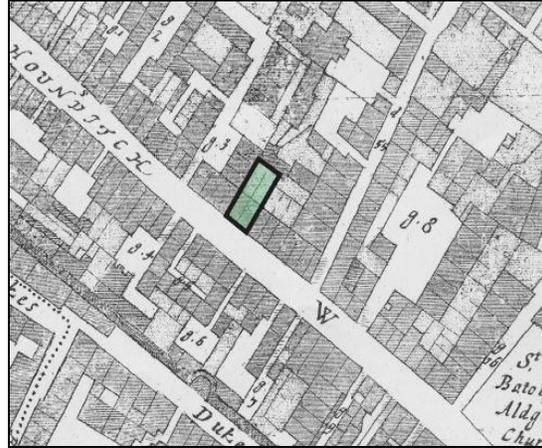


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ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

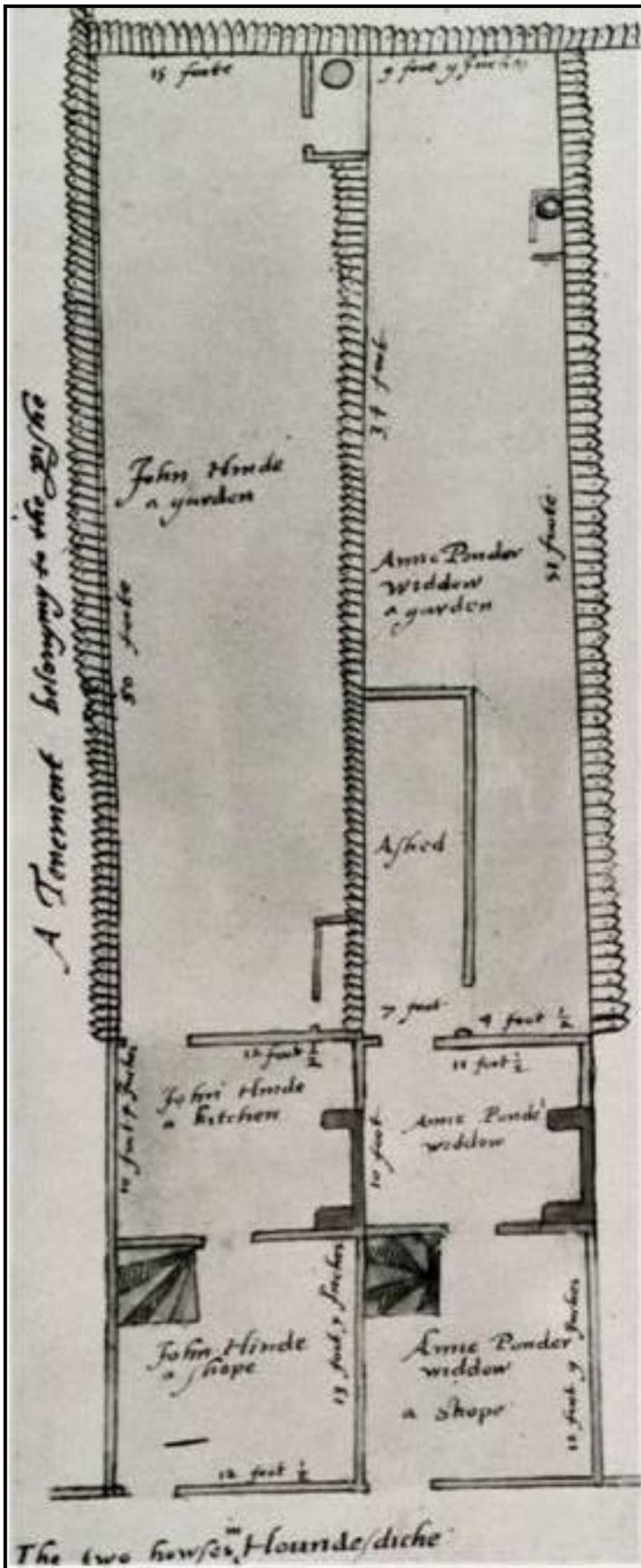
(140-141 HOUNDSDITCH, EAST SIDE):

These two tenements lay on the east side of the street of Houndsditch. The tenements ran on a south west to north east axis, and were abutted by Three Deaths Alley (aka Cock and Hoop Yard) to the north. The properties can be accurately identified on 1907 parish map, the Portsoken ward map of 1858, Horwoods map of 1799, and Ogilby and Morgan map of 1677.



i. *Dimensions and layout according to Treswell's 1607 plan*

Both were surveyed by Treswell in 1607 who records the dimensions for no.140, the most northerly of the two, as 12 ½ ft. wide on the street facing boundary, extending back a total of 73 ft. 9 in. from the street, and 15 ft. wide at the rear. No.141 was slightly narrower, with the dimensions recorded as 11 ½ ft. street frontage, extending back 73 ft. 9 in. to a 9 ft. wide rear boundary. Both tenements had identical ground floor plans, with 50 ft. and 51 ft. gardens respectively, and 2 rooms on the ground floor, a shop at the front of the property with stairs in the north corner of the room, and a kitchen behind with a large fireplace on the south eastern wall. The dimensions of the shop in no.140 were 12 ½ ft. x 13 ft. 9 in. and for the kitchen 12 ½ ft. x 10 ft. 7 in. with the rooms in the slightly smaller no.141 recorded as the shop 11 ½ ft. x 12 ft. 9 in. and the kitchen 11 ½ ft. x 10 ft. Treswell records that both had privies at the bottom of the garden along the SE fences, and no.141 had a small shed. Neither property had a cellar. Although both had two chambers on the second floor and a garret, these properties differed somewhat in the dimensions of the upper floors. The chamber next to the street at no.140 is recorded as containing a chimney, and the room measured 12 ft. x 15 ½ ft. therefore jutting approx. 2 ½ ft. into the street. The back chamber of 12 ft. x 13 ft. contained the stairs up to a garret of 12 ½ ft. x 12 ft. House no.141 registered dimension of 11 ½ ft. x 14 ½ ft. for the front chamber (therefore jutting just under 2 ft. into the street), the back chamber 11 ¼ ft. x 11 ½ ft. with stairs leading to a garret of 12 ft. x 14 ft.

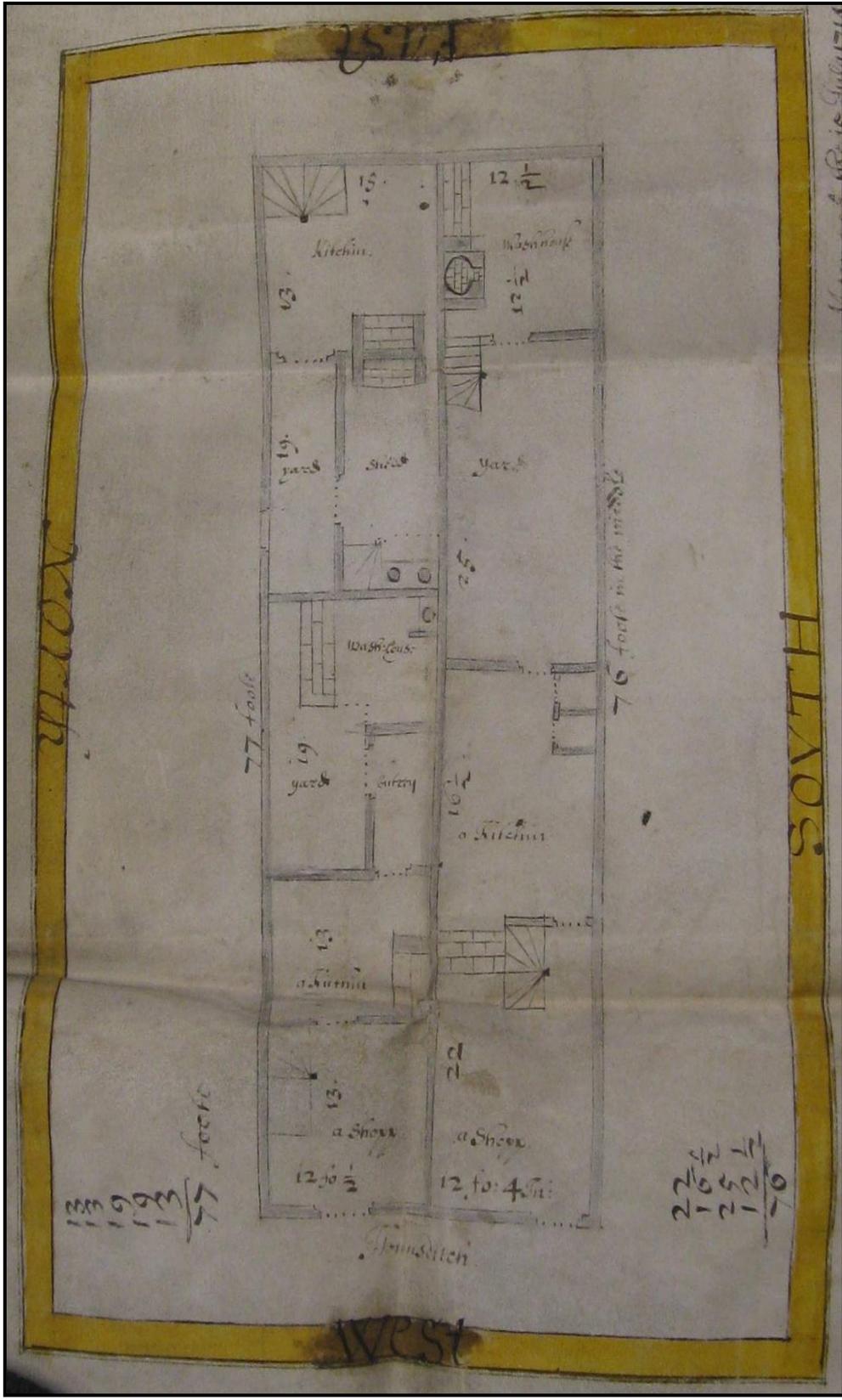


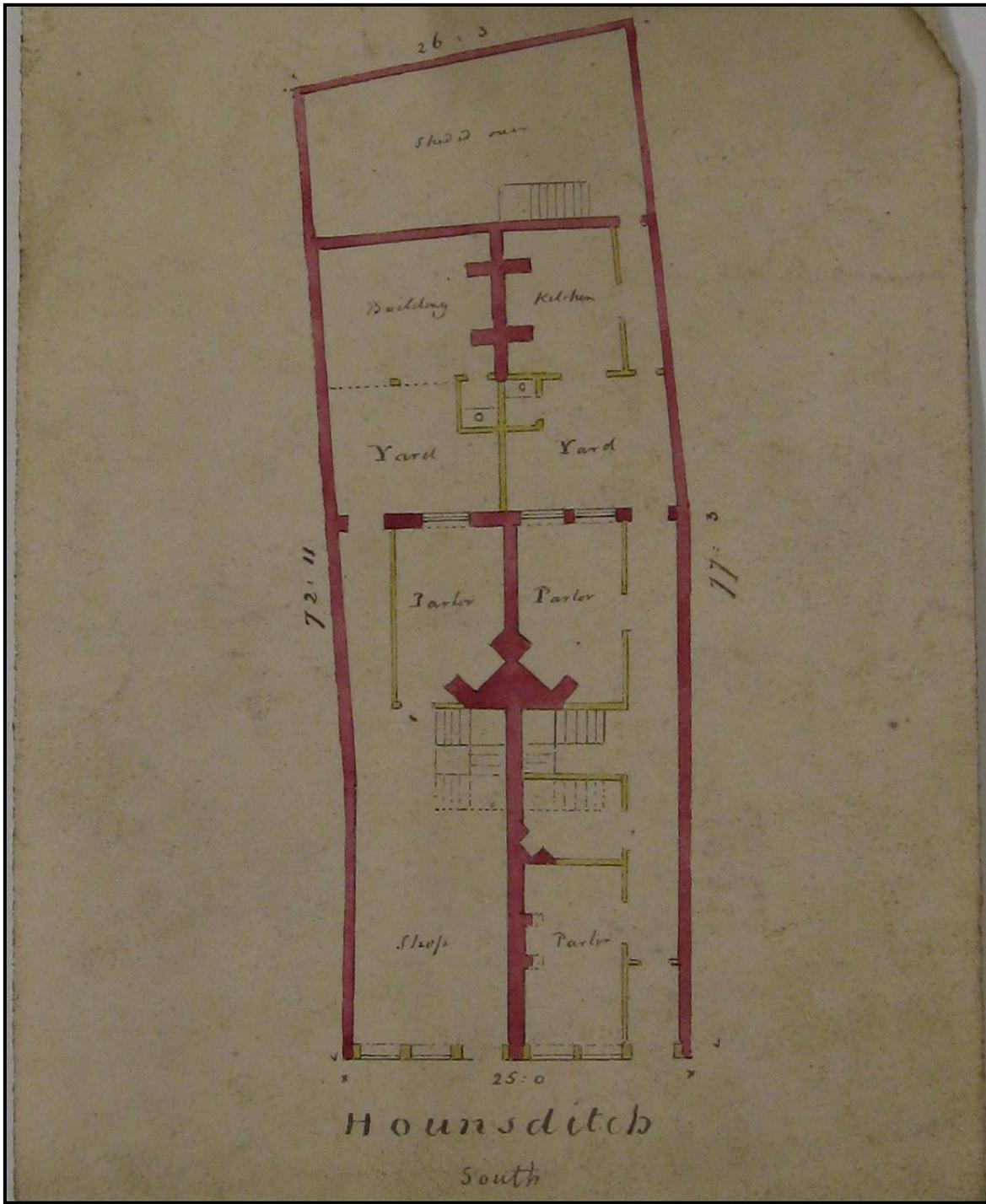
ii. *Dimensions and layout according to Christ's Hospital plan of 1667*

Sixty years after the Treswell plan it is clear that the layout of the ground floors of these properties had changed considerably, in particular the loss of the large yards to living space, and both plots were recorded as slightly longer than the Treswell plans: 77ft for no.140, and 76ft for no.141.

