dinner and for the potations on Saturday and Sunday as also for the next day after the said great dinner			
	Butcher	Paid to the Butcher for these parcels following viz:			
	Sunday at dinner	First a rib of beef and a sirloin poize 7st. at 12d. the st.	7s.		
		Item a hindquarter of mutton price	2s.		
		Item a shoulder of veal price	12s.		
		Item two long marybones at 6d. the piece		12d.	
		Item for 50lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.	12s.	6d.	
	For Monday	Item twenty-four long marybones at 6d. the piece	12s.		
		Item two sirloins of beef weighing 12st. di at 12d. the st.	7s.	6d.	
		Item 32lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.	8s.		
		Item two muttuns for breakfast at 8s. the piece	16s.		
		Item for one peck of pricks		4d.	
	For Tuesday	Item for 36lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.	10s.		
		Item for twelve long marybones at 6d.	6s.		
		Item for twenty-eight stone of beef for the poor	38s.		
		Item for half a mutton for breakfast	4s.		
		Item for guts and blood for puddings	3s.		
		Item for a boar ready sodden	53s.	4d.	
		Item for twenty-four gallons of saucing drink	4s.		
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£8</u>	<u>14s.</u> <u>8d.</u>
f.80v.	Poulterer	Paid to Robert Mason, Draper, for these parcels following:			
	Sunday at dinner	First boiling capons and two roasting capons at 2s. the piece one with another	8s.		
		Item six quails of Mr Colclough at 7s. dozen	3s.	6d.	
	Monday	Item forty-one boiling capons and forty-one roasting capons at 2s. the piece one with another	£8	4s.	

	Item eleven signets provided by Master Maye at 7s. 6d. the piece	£4	2s.	6d.
	Item twelve geese at 20d. the piece		20s.	
	Item six dozen of quails at 7s. the dozen provided by Mr Colclough		42s.	
	Item five dozen pigeons at 20d. the dozen		8s.	4d.
	Item 4cwt. eggs at 2s. 8d. the cwt.		10s.	8d.
Tuesday	Item twenty boiling capons and twenty roasting capons at 2s. the piece one with another	£4		
	Item six signets at 8s. the piece provided by Mr Whelar of the Chamber		43s.	
	Item six geese at 20d. the piece		10s.	
	Item three dozen di of quails at 8s. the dozen provided by Mr Colclough		24s.	6d.
	Item three dozen pigeons at 20d. the dozen		5s.	
	Item from Mr Whelar Warden five capons at 2s. the piece		10s.	
	Item for 1cwt. and di of eggs at 2s. 8d the cwt.		4s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£26</u>	<u>6d.</u>
Spicebread	Paid to Mrs Wall in Alchurch Lane			
Saturday – three dozen	For one dozen di or buns and one dozen and di of cakes, for the potation on Saturday after the secret nomination of the Master and Wardens at 2s. the dozen		6s.	
Sunday – ten dozen	Item for five dozen buns and five dozen cakes at 2s. the dozen for the potation on Sunday at night in the hall at their coming from St Michaels		20s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>26s.</u>	
f.81r. Baker	Paid to Sarcefield, Baker, in Bishopsgate Street:			
Saturday – one dozen	First for one dozen rolls at three for a penny for the potation			12d.
Sunday – seven dozen	Item two dozen penny white whereof one dozen stale Item two dozen halfpenny white whereof one dozen stale Item one dozen penny wheaten Item two dozen white at three for a penny		7s.	
Monday – thirty-three dozen	Item eight dozen penny white stale			

	Item eleven dozen white of three for a penny			
	Item twelve dozen penny white new			
	Item two dozen penny wheaten bread		33s.	
Tuesday – thirteen dozen	Item two dozen penny white stale			
	Item three dozen penny white new			
	Item two dozen penny wheaten			
	Item six dozen white three for a penny		13s.	
Meal	Item for twenty-one bushels meal at 20s. the quarter		52s.	6d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£5</u>	<u>6s.</u> <u>6d.</u>
Grocer	Paid to Mr Hart, Grocer, for these parcels of spice following:			
For hippocras	Item for 2lb. di of cinnamon at 6s. 8d.		16s.	8d.
	Item for 1lb. a quarter of ginger at 4s. 8d.		5s.	10d.
	Item for 4oz. of cloves		2s.	
	Item for 8oz. of nutmeg		4s.	
	Item 16lb. of pepper at 4s. the lb.	3li.	4s.	
	Item for cloves and mace 6oz.			
	Item for mace fifty di all		8s.	
	Item for 10oz. of ginger			
	Item for 6oz. of cinnamon			
	Item for 7oz. of nutmeg		4s.	
	Item for 1oz. of sanders			
	Item for 2oz. of saffron			
	Item for 10lb. of dates at 8d. the lb.		6s.	8d.
	Item for 12lb. of corinthes at 4d.		4s.	
	Item for 14lb. of prunes at			
	Item for an oz. or cloves for perfume			
	Item for large paper for custards three quires at [-] the quire			
	Item for 19lb. quarters of fine sugar at 11d.		17s.	7d.
	Item for 80lb. middle sugar at 9d. the lb.	£3		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>9s.</u> <u>9d.</u>
f.81v.	Wafers – fifteen boxes	Paid to Mrs Wharton for ten boxes of wafers on Monday and five boxes on Tuesday at 2s. the box	30s.	
	Marchpanes	Paid for thirty parchpanes whereof six large and twenty-four middle at 3s. 8d. the piece one with another	£5	10s.
	Pikemonger – Monday	Paid to Lucas Pikemonger twenty pikes for Monday whereof four were of twenty-four inches, eight of		

	twenty inches and eight of eighteen inches long at 22d. the piece one with another		36s.	8d.
Tuesday	Item for ten pikes on Tuesday whereof two were of twenty-four inches four of twenty inches and four of eighteen inches long at 22d. the piece		18s.	4d.
		<u>Sum</u>		<u>55s.</u>
Beer Brewer	Paid for four barrels of beer of 5s. the barrel and one barrels at 4s.		24s.	
Ale Brewer	Paid to Mathew Marten our tenant in Smithfield for three barrels ale at 6s. the barrel and one barrel at 4s. Item three pales of yeast for pikebroth		22s.	12d.
		<u>Sum</u>		<u>23s.</u>
Sturgeon	Paid for two firkins of sturgeon at 30s the firkin	£3		
Fruit	Paid for hundred di of codlings – 18d. For 4cwt. of plums white at 2d. the cwt. – 8d. For di cwt. old pippins – 2s. 6d. Pears and plums from Mr Colclough		4s.	8d.
Butter	Paid for 100lb. butter at 3d. the lb.		25s.	
f.82r. Confits	Paid for 1lb. di of almond confits at 14d. Item for a lb. of clove confits at 2s. Item for 2lb. of orange confits at 2s. Item for 1lb. quarter of ginger confits at 2s. Item for 1lb. di of cinnamon confits at 2s. Item for 1lb. of caraways at 14d. the lb. Item for 2lb. of bisketts at 14d. Item for 1lb. of coriander confits at 14d.			21d.
			2s.	
			4s.	
			2s.	6d.
			3s.	
				14d.
			2s.	11d.
				14d.
		<u>Sum</u>		<u>18s.</u> <u>6d.</u>
Wine	Paid for a puncheon of French wine Item one hogshead of Gascon wine of John Carter being turned from this Company to the Company of Vintners and therefore – gratis Item for white wine for broths Item for wine to fill the said wines lying in the seller at diverse times and to the porters for laying the same two pieces in to the cellar and carts in all Item for seventeen gallons one pottle of sack drawn into a roundlet at 20d. the gallon Item for ten gallons one pottle of muscadel at 2s. 4d.	£4		
			2s.	4d.
			6s.	6d.
			29s.	2d.
			24s.	6d.

		<u>Sum</u> <u>£7</u> <u>2s.</u> <u>6d.</u>	
Cooper	Paid to Godd the Cooper for one roundlet of eighteen gallons for sack at		18d.
	Item for another of ten gallons for muscadel at		12d.
	Item for two taps of canes and one quill for the broaching of the same wine		6d.
	Item for his pains drawing the wine	3s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>6s.</u>
Linen cloth	Paid for fifty-three ells di of lockeram	55s.	
	Item more for four aprons lockeram	3s.	10d.
	Item for two ells holland cloth at 20d. the ell for the Sewer and Carver	3s.	4d.
	Item for eight ells of soultwiche for the kitchen women etc. at 7d. the ell	4s.	8d.
		<u>Sum</u> <u>£3</u> <u>6s.</u> <u>10d.</u>	
Cream	Paid for ten gallons of cream for custards on Monday and for four gallons of cream on Tuesday at 14d. the gallon and more for a gallon of milk on Tuesday for pudding at 4d. the gallon in all	16s.	8d.
f.82v. Pewterer	Paid to the Pewterer for nineteen garnish pewter at 10d. the garnish	15s.	10d.
	Item for seven dozen fruit dishes at 6d. the dozen hire	3s.	6d.
	Item for loss of pewter		20d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>21s.</u>
Chandler	Paid to the Chandler for pots, pans, oatmeal, salt, onions, mustard, vinegar, verjuice etc. in all with loss of earthen pots and for the hire of the other delivered	28s.	8d.
	Item for two bushels of flour	6s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>34s.</u> <u>8d.</u>
Wood and coal	Paid for a quarter of billets	3s.	
	Item for cwt. and di of fagots at 4s. 8d. the cwt.	7s	
	Item for twenty-eight sacks of coals at 6d.	14s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>24s.</u>
Trenchers, trays, taps, ashen cups and strainers	Paid for forty-three dozen trenchers price	12s.	1d.
	Item four Dansick trays at 16d. the piece	5s.	4d.
	Item taps for beer and ale		2d.
	Item three dozen ashen cups at 10d. dozen	2s.	6d.

	Item for strainers		10d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>20s.</u> <u>11d.</u>
	Barberries	Paid for one gallon and a quarter of barberries	2s. 6d.
	Coal baskets, brooms and coal shovel	Paid for two coal baskets Item for birchin brooms and green Item for a coal shovel	8d. 4d. 4d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>16d.</u>
	Rosewater for the kitchen and washing	Paid for a gallon of washing water Item given by Goodwife Basse three pints of red rose water for meat - gratis	
f.83r.	Flowers and herbs	Paid to Mr Maye's servant for flowers and herbs to strew	3s.
	Lard for red deer	Paid for 9lb. of lard for the baking of the red deer at 8d. the lb.	6s.
	Porters at the gate and doors	Paid to six porters for their pains viz. Robert Whitefield and Thomas Carter at the hall door, Richard Thomson and Robert Selby at the stair foot, George Hall and Robert Brushwood at the great gate to every of them – 3s.	18s.
	Sewer	Paid to Mr Ffulke the Common Crier for his pains sewing the two days viz. Monday and Tuesday according to the common custom of this house	6s. 8d.
	Preacher	Paid to Mr Crowley in reward he taking pains to preach before the Company on Monday at St Michaels	10s.
	Musicians	Paid to Frythe's wife attending the two days playing upon the voills	13s. 4d.
	Clerks and Sexton of St Michaells	Paid to the Clerks and Sexton of Saint Michaells church in Cornhill for their pains Sunday and Monday	5s.
	Butler	Paid to Edmond Wright, Butler, for himself with five men serving the four days viz. Saturday at night, Sunday at noon, and potation at night Monday and Tuesday	26s. 8d.
f.83v.	Cook	Paid to Stephen Triegle our Cook for his pains with his men dressing the dinners on Monday and Tuesday	

	and also on Sunday for the Master Wardens and their wives etc.	40s.	
Women serving in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes for three days	2s.	
	Item to two women for three days either of them at 8d. per day	4s.	
Steward	Paid to Robert Beaumont for his pains of the Master's liberality serving as steward	40s.	
Scavenger	Paid to the Scavenger for the carriage away of the rubbish and carriage out of the kitchen		8d.
Extraordinary charges	Paid for writing paper a quire		3d.
	Item for six locks	3s.	
	Item for a basket to keep spice in		18d.
	Item for wine for the sturgeon		18d.
	Item for carriage of the sturgeon		4d.
	Item for carriage of butter		3d.
	Item for carriage of sack and muscadel		3d.
	Item for nails		1d.
	Item to waterbearers for water	2s.	6d.
	Item to a woman that boulted meal	2s.	
	Item to Master Wardens for boat hire by them paid going to bid guests		12d.
	Item for bread on Tuesday at night		4d.
	Item paid to the drums and flutes in reward	2s.	6d.
	Item paid for bringing the buck from Arrowsmith's		6d.
	Item to the Cook for venison baked at his own house	8s.	4d.
	Item to Henry Starr our Labourer for three days	2s.	
	Item for carriage of fruits		1d.
	Item paid to Francis Tull in reward supplied the room of the Beadle		10s.
	Item paid to a woman to whom the Masters spake to provide quails and had none of her	5s.	
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>41s.</u>	<u>5d.</u>
f.84r.	Rewards for bucks given to the generality		
	Paid to the Lord Treasurer's servant	6s.	
	Item to Doctor Gibbon's servant	6s.	
	Item to Mr Candeler's servant	3s.	4d.
	Item to Mr Renold's man	3s.	3d.
	Item to Mr Candeler's man	3s.	4d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>22s.</u>	
	<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£98</u>	<u>9s.</u> <u>5d.</u>

Deductions	Allowance of the house	£20		
	Item for the impost of a tun of wine given by the Lord Treasurer		50s.	
	Item for quarteredge money	£3	13s.	4d.
	Item for a hogshead of beer		6s.	
	<u>Sum of the deductions is</u>	<u>£26</u>	<u>9s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	<u>So the whole to be divided into four parts amounth</u>	<u>£92</u>		<u>1d.</u>
		<u>to</u>		
	And so every Master Wardens part cometh to	£18		qt.

f.84v.

Bucks by generality

From Burdocke – one
 From Mr Candeler – two
 From my Lord Treasurer – one
 From Mr Fryar – one
 From Doctor Gibbons – one
 From Mr Renoldes – one

Sum is – seven bucks

Bucks by Mr Quarles

From my Lady Grey – two
 From Spirling – one
 From Mr Dorrell – one
 From Mr Roffe – one

Sum is – five bucks

Bucks by Mr Whelar

From his house – three
 From his son-in-law – one

Sum is – four bucks

Bucks by Mr Maye

From Asshedowne – one
 From Chandler – one
 From Sir Henry Jarringham – one
 From Bedington park – one
 From Oxfordshire – one

Sum is – five bucks

Bucks by Mr Colclough

From Alderman Becher – one
 From Mr Ffanchow – one
 From Lady Harrington – one
 From Windsor – one
 From Churchehill – one

From Mr Hare in Cheape – one

Sum is – six bucks

f.85r.

Sum of all the bucks received as – twenty-seven
bucks

**Two bucks
given away**

Whereof two were given away whole unbaked to
which one to Mr Wilbram and one to the Mr
Bachelors and Waiters – two bucks

**Fifteen bucks
baked**

The rest being twenty-five bucks were spent in the
house and given away in pasties at the discretion of
the Master Wardens – twenty-five bucks

Which twenty-five bucks made one hundred and
thirty pasties whereof four pasties were baked for
red deer – one hundred and thirty pasties

**Pasties of venison baked in the house spent and
given away by the Master Wardens to their friends
to officers of the house and others as appeareth by
the particulars following:**

First by generality to Mr Randall the Common
Sergeant – one pasty

For Mr Whelar to John Turner – one pasty

For Mr Colclough to Hamond – one pasty

For Mr Maye to his brother Maye – one pasty

For Mr Maye to Giles – one pasty

For Mr Whelar to Woodcock – one pasty

For Mr Colclough to Robert Sadler – one pasty

For Mr Quarles to Altham – one pasty

For Mr Quarles to Dawson – one pasty

For Mr Whelar to Lane – one pasty

For Mr Whelar to Mistress Heath – one pasty

For the Master's dinner on Sunday – two pasties

For the Cook's dinner on Sunday – one pasty

For Mr Maye to Chandler – one pasty

For the Masters to supper on Sunday – one pasty

For generality to the Cook – one pasty

For generality to the Porter's supper – one pasty

From generality to the Steward's supper – one pasty

From generality to the Parker officer – one pasty

From Mr May to Rydley – one pasty

From generality to the Lord Treasurer – one pasty

From Mr Colclough to a Gent at Mr Brookes – one
pasty

From Mr Colclough to Mr Calthorpe – one pasty

f.85v.

From Mr Colclough to Williamson – one pasty

From Mr Quarles to Heron – one pasty

From Mr Maye to Hewes – one pasty
 From generality to the searchers – one pasty
 From Mr Whelar to Mr Crowley – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Friar – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Gough – one pasty
 From generality to the waiters at waterside – one
 pasty
 From generality to the Bishoppes Head – one pasty
 From Mr Maye to Bap Fortini – one pasty
 From generality to my Lady Chester – one pasty
 From generality to my Lady Champion – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Smith's clerks – one pasty
 From Mr Colclough to Mr Howlett and Harker – one
 pasty
 From generality to the furner – one pasty
 From generality to the Porters of Blackwell Hall – one
 pasty
 From generality to Shorter – one pasty
 From generality to Mrs Quarles and Mrs Whelar –
 one pasty
 From generality spent in the house Monday dinner –
 twenty-four pasties
 From generality to the Cook's dinner – one pasty
 From generality to the Porter's dinner – one pasty
 From generality to the Ale Brewer – one pasty
 From generality to him that kepeth the conduit – one
 pasty
 From generality to Mr Rennoldes – one pasty
 From Mr Whelar – three pasties
 From Mr Quarles – one pasty
 From Mr Maye to Lamkin – one pasty
 From Mr Quarles to Tatton – one pasty
 From Mr Maye – two pasties
 From generality spent in the house Tuesday – nine
 pasties
 From generality for the Cook's dinner – one pasty
 From generality for the furner – one pasty
 From generality spent in red deer – four pasties
 From Mr Whelar to Turner – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Yeve of the crown office – one
 pasty
 From generality to Mr Pelter – one pasty
 From Mr Colclough to his house – one pasty
 From Mr Quarles and Mr Whelar's ring – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Hayward – one pasty
 From generality to the waiters dinner – one pasty
 From generality to the four cooks – three pasties
 From generality to the poulterer – one pasty
 From generality to John Elliot – one pasty
 From generality to Lennard and Prestwicke – one
 pasty

f.86r. From generality to Thomas Elyott – one pasty
 From generality to Mrs Wharton – one pasty
 From generality to Mr Ffulkes – one pasty
 From generality to Cotton – one pasty
 From generality to the Clerks of St. Michaelles – one
 pasty
 From generality to the porters – four pasties
 From generality to the Clerk Bartholomew Warner –
 one pasty
 From generality to Mrs Messinger – one pasty
 From generality to Robert Richards – one pasty
 From generality to Robert Holmes – one pasty
 From generality to Hallye – one pasty
 From generality to Thomas Whelye – one pasty
 From generality to the butlers – one pasty
 From generality to the Glasier – one pasty
 From generality to Dorrell and Agars son – one pasty
 From generality to Henry Starr and the Butcher – one
 pasty
 From generality to one of the Inns of Court – one
 pasty
 From generality to the Steward which were stolen
 from him that said – one pasty

Sum total – one hundred and thirty pasties

Pasties of venison spent in the house and given by
 generality – ninety-eight pasties
 Given by Mr Quarles as above – six pasties
 Given by Mr Whelar as above – nine pasties
 Given by Mr Maye as above – nine pasties
 Given by Mr Colclough – eight pasties

So was spent and given away as appeareth – one
 hundred and thirty pasties

Four messes

Potation for the Masters on Saturday

Cakes and buns
 Byskettes and caraways
 Plums and codlings
 Confits two dishes
 Pears and pippins
 Confits two dishes
 Gascon wine and French
 Sack and hippocras
 Ale and beer

f.86v. Twelve messes

**Potation for the whole Livery on Sunday at
 afternoon**

Cakes and buns
 Plums and codlings

	<p>Confits two dishes Pears and pippins Confits two dishes Gascon wine and French wine Sack and hippocras Ale and beer</p>
Two messes	<p>For the Wardens' wives and Bachelor Wardens As above</p> <p>For servants Manchetts Pears Plums Codlings</p>
Two messes single	<p>Sunday at dinner for the four Masters the Wardens their wives, officers of the house etc. Brawn and mustard Boiled capon Roasted beef Baked venison Roasted capon Quails - six</p> <p>For servants and cooks Boiled mutton and pottage Roasted beef Roasted veal</p> <p>Monday for breakfast for waiters, officers, servants, cooks etc. Boiled mutton and potage</p>
f.87r.	<p>Monday for dinner prepared twenty messes full furnished as followeth:</p>
First course Four messes double	<p>For the high table Brawn and mustard</p> <p>Boiled capon Roasted swan Baked venison Pikes Roasted capon Custard</p>
First course Five double messes	<p>For the second table Brawn and mustard</p> <p>Boiled capon</p>

		Roasted swan or goose Baked venison Pikes Roasted capons Custards
	First course Five messes double	For the third table As above
	First course Three messes single	For the parlour As above
	First course One mess single	For the Master Wardens As above
	First course One mess single	For the Lady Chester As above
	First course One mess single	For the Lady Champion As above
	First course One mess single	For gentlewomen and friends in the gallery As above
	First course One mess single	To Mr Colclough's house for that he was sick Boiled capon Baked venison Roasted capon Custard
f.87v.	One mess single	For the cooks at their dinner Boiled capon Roasted goose Baked venison Roasted capon Custard
	Two messes double	Received into the larder As above
		Monday at dinner to the high table and other tables for the second course
	Second course Four messes	For the high table in the hall Quails Red deer Sturgeon Marchpane

Second course **For the second table in the hall**
 Five messes Quails or pigeons
 Red deer
 Sturgeon
 Marchpanes

Second course **For the third table in the hall**
 Five messes Quails or pigeons
 Red deer
 Sturgeon
 Marchpane

Second course **Into the parlour**
 Two messes As above

Item after dinner wafers and hippocras throughout
 the whole house

f.88r.