No.140 maintained the same layout as the 1607 plan in terms of the front two rooms, the shop and the kitchen, although the kitchen is recorded as slightly larger, 12 ½ ft x 13ft. than in 1607. However the yard space is dramatically different from 1607. The yard contained a buttery, where the shed had been situated in the 1607 plan, and a washroom with a privy located in the E corner of the yard. Access to the yard in 1607 had been directly from the kitchen via a doorway, however now the access from the kitchen to the yard was via doorways through the buttery. The most dramatic change was that the yard now extended back only 19ft to a wall, which the plans indicate had no doorway or access point to the ground behind it. The ground on the other side of this dividing wall now consisted of a yard, a shed and a kitchen. The “shed” abutted the dividing wall, and contained two privies in the S corner (presumably utilising the same cesspit as the privy located the other side of the dividing wall in the front property on the plot), a stairwell in the W corner, and a fireplace along the NE wall. This shed ran the same length of the yard, 19ft, and was approx 8-9.ft in width, reducing the yard to a rather small sliver of land. The kitchen was noted a being 15ft x 13ft, and containing a fireplace in the SW wall (same chimney stack as fireplace in shed) and stairs in the northern corner of the room. This plan could suggest that the large yard noted in the 1607 Treswell plans had, by 1667, been subdivided, and that two dwellings now occupied the plot of no.140. However, assessment lists from the 1670s do not provide any evidence for this assertion (see section vii below) and so it is also possible that the rear kitchen was for commercial purposes.

No.141 had also been substantially altered from 1607. The shop now extended back 22ft, and the stairs had been moved from the N corner of the room, and were now situated mid-way along the back wall. The Kitchen behind the shop had also been extended back by another 6 ½ ft, to 16 ½ ft., the fireplace on the SE wall had been removed, and a parlour was now situated in the eastern corner of the room. The yard was now reduced to 25ft in length, and hosted a 12 ½ ft. x 12 ½ ft. washhouse at the bottom of the plot. This washhouse seemed to contain a fireplace in the N corner of the room, an external staircase in the N corner of the yard, and an oven.





Houns ditch
South

iii. Dimensions and layout according to Christ's Hospital plan of c.1713

The plan drawn after fire destroyed the properties in 1713 (see section vii below) shows that the layout of both properties had been altered by the lessee John Markham not just in terms of the configuration of rooms but also central elements of the houses such as privies, hearths and stairwells had been re-sited. This last point is interesting as the position of the large central hearths, the stairwells and the privies was mirrored in each property, indicating a degree of standardisation both in design and construction, standardisation that was becoming increasingly evident in housing in this the period.

The northern property, no.140, had been rather streamlined in terms of its layout, with a large shop space at the front containing a stairwell, a parlour behind that, a yard in which was located a privy and a further undesignated building. The property had no access to a shed at the rear, and no kitchen is recorded. Yet whereas no.140 seemed to have been designed specifically as a shop, no.141 was clearly envisaged as a dwelling. A hall and parlour were located at the very front of the dwelling, with a further parlour behind these. A yard, privy, kitchen and shed were located in the rear half of the property. An additional storey of bedchambers had been added to the properties in the rebuilding of the 1670s (see section vii below) and it is likely that Markham adhered to this design in his rebuilding, although this cannot be confirmed.

iv. Descent of the freehold in the sixteenth century

The first recorded holders of the freehold were Thomas Browne and Robert Wilson. In March of 1563 they conferred the freehold of these 'two messuages, with two gardens' and the related 'shops, cellars, solars, chambers and easements' to John Arnolde, a joyner, and his wife Joan (nee Awsten), who it appears had been married a few years previously in September 1561.¹ The Arnolde's occupied one of the properties, with the other in the occupation of Henry Beck, a brewer.² Just a year later, Arnolde sold the freehold to John Warreyn, a tallowchandler, possibly for the sum of one year's rental value, 13s 4d.³ It is probable that Beck continued as the occupier of one the tenements, as a bond of Arnolde to Warren notes that the 21 year lease Beck signed with Arnolde in 1563 (at a rental charge of 13s 4d) was to remain. The bond, for the value of £40, notes that if Arnolde 'within five years at the request and charge of Warren . . . does as required further to assure the premises then the bond to be void.' It is possible that this was an agreement for Arnolde to renovate or repair his property within five years, suggesting that Arnolde may still have been resident in one of the tenements. Sometime around 1576 Warren's son George, a leatherseller, married a London spinster by the name of Margaret Ashton, and John Warren granted the freehold of the two houses to his newlywed son.⁴ At the expiration of the lease on the southern property in 1583⁵ Warren leased the house to its then current occupant, Lawrence Ponder, an ironmonger and the church sexton,⁶ for a 21 year term at 53s 4d rent p.a. This figure comprised a very substantial increase on the

13s 4d rental charge of the previous lease. No fine was charged. This rental charge is interesting when compared against Ponder's salary as a Sexton which stood at 40s pa.⁷ The church warden's accounts illustrate that he did earn additional monies for odd-jobs around the parish, and his wife was paid 6s 8d pa for a once yearly wash of the church linen, but even so on the basis of their wages alone they must have struggled to ensure their rent was paid.⁸

The lease contained standard covenants – that the tenant was to repair the property within six months and was responsible for its continued physical upkeep and repair, and that the freeholder was able to enter and view the property – but also noted that Warren was to provide new 'principle timbers' for the property within 2 months of a request by Ponder, suggesting that important elements of the structure may have been in a state of disrepair. The lease notes that a gardener by the name of William Stockdon resided in the other house to the north, and a widow named Dedman in the property to the east. Interestingly it also notes that the garden was 'now paled in from the other gardens of Warren' indicating that Warren owned further land behind the property, but also, this could be illustrative of an increasing need to establish more permanent demarcations of things such as garden plots in the face of the growing urbanisation of the area.⁹

By October 1586 Warren, by now a widower as Margaret was deceased, decided to sell the freehold to John Wriothlesley, a haberdasher, for the sum of £110. The covenants of the indenture note the existence of Ponder's lease, but no mention is made of a lease for Stockdon, meaning that Stockdon was almost certainly a tenant-at-will.¹⁰ Warren entered into a bond for £200 to ensure he kept to the covenants in the sale. Wriothlesley only held the title for less than a year and a half, as he sold the property to Thomas Lawrence, a goldsmith, in February of 1588, and it was Wriothlesley this time who was entered in to a £200 bond to observe the covenants. Lawrence donated the title of the properties to Christ's Hospital in 1593, although no deeds or documentation relating to this transferral appears to have survived.

v. no.140: 1593 – 1672

Once in the possession of Christ's the property was leased from 1593-1599 to George Mason at £4 p.a. rental. In 1599 the occupation of the tenement was transferred to John Hinde/Hynde, a Merchant Taylor, although there is no record of any lease being signed for the property. In May 1607 a view of the house was ordered by Christ's, and in November Hinde is recorded as the suitor for a new lease for 21 years from Christmas 1607 at £4 p.a. with a £25 fine of which he had already paid £5 and paid £5 quarterly for the remainder of the year.¹¹ In August 1612 a neighbourly dispute erupted, as the wife of Hinde, whose name is not mentioned, made a complaint against the tenant of the adjoining property (no.141), Isaac Simmes, for pulling down a shed belonging to Hinde and encroaching by a bricks length into the garden of no.140. Ralph Treswell was ordered by Christ's to view the offending encroachment and resolve the dispute. It was agreed that a line would be established on the outside of the new work, within Hinde's ground, and that the digging of a party gutter to demarcate this boundary, along with work on re-tiling of Hinde's damaged shed, would be charged to Simmes.¹² The account books record that Hinde paid the rental charge until 1612¹³, but no rental payments are

record between 1612 and January 1614 when John Price is assigned the lease at a charge of £4 p.a. A similar hiatus in rental payments is recorded for no.141, although whether this was perhaps due to an amendment in accounting or lease procedures, or the property laying empty for some reason is unclear. There is no documentation to indicate that Price was charged a fine or signed any form of lease, and it is possible that he occupied the property as a tenant-at-will. Price remains the lessee until 1623 when he pays 10s to alienate the lease to a Yeoman by the name of Matthew Sharpe.¹⁴ However, there is no record of Sharpe paying any rental or a fine, and it seems that the lease is taken up instead by another Merchant Taylor, Richard Bell¹⁵. In May 1626, with 2 ½ years remaining on the lease, Bell renews the lease but the Minute book records that the property was 'much out of repair' and that Bell had 'been at some cost repairing the house'. Therefore in acknowledgment of the monies he had spent on repairs in June 1626 Christ's granted a 21 year lease (in addition to the 2 years lease remaining) at £4.p.a. but with a much reduced fine of £13.6.8. payable £6.13.4 that year and £3.6.8 in a yearly payment for next two years.¹⁶ The terms of the lease noted that the tenant was obliged to ensure the repair of the property, he was unable to convert the property into sub-dwellings or to 'take in inmates' (presumably referring to both lodgers and subtenants?), and would be required to pay a £10 in the event of wishing to alienate the lease.¹⁷ The exact identity of the lessee becomes somewhat confused toward the end of this lease term in the latter 1640s. In June 1646 the Christ's Hospital view book gives the annual rental value of the property as £9p.a. but it also notes that the lease is in the possession of a Mr Joseph Bell (possibly a son of Richard?).¹⁸ However, a few days later the CH minute books record that Richard Bell was still the tenant, and it was Richard petitioning for a new lease on the property, offering £5p.a. and £20 as a fine, which he claimed were the sums 'his father gave' when the lease was signed in 1626. This last piece of evidence suggests the possibility that the Richard Bell of 1646 may have been a son of the previous Richard Bell, but without further information this is difficult to establish. Whatever the case the Christ's Hospital court refused his offer, illustrating the preference of institutional landlords for higher fines over higher rents.¹⁹ Undaunted, Richard Bell returns to the court in November 1646 with an improved offer of £10 rent and £20 fine, but the court were clearly determined to extract a higher fine and demand a £30 fine, which Bell rejected. Bell was evidently eager to remain the lessee, as a year later in Sept 1647 he tried one more forlorn attempt to convince the court to accept his £10r/£20f for the lease, but to no avail. Instead in June 1648 the court agreed to grant the lease to the previously mentioned Joseph Bell, by now noted as another Merchant Taylor,²⁰ on a standard 21 years repair lease (commencing from Christmas 1649) £4r/£25f with £10 of the fine payable immediately, and £5 instalments every 6 months thereafter. In common with most leases of this period the agreement also called for Bell to donate 2 shillings to the poor box. Interestingly there is a covenant inserted into the lease for Bell to add 'a story and a half' on top of the front part of the house, although, and unusually for such a covenant, it does not stipulate the time period within which the work needed to be completed.²¹ As with most repair leases, the agreements note that the lessee was required to see to the repair of the property, that no inmates were allowed, and that the lessee would be subject to a £5 charge if he were to alienate the lease without licence (i.e. agreement by Christ's Hospital) and the payment of a 10s fee.²² The Christ's Hospital account books record that Richard Bell made the initial £10 payment for the fine, and that

the 3 subsequent £5 payments were made by Joseph Bell.²³ The Christ's Hospital account books record that Joseph Bell continued to pay the rental until his death in late 1661,²⁴ and thereafter the rental is paid by his widow Elizabeth Bell.²⁵ It appears that Elizabeth Bell may have slipped behind with the rental payments, as the accounts books suggest she owed a year's back rent of £4 by 1665-6.²⁶ Elizabeth either remarried or reverted back to her maiden name sometime in 1665-7 as she is listed as Elizabeth Foster in a Christ's Hospital view book entry of Feb 1666. The viewing indicates that the composition of the property remained the same as the Treswell plan of 1607, with a shop, a back room, 2 chambers, a garret, and a yard, with the exception being that this viewing notes that the property possessed 'a little buttery'.²⁷, and valued the property at £8p.a. However as noted about the plan of the building drawn in 1667 indicates that the ground floor layout of the property had changed markedly since 1607. In March 1666 the Christ's Hospital minute books record that Foster had submitted a note to the court stating that she had passed her interest in the property to a John Palmer the lessee of the neighbouring property no.141. The existing lease ran until 1670, and Palmer was clearly keen to renew. Palmer claimed to the court that the tenement was 'a small thing' but out of repair, and that if he were granted a new lease he would spend a considerable amount on repair. Palmer offered a fine of £10, with presumably a rental of £4p.a, and the court countered with an offer of £30 fine for a 21 year lease at £4p.a. to which Palmer agreed. Later that month the minute books record that one of the two tenements was in a very poor state of repair, and that, in order to mitigate the high cost of repair, Palmer desired a longer lease than 21 years. The court rejected this proposal but agreed that the two leases for no's.140 & 141 would be merged into a single lease, and commence and expire at the same time from Michaelmass 1671.²⁸

vi. no.141: 1587 – 1672.

Some interesting biographical information on the residents of no.141 in this period does survive. Lawrence Ponder is recorded as having died prior to his own son Thomas' appointment as sexton in December 1587-8, yet interestingly his actual burial is recorded as occurring on the 17th July 1588. Next to this entry in the PCMs is inscribed a small symbol of a bell, presumably to indicate that Ponder in his status as a citizen of London, church official and 'howshowlder' of the parish was granted the honour of having the parish bell rung at his funeral.²⁹ Unfortunately for him, Lawrence died shortly before his grandson Daniel was born to Thomas (also an ironmonger) and his wife, who lived in Three Kings Alley in the Minories.³⁰

Once the freehold had passed into the ownership of Christ's Hospital in 1593 the tenant is recorded as Anne Ponder, the widow of Lawrence who paid an annual rent of £2.13.4³¹, rent that Ann may have met through the income from lodgers. An entry in the PCM's from 1591 notes that a 'Gamaliell Willan the sonne of William Willian an alebrewer' was christened in October of that year. William's wife had 'browght a bedd in the howse of the widowe Ponder dwelling in Hownsdich', suggesting that it was in Ponders house that the child may have been born. Interestingly the entry also notes that Gamaliell was 'no parishioners chyld'. Whether this was indeed Anne Ponder's is impossible to confirm categorically.³²

The widow Ponder, noted variously as Agnis Ponder, 'goodwyfe Ponder', and 'owlde mother Ponder' in the church warden accounts, also earned small sums from the parish after Lawrence's death for jobs such as mending old carpets, and continuing to wash the church linen.³³ Such income must have been important elements in ensuring her maintenance.

It is also possible that the Ponder clan were spread throughout the parish. Another Lawrence Ponder (perhaps another son) is recorded as marrying Elizabeth Haman in June of 1594³⁴, however most interesting is the story of George Ponder, an ironmonger, 'being by his trade a graver', and dwelling with his wife Ann (nee Ferris) in Eastsmithfield.³⁵ The couple had lost a stillborn infant daughter in September 1594, and also lost a four day old son almost exactly a year later in September 1595.³⁶ However, the PCM's record that the son was 'borne in the howse of Ann Ponder a widow dwelling in hownsich'. It is therefore plausible that George's wife Ann was living with her mother-in-law Ann in the property during the later part of her pregnancy.³⁷ It also appears that George Ponder and his family took up permanent residence in Houndsditch as they are recorded as living there when his son Jonathan is christened on 7th December 1596, and both himself and his wife received communion at the church on 13th March 1596-7.³⁸ Again, whether he and his family were residing in no.141 Houndsditch is impossible to confirm, but it is certainly very feasible. George also kept child 'servants', presumably related to his trade. Their names were given as Richard Pope, John Crockson and Edward Pope.³⁹

The Ponder's story ends on something of a sad note, particularly for George's wife Ann. She gave birth to another daughter, Anna, in August 1599, however her joy was to be short lived. A few months later George himself was being buried in the parish, and a matter of weeks after that, Ann was attending the burial of the three month Anna.⁴⁰

As Treswell's plan indicates, a widow, Ann Ponder, is still resident in 1607, although whether this is Lawrence Ponder's widow or George Ponder's widow is impossible to tell. We do know that Anne died and was buried in January 1611-12, and had been a Dow pensioner since 1605 until her death.⁴¹

In 1612, and presumably due to Ponder's death, the tenancy passed to Isaac Simmes, a goldsmith, at a charge of £4p.a rent. The account books record that Simmes paid a £15 fine for the lease, although they also note that this was only a part payment, suggesting that the fine was probably set at the same £25 level as was no.140. It appears that Simmes neglected to pay the outstanding amount owed on the fine. Simmes was also probably the Isaac Syms who held the office of the Houndsditch precinct scavenger in 1606 and 1614, parish collector in 1618 and constable in 1619.⁴² It is also likely that he was the same Isaake Symmes who had married Emme Howe in March 1603.⁴³ Simmes may well at some points have been housing his sisters Mary and Jane. Mary Spilman (nee Symmes) wife of Thomas Spilman was noted as sister to Isaac when she was buried in September 1611, and she was recorded as living in Houndsditch.⁴⁴ Similarly, upon the burial in the early 1620s of Jane Roberts, wife to Henrie Roberts, a clockmaker, the PCMs record that she was being 'mayntayned by her brother Isaack Symmes . . . dwelling in Houndsditch.' She was buried in the south church yard by her mother's grave.⁴⁵ She was soon joined by Isaac himself, and his wife Emme who were buried on the 18th November, and 24th November 1622 respectively. Isaac's passing was marked with a knell from the great bell of the church.⁴⁶

The account books record the subsequent lessee as Francis Norfolk, and there is no record that he ever paid a fine.⁴⁷ There appear to have been at least two men by the name of Francis Norfolk(e) resident in Houndsditch at the time and it is not clear which one is the individual related to this property. It is possible that one Norfolk was a bricklayer by trade, as a bricklayer by the name of Francis Norfolk is recorded as working on the parish church at regular points between 1595 and 1620.⁴⁸ This Francis Norfolk died in 1650, donating £10 to the parish for the 'reliefe of the poor', in his will.⁴⁹ A second Francis Norfolk held various parish offices, beginning as a sideman in 1610 and including questman, churchwarden, and constable.⁵⁰ He seemed to have been an important member of the vestry by the 1630s, acting as a feoffee for parish lands, sitting as a member of small committees responsible for surveying parish lands and overseeing repair works to them and the church, and becoming a member of the wardmote.⁵¹ He apparently died in 1655 and was by this point a Beadle of the Ward.⁵²

Norfolk is recorded as slipping £1 into arrears in 1638-9.⁵³ A viewing of the property in 1646 records that it was worth £13.6.8 and that there existed a cellar to the 'forepart and the back part' of the house, which had clearly been added since the 1607 Treswell plan. The viewing also records that the property was in a poor state, with 'walling, playting, glasing and tiling' in need of repair and the guttering so faulty that rainwater was able to enter the property on both external walls, and that Norfolk reassured the court that he would rectify these problems.⁵⁴

In June 1646, with the lease due to expire at Michaelmas 1650, Robert Pierce a Merchant Taylor, offered Christ's Hospital a £30 fine for the lease. In the documentation relating to this offer Peirce is recorded as the sub-tenant of Norfolk. Surprisingly perhaps, the court declined. Pierce asked the court to reconsider, and the court, noting that he had been a 'long dweller' in the property, offered him terms of 21 years, £4p.a. and an inordinately large £60 fine, to be paid £20 upon sealing the lease, and two £20 annual instalments thereafter.⁵⁵ The court also ordered that Norfolk be informed of the repairs needed to bring the house up to a suitable standard before the cessation of his lease in 1650.⁵⁶

For how long the property had been subleased by Norfolk is not clear, indeed we have no direct confirmation that Norfolk was at any point resident in the house. He was certainly noted in the account books as the rental payee from the beginning to the end of the lease term, and it seems likely that he was the occupant for at least the early part of the lease. A schedule attached to the lease in Aug 1647 gives a detailed description of the layout and fixtures and fittings of the property. The shop is described as having a door with a lock and key, bolt and knocker, and 2 under and 2 upper shutting windows. The Kitchen contained a door with bolt and latch, 7 glass lights, 2 iron casements with a 'fair glass window' and wainscot boards all along the window. The House of Office (toilet) was located in the yard with a door without a lock or key, and this adjoined the washhouse which contained a chimney and a door lock with no key. On the upper floors the bedchamber next to the street contained a window with 10 glass lights, 3 of which were non casements, a cupboard with several doors underneath the window, with the door to the chamber possessing a spring lock without a key. The chamber above it on the third floor was identically equipped. The second storey chamber next to the yard possessed a framed window with 6 glass lights with one wooden casement, a door with lock and key, and a chimney, with the garret above this chamber containing an 'oyld

paper' window with laths and a door with lock and key.⁵⁷ Once the lease was endorsed in August 1649, Pierce was granted a license (for a 10s charge) to assign the lease to Henry Richardson, a haberdasher, and his wife Ann.⁵⁸ Richardson is recorded as the rental payer from 1651 to 1653-4, with the lease to expire in 1673, suggesting that there had been some increase from, the 21 year term of the lease endorsed in 1650.⁵⁹ From 1654 onwards the account books suggest that there was a rapid turnover of sub-lessees in the property, with William Richardson 1655 to 1656-7; Ann Richardson, 1657-8; William Taylor, 1658-9 to 1663-4; and finally Taylor's widow Margaret, 1664-5 to 1666-7,⁶⁰ but a viewing in February 1666 still noted Peirce as the lessee.⁶¹ The viewing also noted that the property now possessed a cellar, and valued the property at £18p.a. with a rent of £4, and a purchase price of £14.⁶² In March 1666 John Palmer, described as the son-in-law of Taylor, and now the actual tenant of the house, sought to renew the lease. He claimed that his mother-in-law had invested 'a great deal' in renovations to the house, and on that basis offered a £50 fine and £4p.a. rent for a 21 year lease beginning in Michaelmas 1671. The court requested a £100 fine, to which Palmer agreed and also gave the undertaking that he would spend money on re-building the property, although no actual sum is stated and it is not clear if this was a specific covenant in the lease. However, what is clear is that the property had deteriorated somewhat since the early 17th century, perhaps as a result of the fairly routine turnover of occupants.

vii. 1672 – 1714. *Single lease*

No.140

Despite Palmer's assurances that he would see to the repair of the properties it is evident that he failed to fulfil his obligations. By 8th July 1672 one of the tenants, possibly no.140, may have been occupied by Anne Palmer who was most likely either the wife/widow or daughter of the lessee John Palmer, although the 1671 subsidy list records no occupant, and the 18 months tax list records no.140 as empty.⁶³ The building was clearly in an appalling state as a viewing committee reported to the court that it was on the verge of collapse and 'whatever would be lent out in repairs would be all be lost since the house is so ruinous'. They concluded that total rebuilding would be required. The court was to allow a Mrs Gardner to present to them a written statement on behalf of Palmer stating how much she was prepared to spend on this rebuilding.⁶⁴ The viewing also reconfirmed that the properties had been let for 21y from Michaelmas 1671 to expire Michaelmas 1692 at a combined figure of £8p.a. and a £130 fine. Clearly Palmer was unable to obtain sufficient funds to pay for rebuilding, as in January 1672/3 John Holmes, a joiner, was let the property, on the proviso that he rebuild the house, for 19 years at £9pa rent. Interestingly, it is likely that this agreement was actually a rather unusual and perhaps a bespoke sublet arrangement authorised by Christ's in order to ensure that rebuilding took place. Holmes did not sign a lease with Christ's itself but rather an indenture between himself and Palmer, Thomas Gardner, Daniel, Margaret and William Taylor. Thomas was presumably some form of relative to Palmer (perhaps son-in-law) and the Taylors may have retained quit rent interests in the property.