**Tuesday for dinner ten messes full furnished as
 followeth:**

The first course **For the high table in the hall**
 Four messes Brawn and mustard
 double Boiled capon
 A pudding white and black
 Roasted swan
 Baked venison
 Pike in herblade
 Roasted capon
 Custard

The first course **For the second table in the hall**
 Four messes Brawn and mustard
 double and two Puddings white and black
 messes single Boiled capon
 Roasted swan or goose
 Baked venison
 Pike in herblade
 Roasted capon
 Custard

The first course **For the cooks**
 One mess single Puddings
 Boiled capon
 Roasted goose
 Baked venison
 Roasted capon
 Custard

Three messes
single **Received into the larder**

As above

Tuesday for dinner at the second course as followeth:

Second course
Four messes **For the high table in the hall**
Quails
Red deer
Sturgeon
Marchpane

Second course
Five messes **For the second table**
Quails or pigeons
Red deer
Sturgeon
Marchpane

f.88v. Item as on Monday after dinner wafers and hippocras throughout the house

Item all meat that was reserved in the larder was disposed at the pleasure of the Master Wardens and their wives and other things equally divided amongst them

On Tuesday for the poor Item to the poor on Tuesday, beef and potage ordained only for that purpose

Officers in that house appointed:

In the larder - two Robert Beaumont, Draper, Steward, and to assist him Israell Johnson, son to Mistress Colclough

In the buttery and cellars - seven That is two at the buttery hatch to deliver, two to carry wine, ale and beer up to them that delivered it, two to draw ale and beer, two to draw wine whose honesty and diligence did preserve that none was lacking his name was Richard Goad, Cooper

In the pantry - three That is one at the pantry hatch, one to fetch bread to him that kept the hatch and one without the pantry door to carry bread to the tables or to see that it was carried nowhere else

At the stair head coming from the kitchen - one John Chambers to see that the meat accordingly went to furnish the house and that nothing was purloined which was sent from the kitchen

In the bookhouse - six	That is to take meat at the door in the hall going into the parlour, two to receive it of them and so bring it into the bookhouse and two maids or women to mess it, dish it, and see it orderly used
Porters - six	That is two at the hall door going down the stairs where of one did write and take note of all pewter and napkins etc. as went out of the house that it might be called for again, two at the door at the stair foot and two at the great gate
f.89r. Butlers - six	Edmond Wright the Butler findeth five men besides himself to serve the house and taketh of the plate
Sewer	Mr Fulkes, Common Crier, is Sewer yearly and hath for his fee of the house a noble the two days
Waiters	<p>The four Master Bachelors came on Sunday in the afternoon and gave their attendance on the Masters and Livery at their potation, and drink.</p> <p>Item the said four Master Bachelors on Monday coming with twenty-four of the comeliest and handsomest men of the yeomanry decently apparelled at nine of the clock and break their fast with mutton and potage and so two and two go for the guests as they are appointed by the clerk which giveth several bills for whom they shall go, and after wait till dinner be done.</p> <p>Item in Tuesday likewise the four Master Bachelors with twelve more of them which the day before waited coming likewise to go for guests and wait as above.</p> <p>In consideration of which their pains the Master Wardens gave them this year one good fat and sweet buck unbaked.</p>

f.91r.

Annis 1569 and 1570

In the time of Francisii Barnam Alderman our Master
and

Johannis Branche
Martini Calthorpe
Roberti Diconson and
Gualteri Garway } Wardens

**Quarter Dinner Expenses of the first quarter dinner kept the
fifteenth day of November 1569, for eight messes of
meat as followeth:**

First paid to Triegle the Cook for sixteen minced pies at 16d. the piece	21s.	4d.
Item for eight custards at 2s. 4d. the piece	18s.	8d.
Item for eight quince pies at 2s. 10d.	22s.	8d.
Item for six long marybones	2s.	4d.
Item for a sirloin piece of beef	2s.	4d.
Item to the Cook for his fee	6s.	
Paid to Edward Wright, Butler, for a stand of ale, half of one and half of another	3s.	
Item for a kilderkin of beer	3s.	
Item for seven dozen of bread	7s.	
Item to him for his fee	4s.	
Paid to the Vintner for ten gallons and a quart of claret wine at 16d. gallons	13s.	8d.
Item for three pottles of white wine	2s.	
Item for a pottle of muscadel		14d.
Item for a gallon of malvesey		20d.
Item for three pottles of sack	2s.	6d.
Paid to the Pewterer for four garnish of pewter vessels at 10d. the garnish	3s.	4d.
Paid for three rondes of brawn	6s.	
Item for saucing drink to the same		2d.
Paid for six sacks of great coal	2s.	6d.
Paid for 6lb. di of butter	2s.	2d.
f.91v.		
Paid to the Chandler for a pack of white salt		3d.
Item for candles for the kitchen		1d.
Item for vergys		3d.
Item for mustard		3d.
Item for vinegar		2d.
Item for a boiling pot		1d.

	Item for a jowl of fresh salmon	4s.	
	Item for a quarter and a half of roasting lamprons	3s.	
	Item for five great roasting eels	10s.	
	Item for two hundredth of smelts	2s.	8d.
	Item paid to Ravens, Pikemonger, for eight pikes at 20d. the piece and eight carps at the same price	26s.	8d.
	Item paid for alexander buds for salletts		12d.
	Item for eggs		9d.
	Item for half cwt. of oranges		6d.
	Item for sweet butter for the table		16d.
	Item for sallett oil		9d.
	Item for parsley		6d.
	Item for sallet herbs		4d.
	Item for half a pack of flour		4d.
	Item for sorrel		2d.
	 Paid to the Cook for fourteen lampron pies at 14d. the piece	16s.	4d.
	Item for eight custards at 2s. 4d. the piece	18s.	8d.
	Item for [-] tarts at [-]		
	Item to him for his wages dressing the dinner	6s.	
	 Paid to the Grocer for 2oz. of pepper		7d.
	Item for an oz. of cinnamon		6d.
	Item for an oz. of ginger		5d.
	Item for an oz. and di of large mace		18d.
	Item for 1lb. di of prunes		4d.
	Item for 1lb. di of currants		6d.
	Item for 1lb. of dates		8d.
	Item for 2lb. of coarse sugar		20d.
	Item for 3lb. of fine sugar	3s.	
	Item for one quarter of bysketts		4d.
	 Paid to the Butler for his pains	4s.	
	Item for a stand of ale and a kilderkin of beer at 3s. the piece	6s.	
	Item for six dozen of bread	6s.	
	 Paid to the Pewterer for the hire of five garnish of vessel at 10d.	4s.	2d.
	 Paid for a pint of rosewater		10d.
f.92v.	Paid for di hundredth of fagots	2s.	2d.
	Item for coals to Robert Richards		13d.
	 Paid for di a peck of salt		6d.
	Item for vinegar, vergys and mustard		5d.
	Item for 4lb. of butter to the Cook		16d.
	Item for 9li. of butter to the Chandler		
	Item for fine white salt for the table		3d.

Item for onions		1d.
Item for a boiling pot		3d.
Item for vinegar more – 1d. and for a pot – 1d. and for a birchin broom – 1d.		3d.
Paid to the Vintner at the Bishopp's Hed for seven gallons and a pottle of claret wine and one quart of white wine at 16d. the gallon – 5s. 4d., and for two gallons and a pottle of sack at 2s. the gallon – 5s.	15s.	4d.
Item to the Goodwife Holmes for her pains		6d.
<u>Sum total of this quarter dinner amounteth to</u>		[-]

Quarter Dinner Expenses of the third quarter dinner kept the sixth day of June 1570, for seven messes of meat as followeth:

	Paid to Mason the Poulterer for sixteen capons at 22d. the piece one with another	29s.	4d.
	Item for fourteen geese at 12d. the piece – 14s. and for twenty-one rabbits at 4d. the piece – 7s. 4d. and for eggs – 8d. in all paid	22s.	
	Paid to the Cook for two salmons – 15s., for a sirloin of beef – 6s. 2d., for six long marybones at 6d. the bone – 3s., for seven chicken pies at 3s. the piece – 21s., for seven custards at 2s. 4d. the piece – 16s., for one marchpane – 3s., for his pains – 6s.	£4	5s.
f.93r.	Paid to the Butler for a stand of ale for a kilderkin of beer – 3s., for seven dozen of bread – 7s., for his fee – 4s.	17s.	1d.
	Paid to the Vintner for ten gallons claret wine – 13s. 4d., for two gallons sack – 4s., for a quart of white vinegar – 4d.	17s.	4d.
	Paid for water from the conduit		16d.
	Paid to the Grocer for 2oz. of pepper, 1lb. di of currants – 6d., 1lb. of dates – 8d., 1oz. of maces – 12d., biskittes and caraways – 7d., 2lb. of prunes – 4d., 2lb. of fine sugar – 2s., and 2lb. of middle sugar – 20d.	7s.	3d.
	Paid to the Pewterer for occupying of four garnish of vessels at 10d. the garnish	3s.	4d.
	Paid to the Chandler for di a peck of white salt – 3d., for a quart of vinegar – 1d. ob., for vergys – 3d., for a		

quarter more of vinegar – 1d. ob., for packthread – ob., for fine white salt – 3d., for a pan – 2d., and for a broom – 2d.			15d.
Paid for six sacks of coal	3s.		6d.
Item paid for 6lb. of fresh butter			18d.
Paid for two rondes of sturgeon	7s.		
Paid for a pint of rosewater			10d.
Paid for parsley – 1d. pricks – 1d. and ale – 1d.			3d.
Paid to Goodwife Holmes for her pains			12d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>20d.</u>
<u>Sum total of this quarter dinner amounteth to</u>	<u>£9</u>		<u>18s.</u>

f.94r.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1570	In the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England, France and Ireland etc. seventh day of August Monday		
		Mr Ffrancys Barnam Alderman then } our Master		
		Mr John Branche Mr Marten Calthorpp Mr Robert Diconson and Mr Walter Garway } our four Master Wardens		
		Provision for the same great dinner and for the potation on Saturday and Sunday as also for the Tuesday the day after the feast dinner:		
	Poulterer	Paid to Robert Mason, our Poulterer, for these parcels		
	Sunday	First for two boiling capons and two roasting capons at 2s. the piece		8s.
		Item for 2cwt. eggs		5s.
	Monday	Item for forty-two boiling capons and forty-two roasting capons at 2s. the piece	£8	8s.
		Item for thirteen signets at 8s. the piece	£5	4s.
		Item for nine geese at 20d. the piece		15s.
		Item for three dozen and ten partridges at 10d.		38s. 4d.
		Item for three dozen pigeon at 20d.		5s.
		Item for 3cwt. of eggs at 2s. 6d. the cwt.		7s. 6d.
		Item for two dozen di of quails at 10s.		25s.
	Tuesday	Item for eleven boiling capons and eleven roasting capons at 2s. the piece		44s.
		Item for four signets at 8s.		32s.
		Item for three geese at 20d. the piece		5s.
		Item for two dozen and six pigeons at 20d.		4s. 2s.
		Item for di.cwt. of eggs at 2s. 2d.		15d.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£23</u>
f.94v.	Butcher	Paid to the Butcher for one rib and one sirloin of beef weighing 4st. and di at 12d. the st.		4s. 6d.
	Sunday	Item for a hind quarter of mutton		2s.
		Item for a breast of veal		20d.
		Item for four long marybones at 6d.		2s.
		Item for 4lb. of suet		12d.
	Monday	Item for two sirloins of beef weighing 8st. at 12d. the st.		8s.
		Item for two whole sheep		18s.
		Item for 40lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.		10s.
		Item for twenty-four long marybones at 6d.		12s.
		Item for one peck of pricks		4d.

Tuesday	Item for 30lb. of suet at 3d.	7s.	6d.
	Item for eight long marybones at 6d.	4s.	
	Item for 31st. 2lb. of beef for to make porridge for the poor at 12d. st.	31s.	3d.
	Item for twelve long guts and a gallon of blood	2s.	10d.
	Item for 6lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.		18d.
	Item for one boar ready sodden	£3	13s. 5d.
	Item for that was given him in earnest upon the bone		12d.
	<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£9</u>	<u>12d.</u>
Baker	Paid to Thomas Heath, Baker, for bread as followeth:		
Saturday – one dozen	First for one dozen rolls at three for a penny		12d.
Sunday – seven dozen	Item for two dozen rolls three for a penny	2s.	
	Item two dozen penny white bread whereof one dozen stale	2s.	
	Item for two dozen half penny white bread whereof one dozen stale bread	2s.	
	Item for one dozen wheaten bread		12d.
Monday – thirty-three dozen	Item for eleven dozen rolls, twelve dozen penny white new, eight dozen penny white stale, and two dozen wheaten penny bread	33s.	
Tuesday – thirteen dozen	Item for six dozen rolls, three dozen penny white new, two dozen penny white stale and two dozen penny wheaten	13s.	
	<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>54s.</u>	
f.95r.	Meal	Paid for twelve bushels of meal bought at 2s. 8d. the bushel	
		32s.	
			4d.
			4d.
			4d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>32s. 8d.</u>
			3s.
	Grocer	Paid to William Smyth, our tenant in Cheap, and Grocer the parcels of spice here following viz:	
		Ginger 1lb. – 5s, nutmeg di lb. – 3s., cinnamon 2lb. di – 16s., sander 1oz. – 2d., cloves 1quarter – 2s. 2d., saffron 2oz. – 2s. 4d., nutmeg di lb. – 3s., dates 10lb. – 5s.,	

	pepper 10lb. – 33s. 4d., currants 12lb. – 4s., cloves and mace 6oz. – 4s., prunes 12lb. – 2s., cloves 1oz. – 6d., long mace di lb. – 2s. 6d., sugar fine one loaf 11lb. di at 11d. the lb. – 10s. 6d., ginger di lb. – 2s. 6d., cinnamon 6oz. – 2s. 6d., paper three quires – 8d.	£5	4s.
	Item paid to Thomas Cordall for 25lb. quarter of sugar at 10d. ob. the lb. – 22s. and for 53lb. 3 quarters of sugar at 9d. ob. the pound – 42s. 8d.	£3	4s. 10d.
	<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£8</u>	<u>9s.</u>
Confits	Bisketts 2lb. – 2s. 4d., coriander 1lb. – 14d., caraways 1lb. – 14d., almond di lb – 7d., ginger 1lb. – 2s., cloves 1lb. – 2s., cinnamon 1lb. di – 3s., dredge 1lb. quarter – 2s. 11d., orange 1lb. quarter – 2s. 6d.		17s. 8d.
Wafers	Paid to Mrs Wharton for fifteen boxes with wafers viz. ten spent on Monday and five on Tuesday at 2s. the box		30s.
f.95v. Spicebread	Paid to Mrs Wall for thirteen dozen of cakes and buns at 2s. the dozen viz. one dozen and di of buns and one dozen and di of cakes for the potation in the parlour on Saturday at night for the Masters, and five dozen buns and five dozen cakes for the potation in the hall to the Masters and Livery on Sunday at night		26s.
Marchpanes	Paid for twelve marchpanes bought of Treegle our Cook at 3s. 4d. the piece		40s.
	Item for eight marchpanes bought of Balthazar at 3s. 8d. the piece		29s. 4d.
	Item for six marchpanes bought of one dwelling in Fleet Street		20s. 8d.
	<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£4</u>	<u>10s.</u>
Pikemonger	Paid to John Lucas, Pikemonger for twenty pikes bought of him the scantlins here-to-fore accustomed at 22d. the piece for Monday		36s. 8d.
	Tuesday Item more for four pikes bought of him at the same time and price for Tuesday		7s. 4d.
	<u>Sum paid</u>		<u>44s.</u>
Sturgeon	Paid to Blagg of the Kings Hedd and the Castel in New Fyshe Streat for two firkins of fresh sturgeon	£3	
Wine	Paid to Buckle of the Bishoppes Head in Lombard Streat for two hogsheads of wine at £3 the hogshead. Whereof John Chalonner paid for the one being a fine for license to alienate his lease in Sherbourne Lane so paid	£3	

		Item more paid to him for twenty gallons of sack at 22d. the gallon – 36s. 8d., for eleven gallons of muscadel at 2s. the gallon – 22s. Item one gallon of white wine for broths – 16d. and for a gallon of red wine for hippocras – 16d.	£3	16d.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£6</u>
				<u>16d.</u>
f.96r.	Beer Brewer	Paid for five barrels of beer whereof three barrels at 5s. the barrel and two barrels at 4s. the barrel		23s.
	Ale Brewer	Paid to Mathew Marten our tenant in Smythfield for three barrels of ale of 6s. the barrel – 18s. and for one barrel of 4s. the barrel – 4s. Item for a stand of penny ale – 8d. and for two pails of yeast – 4d.		23s.
	Fruits	Paid for 4cwt. plums – 2s. 6d. for 3cwt. di of pears – 3s. for di cwt. of red filberds – 2s. and for one hundred and fifty codlings – 2s. more di.cwt. of genetinges brought by Mrs Calthorpe		9s. 6d.
	Butter	Paid for 100lb. weight of butter at 2d. quarter the lb.		23s.
	Cream	Paid to the Goodwife Sweete of Hacqueney for nine gallons of cream at 14d. the gallon		10s. 6d.
	Monday	Item for three gallons of cream on Tuesday at the same price and one gallon of milk for pudding on Tuesday at 4d.		3s. 10d.
	Tuesday			
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>14s.</u>
				<u>4d.</u>
	Barberries	Paid for a gallon of barberries		2s.
	Lard	Paid for 14lb. of lard bought for the larding of red deer etc. at 10d. the lb.		11s. 8d.
f.96v.	Chandler	Paid for six chafers whereof three were broken at 2d. the piece		6d.
		Two dozen pots whereof twenty broken at 1d. the piece		20d.
		Four steynes received and redelivered		
		Eight candlesticks whereof four broken at ob.		2d.
		Three dozen di green pots whereof two dozen and ten were broken		2s.
		Six pans whereof four pans broken at 2d.		8d.
		Three perfuming pots redelivered		
		Two links		8d.
		A pack of fine white salt		6d.
		1lb. of packthread		6d.
		One bushel of oatmeal		2s.
		One bushel of white salt		20d.

		One bushel of bay salt		7d.
		Two gallons of red vinegar		16d.
		Two gallons of verjuce		12d.
		One peck of piked oatmeal		7d.
		Two gallons of white vinegar	2s.	
		Two great boiling pots redelivered		
		8lb. of candles at 3d. the lb.	2s.	
		Mustard and a pot		12d.
		Paid for loan of pots etc. redelivered		4d.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>19s. 2d.</u>
	Pewterer	Paid to Hawkes, Pewterer, for the loan of this vessel hereafter mentioned viz.		
		One dozen of 7lb. chargers, one dozen di of 5lb. chargers, three dozen di of 4lb. chargers, five dozen of 3lb. platters, four dozen di of 4lb. chargers, five dozen of 3lb. platters, four dozen and ten great French platters, five dozen and two small French platters, five dozen plates, two dozen barrels platters, four dozen dishes, twenty dozen saucers whereof twelve dozen of one sort and eight dozen of another sort, seven dozen fruit dishes and two dozen jelly dishes. All making twenty-two garnish and one dozen at 10d. the garnish – 18s. 7d. Item for three rough platters for the standing dishes weighing 10lb. three quarters at 5d. ob. the lb.		5s.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>23s. 6d.</u>
f.97r.	Linen cloth	Paid to Thomas Brownfield for two ells of hollands at 22d. the ell for the sewars		3s. 8d.
		Item for eight ells of handfordes for the kitchen at 6d. the ell		4s.
		Item for half a piece of dowlas – 50s. 6d., and more nine ells and di of dowlas at 13d. the ell – 10s. all for aprons	£3	10d.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£3 13s. 6d.</u>
	Sweetwater	Paid to Goodwife Basse for a quart of red rosewater for meat		20d.
		Item to her for three quarts of washing water musked at 20d. the quart		5s.
			<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>6s. 8d.</u>
	Wood and coal	Paid for 1cwt. of fagots – 4s. 8d., for a quarter of billets – 2s. 11d., and for twenty-eight sacks of coal at 5d. the sack – 11s. 8d.		19s. 3d.
		Item for six sacks of thorn coal		2s. 6d.

	Trenchers, ashen cups and trays etc.	Paid for three grosse of trenchers Item for ashen cups, taps for ale and beer, brooms, a coal shovel and small trays in all Item for four great trays at 16d. the piece	14s. 6s. 6d. 5s. 4d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>25s. 10d.</u>
	Flowers, herbs and roots	Paid to Goodwife Basse for onions – 8d., for parsley – 6d., for herbs for the puddings – 4d., for radish roots, cucumbers and sallet oil – 8d.	2s. 2d.
	Preachers	Given in reward to Mr Knell preaching on Sunday at afternoon and to Mr Gough preaching on Monday the forenoon	20s.
f.97v.	Musicians	Paid to the Waits of the City for Monday and Tuesday playing upon diverse instruments Item in reward to Segar a Dutchman playing the same two days with the Waits	13s. 4d. 5s.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>18s. 4d.</u>
	Clerks of St Migheles	Given in reward to the Clerks and Sexton of Saint Michaells	5s.
	Rewards for bucks in generality	Paid to the Lord Treasurer's servant for one buck brought into the hall Item to Alderman Barnam's servant in reward for bringing of a buck Item paid to Doctor Gibbon's servant for bringing of a buck	5s. 2s. 5s.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>12s.</u>
	Porters	Paid to William Tattam, Robert Whitfeld, Robert Brushewood, George Shawe, John Taylor and Thomas Cartwright all porters attending the two days at 3s. every of them	18s.
	Sewer	Paid to Chrispofer Fulke, Sewer, for his paines the two days sewing	6s. 8d.
	Steward	Paid to Robert Beaumond the Steward for his pains	40s.
	Cooks	Paid to Stephen Treegle Cook for his pains and others with him the two days viz. Monday and Tuesday as also for the dinner on Sunday	40s.
	Butlers	Paid to Edmond Wright for himself and five others with him	26s. 8d.

f.98r.	Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes for four days – 2s., to Denys Eles for five days – 2s. 6d., and to Margaret Smyth for three days – 18d., washing the dishes, scraping the trenchers and washing the house	6s.
	Scavenger	[-]	
	Extraordinary and ordinary charges	Paid to the Keeper of the Wardrobe in the Tower for certain pieces of Orace of the story of King Davyd and others for the hanging of the parlour – 20s. and a hot venison pasty. Item to his servant in reward for bringing of the same in it again to the Tower re-carriage of it again to the Tower and to the Warders as also to Father Sharpe and Mr Keltredge's man hanging up the same – 5s.	25s.
		Item paid to Richard Rennolds the younger for somiche by him spent riding to Eltham for the serving of a warrant in one of the parks there the same warrant received of Simon Croxton and refused	2s. 6d.
		Item paid for the bringing to the hall out of Fyshe Streat of two firkins sturgeon	3d.
		Item paid for two roundlets the one for muscadel the other for sack – 2s. 6d., for quills to set all the wines a broche – 6d., for carriage of the muscadel and sack to the hall – 2d. and to the Cooper's man for setting the wines a broche – 4d.	3s. 6d.
		Item paid for a boiling pot – 2d., for writing paper a quire – 4d., for two strainers – 10d., for a peck of white salt – 6d.	22d.
		Item paid to Master Alderman Becher's porter in reward for bring of a pasty of red deer sent from his Master	12d.
		Item paid for baking of sixteen pasties of venison at the Cook's house	2s. 8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>36s. 9d.</u>
f.98v.		Item paid to Richard Thompson drawer of the wine in the cellar for his pains	3s.
		Item to Stephen Malyn for his pains drawing beer and ale in the cellar	2s. 6d.
		Item paid to three officers helping to carve and to sew among them	3s.
		Item paid to Henry Blower, Waxchandler, for three standing dishes viz. a boar's head the arms and supports of the Company and the other the helmet and crest	36s.
		Item paid to Henry Starr our Labourer for two days at 8d. per day and to Jarmen another Labourer for two days at 10d. per day, both attending for the carriage of plate and hangings and other things necessary about the house	3s.

Item paid for the mending of a lid of one of John Lowen's pots the same being fallen of	2s.		
Item paid to them that made the speeches at the bringing in of the boar's head and to the child that took pains therein in all	8s.	8d.	
Item paid to Robert Richards for somithe by him disbursed for the bringing in of two hogshead of wine and laying the same into the cellar			12d.
	<u>Sum part</u>	<u>59s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
	<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£92</u>	<u>11s. 4d.</u>

Deductions	Allowances of the house	£20		
	Quarteredge money received at the potation of the Company		41s.	4d.
	Quarteredge money received of the Clerk gathered by him		24s.	
	<u>Sum of the deductions</u>	<u>£23</u>	<u>5s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
	<u>So the whole to be divided into four parts amounteth to</u>	<u>£69</u>	<u>6s.</u>	
	And so every Master Wardens' parts cometh to	£17	6s.	6d.

f.99r.

Bucks received by generality

Sent by the Lord Treasurer – one buck

Sent by Master Alderman Barnam – one buck

Sent by Master Doctor Gybbon – one buck

Sum is – three bucks

Bucks by particularity

From Mr Branche

From Mr Calthorpe – two bucks

From Mr Diconson – one buck

From Mr Garwaye – two bucks

Sum is [-]

Sum in all [-]

Whereof two were baked abroad for red deer and came not to the hall but in pasties and were – seven pasties

Of the rest were baked in the hall and at the cooks – fifty-one pasties

Sum of all – fifty-eight pasties**Which were spent and given away as followeth:**

Spent on Sunday at dinner – two pasties

Spent on Monday at dinner – twenty pasties
 Spent on Monday in red deer – six pasties
 Spent on Tuesday dinner – seven pasties
 Given away – twelve pasties
 Delivered by the Steward to the Master Wardens
 themselves – eleven pasties

Sum – fifty-eight pasties

f.99v.	Four messes	<p>Potation for the Masters on Saturday at night Spiced cakes and buns Bysketts and caraways Codling and plums Confits two dishes Pears and gennetings</p>
	Twelve messes	<p>Potation for the Masters and whole Livery on Sunday at night Spiced cakes and buns Bisketts and caraways Codlings and plums Confits two dishes Pears and jennetyngs Confits two dishes And filberds</p>
	Two messes	<p>For the Warden's wives and Master Bachelors As above</p> <p>For servants Manchetts Pears Plums Codling</p>
	Two messes single	<p>Sunday for dinner for the four Masters the Wardens their wives, officers of the house etc. Brawn and mustard Boiled capon Roasted beef Roasted veal Baked venison Roasted capon</p> <p>For servants Mutton and pottage and roasted beef</p>
f.100r.		<p>Monday at dinner prepared twenty-two messes of meat as followeth:</p>
	First course	<p>For the high table in the hall</p>

Four messes	A wax dish of a boar's head Brawn and mustard A wax dish of the Drapers' arms Boiled capon Roasted capon Roasted swan Baked venison Pike in herblade Roasted capon Custard
First course Five messes double	For the second table in the hall As above, quarter wax dishes
First course Five messes double	For the third table in the hall As above, quarter wax dishes and one goose instead of a swan
First course Three messes double	In the parlour As above, quarter goose in the place of swan
One mess	For the Master Wardens in the parlour As above, quarter
One mess	For the cooks As above single
Two messes	Received into the larder Viz. one mess double and one mess single
f.100v. Second course Four messes	At the high table in the hall A standing dish with the Company's crest Partridges Red deer whole pastries Sturgeon Marchpane
Second course Five messes	At the second table in the hall As above
Second course Five messes	At the third table in the hall As above
Second course Four messes	At the table in the parlour As above, quarter pigeons

Hippocras and wafers through the house

Monday at night supper

Two shoulders of mutton whole and roots and cucumbers with cold meat

Tuesday at dinner

First course

Four messes
double

At the high table in the hall

A standing dish of a boar's head
Brawn and mustard and puddings
A standing dish of the Drapers' arms
Boiled capons
Roasted signet
Baked venison
Pikes
Roast capon
Custards

f.101r. **First course**
Three messes

At the second table

As above saving goose instead of swan

Second course

Four messes

At the high table four messes

A standing dish of the helm and crest of the Company
Pigeons
Red deer
Sturgeon
Marchpane

Second course

Three messes

At the second table

As above - except standing dish

Hippocras and wafers

f.102r.

Annis 1570 and 1571

In the time of John Quarles, Master of the Craft, and

William Dumer
 Johnis Sutton
 Johnis Tatton
 Johnis Noble } Wardens

Quarter Dinner Expenses of the first quarter dinner kept the twenty-first day of November 1570, and the thirteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth, for nine messes of meat as followeth:

f.103r. **Quarter Dinner** **Expenses of the second quarter dinner kept the nineteenth day of March 1570 being in lent, for eight messes of meat as followeth:**

First paid for three rondes of sturgeon	7s.	
Item for four old lings at 3s. the piece	12s.	
Item for four green fishes at 20d. the piece	6s.	8d.
Item for five great roasting eels	11s.	
Item for eight pikes at 2s. 6d. the piece	20s.	
Item for eight carps at 28d. the piece	12s.	
Item for eight tenches at 15d. the piece	10s.	
Item to Cartwright and Hill as porters		12d.
Paid to the Cook for spinedge – 11d., for sorrel – 2d., for alexander buds – 10d., for a quart of sallet oil – 16d., for sweet herbs for puddings – 4d., for di.cwt. roasting lamprons – 4s., for 2cwt. of smelts – 3s. 4d., for half a peck of flour – 4d.	10s.	10d.
Paid more to him for nine lampron pies at 14d. the piece – 10s. 6d., for nine eel pies at 16d. the piece – 12s., for eight custards at 2s. 4d. the piece – 18s. 8d., for eight marchpanes at 3s. 6d. the piece – 28s. Item to him for dressing of the dinner – 6s.	3li.	15s. 2d.
Paid to John Catcher, Pewterer, for the hire of six garnish of vessel at 10d. the garnish	5s.	
Paid for grocery viz. for 2oz. pepper – 5d., for large mace 1oz. di – 18d., for cinnamon 1oz. – 4d., for sugar fine 6lb. – 6s., ginger 1oz. – 4d., dates 1lb. – 8d., currants 2lb. di – 10d., prunes 1lb. di – 3d., dates di lb. – 5d., 1lb. – 4d., cinnamon 1oz. – 5d., ginger 1oz. – 5d., nutmeg 1oz. – 6d., for a quarter of basket – 4d.	14s.	3d.
Paid to the Butler for a kilderkin of ale – 3s. and for a kilderkin of beer – 3s. Item for his pains and his	10s.	8d.

	under servants – 4s. and for carriage of the plate – 8d.			
	Paid for oranges – 3d., for two dozen of trenchers – 10d., for sallet herbs and parsley – 12d., for sweet butter – 2s. 4d., for barrelled butter – 2s. 3d? and sweet butter by the lb. – 3s. 11d. for eggs – 8d., for yeast – 6d., for a pint of barberries – 6d., and more for parsley, sallett herbs and flowers – 9d., for rushes – 4d.		11s.	1d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>6s.</u> <u>8d.</u>
f.103v.	Paid to the Goodwife Holmes for herself and Goodwife Eles, washing the dishes and making clean the house			18d.
	Paid to Anthony Ratclyf for eight gallons of claret wine and three quarters at 16d. the gallon – 11s. 8d., for a gallon of white wine – 16d., a quart of malvesey – 5d., four gallons of sack at 20d. the gallon – 6s. 8d. Item for wine from the white house – 5s.		25s.	
	Paid to Awgar for half a peck of fine salt – 5d., for a pottle of vinegar – 3d., for a pottle of vergys – 3d., for mustard – 6d., for a pot for it – 2d., for onions – 1d., for a broom – 1d., for half a peck of fine white salt for the table – 3d. ob., for a pint of white vinegar – 2d., for taps for ale and beer – ob. Item for a ladle – 1d., for a boiling pot – 2d.		2s.	4d.
	Paid for nine dozen of bread		9s.	
	Item paid to Robert Richards for twenty fagots and four sacks of coal		3s.	6d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>41s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>
		<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£12</u>	<u>8s.</u>

Quarter Dinner Expenses of the third quarter dinner kept the twelfth day of June 1571, for eight messes of meat prepared as followeth:

First paid to Robert Mason, Poulterer, for ten capons roosters at 22d. the piece – 18s. 4d., for sixteen green geese – 16s., for two dozen di of chickens to boil at 5s. the dozen – 12s. 6d., for two dozen of rabbits runners at 4s. the dozen – 8s., for a dozen of tame pigeons – 4s.	59s.	2d.
Paid to Triegle the Cook for eight chicken pies at 3s. the piece – 24s., for eight custards at 2s. 4d. the piece – 18s. 8d., for eight marchpanes at 3s. 4d. the piece – 26s. 8d., for a salmon and a half – 24s., for four rondes of sturgeon – 10s., for a sirloin of beef –		

	6s. 6d., for six long marybones – 3s., for butter and eggs – 4d., for his pains dressing the dinner – 6s.	£5	19s.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£8</u> <u>18s.</u> <u>2d.</u>
f.104r.	Paid to Henry Cowdale for bread		8s.
	Paid to Nicholas Awgar for half a peck of white salt – 2d., for a pottle of vinegar – 4d., for packthread – 1d., for cart salt – 2d., for broom – 1d., for a pottle of vergys – 3d., for a pot – 1d., for vinegar – 2d., for white vinegar of the best – 4d.		20d.
	Paid to Buckle of the Bishoppes Hed for claret wine and white set there		18s. 8d.
	Paid to the grocer for 3lb. three quarters of valence sugar – 4s., for 3lb. of other sugar – 4s., for 3lb. of other sugar – 2s. 6d., large mace 1oz. – 12d., cinnamon 1oz. – 5d., biskett di lb. – 8d., currants 2lb. – 8d., prunes 2lb. – 5d., dates 1lb. – 8d., pepper 2oz. – 5d.		10s. 9d.
	Paid for six sacks of coals		3s.
	Paid for butter		18d.
	Paid for cloves for the perfume		1d.
	Paid for a bundle of rushes		4d.
	Paid for vinegar more		1d.
	Paid for a quart of sweetwater		2s.
	Paid to the Butler for two stands of ale – 6s., for a kilderkin of beer – 3s., for his pains – 4s. and for carriage of the plate – 8d.		13s. 13d.
	Paid for three gallons di of sack		7s.
	Paid to Goodwife Holmes for herself and the Goodwife Elys, washing the dishes and making clean the house		18d.
	Paid to George Hill and Cartwright serving as porters, although not called nor other years accustomed		12d.
	Paid to John Catcher the Pewterer for six garnish of vessels at 10d. the garnish		10s.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£3</u> <u>14s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
		<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£12</u> <u>12s.</u> <u>5d.</u>

f.104v. **Feast Dinner }
Anno 1571**

The tenth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the first of England, France and Ireland etc. sixth August Monday

Mr John Quarles – our Master

Mr William Dumer

Mr John Sutton

Mr John Tatton

Mr John Noble } our four Master Wardens

Provision of the same great dinner and for the potations on Saturday and Sunday as also for the dinner on Tuesday the day next following after the great dinner:

Poulterer

Paid to Robert Mason our Poulterer for these parcels:

Sunday at dinner

First paid for boiling capons and roosters four at 2s. the piece one with another	8s.	
Item for twelve pigeons at 20d. the dozen		20d.
Item for di.cwt. of eggs		16d.

Monday

Item for forty-two capons boilers and forty-two roosters at 2s. the piece one with another	£8	8s.	
Item for ten signets bought by him abroad and for scalding of them at 8s. 4d. the piece one with another	£4	3s.	4d.
Item for twelve geese at 20d. the piece		20s.	
Item for forty partridges at 10d. the piece		33s.	4d.
Item for six dozen of pigeons		10s.	
Item for 1cwt. of eggs		2s.	8d.
Item for three roasting capons for supper		6s.	

Tuesday

Item for twenty-one boiling capons and twenty-one roosters at 2s. the piece one with another	£4	4s.	
Item for three signets at 8s. 4d. the piece		25s.	
Item for eight geese at 20d. the piece		13s.	4d.
Item for five dozen pigeons at 20d. the dozen		24s.	