The property apparently remained empty until 1673 when John Tilley takes up residence.⁶⁵ He remained the occupier probably until 1678, when the parish registers

record that John Tillie, a joyner, living in Houndsditch died.⁶⁶ The Hearth tax assessments of 1674-5 record only two hearths in the property.⁶⁷ The 1678 poll tax records that Tilley household consisted of himself, his wife, one child and two apprentices, and he was taxed 5s.⁶⁸ The property is apparently briefly occupied by a Chaney Coul before John Markham, a cane chair maker, begins a long residency there with his wife sometime between 1680 and 1689.⁶⁹ They were almost certainly living there by the time their son William was baptised in 1687.⁷⁰ This is the only mention of William in the records, and it is possible that he had died by the time his sister Sarah was baptised in 1688 - although the parish registers do not record the burial of any William Markham.⁷¹ Interestingly, the 1689 poll tax assessments record that only an apprentice (also described as a 'servant') lived with the Markhams - the assessments specifically record that no children were resident.⁷²

Another viewing of the properties on 20th January 1689-90 indicates that at some point Palmer had assigned her lease, which was due to expire in 1692, to a John Gardener. The descriptions given in these viewings, alongside the related plans, indicate that rebuilding of the properties had indeed occurred and that substantial alterations had been made, including the addition of another floor. Markham's dwelling contained a cellar, and a shop and kitchen on the lower floor. The second and newly added third floor consisted of two chambers each, with two garrets over them. The yard was next to the kitchen, and contained a shed or workhouse. The viewing valued the properties at a combined £50: £8 rent and £42 to purchase.⁷³

John Gardener was indeed granted the new lease in 1692 for a term of 21 years, at £8pa with a £130 fine. Interestingly it appears that the indenture signed in 1690 between Gardener and Christ's required Gardener to spend £50 on repairs to the houses, before Christ's would consent to grant the lease.⁷⁴

By 1692 the Markham household had expanded substantially, and now consisted of himself and his wife, two children and three servants: Henry Brayne, Stephen Oakes, and Martha Markham.⁷⁵ The two children were Sarah and Lawrence, who had been baptised in 1690.⁷⁶ The Markhams had lost a further child, Rebeccah, almost certainly Lawrence's twin, who was both baptised and buried within the month of April 1690.⁷⁷ John Markham was paying 9s in the 1693 land tax, and 9s in 1693 4s in the £ tax. Interestingly, the 4s in the pound assessment of 1694 records that he was assessed for 1s 6d worth of stock.⁷⁸ Rather confusingly, the 1694 poll tax records that eight people were dwelling in the house - Markham, his wife, his three children and three individuals by the names of John Sadler, Steven Oakes and Elizabeth Markbee - although the assessment also records that Markham had no apprentices, servants or kin living with him. It is possible that these three individuals were lodgers, but given that Steven Oakes was noted as a servant in the 1692 poll tax it is more likely that they are servants/apprentices and the 1694 poll tax is simply erroneous.⁷⁹ The three children were Sarah, Lawrence, and the recently born who was baptised in March 1694.⁸⁰

The Markham household continued to expand. The 1695 Marriage Duty Assessment has ten individuals occupying the premises - Markham, his wife Sarah, four children: Lawrence, Sarah, Elizabeth and Theodor, and four other individuals: Stephen Oker (probably Steven Oakes) John Sadler, John Wattleton and Elizabeth Gold.⁸¹ Again there is no record of the baptism of a Theodor Markham. There is however the baptism of George, another son of John and Sarah, in July 1696 and the most likely explanation is

that Theodor and George were one-and-the-same person.⁸² Earlier that same year the Markhams lost their young daughter Sarah.⁸³

Despite Markham's personal losses his business clearly continued to prosper as he still employed four apprentices (unnamed) plus a servant, Anne Richason, in 1698. It does appear that Markham (by this time noted as a Joyner) and his wife had had no further offspring, with only three children (presumably Lawrence, Elizabeth and George) recorded as occupants of the house in the 1698 Poll Tax.⁸⁴ Both the 1703 and 1713 Land Tax assessments continue to record Markham as the occupier, although no further information on the rest of the household is given.⁸⁵

No.141

In July 1672 a similar agreement to that forged between Holmes and Palmer et al in January 1672/3 for no.140 had been created for a Sir Edward Herr in relation to no.141. As with Holmes, Herr signed an indenture with Palmer, Gardner and the Taylors, rather than a lease directly with Christs. The agreement was for 21 years but at a seemingly excessive rental rate of £18 pa (compared with the £9pa rental on no.140).⁸⁶

According to the 1671 subsidy no.141 was occupied by an Eliza Warrin⁸⁷ however by the time of the 1673 land taxes James Goodale, a drum-maker, has begun his long occupancy of the property.⁸⁸ The dwelling contained five hearths in 1675.⁸⁹ Similarly the property had five occupants: Goodale, his wife, two children, and a maid servant paid £2 wages (presumably per annum).⁹⁰ One of the children may have been Elizabeth who had been baptised in August 1671.⁹¹ An assessment list of 1680 indicates that five people still occupied the property that year, however by 1689 only Goodale, his wife and a single child were present, and by 1690 just Mr and Mrs Goodale.⁹²

As with no.140, by 1689-90 the lessee Anne Palmer had assigned her lease to John Gardener who had rebuilt the properties. As in no.140, no.141 contained a cellar, and a shop and kitchen on the lower floor. The second and newly added third floor consisted of two chambers each, with two garrets over them. The yard was next to the kitchen, and contained a shed or workhouse. Goodale's property required some repair according to the viewing, with the paving in the yard, plastering on the brickwork of the house and the ceiling of a chamber, tiling, and glass windows of the entire dwelling all in need of attention. In the process of cataloguing these repairs, such a viewing offers an interesting insight into the materials used in the construction of these properties. As noted above, Gardener was indeed granted the new lease for both 140 and 141 in 1692 for a term of 21 years, at £8pa with a £130 fine.

By 1692 the Goodale household was back up to three members, as the Poll tax of that year records that a child was again resident at the property, with the later Marriage Duty Assessment of 1695 revealing that James and his wife Frances had a daughter by the names of Elizabeth, presumably the same Elizabeth who had been born in 1671.⁹³ Interestingly, the Poll tax of 1698 records that Goodale, now listed as a joyner, and his wife were again childless, perhaps after their daughter Elizabeth had flown the nest.⁹⁴ It is likely that James died a few years later in June 1700.⁹⁵ Upon the death of Goodale, the occupancy probably passed to a Richard Nichols, who was listed in the 1703 land taxes.⁹⁶

It was John Markham himself who obtained the lease for the properties 1713 when John Gardener's 21 year term expired. Interestingly, although the lease stipulated the same £8pa rental and 21 year term as the previous lease, the fine was reduced to £100. No explanation is given for this reduction in the fine (such as money Markham had spent on repairs) so the assumption must be that the value of the lease had simply declined since the 1690s. The lease contained the usual covenants - the obligation on the lessee to maintain the property, the right of entry for Christ's, no inmates allowed, and the need for Markham to obtain permission to sublet the property. Unfortunately for Markham he would return to the court for another lease just a year later in 1714 after both dwellings had been gutted due to a fire. Markham had rapidly rebuilt the houses with his own money, and in view of this the court accepted the surrender of his previous lease and granted him a new one (£8pa and no fine) but this time for a 51 year term. The plan included with the lease suggests that some significant alterations had taken place to the ground floor since the viewing of 1689, as the 1713 plan makes no reference to a kitchen in no.140, and no.141 clearly no longer possesses a shop area. Indeed it looks likely that no.140 was now specifically envisaged as a shop, with perhaps the dwellings in the floors above, and no.141 was purposely constructed as a dwelling only.

The records relating to the property continue to extend well into the 19th century, and by 1808 no.141 had been converted into the Kings Arms pub.

NOTES

¹ Parish Registers (hereafter PR) Ev ID 311805, 28 Sept.1561.

² HPL 184m. 17. 18 Jan 1563. GL Ms 13442, 10 March 1563.

³ GL Ms 13442, 17 April 1564.

⁴ GL Ms 13442, 2 July 1576.

⁵ Possibly Becks lease signed in 1563?

⁶ Parish Clerks Memoranda (hereafter PCM) 16 Feb 1583, fol.23

⁷ GL Ms 9235_3980. Church Wardens accounts 1583-4, fol.174.

⁸ GL Ms 9235_3983 Church Wardens accounts 1583-4 fol.176.

⁹ GL Ms 13442, 24 Jan 1583.

¹⁰ The parish registers record that a gardener by the name of William Stockden living in Houndsditch died in April 1608. PR, Ev ID 103773, 27 April 1608.

¹¹ GL MS 12805, GL MS 12806/3, GL MS 12819/3.

¹² GL MS 12806/3.

¹³ GL MS 12819/2 & 12819/3 (Christ's Hospital accounts); GL MS 12805 (Christ's hospital register) It appears that Hinde died in April 1626, by which time he was recorded as one of the Merchant Taylors almsmen. PR, Ev ID 210238, 23 April 1626.

¹⁴ GL MS 12819/3.

¹⁵ GL MS 12819/3 & 12819/4 (Christ's Hospital accounts)

¹⁶ GL MS 12806/3. GL MS 12819/5.

¹⁷ GL MS 13443.

¹⁸ GL MS 12834/1.

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- ¹⁹ GL MS 12806/4.
²⁰ GL MS 13443.
²¹ GL MS 12806/4.
²² GL MS 13443.
²³ GL MS 12819/6/7.
²⁴ PR, Ev ID 410508, 29 August 1661. Interestingly the address is given as the neighbouring Cock Court.
²⁵ GL MS 12819/7 – 9 (Christ’s Hospital accounts)
²⁶ GL MS 12819/9.
²⁷ GL MS 13444.
²⁸ GL MS 12806/6.
²⁹ PCM, 15 Dec 1587-8, fol.3. PCM, 17 July 1588, fol.95.
³⁰ PCM, 8th Feb 1589, fol.26,
³¹ GL MS 12818/2-3.
³² PCM, 24th Oct 1591, fol.124
³³ GL Ms 9235, fol.57; GL Ms 9235, fol.72; GL Ms 9235, fol.130; GL Ms 9235, fol.56.
³⁴ PCM, 23rd June 1594, fol.183.
³⁵ PCM, 2nd Dec 1593, fol.86.
³⁶ PCM, 28th Sept 1594, fol.227.
³⁷ PCM, 9th Sept 1595, fol.116
³⁸ PCM, 7th Dec 1596, fol.74; 13th Mar 1596-7, fol.120.
³⁹ PCM, 11th Sept 1597, fol.303; 5th Feb 1597-8, fol.60.
⁴⁰ PCM, 19th Aug 1599, fol.132; 6th Oct 1599, fol.156; 11th Nov 1599, fol.178.
⁴¹ GL Ms 9235, fol.214. GL Ms 2632, 023,025,027,029,031,033,035. PR Ev ID 202918 21 January 1611.
⁴² BOD MS Rawl D796B, fol.100, fol.101, fol.3.
⁴³ PR Ev ID 315133, 13 March 1603.
⁴⁴ GLMs 9235. Church Wardens accounts, 12th Sept 1611, fol.212. PR Ev ID 202799 12 Sept 1611.
⁴⁵ PCM, 30th June 1622, fol.163.
⁴⁶ PCM, 18th Nov 1622, fol.177; 24th Nov 1622. PR Ev ID 206656, 18 Nov1622 and Ev ID 206669, 24 Nov 1622.
⁴⁷ GL Ms 12819/3-4.
⁴⁸ GLMs, 9235, fol.79, fol.301.
⁴⁹ BOD MS RAWL D796B, f.112.
⁵⁰ BOD MS RAWL D796B, 1610, f.100, and PCM, 12th April 1615, f.216 (Sideman); BOD MS RAWL D796B f.101, 1618 (constable); f.66, 1621 (first elected vestryman); f.102, 1620/1624/1629 & f.104, 1633/1634 (questman); f.4, 1626/1627 (churchwarden).
⁵¹ GLMs 9237-1, f.86 1 April1624; f.96 14 March 1635; f.98 1 February 1636 & 12 May 1637; f.100 27 February1638; f.101 29 January1638; f.103 14 June 1640.
⁵² PR Ev ID 226696, 31 May1655.
⁵³ GL MS 12818/7.
⁵⁴ GL MS 12834/1.
⁵⁵ Paid between 1646 and 1649-50. GL MS 12819/6.
⁵⁶ GL MS 12806/4.
⁵⁷ GL MS 13443.
⁵⁸ GL MS 13443.
⁵⁹ GL MS 12819/8-9.
⁶⁰ GL MS 12819/9.
⁶¹ GL MS 13444.
⁶² GL MS 13444.
⁶³ 1671 Subsidies and 1673 18 month tax list.
⁶⁴ GL MS 12834/2 fol.165 8th July 1672. & GL MS 13444.
⁶⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.15.20 012.
⁶⁶ PR Ev ID 132755, 9 January1678.
⁶⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 011; TNA E 179.252.23 021;
⁶⁸ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 026.
⁶⁹ COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 020; COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 021; COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 043

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- ⁷⁰ PR Ev ID 10885, 15 April 1687.
⁷¹ PR Ev ID 11411, 14 June 1688.
⁷² COL.CHD.LA.03.24.10 014.
⁷³ GL MS 13444.
⁷⁴ GL Ms 13444.
⁷⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 021
⁷⁶ PR Ev ID 114980, 24 March 1690.
⁷⁷ PR Ev ID 12185, 1 April 1690. Ev ID 1227857, 30 April 1690.
⁷⁸ GL MS 11316.11 118; COL.CHD.LA.03.13.14A-D 011; COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 018
⁷⁹ COL.CHD.LA.03.112.6 011
⁸⁰ PR Ev ID 116380, 29 March 1694.
⁸¹ Marriage Duty Assessment 1695, pp.62.
⁸² PR Ev ID, 117411, 21 July 1696
⁸³ PR Ev ID, 1203576, 22 June 1696.
⁸⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 025
⁸⁵ GL MS 11316.14 074. GL MS 11316.44 016.
⁸⁶ GL MS 13444 Christs Hospital paper of memoranda 8th and 15th July 1672, 10 Jan 1672/3
⁸⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.24.17 0017.
⁸⁸ COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 043 and 1674: COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 011.
⁸⁹ TNA E 179.252.23 021.
⁹⁰ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 026.
⁹¹ PR Ev ID 503845 26 Aug 1671.
⁹² COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 020, COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 021. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.10 014.
COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 043
⁹³ COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 021. and 1694 Poll Taxes - COL.CHD.LA.03.112.6 011. Marriage Duty
Assessment pp.63.
⁹⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 025.
⁹⁵ PR Ev ID 1406080, 7 June 1700.
⁹⁶ GL MS 11316.14 074. GL MS 11316.44 016.