Sum paid £24 9s.

f.105r. **Butcher**

Paid to Sawyer, Butcher, for the parcels following:

Sunday at dinner

First for a sirloin and a rib of beef weighing 6st. and 4lb. at 12d. the st.	6s.	6d.
Item for a quarter of mutton	2s.	
Item for a breast of veal		12d.
Item for 30lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.	7s.	6d.

	Item for two long marybones			12d.
	Item for a peck of pricks			6d.
Monday	Item for twenty long marybones		10s.	
	Item for 32lb. of suet at 3d.		8s.	
	Item for two whole muttons		16s.	
	Item for two sirloins of beef weighing 11st. 7lb. of beef at 12d. the st.		11s.	10d.
Tuesday	Item for half a sheep		4s.	
	Item for a sirloin of beef weighing 6st. at 12d. the st.		6s.	
	Item for 28lb. of suet at 3d. the lb.		19s.	6d.
	Item for long guts and blood for puddings		2s.	
	Item for eight long marybones		4s.	
For the poor	Item for 26st. of beef for the poor on Tuesday at 12d. the st.		26s.	
A boar	Item paid him for a boar price – 50s., for seething of the same boar – 10s., and for saucing drink thereto – 2s.	£3	2s.	
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£9</u>	<u>7s.</u> <u>10d.</u>
Baker	Paid to the Baker for these things following:			
Saturday at potation	First for one dozen of rolls			12d.
Sunday at dinner	Six dozen of rolls for dinner		6s.	
Monday	Eleven dozen of rolls		11s.	
	Twelve dozen of half penny white bread		12s.	
	Two dozen of wheaten bread		2s.	
	Seven dozen of stale white to great etc.		12s.	
Tuesday	Four dozen white in the morning		4s.	
	Eleven dozen in the afternoon white and wheaten for the poor		11s.	
Meal and flour	Item for three bushels di of rye meal		6s.	6d.
	Item for sixteen bushels of wheat flour at 2s. 8d. the bushel		42s.	8d.
Wednesday	Item for di dozen of white bread for breakfast on Wednesday			6d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£5</u>	<u>3s.</u> <u>8d.</u>

f.105v.	Grocer	Paid to Henry Falks, Grocer, those parcels following:		
		First for 14lb. 1oz. of pepper at 3s. the lb.	42s.	3d.
		Sugar middle 54lb. at 10d. ob. the lb.	47s.	3d.
		Saffron 2oz. at 14d. the oz.	2s.	4d.
		Cloves 8oz. at 5d. the oz.	3s.	4d.
		Currants 12lb. at 4d. the lb.	4s.	
		Prunes 10lb. at 2d. ob. the lb.	2s.	1d.
		Dates 10lb. at 11d. the lb.	5s.	
		Sugar fine 17lb. di at 13lb.	18s.	11d.
		Cinnamon large 2lb. three quarters at 5s. the lb.	13s.	9d.
		Cinnamon in powder 7oz. at 4d. the oz.	2s.	4d.
		Nutmeg 12oz. at 5d. the oz.	5s.	
		Cloves and mace 2oz. at 8d. the oz.		16d.
		Ginger white 2lb. at 3s. 8d. the lb.	9s.	4d.
		Mace large picked 4oz. at 13d. oz.	4s.	4d.
		Sanders powder 1oz. di		4d.
		Coriander 4oz. at		6d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£8</u>	<u>2s.</u>
	Confits	Paid for confits of diverse sorts by the pound bought by the Master Wardens' wives and bisketts and caraways	14s.	9d.
		Item for a lb. di of confits bought by the Steward	2s.	3d.
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>17s.</u>	
	Spicebread	Paid by the Wardens' wives for spice, butter, bread and ale for the same in all	14s.	8d.
	Marchpanes	Paid to Triegle the Cook for six marchpanes of the largest sort at 3s. 8d. the piece and for twenty-four marchpanes of another sort at 3s. 6d. the piece	£5	6s.
	Custards	Item paid to him for thirty-one custards at 2s. 5d. the piece	£3	14s. 6d.
	Lard	Item paid to him for 30lb. of lard at 8d. the lb.	20s.	
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>2s.</u>
f.106r.	Pikemonger	Paid to Ravens, Pikemonger, for twenty pikes on Monday at dinner and seven on Tuesday of the scantlings accustomed		56s.
	Sturgeon	Paid to Blage dwelling at the Kings Headd and the Castle in Fyshe Stret for two firkins of fresh sturgeon at 26s. 8d. the firkin		53s.

Wafers	Paid to Mrs Wharton for thirteen boxes of wafers at 2s. the box		26s.	
Wine	Paid to Buckel of the Bishoppes Hedd for eight gallons one pottle of muscadel at 2s. 4d. the gallon – 19s. 10d., one gallon and a pottle malvesy at 20d. the gallon – 2s. 6d., three gallons of white wine at 16d. the gallon – 4s.		26s.	4d.
	Item paid by Mr Noble and repaid him again for twenty-one gallons three pints of sack at 2s. the gallon		42s.	8d.
	Item paid to Mr Colclough for two hogsheads of claret wine	£6	5s.	
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£9</u>	<u>14s.</u>
Ale Brewer	Paid to Mathew Marten for three barrels of ale at 6s. the barrel – 18s., and for one barrel of small ale – 4s.		22s.	
Beer Brewer	Paid to Campion, Beer Brewer, for two hogsheads of court beer at 5s. the barrel and for two barrels of beer of 4s. the barrel		23s.	
Linen cloth	Paid to Nicholas Layfeld for fifty-two ells three quarters of lockeram at 13d. the ell for aprons Item for two ells of holland for the Sewer and Carver at 2s. ell Item for six ells soultwidge at 7d.		57s.	2d.
			4s.	
			3s.	
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>£3</u>	<u>4s.</u> <u>8d.</u>
f.106v. Butter	Paid for 80lb. of butter bought in the market at 3d. the lb.		20s.	
Pewterer	Paid to the Pewterer for the hire of twenty garnish of vessels at 10d. the garnish Item for the hire of twelve dozen of banqueting dishes at 6d. the dozen Item for the loss of one platter, one plate and one banqueting dish, all weighing 8lb. at 6d. the lb.		16s.	8d.
			3s.	6d.
			4s.	
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>24s.</u>	
Chandler	Paid to Nicholas Awgar, Chandler, as followeth: First for eighteen green pots lost and broken at 9d. the dozen and for occupying of six pots redelivered – 2d.			15d. ob.

	Item for eleven pottle pots at 12d. the dozen and for the occupying of the seven at 4d. the dozen		13d.	
	Item for six earthen candlesticks		6d.	
	Item for the occupying of four stenes		2d.	
	Item for two chafers and occupying of four		8d.	
	Item for occupying of eight pans		2d.	
	Item for two links		8d.	
	Item for white salt one bushel		18d.	
	Item for di bushel of oatmeal		14d.	
	Item for 1lb. of packthread		7d.	
	Item for di bushel of bay salt		6d.	
	Item for 6lb. of candles		16d.	
	Item for di peck of fine salt		8d.	
	Item for a peck of picked oatmeal		12d.	
	Item for a gallon of red vinegar and a pot		8d.	
	Item for onions		7d.	
	Item for mustard and a pot		15d.	
	Item for two birchin brooms – 2d. and for green brooms – 2d. in all		4d.	
	Item for four boiling pots		10d.	
	Item for two gallons of white vinegar	2s.	4d.	
	Item for a peck more of white salt		5d.	
	Item for di a peck more of oatmeal		3d.	ob.
	Item for three chafers		9d.	
		<u>Sum paid</u>	<u>20s.</u>	
	Turners ware	Paid for thirty dozen of trenchers at 6d. the dozen – 15s., for four Dansick treys, two dozen ashen cups, one dozen of taps, a pail and one coal shovel together – 11s. 4d. and two baskets – 8d.		27s.
f.107r.	Musicians	Paid to the Waits of the City for their pains attending here in the hall the two days viz. Monday and Tuesday playing upon diverse instruments		20s.
	Strainers	Paid to the Steward for two strainers by him bought		12d.
	Flowers and herbs	Paid to Mrs Dumer for flowers		2s.
		Item paid to the Steward for herbs by him bought for the puddings – 12d., and for cucumbers and oil – 4d.		16d.
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>3s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
	Fruit	Paid to the Steward for pears and plums by him bought		2s. 9d.
		Item for codlings		18d.

		<u>Sum</u>	<u>4s.</u>	<u>3d.</u>
Milk	Paid to the Steward for a gallon di of milk by him bought for the puddings			6d.
Officers' wages	Paid to Triegle the Cook for his pains with others under him the two days dressing the dinners etc.	40s.		
	Paid to Edmond Wright the Butler for his pains and five other serving with him in all	26s.	8d.	
	Paid to the Steward for his pains during those two days as also in providing of things necessary before	40s.		
	Paid to Fulke the Common Crier for his pains serving as Sewer	6s.	8d.	
	Paid to Thomas Cartwright – 3s., Robert Selby – 3s., John Taylor – 3s., Robert Brushwood – 3s., George Shaw – 3s., George Hill – 3s., all porters	18s.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>11s.</u> <u>4d.</u>
f.107v. Preacher	Paid to Mr Noble to give to Mr Crowley for his pains in preaching the two days viz. Sunday at afternoon and Monday in the forenoon at St Mychaells		13s.	4d.
Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes – 2s. 6d., to Dyanis Eles – 2s. 6d., to Phillipp's wife – 2s., serving in the kitchen washing of dishes and cleansing and washing of the house		7s.	
Raker	Paid to the Raker of the Ward for carriage the garbage and other offal away in reward			8d.
Clerks of St Michaells	Paid to the Clerks of St Michaells in reward		5s.	
Extraordinary charges	Paid to Stephen Malin and another in consideration of their pains drawing of drink and carriage of plate to and fro	5s.		
	Item to Thompson for his pains drawing of wine in the cellar	3s.		
	Item to him for two small taps			2d.
	Item to Henry Star in reward	2s.	6d.	
	Item to the labourers in the kitchen serving the cooks in reward no precedent there of before had	2s.		
	Item to Robert Beaumond the Steward for bay salt – 1d., for three gallons of red wine – 4s. 6d., for bringing the sturgeon to the hall – 4d. and for a padlock – 4d.		5s.	3d.
	Item paid to Robert Richardes for somich by him disbursed for boat hire to Chelsey and for their drinking at Westminster coming home – 5s., and for carriage and laying down of two hogsheads of wine			

	into the cellar being received of Mr Colclough – 11d., and given in reward as the Sexton of St Dunstons in the East for opening the church door to see Sir Richard Champion's tomb – 4d.	6s.	3d.
f.108r.	Item paid by Mr Tatton for chargers going for the pikes		6d.
	Item paid to Gode the Cooper for two canes for to set the wine abroche and for his pains setting the same abroche		8d.
	<u>Sum of the extraordinary</u>	<u>24s.</u>	<u>2d.</u>
Rewards for bucks	Paid for Robert Beaumont the Steward in reward to Mr Quarles' servant for bringing on buck	2s.	
	Item more by him in reward to Master Warden's man for bringing of a brace of bucks	10s.	
	Item paid by Mr Tatton to Mr Doctor Gibbon's man in reward for bringing of a buck sent by his Master	5s.	
	Item to Mr Candeler's servant for a buck sent by his Master	5s.	
	Item in charges in serving the warrant received from the Lord Treasurer	9s.	
	<u>Sum in reward</u>	<u>31s.</u>	
Allowance for venison among themselves	Paid and allowed to Mr Dumer for a stag and two bucks brought by him more than the other	49s.	
	Item paid and allowed to Mr Noble for our bucks brought by him above the ordinary	10s.	
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>59s.</u>	
Wood and coal	Paid to Mr Richardes the Renter as money by him disbursed viz. for twenty-four sacks of coals at 9d. the sack	18s.	
	Item for di.cwt. billets – 6s., and for 1cwt. di of fagots for the ovens etc. – 7s. 6d.	13s.	6d.
	<u>Sum</u>	<u>31s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
	<u>Sum total</u>	<u>£101</u>	<u>17s. 11d.</u>
f.108v.	Deductions		
	The allowance of the house of ordinary towards the same dinner	£20	
	Item quarteredge money received by the Wardens themselves at the potation	45s.	4d.
	Item the quarteredge of the rest being then absent sold to Warner the Clerk and he to receive the same for the which he paid in ready money	12s.	

	<u>Sum of the deductions</u>	<u>£22</u>	<u>17s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	
<u>So the whole to be divided into four parts</u> <u>amounteth to</u>		<u>£99</u>		<u>7d.</u>	
And so every of the Master Wardens' parts amounteth to		£19	15s.	1d.	ob. qt.

f.109r.

Annis 1571 and 1572

In the time of Ffrancis Barnam Alderman, Master of
the Craft, and

Nicholai Whelar
Ricardi Rennoldes
William Vaghan
Johis Wright } Wardens

**Quarter Dinner Expenses of the first quarter dinner kept the sixth
day of December 1571 being Thursday, for eight
messes of meat as followeth:**

First for six sacks of great coal at 9d. the sack amounteth to	4s.	6d.	
Item for a kilderkin of beer – 2s. 8d. and for a kilderkin of ale – 3s. in all	5s.	8d.	
Item for eight dozen trenchers at 6d.	4s.		
Item for two rondes of brawn – 6s. 8d. and for saucing drink to the same – 2d.	6s.	10d.	
Item for a birchin broom for the kitchen		1d.	
Item for a sirloin of beef	2s.	4d.	
Item for five long marybones	2s.	4d.	
Item for 6lb. of butter		21d.	
Item for a pint of rosewater		12d.	
Item for a pint of barberries 2d. and for white salt – 4d.		6d.	
Item for half a lb. of pepper to bake venison		18d.	
Item for 6lb. of suet for the same		18d.	
Item for bringing the venison		8d.	
Item for candles for the kitchen		1d.	
Item for a sack of small coal		5d.	
Item for mustard 1d. ob. and for a quart of vinegar 2d.		3d.	ob.
Item for vergys – 1d., for 3lb. of salt butter – 9d., for a pipkin – 2d. and two other pots – 2d.		14d.	ob.
Item to Goodwife Holmes for her pains in the kitchen – 6d. and to another poor woman with child being also in the kitchen – 8d.		14d.	
Item to Cartwright for his pains		6d.	
Item paid to the Butler for his fee	4s.		
Item to Mr Ratclyf for six gallons claret wine	8s.		
Item to him for one pottle white wine		8d.	
Item for a gallon of malvesey		20d.	
Item for a pottle of muscadel		14d.	
Item for three gallons of sack	4s.	9d.	
Item for the hire of five garnish of vessels	4s.		
Item for parsley for the kitchen		1d.	
Item for seven dozen of bread	7s.		

f.109v.

Item paid to Mason the Poulterer for twenty capons, one turkey, seven geese, two dozen green plovers, six woodcocks, eight dozen of larks with six penny worth of eggs	£3	10s.
Item paid to Treagle the Cook for eleven minced pies at 16d. the pie – 14s. 8d., for baking of five pasties of venison at 10d. the piece – 4s. 3d., for eight custards at 2s. 4d. the piece – 18s. 8d., for eight quince pies at 3s. the piece – 24s. for his pains in dressing the dinner – 6s.	£3	7s. 6d.
Item paid to the Grocer for an oz. of large mace – 12d. for 1oz. of cinnamon – 5d., for 2oz. of pepper – 5d., for 1oz. ginger – 4d., for 1lb. of dates – 8d., for half a pound bisketts – 7d., for 2lb. of currants – 9d., for 2lb. damask prunes – 6d., for 3lb. fine sugar – 3s. 4d., for 2lb. middle sugar – 23d.		9s. 10d.
<u>Sum total of the whole charge of this quarter dinner amounteth to</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>15s.</u>

Whereof

Allowed towards the same by the house	£8	
Master Warden Vaghan		27s. 6d.
Mr Wright		27s. 6d.

f.117r.

Annis 1572 and 1573

In the time of Johnis Branche Alderman, Master of
the Craft, and

Martini Calthorp
Georgii Brathwait
Anthonii Prior
William Megges } Wardens

**Quarter Dinner Expenses of the first quarter dinner kept the
twenty-fifth day of November 1572 being Tuesday,
for mess of meat followeth:**

f.120r.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1573	In the fifteenth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth		
		Mr Alderman Branche our Master		
		Mr Martyn Calthorpp Mr George Brathwait Mr Anthony Pryor Mr William Megges } our four Masters the Wardens		
		Provision of the same dinner and for the potation on Sunday at night etc.		
	Grocer	Paid first to the Grocer for 41lb. sugar at 8d. the lb. – 27s. 4d., 8lb. of sugar at 9d. the lb. – 6s., for 16lb. di of fine sugar at 12d. the lb. – 16s. 6d., for 10lb. of pepper at 2s. 10d. per lb. – 28s. 4d., for one pound of nutmeg – 5s. 4d., 3oz. of large mace – 3s., 1lb. 6oz. of ginger – 4s. 7d., 2lb. 6oz. cinnamon – 11s. 1d., for sanders – 1d., 1oz. of saffron – 17d., 6lb. of currants – 3s. 9d., 5oz. of cloves – 2s. 1d., 6lb. of prunes – 18d., 2 qts. of barberries – 16d., ten boxes of wafers – 20s., 2oz. of coriander seeds – 2d., 2lb. of dates – 5s.	£6	17s. 6d.
	Wafers			
	Confits	Item paid for 2lb. of cinnamon confits – 3s. 8d., 1lb. of ginger confits – 22d., 1lb. of dredge confits – 22d., 1lb. of musk confits – 18d., 1lb. of caraways – 14d., 2lb. of byskettes – 2s. 4d., 1lb. di of almond confits – 21d., 1lb. di of coriander confits – 21d, half a lb. of orange confits – 11d.		16s. 9d.
	Fruit	Item for 4cwt. of pears – 4s., 2cwt. of genetings – 20s. Item more 1cwt. of genetings – 12d., 1cwt. of codlings – 12d., 14lb. of cherries at 3d. the lb. – 3s. 6d., di cwt. codling – 12d.		12s. 2d.
	Spicebread	Item to Mrs Wall for ten dozen cakes and buns		20s.
	Wood and coal	Item for a quarter of billets – 3s., cwt. di of fagots – 7s. 8d. for 20 sacks of coals at 8d. the sack and 4d. over – 13s. 8d.		24s. 4d.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>10s. 9d.</u>
f.120v.	Beer	Item paid for two barrels of beer at vs. the barrel and one barrel of 4s.		14s.
	Ale	Item for two barrels of ale of 6s. the barrel and one barrel of 4s.		16s.

	Trenchers, trays and ashen cups	Item for four small trays – 2s., for two dozen of ashen cups – 2s., for twenty-four dozen of trenchers at 6d. ob. the dozen – 13s.		17s.
	Butter	Item paid for four dozen and 2lb. of butter at 3s. 4d. the dozen		13s.
	Reward for bringing venison	Item given in reward to those that did bring venison to whit, to Doctor Gybbon's servant – 3s. 4d., to Elkington's man – 5s., to Mr Lucas' man – 12d., to Mr Carowe's servant – 12d.		10s. 4d.
	Butcher	Item paid for three sirloins of beef, a mutton three quarters and a leg, weighing in all 30st. and di at 17d. the st.		35s. 6d.
		Item for 50lb. of suet at 3d. the lb. – 12s. 6d., for fourteen long marybones at 4d. the piece, 4d. less – 9s.		21s. 6d.
	Poulterer	Item paid to Robert Mason, Poulterer, for five dozen and four capons at 2s. 1d. the piece – 6li. 13s. 4d., for nine geese at 20d. the piece – 15s., two signets at 7s. the piece – 14s., four dozen of pigeons at 20d. the dozen – 6s. 8d., for 3cwt. of eggs at 3s. the cwt. – 9s. (error in the capons)	£8	18s.
		Item paid to Otwell Strenell for eight signets at 6s. 8d. the piece – 53s., for four dozen of quails at 12s. the dozen – 43s.	£5	12d.
	Red deer	Paid for 7st. of beef and di for to be baked for red deer – 8s., for 16lb. of lard for the same at 8d. the lb. – 10s. 8d., for two bushels of meal for the paste – 6s., for a lb. and a qt. of pepper – 3s. 6d., for 2oz. of nutmeg – 8d., for 2oz. of cinnamon – 7d., 2oz. of cloves – 7d., an oz. of ginger – 4d., 12lb. of suet at 3d. the lb. – 3s.		33s. 4d.
			<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£22</u> <u>6d.</u>
f.121r.	Flour	Item paid for sixteen bushels of flour at 3s. 8d. the bushel		58s. 8d.
	Marchpanes	Item paid to Treegle the Cook for sixteen marchpanes at 3s. 4d. the piece		53s. 4d.
	Cook's wages	Item paid to the Cook for his pains dressing the dinner – 30s., for baking of ten pasties of venison in his ovens – 20d.		31s. 8d.

Chandler	Item paid for occupying of four steanes – 4d., for chafer pots – 3d., for eleven pottle pots – 11d., twenty green pots – 14d., for occupying six great pans – 3d., for four boiling pots – 16d. for di a bushel of bay salt – 10d., for 6lb. of candles – 18d., for four taps – 2d., for di 1lb. of packthread – 4d., a pottle of sand – 2d., a peck of oatmeal – 7d., for a bushel of white salt and a pan – 2s. 6d., for 7qts. and a pint of vinegar – 18d., for two gallons of vergions with two pots – 16d., two links – 8d., two gallons and a pint of vinegar white and two pots – 2s. 9d., a qt. of mustard and two pots to put it in – 6d., for onions – 8d., more for oatmeal and a pot – 3d., for a gallon pot – 6d., for di a peck of pricks – 3d.	18s.	9d.
Pewterer	Item paid for the hire of twenty-two garnish of vessels at 10d. the garnish, 4d. less	18s.	
Sturgeon	Item paid for a firkin of fresh sturgeon with 2d. for the carriage thereof to the hall	24s.	2d.
Pikemonger	Item paid for sixteen pikes at 22d. the piece	29s.	4d.
Wine	Item paid for one hogshead of wine – £4., for fourteen gallons of sack – 28s., for two gallons of white wine – 3s. 4d., for six gallons and a pottle of red wine at 20d. the gallon – 10s. 10d., and for a cane to draw the Gascon wine withall – 2d.	£6	10s. 4d.
Aprons	Item for four aprons for the women in the kitchen washing dishes	2s.	6d.
Cap paper	Item for a quire of cap paper for the cooks		4d.
	<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£18</u>	<u>7s.</u> <u>1d.</u>
f.121v. Gooseberries	Item paid for gooseberries for the cooks		4d.
Bread	Item paid for thirty-three dozen of bread	33s.	
Porters	Item paid to five of the Company serving as porters at the gate at 2s. the piece	10s.	
Women in the kitchen	Item paid to women giving their attendance washing the dishes in the kitchen and washing the house etc. to whit to Mother Holmes for four days at 6d. per day – 2s., to Goodwife Eelys for four days – 2s., to Goodwife Morys for two days – 12d., to Goodwife Markes for one day – 6d.	5s.	6d.
Brooms	Item paid for brooms		4d.

Scavenger	Item paid to the scavenger			8d.	
Clerks of St. Mighells	Item paid to the Clerks of St Mighells		3s.	4d.	
Musicians	Item paid to the musicians – 10s. and more in reward to Segar – 3s. 4d.		13s.	4d.	
Writing paper	Item for writing paper				1d.
Butlers	Item paid to the Butler for his wages		26s.	8d.	
Cream	Item paid for six gallons of cream		8s.		
Preacher	Item paid to Mr Gateacre for his sermon made before the Company at St Mighells on Sunday at afternoon		6s.		
	Item paid to be released of the bargain made for a boar		5s.		
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>12s.</u>	<u>3d.</u>
		<u>Sum total of the whole together</u>	<u>£56</u>	<u>10s.</u>	<u>7d.</u>
	Sum gathered at the potation and other allowance towards the said dinner in all		£12	7s.	2d.
	Mr Calthorp		£11	10d.	ob. qt.
	Mr Brathwayt		£11	10d.	ob. qt.
	Mr Pryor		£11	10d.	ob. qt.
	Mr Megges		£11	10d.	ob. qt.

f.122r.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1574	In the sixteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Richard Pipe knight then being Master of this Company		
		Mr William Dumer Mr William Thorowgood Mr Nicholas Awgar Mr Thomas Whelar } our four Master Wardens		
		Provision of the same dinner and for the potation on Sunday at night before:		
	Fruit	Paid to Goodwife Sturdy for 3cwt. of pears – 5s., 3cwt. genetings – 3s., 1cwt. di of codling – 3s. Item to Mrs Thorowgood for pears bought by her – 6d. And to Margery Shore for 9lb. of cherries at 4d. the lb. – 3s.	14s.	6d.
	Confects	Item paid to Raff King, Confit-Maker, for confits of diverse sorts bought for the potation on Sunday at night viz. 2lb. of cinnamon confects, ginger 1lb., dredge 1lb., musk confects 1lb., orange di lb. in all 5lb. di at 22d. the lb. – 10s. 1d., for caraways 1lb. for byskettes 1lb., almond confits 1lb. di, corianders 1lb. di in all 5lb. at 14d. the lb. – 5s. 10d., And for a lb. of fine sugar and di for the same potation – 18d.	17s.	4d.
	Spicebread	Item paid to Mrs Wall for nine dozen spicebread, half cakes and half buns at 2s. 6d. the dozen	22s.	6d.
	Wood and coal	Item for ten sacks with coal bought at 8d. the sack – 6s. 13d. and for three quarters of fagots with the carriage – 5s.	11s.	8d.
	Butcher	Paid to Frannces Greene, Butcher, for 26st. and 6lb. of beef at 14d. the st. – 31s., for 6lb. of suet – 2s., for twenty-two marybones at 3d. the piece – 5s. 6d., and for one mutton – 10s.	48s.	8d.
	Poulterer	Paid to Mason, Poulterer, for four swans at 8s. the piece – 32s., for eleven geese – 20s., for five dozen of chickens – 26s., for two dozen and three partridges – 21s., for one pullet – 18d., for five dozen of pigeons – 8s. 4d., and for 3cwt. eggs – 9s., and for three dozen and [-] capons bought by Mr Whelar – 3li. 19s.	£9	15s. 10d.
	Beer and ale	Paid for a barrel and a half of beer – 12s., and for a barrel of the best ale – 8s., and for a kilderkin of small ale for the kitchen – 3s.	23s.	

		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£16</u>	<u>14s.</u>	<u>6d.</u>
f.122v.	Grocer	Paid to the Grocer for spice for bakemeats and otherwise viz. large maces at 12d. the oz. for 3oz. – 3s., pepper di a lb. – 27d., saffron di oz. – 10d., cloves 2oz. – 12d., nutmeg 7oz. – 2s. 6d., 2oz. cinnamon – 8d., ginger 2oz. – 6d., 6lb. of prunes – 21d., currants 6lb. – 2s. 6d., dates 3lb. – 6s., sugar middle – 13lb. at 10d. the lb. – 10s. 10d., sugar fine 4lb. at 13d. the lb. – 4s. 4d., bysketts 1lb. – 15d., more for fine sugar 9lb. di at 11d. ob. the lb. – 9s. 1d.	£2	5s.	8d.
	Marchpanes	Paid for four marchpanes of the largest sorts at 3s. 4d. the piece – 12s., and for ten of another sorts at 2s. 6d. the piece – 25s.		37s.	
	Hippocras	Paid for ten gallons, one pottle and a pint of hippocras at 5s. the gallon		53s.	
	Wafers	Paid to Henry Newton's wife for three boxes of wafers – 6s., and to James Wharton's wife for five boxes – 10s., and more to her for taking again two boxes being bespoken and not spent – 6d.		16s.	6d.
	Wine of all sorts	Paid to Mr Ratclyf for wine set there for the hall, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday viz. on Sunday at afternoon for the potation three gallons one pottle of claret wine at 2s. the gallon – 7s., two gallons di of sack at 2s. 4d. the gallon – 5s. 10d., on Monday the second of August – eighteen gallons one pint of claret wine and one gallon of white at 2s. the gallon – 38s. 4d., eight gallons three quarters of sack at 2s. 4d. the gallon – 20s. 5d., and more on Tuesday one pottle of claret wine – 12d.	£3	12s.	
	Baker	Paid to Heath the Baker for twelve dozen of bread – 12s., and to Storer, Baker, for thirteen dozen of Bread and di – 13s. 6d.		25s.	6d.
	Sturgeon	Paid for a firkin of fresh sturgeon		26s.	8d.
	Fresh salmon	Paid for three salmons di whereof two cost – 16s. 8d., and the one and di cost – 16s., and for carrying the same to the hall – 4d.		33s.	
	Pikemonger	Paid to the Pikemonger William Harres for fourteen pikes		25s.	
			<u>Sum</u>	<u>£16</u>	<u>14s.</u> <u>4d.</u>

f.123r.	Butter	Paid for 36li. of butter bought by Mr Whelar whereof 30lb. at 3d. ob. and 6lb. at 4d. the lb.	10s.	9d.
	Flour	Paid for two bushels di of fine flour whereof two bushels cost 4s. 8d. the bushel and the di bushel after 5s.	11s.	10d.
	Cream	Paid for six gallons of cream for custards at 14d. the gallon	7s.	
	Sweet water	Paid for a pottle of washing water and a pint of rosewater for the Cook	3s.	4d.
	Washing coverpanes	Paid for washing the coverpanes	3s.	
	Trenchers	Paid for sixteen dozen of wooden trenchers	8s.	
	Preacher	Paid to Mr Crowley for his pains in making two sermons before the Company on Sunday at afternoon and Monday afternoon	13s.	4d.
	Cook	Paid to Stephen Treeagle the Cook for his pains dressing the dinner	26s.	8d.
	Butler	Paid to Edmond Wright, Butler, for his pains and his Company	20s.	
	Porters	Paid to John Taylor – 2s., to George Hall – 2s., to Robert Hyve – 2s., to John Rolles – 2s., all porters attending at the gate and stair head etc. Sunday and Monday	8s.	
	Musicians	Paid to John Michel, Musician, and his Company serving on Monday at dinner	8s.	
	Clerks of St Mighells	Paid and given in reward to the Clerks of Saint Mighells in Cornehill	3s.	4d.
	Cap paper	Paid for a quire of cap paper for the Cook for the bake meats		4d.
	Gooseberries	Paid for gooseberries three quarts		12d.
	Pewterer	Paid to the Pewterer for the occupying of ten garnish of vessels and two garnish of banqueting dishes at 10d. the garnish	10s.	
	Labourers	Paid to Stephen Malyn and Robert Cheynn for three days labour each of them in making clean the house		

	and going on errands at 8d. per day a piece – 4s., and to Mathew Tyson for carrying the cushions to and from the church – 4d.	4s.	4d.		
	<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>18s.</u> <u>11d.</u>		
f.123v.	Chandler	Paid to the Chandler for things set from him as followeth to whit, for one gallon and one pottle of red vinegar – 15d., and for a pot to put it in – 2d., for oatmeal – 4d. Item for a peck of fine salt – 6d., for two boiling pots – 3d., for onions – 2d., for di all of packthread – 4d., for two chafer pots – 6d., for occupying of three chafer pots – 2d., for five pottles pots which are lacking – 5d., for occupying of seven pottle pots – 2d., for occupying of six candlesticks and for one lacking – 2d., for occupying of two great pans with the salmon – 4d., for occupying of three small pans – 1d., for twelve green pots lacking and for the occupying of six – 9d., for a gallon and di of vergions with a pot – 12d., for occupying of two stenes – 2d., for a link – 4d. Item for a lb. of candles – 3d., for a peck of coarser salt white – 6d., for three quarts of white vinegar and three pots which went with the vinegar – 2s.		9s.	10d.
	Women in the kitchen	Paid to Mother Holmes for two days for herself and another helping in the kitchen – 18d. Item to Goodwife Parkinson for three days washing the house before the dinner and after and also washing dishes in the kitchen the day of the great dinner at 6d. per day – 18d.		3s.	
	Raker	Paid to the Raker of the ward in reward for carrying away the rubbish put out of the kitchen			8d.
	Extraordinary	Paid extraordinary viz. to Mother Stoughton widow a poor women for strewing herbs in Finckes Lane – 12d., for rushes bought by Mrs Thorowgood over and beside the nine dozen allowed by the house of ordinary – 6d. Item paid for bread and drink for Monday at supper and Tuesday at dinner – 4s. 2d. Item more paid extraordinary to Mr Sheriff Pullison's Butler in reward for his attendance here at dinner – 2s., and for bringing and sending Mr Sheriff's plate hither and home again – 16d.		5s.	8d.
				3s.	4d.
f.124r.		<u>Some total of the whole charges</u>		<u>£41</u>	<u>10s.</u> <u>3d.</u>
		The allowance of the house is		£8	
		Item for quarteredge gathered			56s.

Item received of the Clerk for quarteredge of them that were absent agreed for				15s.
Item of Isaack Taylor for a brace of bucks according to his lease				40s.
Item for the alienation of the said Taylor's lease	£3			10s.

Sum £17 12d.

Which being deducted there rests clear to be paid
by them £24 9s. 3d.

To whit by

Mr Dumer	£6	2s.	3d.	ob. qt.
Mr Thorowgood	£6	2s.	3d.	ob. qt.
Mr Awgar	£6	2s.	3d.	ob. qt.
Mr Whelar	£6	2s.	3d.	ob. qt.

f.124v.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1575	The seventeenth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Mr Alderman Pullison then being Master of this Company		
		Mr Rennoldes Mr Calverley Mr Planckay Mr Trott } our four Master Wardens		
		Provision of the same dinner and for the potation on Sunday at night before:		
	Fruit	Paid for fruit for the potation viz. 3cwt. of genetings – 2s. 2d., 1cwt. of plums – 14d., 3cwt. of pears – 3s. 11d., 2cwt. of codlings and di – 2s. 8d., for di a peck of filberts – 7d.	10s.	6d.
	Spicebread	Paid to Mrs Wall for nine dozen and di of cakes and buns at 2s. the dozen	19s.	
	Confits	Paid to Raffe King for the banquet on Sunday at night viz. for 2lb. of cinnamon confits, 1lb. of ginger confits, 1lb. of orange confits at 22d. the lb. – 7s. 4d., 1lb. of musk confits – 20d., 1lb. of caraways – 15d., 1lb. di of coriander confits – 22d. ob., byskettes 2lb. at 15d. a lb. – 2s. 6d., di lb. of fine sugar – 7d., for sanders – 1d. ob., for one lb. of almond confits – 15d.	16s.	7d.
	Wood and coal	Paid for two quarterns of fagots – 3s. 9d., for a quarter of billets – 2s. 11d., for twelve sacks of great coals at 8d. per sack – 8s., and for three sacks of thorn coals – 16d.	16s.	
	Trenchers, trays and ashen cups	Paid for twenty-four dozen of trenchers at 6d. the dozen – 12s., for four trays – 4s., for a dozen of ashen cups – 16d.	17s.	4d.
	Spice for hippocras	Paid for spice for the making of thirteen gallons of hippocras viz. three quarters of ginger – 2s. 2d., 1lb. di of cinnamon – 6s. 6d., 3oz. of cloves – 16d., 3oz. of nutmeg – 16d., 2oz. coriander seeds – 2d., 28lb. of sugar at 10d. the lb. – 24s. 4d.		
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£5</u>	<u>14s.</u> <u>3d.</u>
f.125r.	Wine	Paid for wine of all sorts to whit for a tiers of Gascon wine bought of Mr Rennoldes – £3 6s. 8d., for cartage and portage of the same to the hall in to the cellar – 10d., for three gallons of red wine put to the		

		making of hippocras – 6s., for eleven gallons three quarters of sack of Mr Colclough at 22d. the gallon – 21s. 13d., for bringing of the same home and broching – 6d., for two gallons of white wine for the cooks – 4s., for five gallons di of French wine – 11s.	£5	10s.	8d.
	Poulterer	Paid to Mason the Poulterer for four dozen di of capons to whit three dozen and six for Monday, twelve for Tuesday to dinner at 2s. the piece – 5li. 8s., for four signets at 8s. the piece – 32s., for 12 geese at 20d. the piece – 20s., for four dozen di of chicken at 6s. the dozen – 27s., for two dozen di of partridges at 10s. the dozen – 25s., for six dozen di of pigeons at 20d. the dozen – 10s. 10d., for 2cwt. di of eggs at 3s. the cwt. – 7s. 6d., and for the meat of two swans which our Master sent – 12d.	£11	5s.	
	Grocer	Paid to the Grocer as followeth for large mace a quarter of a pound – 3s. 8d., pepper di all – 16d., saffron di oz. – 12d., cloves 2oz. – 12d., nutmeg 6oz. – 2s., cinnamon 2oz. – 8d., ginger 2oz. – 5d., prunes 6lb. – 18d., currants 7lb. – 2s. 4d., sugar middle 5lb. at 14d. the lb. – 5s. 10d., more 6lb. fine – 7s. 6d., dates 3lb. di at 16d. the lb. – 4s. 8d., nutmeg more 4oz. di quarter – 2s. 3d., maces di oz – 6d., currants more 1lb. – 4d., sugar 2lb. – 2s. 4d., pepper 1lb. 2oz. – 3s., prunes more one pound – 3d., ginger 2oz. – 5d., cloves 1oz. – 6d., more for 5lb. of fine sugar – 6s. 3d.		47s.	10d.
	Butcher	Paid to the Butcher for thirty-eight marybones – 9s. 9d., for 21st. and 3lb. of beef at 15d. the st. – 26s. 9d., for one mutton – 10s., for 16lb. of suet – 4s.		50s.	6d.
				<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£21</u> <u>14s.</u>
f.125v.	Salmon and turbet	Paid for turbet – 5s. 2d. and for a side of fresh salmon and the chin – 10s.		15s.	2d.
	Pikemonger	Paid to William Harryson, Pikemonger, for fourteen pikes		25s.	
	Sturgeon	Paid for a keg of sturgeon bought – 8s., the other firkin was given to Master Wardens by John Bodeley and for carriage of the same sturgeon to the hall – 2d.		8s.	2d.
	Neats tongue	Paid for twenty-six neats tongue to bake at 7d. the piece		15s.	2d.