43/4/1

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(WOOLSACK ALLEY, ALDGATE HIGH STREET, NORTH SIDE):

This property occupied a plot behind the street front on the north side of the Aldgate High Street. The plot corresponds to the area covered by numbers 36 and 37 on the Portsoken ward map of 1858. It can be identified on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676 (g.17) by which time it was known as Anchor and Hart Court.



This existence of the tranche of land that eventually contained the alley can possibly be traced back to 1278-9 when a widow Margery Cele ‘remised, granted and quitclaimed’ to a fishmonger Geoffrey Horn ‘all right and claim’ in one messuage with appurtenance on the site.¹ The property continues to get described as a ‘tenement with garden’ in the various transactions throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. John Romenay held the title until his death in 1349, and by 1397 it is being described as ‘a tenement called le Wollesakonthehop (sic).’² It appears that Alex Sprott a vinter bequeathed the ‘Wollesakk’ to the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, the rector of St Botolph’s Aldgate, and the churchwardens and parishioners of St Botolph’s, in a probate will of 1438. A lease indenture of 1486 between the aforementioned authorities and William Benyington records the property as ‘the tenement brewhouse called the wolsack.’³ After the dissolution the property was amongst a number granted by the crown for 31 years to Henry Codenham, a gentleman, and William Pendred, a founder. However, by this point the plot essentially comprised of two elements. The first was the ‘tenement and messuage called the wolsacke and all shops cellars, solar, garden and appurtenances situated in Aldgate street’, also described as ‘one great messuage . . . and garden adjoining’ that had been in the tenure of Thomas Newman, and was currently occupied by William Grene. This was to cost Codenham and Pendred £4pa. The second element was ‘fourteen chambers and one tenement and buildings and gardens’ and it is this gathering of small dwellings that probably constituted the actual Woolsack Alley. The tenement was in the occupation of Edmund Bakster for 6s 8d pa, and the chambers were occupied by the following individuals: John Holland, Robert Richardson, Agnes Holden widow, Thomas Hardinge, Richard Welshe, John Brickman, Margaret Pounce, John Williamson, John Hopkyn, Agnes Goodwyn widow, Alice Peche, John Holmes, Humphrey Chadde, and John Barnard. Each paid only 3s 4d or 4s for their rental, giving a combined income for the dwellings of just £6 15s 4d pa, yet even so in 1548-9 they were a combined 66s in rental arrears, suggesting that these were individuals who struggled to make ends meet.⁴ When, how and why these properties had been constructed is not at all clear. It is

possible that some of the garden belonging to the original Woolsack had been sectioned off to construct these dwellings, but it is equally plausible that the land they stood on had simply been packaged together with the Woolsack site to create a single plot. The existence of the Woolsack itself becomes something of a mystery after this point. A dispute in 1550 between William Grene and James Adlington (Alyngton) ‘concerning a variance in parish of St Botolph Aldgate’ recorded that Grene had ‘taken down a house in his own backside’ which lay to the east of Alingtons dwelling and stable.⁵ Whether this refers to the Woolsack is open to conjecture.

Similarly, it is difficult to offer with any certainty information on the above mentioned inhabitants of the Woolsack and the alley. A farmer by the name of William Grene is recorded in the Church Wardens’ accounts as a church warden and a benefactor to the parish. He appears to have died in 1554 and was lauded in the accounts for his ‘good will and zeale that he hath borne ever unto the said Church’ and for ‘at his proper costes and Chardges’ restoring ‘the fore parte or Fronte of the highe Awter and the upper parte of the sepulker . . . and reedyfienge the said church.’⁶ It is possible that this is the same Grene as was resident in the Woolsack. In terms of the alley dwellers, only Chadde can be identified with any certainty when his name is mentioned in relation to the burial of his wife Margaret in 1579.⁷ A John Holland and a John Barnard are mentioned in the Church Wardens’ accounts in the 1550s and 60s but there is no evidence to link them to the men that lived in the Woolsack Alley.

By the time of an indenture signed in August 1574 only the alley itself is being referred to, but there is evidence for the continued existence of the Woolsack. The indenture was for the bargain and sale of the fourteen small chambers and single small tenement by William Barlie, a merchant tailor, and his wife Dorathie to William Newton, a saddler, for the sum of £50. Barlie was the nephew of William Grene (recorded as a merchant tailor), he had been granted the freehold in the will of his uncle in September 1564. According to a recognisance regarding the sale, dated 14th June 1575, and witnessed by the Recorder and Alderman William Kympton, the tenants or occupiers of the fifteen dwellings were as follows: John Davys, Hugh Evans, Robert Finche, Roger Kirkham, Robert Pendleton, Margaret Humphry widow, Johane Pennington widow, Johane Richardeson widow, Elizabeth Powell widow, Elizabeth Moodie widow, Katherine Hopkins widow, Alice Holmes widow, John Marshall, John Ballarde and Thomas Hopkins.⁸ The indenture contains only one really non standard covenant, that Barlie would allow Newton to have ‘free passage with all watercourses . . . into the backside of that capital messuage . . . being also part of inheritance of Barlie commonly known by the name of the Woolsack.’⁹ Sadly as with the inhabitants in the 1540s no further information on the inhabitants is forthcoming from the documentation for this period.

The Woolsack, the alley, and their inhabitants 1580s-1610s.

The existence of the ephemeral Woolsack becomes increasingly difficult to deduce from the historical record, yet the documentary material on the alley itself and its occupants becomes increasingly dense thanks to the existence of the PCMs from 1583 onwards. It looks likely that at least part of the Woolsack was operating as some kind of inn or coach-house by the late 1580s. It also seems that William Newton continued to live at the site of the Woolsack in a property known as the Blew Bore, although no mention of a property by this name is made until his will of 1594 and Thomas Gillpin’s apparent occupation of the property in the mid 1590s (see below).¹⁰ Perhaps the Blue Bore was a separate property

Newton had carved out from the original Woolsack, although without further information this is speculation.

In a number of instances the PCMs record that individuals lived near ‘the sign of the woolsack in the high street’. The sign was probably related to the large dwelling house rather than the alley, but it also indicates how by this time the “Woolsack” had become a recognised local landmark and taken on a stable identity.¹¹ It is probable that the resident of the Woolsack by 1584 was a carter called John Jones. His servant, Christopher Reede, was buried on 25th May 1584, and his wife Jone was buried a few weeks later on 22nd June. Another carter, Davye (David) Jones, was recorded as living at the sign of the Woolsack in 1588. His daughter Elizabeth was christened in August of that year.¹² It seems that David Jones was letting out the yard of the Woolsack to various carmen/carters for dwelling space. His servant, another carter by the name of John Potter, was living in the yard in 1588 when his daughter Ann was christened on 13th April 1589.¹³ Similarly, in 1591 Ellinor Wright, the daughter of Richard Wright, a carman, was buried (after being christened just a few months earlier¹⁴) and William Sawyer, the son of John Sawyer, a wheelwright, was christened on 20th August 1592. Both the Wrights and the Sawyers were noted as ‘dwelling in David Jones his yard being at the sign of the woolsack’.¹⁵ The PCMs record that Jones was involved in an unfortunate incident in 1590. The body of Margaret Pemerton, the 3 month old daughter of an unnamed mother and a waterman called Nicholas Pemerton, was left by her mother ‘before the door’ of Jones. The mother had been ‘going up and down the street gooding’ (begging) before the child had died in her arms and she had deposited the body of the child at Jones’ door. Margaret was buried on the 7th October ‘being no parishioners child’.¹⁶

Interestingly, the yard of the Woolsack is referred to ‘David Jones’ rents’ in one instance, when the PCMs record the burial of Mary Sawyer, the wife of a wheelright John Sawyer, in September 1593.¹⁷ The use of the term ‘rents’ is interesting given the connotations of the word in the context of early modern accommodation. Sawyer’s son William was buried on 24th November 1593 having died of the plague aged a year and half. However the entry also records that William was nursed at the house of a Woolsack alley resident, widow Wingfield, referring to Ellin Wingfield (see below)¹⁸

It seems that by the mid 1590s the property was in the hands of a Thomas Gillpin. In 1595 the PCMs record that his son Richard was christened, and that his one year old daughter Margaret was buried. But they also variously noted that Thomas was an innholder or a butcher but ‘by trade a carter’ dwelling at the sign of the woolsack in the high street.¹⁹ Another individual William Pulleyn (a stationer, but by trade a porter) was recorded as ‘dwelling in Thomas Gillpins yard . . . at the sign of the woolsack’ when his daughter Jeane was christened in September 1595, when she died a few month later, and when his wife Katherine was buried in January 1595-6. This suggests that Gillpin was now the occupier of the woolsack.²⁰

It also appears that the Woolsack may have resorted to the name of the Blue Bore in the mid 1590s. When Gillpin’s unnamed stillborn daughter was buried in 1596 the PCMs record that Gillpin was ‘keeping an Inn and dwelling at the sign of the Blue Bore in the high street’. The yard continued to be used for dwellings for fellow carters, with the likes of Henry Matthew noted as dwelling there.²¹ It also appears that Gillpin was excommunicated, and later readmitted to the congregation.²² Perhaps after the death of William Newton in 1594 Gillpin took on his property the Blue Bore and adopted the name for the entire Woolsack complex. It is impossible to offer any concrete evidence for this suggestion. It is also possible that the Bore, or at least part of it, was occupied by a William Hall by 1599.²³

A number of the residents of the alley (also being referred to as ‘Mr Newton’s rents’²⁴) in this late 1580s period were recorded either in the inhabitant lists of 1575 or the later list of 1599 (see below).

- William Bowers, the son of the taylor John Boweres, was christened on 16th January 1588. William was buried on 30th October 1592 aged 4 having 'died of a rupture'.²⁵
- The silkweaver John Dutton's daughter, Elizabeth, was also christened in July 1589 with another daughter, Bridgett, christened on 7th November 1591. Bridgett died from the plague a year later in October 1592, and a similar plague induced fate befell her sister Elizabeth in November 1593. Dutton's servant Richard Walter died of the plague aged 13 in October 1592, as did another servant, the 31 year old Thomas Allin, in September 1595.²⁶ Another daughter was stillborn in 1595.²⁷ His son Richard was christened on 9th July 1597 and buried the next day.²⁸ Finally, daughter Mary Dutton was christened on 19th April 1599.²⁹
- Hugh Fraunce, the son of the silkweaver Hugh Fraunce, was christened on 15th October 1590 and buried a week later. Another of his sons Peter was christened on the 12th September 1591 and buried on 23rd September, and a third son John was christened on 24th June 1599.³⁰ Fraunces also lost a daughter, Barbara, who was 6 months old when she died in November 1593. Interestingly she was 'nursed at the house of John Barnes a cobbler dwelling in Richard Carters rents in houndsditch where she died.' She was buried on 18th November.³¹ A fifth son, Lewis, was christened on 26th May 1594.³² A second daughter, Ann, was christened on 8th June 1595.³³ An additional member of the household, servant James Oliver, was buried on 21st March 1599.³⁴
- William Pond, a cooper, lost his wife Agnis in 1589. She was a poor pensioner aged 40 and was buried on 17th August 1589.³⁵

John Bowers, John Dutton, Hugh Francis, and William Pond were still residing in the alley in 1599. Similarly, Marie Hopkins, wife of labourer Thomas Hopkins, was buried in 8th February 1588.³⁶ His daughter Jeane was christened on 10th October 1595.³⁷ Roger Kerchamm, a poor pensioner, was buried on 19th February 1583 probably aged 74.³⁸ The labourer John Ballard was buried in 28th February 1588 aged 55.³⁹ The widow Alice Holmes, another poor pensioner, was buried on 18th April 1589.⁴⁰ Hopkins, Kirkhamm, Ballard, and Holmes were resident in the alley in 1575.

Other residents of the alley were given as:

- Jone Greeneseed, an 'owld widowe wyfe' of the recently deceased William Greeneseed. Jone was a poor pensioner supported by the parish and buried on 7th March 1588.
- John Bull a bachelor, householder and silkweaver who was buried on 10th October 1589.⁴¹
- John Lingham the servant to Thomas Winkfield a glover dwelling in the alley was buried on 28th March 1592 aged 21.⁴²
- Katherine Pearson, the daughter of another alley resident, Thomas Pearson, a gunmaker, was christened on 11th July 1592. It appears that Pearson or more likely his wife was engaged in nursing. A PCM entry in 1593 notes that a ¼ year old child by the name of Edward and son of a butcher died at the house of Pearson whilst being nursed there.⁴³ Thomas himself was buried in July 1594 having died of the plague aged 42, and his daughter Katherine died of the flux aged 6, and was buried on 11th August 1598.⁴⁴
- Grace Smith, the daughter of Richard Smith, a painter stainer, was buried on 30th October 1592 aged 6.⁴⁵ Richard himself was buried on 14th August 1597, having died aged 55 of the 'purples'. His wife Ellin was to die 'of the black' aged 50 a week later.⁴⁶
- Katherine Eveson, wife of John Eveson, a waterbearer, was buried on 7th May 1594 aged 58.⁴⁷
- Francis Gittins, son to the labourer Richard Gittins (and resident in 1599 list), was christened on the 1st September 1594. A second son, Thomas, was christened on 23rd January 1596.⁴⁸ Francis died four years later and was buried on 16th March 1598, whilst a

daughter, Dorothy, was christened on the 16th September 1599.⁴⁹ His wife Joane, one of the poor pensioners of the parish, was buried on 11th June 1598.⁵⁰

- Other residents of the alley had non-family members dwelling with them. In January 1594 Ellin Miller, a 30 year old servant dwelling in the alley at the house of Thomas Boad, a stringer, was buried, and later that year the PCMs record that Joan Hamon, a 70 year old widow, 'who did lye at the howse of John Donn a labouring man dwelling in woolsack alley' was buried.⁵¹ Both Boad and Donn were noted in the 1599 residents list.
- Samuel Jones the $\frac{3}{4}$ year old son to Roger Jones, a taylor, was buried on the 2nd May 1595.⁵²
- William Chauncelor, son to Robert Chauncelor, a clothworker, but 'at this time being a waterbearer' was christened on 13th July 1595.⁵³
- Julian Loye, a widow and pensioner of the parish, was buried 16th November 1595. She 'had been a long time bedridden'.⁵⁴
- John Yewin, a sadler, whose son Francis was christened on 23rd January 1596.⁵⁵
- Joane Rooke, the $\frac{1}{4}$ year old daughter of Thomas Rooke, a sawyer, was buried on 24th February 1596. She perished 'by mischance being laid on a cushion by the fire whilst the mother did go for milk and crawled into the fire whereby she was so burnt by the fire' she died.⁵⁶
- Margaret Reynolds, wife to Matthew Reynolds, a pavier, was buried on 29th March 1597 aged 25.⁵⁷
- Mary Willimott, daughter to the pavier Thomas Willimott, was christened on 29th March 1597. The PCMs later note that the child of an ostler dwelling in Goodmans Yard was nursed and died at Willimots house.⁵⁸
- Thomas Linsie was a 'Hacknie man' dwelling at the alley whose daughter Sara was christened on 6th November 1597.⁵⁹
- John Styles was a pavyor dwelling in the alley and whose daughter Alice was christened on 19th May 1598 and buried a week later.⁶⁰
- Ellin Winckfield's (Wingfield) servant Thomas How was buried on 19th August 1598. Wingfield was a widow and glover by trade.⁶¹
- Agnis and Peter Graunger. Peter was a cook and Agnis was 'one of the poore pentioners of this parish'. She died and was buried on 6th September 1598. He died in October 1598 aged 60.⁶²
- Thomas Mearston, a merchant taylor and the Beadle of the ward, dwelt in the alley when his daughter Elizabeth was christened on 7th September 1592 and when his son Thomas was christened in May 1596, and buried on the 1st October 1598. Another daughter, Mary, was christened on 5th April 1600.⁶³
- Mary Fletcher, the daughter of Thomas Fletcher, another Woolsack alley silkweaver, was christened on 7th October 1598.⁶⁴

An indenture from 1599 (see below) gives the following as residents of the alley: Thomas Fletcher, Nicholas Richardson, Richard Gittins, John Bowers, Peter Toway, widow Ellen Wingfield, Hugh Frauncis, Robert Huntley, Robert Granngge, Thomas Boade, William Ponde, John Styles, John Dune, widow Elizabeth Mountfield, John Dutton, widow Johan Provis, widow Agnes Masters.

- Toway, a labourer died aged 50 of 'a sore leg' and was buried 11th May 1600.⁶⁵

Demise of the freehold to the parish, rebuilding and renaming 1594-1672

Upon the death of William Newton in 1594, his will delivers the freehold to his widow Margaret.⁶⁶ The PCMs record Newton as ‘an old householder keeping an inn and dwelling at sign of Blue Bore in the High streete, was buried in the south Churchyard neare the inner vestrie window the 28th day of November 1594 aged 76.’⁶⁷ Just prior to his death, Newton entered into a bond which delivered the freehold of the alley upon the death of Margaret to the parish in the form of Henry Conwaye, a stationer, George Clarke, a vinter, John Ansell, a carpenter, and Arthur Norton, a musician. The parish was to use the ‘clear rents and profits’ generated by Woolsack alley to distribute yearly amongst the ‘poor people . . . and most needful’ of the parish, suggesting that the residents of Woolsack alley were not thought of as part of this particular demographic.⁶⁸

However it appears that the bond was ‘not good in law for that said poor was not body natural, politique or corporate’ and so the reversion of the freehold descended to John Newton, a tailor from Burntwood in Essex, and William’s nephew. A rather long and costly legal battle⁶⁹ between Newton and the parish over the freehold ensued, orchestrated on the parish’s side primarily by Toby Wood, whose advice and guidance was sought by the vestry on a number of occasions. The parish took out a writ from Chancery for Newton to prove the will at the same court and, after some further quarrelling, by November 1595, Newton signalled he was willing to end his suit, and the parish was clearly happy to oblige. Robert Dow, Mr Norton and Mr Casey were sent to visit him to ‘pacify him with a small sum’ so that ‘they should end the same without further suit.’⁷⁰ £11 was paid to Newton to allow the parish to continue to utilise the rents from the lands, and in May 1599, after the death of Margaret, Robert Dow and Nicholas Reynolds, a goldsmith, purchased the freehold from Newton for an unspecified sum. A month later they granted the same to the parish via an indenture that named the individuals of the vestry as feoffees.⁷¹

The indenture records the residents of the alley (see above) and also notes that the alley now consisted of seventeen dwellings, up from fourteen in 1574. The vestry was indentured to ensure that once repairs and maintenance to the properties had been provided for the residue of the rental was to be bestowed on ‘honest, godly, poor parishioners’ of the parish. To avoid any future confusion or difficulties over this deed, the indenture stated that once there were only six feoffees left alive the lease would be granted to the current vestry, again as individual feoffees. In such a way the freehold was to be securely held by the parish. The indenture also contained an unusual covenant, that once per year a man ‘learned in law’ should ‘come into the parish church’ where the deeds were to be stored, and ‘peruse and consider’ the documents and confer with the vestrymen to ensure that all legal requirements were being satisfactorily observed.⁷² All documentation was to be safely stored in the notorious ‘red chest’ in the vestry.⁷³

By the mid 1600s it appears that the physical state of the alley becomes a cause for some concern. In May 1604 the vestry ordered a committee of five to view and survey the plot and its buildings, and present the report to a vestry meeting a few weeks later.⁷⁴ At some point between this meeting and Michaelmas 1606-7 the vestry decided that it would demolish the existing housing located on the plot and replace them with six rebuilt dwellings.

Unfortunately the historical record is silent between May 1604 and January 1607-8 so we cannot know the mechanism through which the inhabitants of the alley were coerced into leaving, however they clearly did so under duress as they proved to be rather intransigent in terms of vacating their premises. The PCMs record that the tenants had been warned to ‘avoid’ the tenements at last Michaelmas and depart at Christmas, and then again to ‘avoid’ at Lady Day, however by March 1607-8 they were still in situ. They were called into the vestry and warned ‘expressly’ to depart in the week after Easter, as that was then the workmen

would begin to ‘untile the houses and pluck then down to be new build again.’⁷⁵ Six poor pensioners of the parish inhabiting the alley, widow Joane Provia, Elizabeth Carryll, described as an old maid, Thomas Boade, widow Elizabeth Mumfield, widow Ann Twoe and William Pond, were to be re housed in parish properties. Provia and Mumfield (Mountfield) had been resident in the alley since at least 1599, and Boad is first recorded as an inhabitant in 1594 (see above). Little regard it seems was given to the rest of the inhabitants of the seventeen dwellings in the alley.⁷⁶ The cost of re-housing the pensioners was to be split equally between the upper and lower ends of the parish, and once this was agreed the vestry ordered that work on the project begin by St James’ day (25th July) 1609. The work was to be overseen by four men from the upper end of the parish (John Ansell, Christopher Walker, William Allen, William Burnham) and four from the lower end (Augustine Johnson, John Jackson, William Carpenter, George Selbye) these gentlemen were to provide the workmen for the project and that if any controversy should arise a majority decision between the overseers would suffice.

The thoughts of the parish then turned to how the rebuilding was to be paid for, and in this respect the minutes and PCMs give some very interesting information on how such capital projects were funded and the cost incurred⁷⁷ - costs that included 4d for beer supplied to a vestry meeting regarding Woolsack Alley.⁷⁸ In July 1609 an initial payment of £50 each from both the upper and lower parts the parish were sought to begin the work, and by December that year the vestry agreed to collect a further £225 from both districts. The vestry was clearly eager to ensure the work was completed by 24th August 1610 so that they could be re-tenanted. The accounts of the rebuilding are contained in both the PCMs and vestry minutes, and show that a total of £243 19s 9d was spent on the project. The breakdown of these payments records that the carpenter, Mr (William?) Burnam, was paid a total of £114 13s, the bricklayer Christopher Walker, £68 17s, and the plasterer John Shambrooke, £29 10s, indicating that these were probably fairly sturdy wooden and brick constructions. Other bills include £2 to William Blakoe for repairs to the well, £4 3s to the glazier to glaze ‘all the new houses’, and £13 17s to the plumber, again suggesting that the some housing amenities must have been provided. The accounts note that £243 ‘laid out in the building’ of the houses by the ‘upper end of the parish’ predominantly comprised of £160 gifted to the parish in 1606 by George Clarke, the parish itself contributed £40, the fines from Deputy Liddon, Mr Carpenter and Mr Blower provided £30, the renter warden Mr Hurtley £3 15s and finally John Waddys contributed £10 from ‘£20 of wards money in his hands.’⁷⁹ The financial leap that the vestry was taking with this project was reflected by the fact that the accounts noted that ‘ye fines for the leases and all such other moneys that was in stock, except Mrs An Clarks 20li & 20 li that there was in stock to buy Coles, was all layed out about the building of Woolsack alley’.⁸⁰ In other words the vestry was utilising virtually all its funds in the rebuilding of the Woolsack. The exact breakdown offers a rare chance to identify some of the building materials used and so is worth replicating in full.

For The Building of Woolsack alley.

A not of all such money as hath beene laied out by Mr Willm Allen about ye new buildinge of ye p[ar]ishe houses in ye olde Woolsack alley from Decemb. 20 1609 vnto Decemb. 28. 1610 the p[ar]ticulers hereafter followe vizt

	li s d
Inprimis pd Mr Burnam carpent[e]r in part for his worke	27.10.00
It. pd to xpofer Walker bricklay[e]r in p[ar]t for his worke	14.15.00
It pd for making od writings for both to Mr Abbott	00.01.03
It pd by him for p[ar]t of a supper when ye agreem[en]t was made concerning ye said worke	00.08.09
It. pd more for p[ar]t of a supper at another time as touchinge the said buisines	00.01.10
It. pd Jon Shambrooke plaisterer in p[ar]t of his agrem[e]nt for his worke May 30 1610	10.00.00

pd for making writing touching ye said agrem[en]t	00.01.00
pd Mr Walker his second paym[en]t May 17	14.15.00
pd more to Mr Walker in full for ye brick wall Est	03.06.08
pd him more for [deletion] emptying ye valt & digging stones	02.10.00
pd Mr Burnam his second paym[en]t June 18 1610.	27.10.00
pd Jon Shambrooke augs. 21 & Sept. 15 his second paym[en]t	10.00.00
pd Mr Burnam august 28 1610 his third payment	27.10.00
pd Mrs Walker septemb. 6. 1610 her third paym[en]t	14.15.00
pd Jon Shambrooke octob. 15 1610 his third payment	09.10.00
pd Mr Burnam octob. 15 in full of his task worke	27.10.00
total	190.04.06
Paied more by Mr Allen for other charges touching the saied new buildings. vizt.	
<oct. 16>	
pd to Georg Howson smith for the half p[ar]t of ye casem[en]ts	00.14.00
<No: 7>	
pd Wm Blaco in full for ye valt & well. for our part is	02.00.00
pd out more in petty charges as apeareth by a note	01.09.10
<Dec. 18>	
pd Mr Burnam more in full of all his worke for out p[ar]t	04.13.06
pd ye glazier in full for ye wards p[ar]t for his worke	04.03.08
pd more in other charges for ye wards p[ar]t as p[er] p[ar]ticulars	03.00.03
pd Mrs Walker in full for her task worke. No: 8.	14.15.00
pd her more for ye wards p[ar]te for 5 chymneys in ye garret[e]s	03.02.06
pd more for ye wall on ye west side. for ye wards p[ar]t	00.10.00
pd her more for inclosing 3 houses for the wards p[ar]t	00.09.00
pd Henry Dyamond for coulouringe the houses. ye wards p[ar]t	02.10.00
pd Jon Shambrooke p[er] vestrie for ye wards part	02.10.00
pd ye Plomer for ye wards p[ar]t in full as p[er] bill	13.17.06
total of theis latter	053.15.03
total of the former	190.04.06
total	243.19.09