	Rye meal	Paid for a bushel di of rye meal to bake the same tongue with all	3s.	6d.
	Marchpanes	Paid to Raffe King for eight large marchpanes at 3s. 4d. the piece – 26s. 8d., and for ten smaller marchpanes at 2s. 7d. the piece – 26s. 8d.	53s.	4d.
	White vinegar	Paid for three pottles of white vinegar	2s.	
	Butter	Paid for salt butter and fresh butter 54lb. at 3d. the lb. whereof 12lb. was for the baking of neats tongue	13s.	4d.
	Beer and ale	Paid for two barrels of beer at 6s. the barrel and one kilderkin after 4s. the barrel – 14s., and to Mathew Martyn for two barrels of ale at 6s. the barrel – 12s.	26s.	
	The Cook	Paid to Stephen Treeagle the Cook for three bushels one peck of flour for the bake meats – 11s., for five gallons of cream for custards – 6s. 5d., for a gallon of barberries – 2s. 8d., for 6lb. of lard – 4s., for baking of di a buck – 5s., for four custards – 10s., for his pains dressing the dinner – 30s., for two aprons – 23d.	£3	11s.
	Baker	Paid to Mrs Heath, Baker, for twenty-six dozen and a half of bread	26s.	6d.
	Sweet water	Paid for washing water and rosewater	3s.	
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£13</u>	<u>2s.</u> <u>2d.</u>
f.126r.	Wafers	Paid for nine boxes of wafers where of four boxes had of Wharton's wife and five of Newton's wife at 2s. the box	18s.	
	Musicians	Paid to the musicians for one day	13s.	4d.
	Butler	Paid to Edmond Wright, Butler, for his pains with four, serving the three days	26s.	8d.
	Chandler	Paid to Thomas Awgar for Chandler's stuff in as by his bill	11s.	6d.
	Pewterer	Paid to John Catcher, Pewterer, for the hire of vessels to whit eleven garnish of vessel at 10d. the garnish – 9s. 2d., seven dozen of banqueting dishes at 4d. the dozen – 2s. 4d., eight pottle pots – 6d.	12s.	
	Flowers and herbs	Paid for flowers and herbs	2s.	6d.

	Brooms, oranges etc.	Paid for brooms – 3d., for di cwt. of oranges – 8d., for small ale and beer set out of the doors – 6d.	18d.
	Cap paper	Paid for a quire of cap paper	4d.
	Linen cloth	Paid for two ells di of linen cloth for the Sewer and Carver – 2s. 10d. Item for four aprons for the butlers – 2s. 6d. for three aprons for the Clerk's wife and her two daughters – 3s., for four ells of harfordes for the women in the kitchen at 7d. the ells – 2s. 4d.	10s. 8d.
	Sewers and carver	Paid to the officers for their pains in sewing and carving	6s. 8d.
	Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Holmes for her pains in the kitchen – 18d., and to Goodwife Parkinson and her maid – 3s. 6d., to whit for herself for five days dressing up the house before the feast and after and helping in the kitchen at 6d. per day and to her maid for three days at 4d. per day	6s.
	Labourer	Paid to Stephen Malyn for four days and Robert Cheyny for as many	5s.
	Porter	Paid to George Hills, Robert Hyve and John Rowles to whit Hills and Hyve for two days – 12d. a piece – 2s., to John Rowles and John Taylor for three days a piece – 3s.	5s.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£5</u> <u>19s.</u> <u>2d.</u>
f.126v.	Clerks of Saint Mighells	Paid to the Clerks of Saint Mighells in reward	3s. 4d.
	Stoughton's widow	Paid to Stoughton's widow by the way of charity, for stowing Finckes Lane with herbs at the end next Cornehill	6d.
	Labourers in the kitchen	Paid by the way of reward to the labourers in the kitchen	12d.
	The Raker	Paid to the Raker of the Ward for carrying away the rubbish and offal of the fowl etc.	8d.
		<u>Sum</u>	<u>5s.</u> <u>6d.</u>
		<u>Sum total of the whole charges amounteth</u>	<u>£46</u> <u>15s.</u> <u>1d.</u>
	Whereof		
	Allowed by the house towards the same		£8

Quarteredge gathered at the potation		50s.	8d.
Agreed and received of the Clerk for all those that remain to pay their quarteredge being absent at the potation		17s.	4d.
Received of Richard Godard for the brace of bucks which he giveth yearly for the tenement he holdeth of the Company in Colman Street		40s.	
	Sum of the allowance	£13	8s.
Which being deducted the whole charges of the same dinner will amount to		£33	7s.
	To whit		
Mr Rennoldes		£8	6s. 9d.
Mr Calverley		£8	6s. 9d.
Mr Planckny		£8	6s. 9d.
Mr Trott		£8	6s. 9d.

f.127r.

Memorandum that the proportion of two election dinners cannot be gotten at the Master Wardens' hands viz. the one in anno 1576. Mr Nicholas Whelar, Mr William Chester, Mr John Lowen and Mr Lawrence Goff then being the four Master Wardens. The other in anno 1577, Mr George Brathwyt, Mr Mathew Colclough, Mr Thomas Herdson and Mr William Lowe then Master Wardens

f.127v.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1578	The twentieth year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Mr Richard Pype Alderman then being Master of this Company of Drapers William Thorowgood Robert Diconson Symon Horsepoole William Barnard } our four Masters Wardens Provision of the same dinner and for the potation on Sunday at night before:			
	Coals great and small	Paid for twelve sacks of great coal at 8d. the sack – 8s., and for five sack of small coal at 3d. the sacks – 15d.	9s.	3d.	
	Fagots and billets	Paid for three quarters of cwt. of fagots after 5s. the cwt. – 3s. 9d. and for a quarter of a cwt. of billets after 12s. the cwt. – 3s. and in reward to a boy that brought them – 1d. ob.	6s.	10d.	ob.
	Fresh sturgeon	Paid for a firkin of sturgeon and for the bringing thereof to the hall	20s.	2d.	
	Trenchers	Paid for twenty-four dozen of trenchers at 5d. the dozen – 10s. and for bringing them to the Drapers’ Hall – 3d.	10s.	3d.	
	Neats tongues	Paid for twenty-two neats tongue to bake at 8d. the piece	14s.	8d.	
	Turner’s ware	Paid for four great trays for the larders – 4s., for a dozen of ashen cups – 12d., for six taps for ale and beer – 2d., for quills and spigots and for setting the wine abroche – 6d.	5s.	8d.	
	Butter	Paid for 8lb. of sweet butter to bake the neats tongue with all – 2s. 8d., and more for 50lb. of butter at 3d. ob. the lb. spent besides – 14s. 5d.	17s.	1d.	
	Sack	Paid for twelve gallons three quarts of sack at 22d. the gallon – 23s. 4d. ob., for a roundlet – 14d. and for bringing the same to the hall – 2d.	14s.	8d.	ob.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>8s.</u>	<u>8d.</u>
f.128r.	Sugar	Paid for 20lb. di of sugar in powder for the kitchen at 11d. the lb.	18s.	9d.	ob.

	Rewards for bucks	Paid to Mr Doctor Gibbon's son in reward bringing a buck from his father – 5s., and to Mr [-] servant in reward for bringing another – 3s. 4d.	8s.	4d.	
	Swans	Paid to Mrs Heath for four swans bought of her at 8s. the piece	32s.		
	Flowers and herbs	Paid for flowers and strawing herbs the three days	3s.	4d.	
	Rosewater	Paid for a pint of rosewater – 10d., and for red rosewater – 4d.			14d.
	Clerks of Saint Mighells	Paid to the Clerks of Saint Mighells in reward	3s.	4d.	
	Musicians	Paid to the Waits of the City for the two days	26s.	8d.	
	Sewers and Carvers	Paid to Ellys the sergeant for four sergeants and their yeomen for the first day and one sergeant and himself the second day in sewing and carving	10s.		
	Bread	Paid to Hodges the Baker for twenty-seven dozen of bread spent the three days	27s.		
	Wafers	Paid to Wharton's wife of our Company for nine boxes of wafers for the first and second day at 2s. the box	18s.		
	Chandler	Paid to the Chandler Thomas Awgar for earthen pots of diverse sorts, salt, vinegar, verges, mustard, oatmeal and suchlike chafer fetched as by his bill appeareth	17s.		
	Hippocras	Paid to Robert Prannell for six gallons di pint of hippocras spent the two days at 5s. the gallon	30s.	4d.	
	Spicebread	Paid to Goodwife Wall for nine dozen of spice cakes and buns at 2s. 6d. the dozen	22s.	6d.	
		Sum of page	£10	18s.	5d. ob.
f.128v.	Wine	Paid to Gregory Shorter for a supply of Gascon wine besides one hogshead we had in the house to whit for four gallons at 20d. the gallon – 6s. 8d., and for a gallon and a qt. of white wine for the kitchen set at the said Shorters – 2s. 1d.	8s.	9d.	
	Porters	Paid to George Hill, Thomas Sheford, John Taylor, George Shawe, Thomas Godson and George Ffabyan			

	all porters for two days a piece whereof the first two had 2s. in reward and the other had 3s. 4d.	5s.	4d.
Grocers	Paid to Henry Ffankes, Grocer, for grocery wares bought of him as by his bill appeareth	37s.	
Marchpanes and confits	Paid to Balthazer the Sugar Baker for sixteen marchpanes for both days and for confits of all sorts for the banquet of Sunday at night	£3	8s. 8d.
Fruit	Paid for fruit as pears, plums, nuttes, codling and such like for this banquet as by the bill appeareth	9s.	10d.
Poulterer	Paid to Robert Mason for poultry ware had him as by his bill appeareth	£9	5s. 3d.
Butcher	Paid to Richard Bingham, Butcher, for beef and mutton as by his bill – 57s. 11d., and for guts to make puddings – 12d.	58s.	11d.
Pikemonger	Paid to the Pikemonger for six pikes at 21d. the piece – 10s. 6d.	10s.	4d.
Fresh salmon	Paid for three salmons viz. one at 22s. another at 20s. and the third at 13s. 4d.	55s.	4d.
The Cook	Paid to John Barton Cook supplying in the absence of Stephen Triegle for his pains and other things had of him as by his bill appeareth	£3	18d.
Preacher	Paid to Mr Crowley preaching two sermons	13s.	4d.
	<u>Sum of the page</u>	<u>£25</u>	<u>14s. 5d.</u>
f.129r.	Butler	Paid to George Bland, Butler, for himself and three others with him the three days	26s. 8d.
	Beer	Paid for two barrels of beer of 6s. the barrel and one kilderkin of 2s.	14s.
	Ale	Paid for two barrels of ale	12s.
	Linen cloth	Paid two ells of holland for Carvers and Sewers at 20d. the ell – 3s. 4d., for twelve ells of three quarter cloths for sixteen aprons for cooks, butlers and other at 9d. the ell – 9s., and for four ells of indarlenes for the scullery at 5d. the ell – 20d.	14s.
	Pewterer	Paid to John Catcher, Pewterer, for vessels hired of him as by his bill	17s.

Wheat flour	Paid to Mr Thorowgood for four bushels of flour to bake with all at 3s. the bushel	12s.			
Reward to the Clerk's daughters and sons	Paid to Bartholomew Warner's, our Clerk's, two daughters for their pains in reward Item more in reward to his two sons for their pains in going in errands	3s.	4d.		
Fell and Jarmen	Paid to George Fell for his pains attending six days at the hall – 3s. 4d., and to John Jarmen for as many days giving his attendance there – 2s. 6d.	5s.	10d.		
Women in the kitchen	Paid to Goodwife Parkinson and another with her serving in the kitchen and dressing up the house before and after the dinners for three days apiece – 3s., to Alice Cooke for three days helping in like manner – 18d., and to Goodwife Holmes for two days helping in the kitchen – 12d.	5s.	6d.		
Carriage of things to the hall	Paid for bringing of things by diverse to the hall at sundry times		12d.	ob.	
Reward to the Mr Bachelors	Paid to the four Master Bachelors of the yeomanry in reward, with two pasties of venison given them to make merry with those that waited	6s.	8d.		
Raker of the Ward	Paid to the Raker of the Ward for carrying away the offal of the fowl		8d.		
	<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£5</u>	<u>19s.</u>	<u>4d.</u>	<u>ob.</u>
f.129v.	<u>Sum total of all the whole charges of the great dinner</u>	<u>£48</u>	<u>11d.</u>		
	Whereof				
	Allowed by the house towards the same	£8			
	Quarteredge gathered at the potation	£3	6s.	8d.	
	Quarteredge remaining up and at the potation and agreed with the Clerk therefore		10s.		
	Received for a brace of bucks from the great tenement in Colman Streat		40s.		
	Sum of the allowances				[-]
	Which being deducted the whole charges of the same dinner will amount to				[-]

f.130r.	Feast Dinner } Anno 1580	Elizabeth, Master Alderman Branch then being Master of this Company		
		Brian Calverley John Wright John Jenny and John Hall } our four Masters the Wardens		
		Provision for the same dinner and banquet on Sunday at afternoon and Tuesday the day after the said dinner as followeth:		
	Confits	Paid for confits bought for the banquet on Sunday at afternoon of diverse sorts to whit aniseed confits 2lb., almond confits 2lb., coriander confits 1lb. di, half a lb. caraways for 2lb. biskettes, all at 15d. the lb. – 8s. 9d. for 1lb. of musk confits, 1lb. of cinnamon confits, 1lb. of ginger confits, and 1lb. of orange confits at 22d. the lb. of every of them – 7s. 4d.	16s.	1d.
	Fruit	Paid more for fruit for the same banquet to whit apples, pears, plums, geneting and a peck of filberds and codlings	7s.	2d.
	Spicebread	Paid more to Goodwife Wall for four dozen of spice cakes and four dozen of buns	28s.	
	Poulterer	Paid to Robert Mason for poultry ware had of him viz. six dozen capons at 22d. the piece – £3, sixteen geese at 20d. the piece – £6 12s., six swans at 10s. the piece – £3, sixteen geese at 20d. the piece – 26s. 8d, six pullets at 14d. the piece – 12s., twelve partridges and twelve quails – 20s., eight dozen di of pigeons at 20d. the dozen – 14s. 2d., four and three quarters of eggs at 2s. 10d. the cwt. – 13s. 6d., more for two capons and nine pigeons for Sunday bought by Mr Hall – 3s. 6d.	£13	16s. 10d.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£6</u>	<u>8s. 1d.</u>
f.130v.	Butcher	Paid to Henry Bowers, Butcher, for flesh bought of him first for twenty neats tongues bought to bake – 13s. 4d., for 18st. and 5lb. of beef as per bill at 12d. the st. – 18s. 9d., for one whole mutton and a half – 12s., for 94lb. of suet at 4d. the lb. – 31s. 4d., for thirty-six marybones at 4d. the piece – 12s., for a fore quarter of veal – 3s., for pricks and blood to make puddings – 12d., sum abating 3s. 5d. in the whole and paid	£4	8s.

Baker	Paid for twenty-eight dozen of bread bought at the Bakers as followeth viz. for Sunday at dinner in rolls and for the servants at potation – 12d. in wheaten bread – 12d. in penny white bread – 12d., on Monday in rolls – 6s., in manchetts – 6s., in penny white bread stale – 4s., in wheaten bread – 2s., n Tuesday in rolls – 12d. in manchetts – 3s., in wheaten bread – 2s., in penny white bread stale – 12d.	28s.		
Ale and beer	Paid for one hogshead of beer of 6s. the barrel and one barrel of 4s. in all – 13s., and for two barrels of ale at 6s. the barrel – 12s.	25s.		
Sturgeon	Paid for a firkin of sturgeon and wine to new pickle the same	28s.	8d.	
Wood	Paid for three quarterns of fagots and a quartern of billets	7s.	6d.	
Coal great and small and brooms	Paid for fifteen sacks of great coals at 9d. the sack – 11s. 3d. and more to Goodwife Holmes for small coals and for brooms – 2s. 8d.	13s.	11d.	
Trenchers	Paid for twenty dozen of trenchers whereof ten dozen at 8d. the dozen and ten dozen at 7d. the dozen	12s.	6d.	
	<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>3s.</u>	<u>7d.</u>
f.131r. Grocer	Paid to the Grocer for spice of diverse sorts as followeth first for 1lb. of cinnamon and 2oz. – 5s. 10d., for three quarters of all of ginger at 2s. the lb. – 18d., for three quarters of all of nutmeg at 6s. the lb. – 4s. 6d., for a quarter of a lb. of grains – 6d., for coriander seeds di lb. – 4d., for cloves at two times 2oz. – 16d., for 8lb. quarter of pepper at three times price 2s. 6d. the lb. – 20s. 7d. ob., for 1oz. saffron – 20d. for 4lb. of dates at 9d. the lb. – 3s., for 8lb. of currants at 4d. the lb. – 2s. 8d., for 12lb. of prunes – 2s., sanders – 3d., for two quires of paper – 7d., for sugar powder 1lb. – 12d., more for 1oz. of ginger – 1d. ob., large maces at two times 4oz. – 3s. 4d., middle mace 3oz. – 2s., more cloves 3oz. – 2s. 3d., more for 2oz. of cinnamon – 10d.	54s.	4d.	
Sugar	Paid for 51lb. di of sugar bought by Mr Hall at three several times at 12d. the lb.	51s.	6d.	
Butter	Paid for a firkin of butter bought by Mr Hall – 13s. 2d., more for sweet butter bought by him to whit			

		38lb. at three several times whereof 20lb. at 3d. qt. the lb. and 18lb. at 3d., sum as per bill – 10s. 8d.	23s.	10d.
	Linen cloth	Paid for linen cloth bought of John Wethers for towels for the Sewer and Carver to whit two ells quarter of holland – 3s. 7d. and for aprons for the cooks, butlers and others to whit eighteen ells of Hambrough – 12s. 10d. and four ells of Harfords – 2s. 4d.	18s.	9d.
	Marchpanes	Paid to [-] for ten marchpanes bought of him at 2s. 8d. the piece – 26s. 8d. To Stephen Tryagle for two inch panes at 4s. the piece, and for eight inch panes at 3s. 4d. the piece less – 3s. 4d. in the whole – 34s. 8d.	£3	16d.
		<u>Sum of page</u>	<u>£10</u>	<u>9s.</u> <u>9d.</u>
f.131v.	Lard	Paid for 13lb. of lard bought of our Cook Stephen Triegle for the larding of the neats tongues that were baked	8s.	8d.
	Cook	Paid to the said Stephen Triegle Cook for his pains and others with him dressing the said great dinner	40s.	
	Coverpanes washed	Paid for washing and new edging again of all the coverpanes	2s.	6d.
	Flour and meal	Paid for meal and flour as followeth viz. for six bushels of flour at 2s. 8d. the oz. – 16d., for three bushels of flour at 3s. the bushel – 9s., for six bushels of meal and a half at 3s. the bushel – 19s. 6d. and for two bushels of meal at 3s. the bushel – 6s., more for three pecks of rye meal for the baking of the neats tongue – 22d.	52s.	4d.
	Pewterer	Paid to Catcher the Pewterer for the loan of sixteen garnish of vessel at 10d. the garnish – 13s. 4d. And more for the loan of six dozen of salad dishes – 2s. 2d.	15s.	6d.
	Pikemonger	Paid to the Pikemonger for pikes	41s.	
	Musicians	Paid to the musicians for both days	13s.	
	Fresh salmon	Paid for two fresh salmons – 33s. 4d. and for one fresh salmon – 20s.	53s.	4d.
	Cream	Paid for nine gallons di of cream for custards at 14d. the gallon	11s.	