A note of all such money belonging to the vpper end of the Parish as was in the hands of Mr Allen, wch he layd out about the aforenamed buildinge as followeth

Inprimis he had the some of	040.00.00
It of Mr Geo: Clarks giuen to ye ward.	160.00.00
It of Mr Deputy Lyddon for his fine	010.00.00
It of Mr Carpent[er] for his fine	010.00.00
It of Mr Blower for his fine	010.00.00
<Mr Waddis had 20li of ye wards in his hands & pd him 10li. of ye s[ai]d money>	
It he receaued of Mr John Waddis	010.00.00
It he receaued of Mr Hurtley rent[er] ward.	003.15.08
It he receaued of ye lower end of ye p[ar]ish for posts for ye pales taken out of ye Churchyard	000.04.01
total	243.19.09

As a result of this rebuilding, a site that had comprised of seventeen dwellings, with the majority of the inhabitants non pensioners, was now just ‘six fair tenements’, all in the occupation of the worthy pensioners of the parish.⁸¹

In February 1614 only five of the fourteen original feoffees from the deed of 1599 were still alive, so in order to ensure the freehold remained firmly in possession of the parish an indenture was signed to grant the freehold to a new set of parishioners.⁸² A few months later in June 1614, and presumably related to this conveyance of the freehold from one generation to the next, a sermon ‘of trinity sun’ was given for remembrance of William Newton.⁸³ The parish continued to adhere to its obligations under Newton’s gift and saw to the regular repairs to the alley and the dwellings, including the plumbing and in particular the paving of the alley and the street in front.⁸⁴

They also ensured that the freehold continued to be conveyed to a fresh set of feoffees once the existing number had been reduced to six.⁸⁵ In 1663 it appears that rather than simply grant the freehold to a new set of feoffees, the freehold was actually conveyed to the contemporary vestry by its sale (along with all the other parish lands) for a nominal sum of 5s. A day after this sale, the land was siesed to all the vestrymen in a procedure that effectively established the parish lands as a kind of trust. The deed called for two ‘honest discreet parishioners’ chosen yearly by a vestry of at least six men from each end of the parish to act as renter wardens. Via this deed they would be have the power to receive the yearly rent from the parish lands, which they would then use to ensure the upkeep of these lands, and to pay themselves a wage of 13s 4d (between the two men). Once these obligations had been satisfied, the wardens were to bestow the remaining cash ‘upon such honest godly poor parishioners’ as the vestry saw fit, and suitable accounts were to be kept detailing their disbursement of these monies. Finally, the deed noted the vestry’s power to grant leases, re-asserted the requirement that at least six feoffees be alive, and that every subsequent conveyance ‘is to uses expressed here.’

The name Woolsack seems to fade from the records by the 1630s (the few occasions the name appears seem to relate to the other Woolsack alley/yard in Houndsditch) and by the 1670s is recorded as Anchor and Hart Court. It is also under this moniker that it appears in the 1676 Ogilby and Morgan map.⁸⁶ In the initial period after the rebuilding, the parish leased the properties to individuals, a number of whom did apparently dwell in the houses themselves. However, by the mid 17th century it is clear that properties are being sub-leased by the head lessees. Due to this, and the absence of the PCMs beyond the 1620s, material on the inhabitants is sporadic compared to the earlier periods. Similarly, although we can continue to identify the head lessee from the church warden accounts, a gap of 9 years in the 1680s when no assessment lists survive (between the 6 months tax listings of 1680 and those of 1689) it has been impossible to continue to trace the occupants with any certainty beyond 1680. The apparent use of a renter by the parish from the 1690s onward also makes identifying the exact lessee problematic after this period.

Layout of the Alley (Ogilby and Morgan 1676)



Inhabitants 1610 onwards of unknown dwelling

A John Clark is noted as resident in the alley in January 1616. Similarly, later that year the PCMs note that Edward Palmer and his 'reputed' wife 'lodged in the house of Robert Porter silkweaver' in the 'parish rents' in Woolsack alley on the high street. A Robert Dawson was also recorded in 1616 as having lately dwelt in the alley.⁸⁷ There is no indication as to which of the houses in the alley these men resided in.

Property no.1, 1610-1620

This dwelling is described in the vestry minutes noting the first leases of the properties in December 1610 as 'the first house in the alley on the west side', and adjacent to the house of Stephen Everest, a grocer. There is no evidence that Everest actually dwelt in the alley itself, so either he lived in the property in front on the alley that fronted the high street (he was noted as dwelling in the high street⁸⁸), or he lived in an adjacent property to the west. Everest leased the property for a term of 33¾ years at £5pa (no fine). The lease contained the fairly standard covenants, that the rent was to be paid within 28 days of when due, that repairs would be undertaken by the renter, that the parish would view the property twice a year, and that any repairs they ordered need to be undertaken within six months. There is also an interesting and rather unnecessary covenant that states that if the parish wished to sell the property that Everest would essentially have first right of refusal.

The property exhibited a rather unconventional layout. It appears not to have encompassed the ground floor of the building which was 'now used for the kitchen of the new dwelling house of Everest'. Instead it comprised of three upper stories of increasing size, and presumably therefore increasing overhang into the alley itself. The first chamber was 16ft 5' north to south, and 15ft 4' east to west, the one above 17ft 4' x 15ft 4', and a garret above that which is noted as 18ft 5' x 15ft 4'. Outside there was a small yard, 8ft x 14ft, located on the north side of the aforementioned kitchen, which contained a privy. The lease also included 'two slippes or pieces of ground', one of 15ft 4' x 4ft may have lay to the east of the kitchen, the other 14ft x 2ft, may have been located to the north, although the lease is rather unclear in this regard.⁸⁹

From this point on the exact occupants and lessee of the property, and indeed its continued existence is something of a mystery. It is possible that the lease was assigned to a Richard (Robert?) Boyce, a clothworker, in the early 1610s and that he was subsequently granted an unusually long lease of 99 years for the property in October 1619, at the 'old rent' of £5. The property was described in this lease as 'the back part of the house belonging to the parish and adjoineth to house of John Levitt'.⁹⁰ Levitt is recorded in the tithe lists of 1638 and a Robert Smith is listed between him and Daniel Sturton, a confirmed resident of the alley. Smith's assessment value of £10 suggests this is not no.1 Woolsack alley. It is also possible, given the covenant that was inserted into Everest's 1610 lease, and given his role on the vestry, that he at some point purchased the property from the parish in a period for which the documentation fails to survive. He began his parish career as a questman in 1612, and by 1621 was on the vestry. A Stephen Everist was also listed as one of the feoffees for parish lands, which included Woolsack alley, in 1637.⁹¹ This would perhaps provide the most satisfactory explanation for why the property apparently disappears from parish records, and why by the 1640s the parish interest in Woolsack alley clearly consists of just five dwellings.

Property no.2, 1610-1675

According to the vestry minutes this dwelling, the 'second house on the west side' was leased to John Newman in December 1610 for 21 years at £6 rent, and interestingly this time, a fine was paid of £10.⁹² However, it appears that the lease signed 10 days later was between the parish and a Peter Blower rather than Newman. The rent was noted as £6pa for the 21 year term, but this time with no fine. The covenants were the same as those contained in the lease of the same data for property no.1. The property was bounded by those of Josua Parson to the north and Steven Everest to the south and comprised of a cellar, a kitchen on the ground floor, two further floors with one chamber each, and finally a garret. Externally there was a yard of 8ft x 14ft to the south of the dwelling containing a privy.⁹³ Blower was a vestryman in 1604 and 1613, and was recorded as living in the high street when his son Francis was christened in 1610 and again when his wife Francis was buried in 1613. Whether he was indeed living in Woolsack alley is unclear.⁹⁴

It is possible that the lease was assigned to a Phillip Benbrigg, and then to a James Atkinson who is noted as the probable rent payer in 1616.⁹⁵ The next tenant that appears in the records is a Robert Wanham, who in 1645-6 was paying £5pa rent.⁹⁶ He had been resident since at least 1638.⁹⁷ The dwelling was viewed by the church wardens and parish 'ancients' in June 1650, presumably so as to establish a rental value for the property in preparation for the new lease which was duly agreed with Wanham in June 1652. Yet the lease agreed at this meeting was for 21 years at £6 pa, with no fine. However, by the time the lease was sealed in May 1653 the terms had altered radically to a 41 year term, £5pa rent and an £8 fine.⁹⁸ Property's no.3 and 5 were also issued with a lease for the same terms a few days later and it is very possible that this change in terms on no.2 was prompted by a desire on the part of the parish to co-ordinate their rental policy. Wanham, whose occupation was noted as weaver, died in 1663 and in 1664 William Jordaine(Jordan) is assigned the lease.⁹⁹ He is resident for both the 1670 and 1674 hearth tax assessments, which record 4 hearths for the property, but the 18month tax assessment for the same year records the property as empty.¹⁰⁰

In the Church Warden accounts for 1675, John Merry, the tenant of no.4 in the alley, is recorded as the rental payer of this property, along with two others in the alley, numbers 3 and 4.¹⁰¹ At no point is Merry recorded in any of the assessment list as residing in any of these properties, so he was clearly subleasing them. The occupants according to the 1678 Poll taxes and 1680 6 month taxes were probably William Ansell and his wife, but beyond this date it is very difficult establish occupants with any degree of accuracy.¹⁰²

Merry continues to be noted as the lessee until 1692-3. The existing lease on the property ceased in 1694 and, according to the Church Warden's account, the property may have been in the hands of a Mr Alder in 1693-4 along with property number 4 (see entry for no.4 for further details)¹⁰³

Property no.3, 1610-1694

The lessee of this property in December 1610 is noted as Josua Parsons, a goldsmith. He was buried on 10th September 1614 and was recorded as 'late dwelling in the High Street' although whether this was in Woolsack is unclear,¹⁰⁴ and it is possible that he was subleasing the property in Woolsack, although we have no evidence one way or another. It is likely that the tenant by 1616 was a widow Fleetwood.¹⁰⁵ In March 1629 the property was leased to Anothonie Wood, a weaver, for a 21 year term, £5pa rent, and no fine. The usual covenants

applied.¹⁰⁶ Wood was apparently a scavenger in 1632 and constable in 1635, and is recorded as the resident in the 1638 tithes.¹⁰⁷ As with no.2, the property was viewed two years before an Anthony Wood was granted a lease again in May 1653 for 21 years at £5 pa, with an £8 fine.¹⁰⁸ The property was described as being situated ‘on the backside of Daniel Sturton’s house’, and the lease included ‘the use of pump in common with rest of inhabitants.’¹⁰⁹

The various assessments, which run from the 1638 tithes onwards, and the parish rent rolls continue to record an Anthony Wood in the property until 1672.¹¹⁰ It appears that Wood paid a fine in 1661 to avoid the post of Churchwarden, claiming that he ‘has suffered losses’ from the post formally and was ‘insufficient for the place.’¹¹¹ The 1670 Hearth taxes record 4 hearths in the property, the same number as in 1672. However, by 1672 only the widow Wood was resident, her husband having died that year.¹¹² Whether we are discussing the same Anthony Wood across the whole period is of course debatable. The next resident is a John Longfoot who is recorded in 1673 and 1674 although according to the 1674 Hearth taxes Longfoot was no longer dwelling there and the 4 hearth house was empty.¹¹³

As with property no.2 and no.4, John Merry was probably granted the lease in 1675, although no record of the indenture survives, and he is clearly subleasing the property.¹¹⁴ The sub-lessee in 1678 was James Wailes who lived in the property with his wife and two children, and was still resident in 1680.¹¹⁵ It is possible that this was the same James Wales whose wife Sarah gave birth to a daughter Mary when they lived in Houndsditch in 1673.¹¹⁶

Property no.4, 1610-1680

This dwelling is rather grandiosely described as the ‘great house at the upper end of the alley’ in the lease list of December 1610. The property was leased to Robert Hartley, an innkeeper, for 31 years, although with the proviso that if Hartley were to die within that term it would revert back to the parish. A further clause in the lease stipulated that if both Hartley and his wife Margaret perished within 15 years of the beginning of the lease, their daughter Alice Barthollmew, wife of Robert Bartholmewe, a goldsmith, should possess the house for seven years after. A fine of £20 (a small increase in fines paid for other properties in the alley) and rental of £6pa suggests that it was probably only marginally larger than the other properties in the alley.¹¹⁷ The lease itself describes the property as having a cellar, a ‘fair room’ on the ground floor ‘which is appointed for a kitchen’, with the second and third floors each consisting of a large chamber, and a garret at the peak of the house. The yard on the south of the dwelling measured 8ft x 18ft and contained a house of office.¹¹⁸