	Wafers	Paid for eight boxes of wafers	16s.	
	Coal shovel	Paid for coal shovel	6d.	
	Paper	Paid for a quire of paper for the kitchen	2d.	
	Wine	Paid for ten gallons and a pottle of sack – 21s. for five gallons of white wine – 8s. 4d., for two gallons of red wine bought by Higgens the Butler for the hippocras – 3s. 4d.	32s.	8d.
f.132r.	Rosewater	Paid for a pottle of rosewater had of Mrs Full – 2s. 4d. and for a quart of rose water – 12d.	3s.	4d.
	Butler	Paid to Higgins the Butler for his pains and others the two days	26s.	8d.
	Rewards for bucks	Paid and given in reward for bucks as followeth viz. to Mr Mydleton's man that brought a buck – 10s., to Mr Doctor Gibbon's man that brought a buck – 5s., to Mr Alderman Pullison's man that brought a buck – 5s., to Mr Bates' man a Draper that brought a buck – 10s., to Mr Reman's man of Chichester that brought a buck – 10s., to Mr Sheriff's man that brought a buck – 3s. 4d., and given to Mr Wyke's man that brought a buck – 10s.	£2	15s. 10d.
	Chandler	Paid for Chandler's ware bought of John Randall	26s.	
	Clerks of Saint Mighells	Paid and given to the Sexton and Clerks of Saint Mighells in reward	3s.	4d.
	Sewars and Carvers	Paid to Ellys, sergeant, and other three officers with him waiting and carving in reward	6s.	4d.
	Stoughton's widow	Paid to Stoughton's widow as a charity for strewing the street at Finckes Lane end towards Cornehill		12d.
	The Clerk's daughters	Paid and given in reward to the Clerk's two daughters helping to dress up the house and ladies chambers	3s.	4d.
	Porters	Paid to the two porters that kept the nether door – 2s. 7d., and to Rowlles and Whyte other two porters for two days – 2s. 4d.	4s.	8d.
	Jarmen, Taylor and Ffell	Paid to Jarman our labourer John Taylor and George Ffell every of – 3s., clearing the house, hanging up of banners and other things for four days	9s.	

Women

Paid to women some helping to make clean the house before the dinner and cleansing the house and washing dishes in the kitchen. Some for four days, some for more and some for less.

7s.

f.132v. **Quarter Dinner 1601** **Charges of a quarter dinner at Drapers' Hall the seventh day of December 1601**

Seven messes
of meat, nine to
the first table
and five to the
second table

	In primis paid for twelve sacks of great coals		9s.	
	Paid Fflud for four sacks of small coals		2s.	
	Paid seven bundles of rushes		2s.	
	Paid for half a cwt. of fagots		4s.	
	Paid for billets		2s.	
	Paid for spice		7s.	7s.
	Paid for thirteen of sugar		19s.	7s.
	Paid for twenty-four neats tongues	£1	3s.	8d.
	Paid for twelve dozen of trenchers		80s.	
	Paid for two whole sirloins and a double rib of beef weighing 12st. 6lb. at 20d. per st.	£1	1s.	4d.
	Paid for sixteen marrowbones		6s.	
	Paid for pepper 1lb. and di		5s.	3d.
	Paid for two bushels and di of flour		9s.	4d.
	Paid for 12lb. of suet		5s.	
	Paid for oranges and lemons		2s.	1d.
	Paid for wine for the cooks		2s.	10d.
	Paid for sanders and barberries		2s.	1d.
	Paid for six garnets		12s.	
	Paid for three legs of mutton		4s.	
	Paid and given to the Cook		2s.	6d.
	Paid two sergeants and two yeomen		9s.	
	Paid for cloth to wipe pewter		4s.	2d.
	Paid for fifteen dozen of bread		15s.	
	Paid for a swan 10s., for a turkey 5s.		15s.	
	Paid for ten geese at 2s. 4d. per piece	£1	3s.	4d.
	Paid for twenty-four capons at 2s. 6d. per piece		18s.	
	Paid for two woodcocks at 10d. per piece		1s.	8d.
	Paid for seventeen partridges at 18d. per piece	£1	7s.	
	Paid for two smites 2s. 4d., for fourteen pigeons 10s. 6d.		12s.	10d.
	Paid for twelve dozen of larks 10d. per dozen		10s.	
	Paid for eggs di cwt.		2s.	4d.
f.133r.	Paid for twenty-four minced pies at 22d. per piece	£2	4s.	
	Paid for twelve custards at 3s. per piece	£1	16s.	
	Paid for twelve quince pies at 4s. 8d. per piece	£2	16s.	
	Paid for dressing the dinner	£1		
	Paid for twelve marchpanes at 4s. and seven at 2s. 6d.	£1	17s.	6d.
	Paid for twelve pikes, six at 3s. and six at 2s. 4d.	£1	12s.	
	Paid for a barrel of beer 8s. and a barrel of ale 8s.		16s.	

Paid for 1lb. di oringado 3s. and 2lb. lard 20d.		4s.	8d.
Paid the Butler for his pains		6s.	8d.
Paid for eight collars of brawn	£1	17s.	10d.
Paid for eighteen neats tongues		18s.	10d.
Paid for carriage of stools			8d.
Paid Ffloid for his pains			6d.
Paid four porters		4s.	
Paid Ffloid for brooms first and fagots		3s.	2d.
Paid to three women to make clean the hall and pantry		15s.	
Paid to Griffen for verges, vinegar and pots		13s.	8d.
Paid for 31lb. of butter to Griffen		14s.	2d.
Paid for ten gallons three quarts of claret wine at 2s.	£1	1s.	6d.
Paid for eleven gallons and one pint of sack at 3s. 2d,		19s.	4d.
Paid for six gallons and one quart of muscadel at 3s. 9d.	£1	3s.	6d.
Paid for three roundlets		3s.	4d.

f.133v. **Quarter Dinner 1602** **Charges of a quarter dinner at Drapers' Hall the eighth day of June 1602**

Twelve messes
of meat, nine to
the first table
and five to the
second table

In primis paid for eight sacks of great coals		6s.	8d.
Paid for a barrel of beer		8s.	
Paid for grocery ware per bill	£1	7s.	10d.
Paid and given the officers		8s.	6d.
Paid for fourteen neats tongues	£1	5s.	5d.
Paid for fifteen marrowbones		6s.	8d.
Paid for three legs of mutton and pricks		5s.	3d.
Paid for two whole sirloins and a double rib of beef	£1	4s.	3d.
Paid for butter 7s. 11d., and for pipkins and pots		8s.	7d.
Paid the Cook for twelve chicken pies at 4s. 6d. the piece	£2	14s.	
Paid for twelve pippin pies at 3s.	£1	18s.	
Paid for twelve custards at 3s.	£1	16s.	
Paid for 1lb. of lard 10d. and flour 10d.		1s.	3d.
Paid for dressing the dinner	£1		
Paid for two pecks and a half of white salt			10d.
Paid for partridge 6d., for a gallon and a half of vinegar 9d., and for sweet herbs 2d.		1s.	5d.
Paid for portridge of green rushes			4d.
Paid for fifteen dozen of bread		15s.	
Paid for four salmons	£2	6s.	
Paid for two cungers	£1		
Paid the Vintner for nine gallons and a half claret wine and four gallons of sacke	£1	14s.	
Paid for seven marchpanes, five at 4s. and seven at 2s. 4d.	£1	17s.	6d.
Paid for 1lb. and a di of oringado		3s.	
Paid for twelve pikes, five at 3s. and seven at 2s. 4d.	£1	17s.	6d.
Paid Ffloid per bill for ale, faggots, billets and porters to help	£1	2s.	
Paid for twelve capons at 2s. 6d. the piece	£1	10s.	
Paid for six pullets at 18d. the piece		9s.	
Paid for twenty-four geese at 20d. the piece	£2		
Paid for thirty-six chickens at 7d. the piece	£1	1s.	
Paid for thirty-six ducklings at 6s. per dozen		18s.	
Paid for twenty-four rabbits at 8d. per piece		16s.	
Paid for gooseberries		1s.	8d.
Paid for eggs di.cwt.		2s.	2d.
Paid the Butler for his pains		6s.	8d.
Paid for washing the linen		10s.	8d.
Paid two women for seven days		14s.	

f.135r.

1. Stephen Dallimon	5s.	
2. John Wheatley	3s.	
3. Robert Parker	3s.	
4. Mathew Emrey		
5. Samuel Beck	3s.	
6. Edward Netherwod	3s.	
7. Robart Gyttynes	2s.	
8. Anthony Stanford		
9. Bayly, deaf and dumb		1d.
10. John Rockadyne – R Barnard	3s.	
11. Lewys Ffewtrell	3s.	
12. Richard Popellwell	3s.	
13. Thomas Turnor, white crest porter	3s.	
14. Robart Carter		
15. Georg Thorne	3s.	
16. John Browne – R. Barnard	2s.	6d.
17. John Basse		
18. Raph Grannt		
19. John Bradshaw chicklayne	3s.	
20. Richard Popellwell, St Andrew's Understaft		
21. Mitt Lewys		
22. Rowland Rebyll ,St. Michells' yard	3s.	
23. Abraham Walker	3s.	
24. Persycall Byngley	3s.	
25. John Lylly	3s.	
26. James Skant with Father Nurst	3s.	
27. John Arthur, St. Martin's	3s.	
28. Nitt Pattenson, Cowcross	3s.	
29. Henry Whitecar	3s.	
30. Edward Burrowes	4s.	
31. James Bowers	3s.	
32. Robert Little	3s.	
Hall		12d.
Dyssell		12d.
Garrat		12d.
Prudence Lewys, Bech Leyne	3s.	
Widow Man, Bech Leyne		
Widow Ffreman, Bech Leyne	3s.	
Widow Bowars	3s.	
Widow Slanly, Bech Layne	3s.	
Widow Bendig, St. Catherine's	3s.	
Widow Thorneton, Bech Layne	3s.	
Widow Bull, per Aldgate	3s.	
Widow Marshall	3s.	
B. Squibbe	3s.	

Widow Grene	12d.
Widow Ould	12d.
Widow Richard	12d.
Widow Jermyn	12d.
Loyd	4s.
Jonas	3s.
Watters	3s. 1d.
Barnard	5s.
Widow Gaynsford	2s. 6d.

f.136v.

21 July 1607, Mr W. Cotton's funeral

One damask table cloth
One damask towel long
Three dozen damask napkins

Two diaper tablecloths
Two ewery towels, one for the plate
Two dozen of napkins
One shrine cloth
One long officers cloth

One dresser cloth

Index of Food and Drink

Ale

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) – “Martyn our tenant in Smithfield”, 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election) – “Martyn our Tenant at the Bull in Smythfeld”, 1566 (First Quarter) – “Campion the Brewar”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) – “Ale, penny ale, yeast, Ale brewer – Martyn”, 1566 (First Quarter) - “– “Strong, small”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election) – “Martin, Ale Brewer”, 1568 (Election) – “Platt, Beer Brewer, Marten”, 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter) - “from butler Wright, 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election) – “Marten”, 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Alexander Buds

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter) – “For salettes”, 1569 (Second Quarter) – “for salletts”, 1571 (Second Quarter)

Apples

1564 (Second Quarter) – “Tarts of”, 1566 (First Quarter) – “Tarts from Mrs Wilcocks”, 1567 (First Quarter) – “tarts”, 1578 (Election)

Bacon

1565 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter)

Barberries

1564 (First Quarter) – “for white broth”, 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter), 1574 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Beef

1564 (First Quarter) – “Roast, sirloin (for servants)”, 1564 (Second Quarter) – “Boiled (for servants)”, 1564 (Election) – “Sirloin, brisket, roasting”, 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter) – “Sirloin”, 1565 (Election) – “John Wolfstone”, 1566 (First Quarter) – “Sirloin”, 1566 (Second Quarter) – “Sirloin”, 1566 (Election) – “Roast beef pieces, sirloin, distributed to the poor”, 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) – “Sirloin, from Sawyer, beef for the poor”, 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter) – “sirloin”, 1568 (Election) – “Sirloin from Sawyer, beef for the poor”, 1569 (Election) – “rib, sirloin, beef for the poor, roasted”, 1569 (First Quarter) – “sirloin”, 1570 (Third Quarter) – “sirloin”, 1570 (Election) – “sirloin, rib, beef to make porridge for the poor”, 1571 (Third Quarter) – “sirloin”, 1571 (Election) – “Sirloin, rib, beef for the poor”, 1571 (First Quarter) – “Sirloin”, 1572 (Election) ‘ “Buttocks, sirloin”, 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election) – “Whole sirloins, double rib”

Beer

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) – “Mr Mynor’s man”, 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) – “Campion the Brewar”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) – “Queen’s beer, double beer, Mr Champion”, 1566 (First Quarter) – “Strong”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election) – “Campion, beer brewer”, 1568 (Election) – “Platt, Beer Brewer”, 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter) – “from butler Wright”, 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) – “Also small beer set out of doors”, 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Biscuits (Bisquytes, Biskts, Biskette, Biscaytes, Byskettes, Bisket)

1564 (First Quarter) – “for marchpanes and other fruits”, 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) – “Confits bisketts”, 1568 (Election) – “Bysketts from Ballthaser”, 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Blood and Guts

1567 (Election) – “from Sawyer”, 1568 (Election) – “for pudding from Sawyer”, 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election) – “For puddings”, 1578 (Election)

Boar

1564 (Election) - “Seething, killing and sousing”, 1565 (Election) - “boar bought & fed at St Katherine’s at Arnold’s called the Hermitage, killing, dressing, seething, carrying, feeding it”, 1566 (Election), 1567 (Election) - “from Sawyer”, 1568 (Election) - “from Sawyer”, 1569 (Election) - “ready sodden”, 1570 (Election) - “boar ready sodden”, 1571 (Election) - “Boar, seething of”, 1572 (Election) - “A boar for brawn”

Brawn

1564 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election) - “Gilding of by Semper”, 1566 (Election) - “With mustard, gilded”, 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - “Gilded by Bullock painter”, 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Election) - “Gilded by painter Lambe”, 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election) - “A boar for brawn”, 1580 (Election)

Bread

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) - “White, wheaten”, 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election) – “penny bread, stale penny bread, rolls, halfpenny bread, half penny bread stale, wheaten, wheaten stale, penny loaves, half penny loaves, white, Homfrey Veron in St Clements Lane”, 1566 (First Quarter) - “white, wheaten”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - “White for servants and waiters, sugar loaves from Brokbanck the Grocer, rolls, halfpenny bread, penny bread, white stale penny bread, wheaten, Baker Storar”, 1566 (First Quarter) - “Bread”, 1566 (Second Quarter) - “Breads”, 1567 (Election) - “Storar, Baker, penny white bread, half penny white bread, penny wheaten bread, rolls, bread for the poor”, 1568 (Election) - “Cakes, buns spicebread, white bread, wheaten bread”, 1569 (Election) – “rolls, penny white, stale penny white, halfpenny white, stale, penny wheaten, white”, 1569 (First Quarter) - “from butler, bread”, 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election) - “rolls, white bread, wheaten bread, penny wheaten, manchetts”, 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter),

1571 (Election) - "All the usual, white bread", 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election) - "General", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "rolls, wheaten bread, penny white, manchets, penny white stale", 1580 (Election) - "General"

Buns

1564 (Election) - "Goodwife Wall", 1565 (Election) - "spicebread Joan Wall", 1566 (Election) - "Spicebread, buns, cakes, Goodwife Wall", 1567 (Election) - "Wall's wife", 1569 (Election) - "Mrs Wall", 1570 (Election) - "Mrs Wall", 1572 (Election) - "Wall", 1573 (Election) - "Wall", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Butter

1564 (First Quarter) - "For basting", 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) - "sothery butter", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "sweet butter", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Sweet", 1567 (Election) - "In the market", 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter) - "fresh", 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Sweet butter, barreled butter", 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter) - "Gen and salt", 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "Salt and fresh butter (some for baking neats tongue)", 1575 (Election) - "sweet to bake neats tongue, general", 1578 (Election) - "butter, sweet butter", 1580 (Election)

Cakes

1564 (Election) - "Goodwife Wall", 1566 (Election) - "Spice cakes", 1567 (Election) - "Wall's wife", 1569 (Election) - "Mrs Wall", 1570 (Election) - "Mrs Wall", 1572 (Election) - "Wall's wife", 1573 (Election) - "Wall", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "spice cakes"

Calves Feet

1566 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "For jelly"

Capons

1564 (First Quarter) - "Roast, boiled", 1564 (Election) - "Roasting, boiling", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter) - "Roasting, boiling", 1565 (Election) - "Distributed to poor, Robert Mason our Poulterer, Mr Warden Reynolds", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Boiled, roast", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Boiled, roasted, Poulterer Mason, bought by Master Warden Throwgood", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Boiling", 1567 (Election) - "Boiling, roasting, from Mason", 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1568 (Election) - "From Mason, roasted", 1569 (Election) - "boiling, roasting, also from Mr Whelar Warden", 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election) - "boiling, roasting", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Capon roosters", 1571 (Election) - "Boiling and roosters", 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election) - "Roosters, boilers, roasting", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Caraways

1564 (First Quarter) - "for marchpanes and other fruits", 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "confits", 1568 (Election), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Carps

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Carrots

1564 (View)

Cherries

1565 (Election), 1573 (Election) - "Supplied by Margery Shore"

Chicken

1564 (Second Quarter) - "Boiled", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Chickens to boil", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election)

Cinnamon

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck, bought by Mr Throwgood", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, beaten", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "Large, powder", 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "For hippocras, not hip", 1578 (Election)

Claret

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter) - "Bishops Head, the Mitre", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "For jelly, hippocras and broths", 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election) - "For the broths, for hippocras", 1573 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Cloves

1564 (First Quarter) - "For gelatin", 1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for hippocras, cloves and mace beaten, whole for perfume", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election) - "for perfume too", 1570 (Election), 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Cloves for the perfume", 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "For hippocras, not for hip", 1578 (Election)

Codlings

1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "With rosewater and sugar", 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election) - "Supplied by Goodwife Sturdy", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Collopps

1566 (First Quarter)

Comfits

1564 (Election) - "Cinnamon, ginger, coriander, clove, orange", 1565 (Election) - "cinnamon, ginger, orange, colyander, clove", 1566 (Election) - "Of all sorts, almond, clove, oranges, ginger, cinnamon, caraways", 1567 (Election) - "Almond, clove, orange, ginger, cinnamon", 1568 (Election) -

“From Ballthaser, almond, orange, ginger, cinnamon, pineapple, corianders, caraways”, 1569 (Election) - “almond, clove, orange, cinnamon, caraways, coriander”, 1570 (Election) - “coriander, almond, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, dredge, orange”, 1571 (Election) - “Diverse sorts bought by the Warden’s wives”, 1572 (Election) - “Almond, orange, ginger, dredge, cinnamon, coriander, caraways – confects”, 1573 (Election) - “Cinnamon, ginger, dredge, musk, orange, caraways, almond, corianders”, 1574 (Election) - “Cinnamon, ginger, orange, musk, caraways, coriander, almonds”, 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election) - “aniseed, almond, coriander, musk, cinnamon, ginger, orange”

Coriander Seeds (Colyander)

1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - “Grocer Brokbanck”, 1567 (Election) - “Colyanders, Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for hippocras, for jelly, not from Grocer, under confits”, 1568 (Election) - “William Smyth”, 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1574 (Election) - “For hippocras”, 1578 (Election)

Cream

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - “for custards”, 1570 (Election) - “from Goodwife Sweete of Hackney”, 1572 (Election) - “Also for the custards”, 1573 (Election) - “For custards”, 1574 (Election) - “For custards”, 1578 (Election) - “custard”

Cucumbers

1570 (Election), 1571 (Election)

Currants

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - “Grocer Brokbanck”, 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - “Gabriel Colsell, Grocer”, 1568 (Election) - “William Smyth”, 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Custard/s

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter) - “From Mr Wilkockes”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) - “From Mrs Wilcockes”, 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election) - “Baked in house”, 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - “in house”, 1569 (First Quarter) - “Triegle the cook”, 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election) - “From cook”, 1571 (First Quarter) - “from cook”, 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election) - “cooked in house”, 1580 (Election)

Damask Water

1564 (Election) - “to Mistress Lawrence”, 1566 (Election) - “damask water from Bass’ wife”, 1567 (Election)

Dates

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566

(Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Eels

1564 (View) - "Fresh", 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Roasting", 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter) - "great roasting eels", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Great roasting"

Eggs

1564 (First Quarter) - "for white broth for boiled capons", 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) - "with collops", 1566 (Election) - "Poulterer Mason", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter) - "To the sallettes", 1567 (Election) - "From Mason", 1568 (Election) - "From Mason", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Filberts (Philberds)

1564 (Election) - "were our own growing in our own garden", 1565 (Election), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Flowers

1564 (Election) - "For the sturgeon and the ladies chamber", 1565 (Election) - "Herbs and flowers for strewing", 1569 (Election) - "for strewing with herbs", 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election) - "for strewing"

Flour

1566 (Election) - "Fine from Baker Storar, bought by Cook from other source", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Election), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "Wheat flour", 1572 (Election) - "Flour for the bakemeats", 1573 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

French Wine

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "Thomas Gardynar", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "From Robert Friar", 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Mr Colclough", 1569 (Election), 1574 (Election)

Garnets

1580 (Election)

Gascon Wine

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "Gascony wine, Mr Reynolds", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Robert Friar", 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Ffryar", 1569 (Election) - "from John Carter Draper turned Vintner", 1572 (Election) - "Rennoldes", 1574 (Election) - "Mr Rennoldes", 1575 (Election)

Geese

1564 (First Quarter) - "Roast", 1564 (Second Quarter) - "Green", 1564 (Election) - "Fat", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "Distributed to poor", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Roast, Poulterer Mason", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Mason", 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1568 (Election) - "Mason", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Green geese", 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Genetings

1570 (Election) - "brought by Mrs Calthorpe", 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election) - "Supplied by Goodwife Sturdy", 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Gelatine (Gallantyne)

1564 (First Quarter)

Ginger

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for hippocras, for jelly, beaten", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "White", 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "For hippocras, not hip", 1578 (Election)

Gooseberries

1564 (Election), 1573 (Election)

Grains

1564 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Green Fish

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Greenplovers

1566 (First Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter)

Guts

1565 (Election) - "Middling", 1567 (Election) - "from Sawyer, with blood", 1568 (Election) - "With blood for pudding from Sawyer", 1569 (Election) - "for pudding", 1570 (Election) - "long guts", 1571 (Election) - "Long blood and guts for puddings", 1572 (Election) - "Blood and guts for puddings", 1575 (Election) - "to make puddings"

Herbs

1570 (Election) - "for puddings", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Sweet herbs for puddings", 1571 (Election) - "For puddings", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election) - "for strewing"

Heronshaws

1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Hérons, heronshawes, Poulterer Mason", 1567 (Election) - "Hérons, Mason"

Hippocras (Ypocras)

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "ypocras William Ffowlar our Butler", 1566 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election)

Isenglass (Ysanglasse, Ysonglas, Isenglas)

1565 (Election), 1566 (Election), Grocer Brokbanck, 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for jelly, 17, William Smyth, isenglas for jelly"

Jelly

1565 (Election) - "Gilding of by Semper", 1566 (Election) - "Jelly dishes, gilded", 1567 (Election) - "Gilded by Bullock painter, made in house", 1568 (Election) - "Gilded by Lambe painter"

John Hartgown's Saffron

1564 (Election)

Lambs

1564 (First Quarter), 1565 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter)

Lamprets (Lampreys, Lamprons)

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter) - "roasting lamprons", 1571 (Second Quarter)

Lamprey Pies

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Lard

1564 (First Quarter) - "To draw the turkey with", 1565 (Election), 1567 (Election) - "For the red deer", 1568 (Election) - "For red deer", 1569 (Election) - "for baking the red deer", 1570 (Election) - "larding of red deer", 1571 (Election) - "From cook", 1572 (Election) - "Lard for red deer and wildfowl", 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "for larding of baked neats tongues", 1580 (Election)

Large Mace

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Long mace", 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck," 1566 (First Quarter) - "Great", 1567 (Election) - "Long, Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (First Quarter) - "long mace", 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Larks

1565 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (First Quarter), 1569 (First Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter), 1580 (Election)

Lemons

1564 (Election), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Ling

1564 (View) - "Old", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter) - "Dried", 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter) - "old"

Mace

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Beaten with cloves, Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "middle mace"

Malmsey (Malvesey)

1564 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1569 (First Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter)

Manchets

1569 (Election)

Marchpanes

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Election) - "Different sizes", 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "Greatest, second, least scantling from Balthazar Sancheshe", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Mistress Wilcockes supplied", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Mrs Wilcockes", 1567 (Election) - "Mrs Wilcockes, parchpanes Midleton, Grocer", 1567 (First Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1568 (Election) - "Balthazar, Triacle, the Cook", 1569 (Election) - "parch panes", 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election) - "Treegle, Balthazar", 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "Largest sorts, another sorts, from cook", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Long", 1572 (Election) - "From cook, parchpanes", 1573 (Election) - "Largest, other sorts", 1574 (Election) - "Large and small", 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "from cook, two inch size and eight inch size", 1580 (Election)

Marrowbones (Maryebones)

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (Election) - "Short and long", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Long and other", 1566 (Election) - "Long", 1566 (First Quarter) - "long", 1567 (Election) - "Long, from Sawyer", 1567 (First Quarter) - "Long", 1568 (Third Quarter) - "Long", 1568 (Election) - "from Sawyer", 1569 (Election) - "long", 1569 (First Quarter) - "long from cook", 1570 (Third Quarter) - "long marrowbones", 1570 (Election) - "long", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Long", 1571 (Election) - "Long", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Long", 1572 (Election) - "Long", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Meal

1566 (Election) - "From Storar, Baker, by Mr Throwgood", 1567 (Election) - "Storar, Baker, also wheaten", 1568 (Election) - "Wheat and rye meal", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election) - "rye", 1571 (Election) - "Rye", 1572 (Election) - "Wheat", 1574 (Election) - "Rye to bake the neats tongue with", 1578 (Election) - "gen and rye for baking neats tongues"

Milk

1564 (Election), 1567 (Election), 1569 (Election) - "for pudding", 1570 (Election) - "for pudding", 1571 (Election) - "Milk bought for the puddings", 1572 (Election) - "Milk for puddings"

Minced Pies

1564 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter) - "From Mr Wilcockes", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Mistress Wilcockes", 1567 (First Quarter), 1569 (First Quarter) - "from Triegle the cook", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Treegle", 1580 (Election)

Muscadell (Muskadell, Muskadyne)

1564 (First Quarter) - "for white broth", 1564 (Election) - "At Ratcliffe", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Robert Beaumond", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Lowe of the Myter", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Mustard

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "With brawn", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1575 (Election)

Mutton

1564 (Election) - "Also referred to as sheep", 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Shoulders roasted", 1567 (Election) - "Hind quarter, from Sawyer, mutton for the waiters breakfast", 1568 (Election) - "Hind quarter, whole, from Sawyer", 1569 (Election) - "for breakfast (two muttons), hindquarter, boiled", 1569 (First Quarter) - "shoulders of", 1570 (Election) - "hind quarter, whole sheep", 1571 (Election) - "Quarter of, whole of, half a sheep", 1572 (Election) - "Hind quarter, neck, leg, whole muttons for the waiters' breakfast, boiled legs", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election) - "Legs of"

Neats Tongue

1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Nutmeg

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for hippocras, for jelly", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "For hippocras, not hip", 1578 (Election)

Nuts (?)

1575 (Election)

Oats

1564 (Election) - "To feed the swans"

Oatmeal

1564 (Election) - bran, meal, 1565 (Election) - "Oatmeal, oatmeal groats for puddings for the Butlers", 1568 (Election) - "Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1575 (Election)

Olives

1565 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter)

Onions

1564 (Election) - "To make porridge for poor folks", 1565 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election)

Oranges

1564 (First Quarter) - "For the Lambs", 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter) - "The Mitre", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1574 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Oringado

1580 (Election)

Parsley

1564 (View), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter)

Partridges

1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Pasties

1566 (Election) - "Venison, red deer"

Pears

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "From Beamond", 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election) - "Normal and 'Katherine pears'", 1573 (Election) - "Supplied by Goodwife Sturdy, and Mrs Thorowgood", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Peewits

1572 (Election)

Pepper

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter) - "To bake venison, general", 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Pies

1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter) - "Chicken pies", 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Chicken pies from Mrs Wilcocks", 1568 (Third Quarter) - "Chicken", 1569 (Election) - "quince from cook", 1570 (Third Quarter) - "chicken", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Eel", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Chicken", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Quince pies from cook", 1580 (Election) - "Quince pies"

Pigeons

1564 (Election) - "Of Mr Skerne", 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Poulterer Mason", 1567 (Election), Mason, 1568 (Election) - "Mason", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Tame", 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Pikes

1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "Richard Lucas at Qwenehive", 1566 (Election) - "Pikemonger, Lucas", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Lucas", 1568 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Election) - "Lucas Pikemonger", 1569 (Election) - "in herblade", 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election) - "in herblade", 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election) - "Williams", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Pipkin

1571 (First Quarter)

Pippins

1564 (View) - "pies", 1569 (Election) - "old"

Plums

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election), 1566 (Election), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - "white, and provided by Mr Colclough", 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Porridge

1564 (Election) - "a cowl carried to the Countess with meat"

Pottage

1569 (Election) - "for servants and cooks", 1570 (Election), 1572 (Election) - "Mutton and pottage"

Prunes

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) - "Large", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "damask prunes", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566

(Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (Election) - "Damask, Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "Damask prunes, William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter) - "damask", 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Pullets

1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Pudding

1566 (Election) - "Black, white", 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - "white and black", 1570 (Election)

Quails

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "by Mr Warden Renolds, meat for the said quails", 1566 (Election) - "Poulterer Mason", 1567 (Election) - "Mason, 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - "provided by Mr Colclough", 1570 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Rabbits

1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (Election), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1569 (First Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Rabbits runners"

Radishes

1566 (Election) - "And radish roots", 1570 (Election) - "radish roots", 1572 (Election) - "Radish roots"

Raisins

1564 (Election) - "Great"

Rhenish Wine

1566 (Election) - "Robert Beaumont"

Roses

1564 (Election) - "To Mistress Lawrence"

Sec (Secke, Sacke)

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) - "Bishops Head", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Cuthbert Buckell, Robert Beaumont", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Lowe of the Myter", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Salad Oil

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election)

Salad Herbs

1566 (Second Quarter) - "Salett herbs", 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Saffron

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "William Smyth our tenant", 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Salmon

1564 (Second Quarter) - "Fresh", 1566 (Second Quarter) - "fresh", 1568 (Second Quarter) - "Fresh", 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "Fresh salmon and the chin", 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Salt

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (Election) - "White, bay", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "White for the cook and others, bay", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Salt", 1566 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter) - "white", 1569 (Second Quarter) - "white fine", 1570 (Third Quarter) - "fine white", 1570 (Election) - "white salt, bay", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Fine, fine white for the table", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "White, cart", 1571 (Election) - "White, fine, bay", 1571 (First Quarter) - "White", 1572 (Election) - "White, fine, bay", 1573 (Election) - "Fine, coarser white salt", 1575 (Election)

Sanders

1564 (First Quarter) - "For gelatine", 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election) - "Powder", 1572 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Saucing Drink

1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "saucing drink for the boar", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Saucing drink for the brawn"

Smelt

1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Smites

1580 (Election)

Sorrel

1569 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter)

Spice

1571 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Spinach

1564 (View), 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Spinedge"

Sturgeon

1564 (Election) - "Fresh supplied by Blage", 1565 (Election) - "Blage at the Castell in New Fyssshestrete", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Jolls, rands, sliced, Mr Quarles supplied, Blage supplied, gilded", 1567 (Election) - "Mr Blage", 1568 (Third Quarter) - "Skegg of", 1568 (Election) - "Thomas Chester and Mr Blagge", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "fresh", 1572 (Election) - "Mrs Cleve", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election) - "some new pickled in wine in house"

Suet

1564 (Election) - "For baked venison and otherwise", 1565 (Election) - "John Wolfstone", 1566 (Election), 1567 (Election) - "from Sawyer", 1568 (Election) - "from Sawyer", 1569 (Election) - "Suytes", 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter) - "To bake venison", 1572 (Election), 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election), 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Sugar

1564 (First Quarter) - "coarse, fine", 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter) - "Fine, coarse", 1565 (Second Quarter) - "Fine, coarse", 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "With codlings and rosewater, Grocer Brokbanck", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Fine, cast", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, middle sugar for hippocras, fine, middle, coarse", 1568 (Election) - "Middle, broken, William Smyth, loaves of sugar", 1569 (Election) - "fine, middle", 1569 (First Quarter) - "fine, middle", 1569 (Second Quarter) - "coarse, fine", 1570 (Third Quarter) - "fine, middle", 1570 (Election) - "fine one loaf", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Fine", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "Valence, other", 1571 (Election) - "Middle, fine", 1571 (First Quarter) - "Fine, middle", 1572 (Election) - "Middle, fine", 1573 (Election) - "Fine sugar, middle", 1574 (Election) - "Fine, for hippocras, middle", 1575 (Election) - "in powder for the kitchen", 1578 (Election) - "powered", 1580 (Election)

Swans

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "Distributed to poor, signets, bought of our Bull", 1566 (Election) - "Signets, Poulterer Mason, swans of Thomas Wheler", 1567 (Election) - "Mason", 1568 (Election) - "Mason", 1569 (Election) - "signets, roasted swan", 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election) - "Signets", 1572 (Election) - "Signets alive, scalded", 1573 (Election) - "Mason", 1574 (Election) - "Signets, also the meat of two swans sent by the Master", 1575 (Election) - "Mrs Heath", 1578 (Election), 1580 (Election)

(Sweet) Rose Water

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) - "from The Mitre", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "with sugar and codlings", 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck, rose water from Bass' wife", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election), 1569 (Election) - "redrose water for meat", 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter), 1570 (Election) - "red rosewater from Goodwife Base", 1571 (Third Quarter)

- "Sweet water", 1571 (First Quarter), 1573 (Election) - "Washing water, rosewater for the cook", 1574 (Election) - "Washing water and rosewater", 1575 (Election) - "rosewater and red rosewater", 1578 (Election)

Tarts

1566 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Second Quarter), 1568 (Third Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter)

Tenches

1571 (Second Quarter)

Tournesall (Tormesall, Turnesall)

1565 (Election), 1566 (Election) - "Grocer Brokbanck", 1567 (Election) - "Gabriel Colsell, Grocer, for jelly", 1568 (Election) - "William Smyth"

Turbet

1574 (Election)

Turkey Cock

1564 (First Quarter), 1565 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (First Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter), 1580 (Election)

Veal

1564 (Election), 1565 (Election) - "legs and a knuckle", 1566 (Election) - "Shoulders", 1567 (Election) - "Shoulders for jelly, from Sawyer", 1568 (Election) - "Shoulders of for jelly from Sawyer", 1569 (Election) - "shoulder of", 1570 (Election) - "breast of", 1571 (Election) - "Breast of", 1578 (Election) - "fore quarter"

Verjuice (various spellings, see below)

1564 (First Quarter) - "Vergewse, vergens", 1564 (Election), 1565 (First Quarter) - "Vertioys", 1565 (Election) - "Vertions", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Vertions", 1566 (First Quarter) - "Vertgions", 1566 (Second Quarter) - "Vergions", 1567 (Election) - "vergions", 1568 (Election) - "Vergions, Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter) - "vergys", 1569 (Second Quarter) - "vergys", 1570 (Third Quarter) - "vergys", 1570 (Election) - "verjuice", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "Vergys", 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter) - "Vergys", 1572 (Election) - "Vergions", 1573 (Election) - "Vergions", 1575 (Election) - "verges", 1580 (Election)

Venison

1565 (Election) - "Distributed to poor", 1566 (Election) - "Red deer, sliced", 1567 (Election) - "Baked", 1568 (Election), "baked at cook's home, pasty of", 1569 (Election) - "baked, pasties", 1572 (Election) - "Red deer"

Vinegar

1564 (First Quarter), 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (Election) - "Red, white", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Election) - "Red, white", 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (Second Quarter), 1567 (Election), 1568 (Election) - "Chandler Richard Nelson", 1569 (Election), 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Third Quarter) - "white", 1570 (Election) - "red, white", 1571 (Second Quarter) - "white", 1571 (Third Quarter) - "white", 1571 (Election) - "Red vinegar, white",

1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election) - "Red, white", 1573 (Election) - "Red, white", 1574 (Election) - "White", 1575 (Election), 1580 (Election)

Wafers (Green, Yellow, Red & Crimson)

1564 (View), 1564 (Election) - "Goodwife Thompson", 1565 (Election) - "James Wharton minister, white", 1566 (Election) - "Wharton's wife", 1567 (Election) - "Wharton's wife", 1568 (Election) - "Mrs Wharton", 1569 (Election), 1570 (Election), 1571 (Election) - "Wharton", 1572 (Election) - "Wharton", 1573 (Election) - "Harton's wife, Newton's wife", 1574 (Election), 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Water

1564 (Election), 1570 (Third Quarter) - "from the conduit", 1570 (Election) - "washing water"

Wax Dish

1570 (Election)

White Wine

1564 (First Quarter) - "for white broth", 1564 (Second Quarter), 1564 (View), 1564 (Election) - "For the cooks", 1565 (First Quarter), 1565 (Second Quarter), 1565 (Election), 1566 (First Quarter) - "Bishops Head", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1566 (Election) - "Robert Beaumont", 1566 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Third Quarter), 1571 (Election), 1571 (First Quarter), 1572 (Election) - "For the sturgeon, for the broths", 1573 (Election), 1574 (Election) - "White wine for the cooks", 1575 (Election), 1578 (Election)

Wine

1564 (Second Quarter) - "For the broth", 1564 (View), 1566 (Election) - "For jelly bought by Robert Beaumont, for broth", 1567 (Election) - "Red and white for jelly, hippocras and broths", 1568 (Election) - "Red wine for hippocras, white wine for jelly, white for broth, Lowe of the Myter", 1569 (Election) - "white for broths", 1569 (First Quarter), 1569 (Second Quarter), 1570 (Election) - "white for broths, red for hippocras", 1571 (Second Quarter), 1571 (Election) - "Red", 1572 (Election) - "Red for hippocras", 1574 (Election) - "Red for hippocras", 1578 (Election) - "to new pickle the sturgeon, red for hippocras", 1580 (Election) - "For the cooks"

Woodcocks

1566 (First Quarter), 1566 (First Quarter), 1567 (First Quarter), 1571 (First Quarter), 1580 (Election)

Yeast

1564 (View), 1566 (Second Quarter) - "For the pikebroth", 1569 (Election) - "for pike broth", 1571 (Second Quarter), 1572 (Election)