There is no record of Hartley’s burial but by 1616 it appears that Margaret had been widowed, and indeed had died herself.¹¹⁹ John Gales, a silkweaver, and ‘one of ye parish tenants’ was then in 1619 granted a lease for 21 years at £6pa rental. No fine was involved.¹²⁰ Gales was probably in the property since 1614. He was recorded as living in the High Street when his son Thomas was christened in 1614, and again in 1615, when his wife (in this instance noted as Agnes but thereafter Anne) gave birth to a daughter, Rebecca.¹²¹ Rebecca died in 1618.¹²² Another son, William, died from consumption in May 1618 and was buried in the south church yard, using the black cloth, and to the accompaniment of a knell from the great bell. His wife is recorded as Anne in this instance.¹²³ Interestingly, the parish paid 15s in May 1617 for the paving of Gales’ yard, despite repairs being firmly the responsibility of the lessee.¹²⁴

It is likely that Gales occupied the property for some time as the Church Wardens accounts note that in 1621-2, 3s 4d was spent on Gales’ house in the alley.¹²⁵ However he subsequently moved to a dwelling in the Minories where he died in 1624 and was buried in the south church yard. He was soon followed into the afterlife by his son Thomas and wife Anne in

1625. As with other members of his family, Thomas was buried in the south church yard using the black cloth.¹²⁶

The lease apparently reverted back to the parish prior to the end of end of Gales' 21 term as in October 1634 Abraham Woofe, a fletcher, and the current occupier, was granted the lease to the property described as a messuage with small yard attached. It also appears that some adjoining land was incorporated into the plot. In return for £6pa rent, although no fine, Woole was granted a 21 year lease along with 'free access' to the communal pump in the alley 'in common with the rest of the inhabitants of the said alley to fetch, pump and take water there for his and their own use.' The covenants were as per property no.1, with the exception that four viewings per year were sanctioned, and the parish had the first right of refusal if Woole choose to 'sell' the lease. It was also stipulated that Woofe would within the next year 'make and set the said demised tenement upright, firm and strong, and save from danger of decaying or falling anyways and will disburse sum of £10 at least on this.' Clearly the dwelling was in some disrepair.¹²⁷ Woofe was almost certainly resident in the property in 1627 when his son Abraham was christened. The Parish Registers record Abraham as a 'throster' living in the High Street with his wife Dorathie. The couple had a daughter named Dorathie in 1629.¹²⁸ His second son Isaac was christened in 1630 although by this time his wife may have been Sarah Woofe.¹²⁹ Abraham was a collector of the parish in 1634 and 1635 for which he was paid £2 10s 8d.¹³⁰

By 1638 the property is occupied by Abraham Vanlooke (also recorded as Vanhackle and Vanhack), a parish collector for the poor in 1641.¹³¹ From this point on it is difficult to establish the occupant of the property. The Church Warden's accounts record that Vanhackle ceased to be the rental payer in 1647, replaced by a Thomas Errington between 1648 and 1651, who paid £6pa rental. The house being subject to a viewing by the church wardens and 'ancients' in 1651 with the property recorded as being in the tenure of Errington.¹³² Thomas Grey/Graye/Grayes, a skinner, is responsible for the rental payments by 1652,¹³³ and it is Gray who enters into a 21 year lease for the property in October 1655, paying £6 rental pa, and a £10 fine. As per the previous leases, Grey's stated the free access to the pump, and his obligation to see to the repair of the pales and fences of the 'now inclosed' yard, the pavement in front of the property, the pump, and the 'scouring and cleaning' of the privy, within 6 months of a warning from the vestry. The lease also stipulates that the parish 'who will pay as much for it as any other person' has first right of refusal, if Gray wished to 'sell the premises.'¹³⁴ Anthony Woods is the rental payer from 1658 to 1661. The Church Wardens' accounts for 1661 note that Woods was paying the rental for 'Mr Vanhacks house that was Thomas Grays'. It is very possible therefore that Errington, Grey and Woods subleased the property to Vanhack till his death in 1661.¹³⁵ Vanhack, a weaver, was recorded as dwelling in the High Street at his death in 1661 as he was when his son Abraham was buried in 1649, another Abraham was baptised in 1651, and yet another Abraham was baptised in 1654. His wife was Elline in 1649 and 1651, and Jane by 1654.¹³⁶

For the following few decades the historical record is fragmentary. Woods is the rental payer until 1661 when his is supplanted by a Richard Harrison, who was presumably assigned the lease.¹³⁷ The 1665 rent rolls of the poor lands records Harrison as the rental payer 'for house that was Thomas Grayes'¹³⁸, and he continues to tenant the property until 1674.¹³⁹ Harrison did apparently reside in the house which, perhaps surprisingly given its supposed large size, contained only 3 hearths.¹⁴⁰

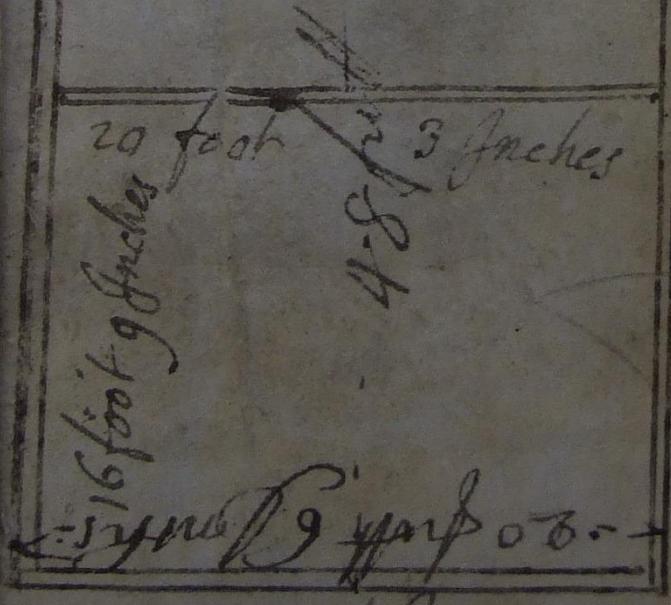
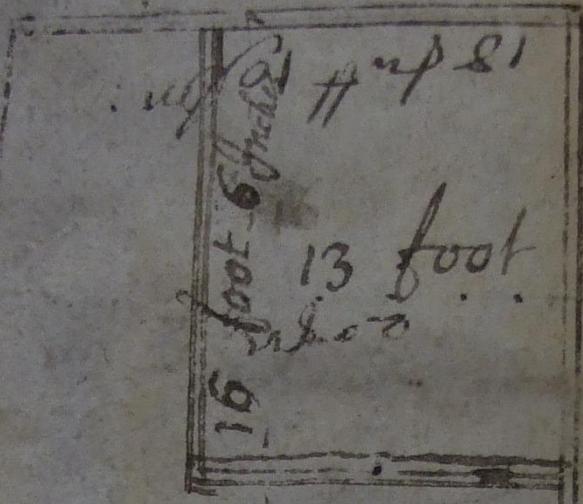
The property then receives its fifth tenant within 20 years when in September 1674 John Merry, a weaver, is granted a lease for the property 'together with use of the void place that lies open' for a term of 41 years, at £6pa with a 50s fine. The covenants of the lease were as per the previous lease in 1655.¹⁴¹ By 1678 Merry is leasing the property along with

properties no.2 and 3 in the alley, although the rent roll records that he was paying a rent of £4 pa, rather than the £6 pa noted in the lease.¹⁴²

Merry continues to sub-let the property, firstly to Alice Cooke from 1674, and then to a James Carpenter, who is recorded as the occupier in the 1678 Poll Tax along with his wife, an apprentice and a servant by the name of Jane Fowles.¹⁴³ Merry is recorded as the head lessee until the Church Wardens' accounts tail off in the early 1690s and it is probable that Mr Alder was assigned the lease, along with that for property number 2 in the alley (see above)

The next lessee for both property numbers 2 and 4 was Richard Green, a carpenter. Merry's 41 year lease for no.4 granted in 1674 expired in 1715 and it was in that year that Green was granted a lease for 49 years at £8 pa (no fine) for 'all those two small messuages (property's 2 and 4) . . . in Woolpack Alley . . . behind the coffee house now in possession of James Britton'. The messuages each contained a cellar, a 'larger room' (presumably on the ground floor), two chambers and a garrett. Interestingly, the lease contained a covenant that it did not cover the use of the 'common pump within premises belonging to all tenants' and that if he did indeed decide to move the pump then he was to 'repair at his own charge.'¹⁴⁴ The floor plan contained with the deed illustrates the size and scale of this compact property.

South



16 foot 9 inches

North

Property no.5 1610-1695

This property, located at the far east end of the alley, next to Hartley's Great House, was leased to John Liddon in December 1610 for 21 years, at £6 rent and, unlike no's 1,2,3, a £10 fine was charged. The plot included 'two little square yards', which Liddon was covenanted to enclose at his own cost.¹⁴⁵

There seem to be several individuals by the name of John Liddon (Lyddon) present in the parish at this time, but it is possible that this particular John Liddon was the Deputy Alderman of the ward. The accounts of the rebuilding of the alley, and reproduced on pages 7 and 8 above, note that £10 of the money for rebuilding came from a fine paid by Deputy Liddon. £10 was the fine Liddon paid for the above lease, although there is no confirmation that this is one and the same fine. Other than this, and despite his repeated appearances in the parish records, the only further evidence linking Deputy Liddon to the property is the fact that at the time of the death of his wife Anne in 1614, the couple are living in the High Street, although the record of his own death in 1616 offers no indication of his dwelling location.¹⁴⁶

As with other properties in the alley, it is possible that Liddon was subleasing the property and never actually dwelt there, choosing to reside somewhere else on the High Street. Liddon was heavily involved in the rebuilding of Woolsack (see above) and the management of parish lands, and may have seized upon the leasing of a property in the alley as a business opportunity. It seems strange that his title was not used when he was issued the lease, and the house and "alley living" hardly seems appropriate for an individual of relatively significant social standing.

The dwelling may have been in the occupation of Robert Wroth by 1616. Wroth was one of the Kings Trupetters and was buried in August 1619 with the honour of having the 'black cloth' used and the great bell of the church rung.¹⁴⁷

A blacksmith, Daniell Sturton, was resident by March 1629, when he was the recipient of a lease for 21 years at £5pa and no fine. Covenants as per no.1 applied.¹⁴⁸ It is probable that he, along with his wife Margaret (married in 1624 after the death of his previous wife Marie in 1623), had been resident from at least 1626, as when his daughter Ann was born that year, he is recorded as dwelling in the High Street.¹⁴⁹ The entry in the Parish registers records his occupation as a silk thrower rather than blacksmith. Sturton was resident for the 1638 tithes, and when his daughter Ann was buried in 1642 he is recorded as dwelling in the Woolsack. Again his occupation is given as 'throster' or silk thrower.¹⁵⁰

As with the other properties in the alley, no.5 was viewed by the parish in June 1650, and Sturton was duly granted a new lease in June 1652, in which he is still recorded as a blacksmith. The lease was for the standard 21 year term, with an increase in rental to £6 pa since the previous demise, however it no longer included the yard at the back of the property, which was instead to be turned into some form of communal resource and be 'laid open for the use of said tenants in said alley'.¹⁵¹ The lease also describes the property as his 'new house' suggesting some rebuilding may have taken place.

According to the various parliamentary assessments and the parish registers Daniel Sturton died in 1656, with the Church Wardens' accounts recording that his widow Margaret remaining in situ until her death in 1662-3.¹⁵²

Although the lease stipulated it was the lessee's responsibility to fund the maintenance of the property, the parish was moved to spend 14s on a glazier, and 12s 6d for a carpenter to undertake repairs in 1662-3. This, alongside the information that widow Sturton was in 18 months rental arrears (£9), suggests she was experiencing financial problems.¹⁵³ Gaps in the Church Wardens' accounts between 1663 and 1664 suggest that the property may well have lain empty, and the fact that the next lessee, Edward Free (Frees?) was given the generous terms of a 31 year lease with a lower rent of £4 10s pa in 1664 seems to indicate

that the property was in some disrepair, and that he would be required to fund further works.¹⁵⁴ Free was not resident and sublet the property to several people through the 1670s. The 1670 Hearth Taxes record a James Hurst living in the 3 hearth property, replaced by a William Clarkson in 1671.¹⁵⁵ Clarkson is apparently superseded by George Scott in 1672 who is last noted in the 1674 Hearth taxes, although he is no longer resident by the time of the 1678 Poll taxes.¹⁵⁶ Free continues to be recorded as the head lessee until 1690.¹⁵⁷

It is likely that the next lease issued for this property was in 1690 to a pewterer by the name of Thomas Smith (who also leased property no.6), and that the occupant of the property was a Richard Carpenter. The property had clearly not altered much in terms of its composition, still comprising of a cellar, a ground floor room, two chambers and one garret 'one over another' and one 'little paved yard behind the same'. (For Smith and this lease see property 6 below)

A lease indenture granted in 1721 notes that a blacksmith by the name of Thomas Grove was granted the lease for this property, which had 'formerly been occupied by Edward Free'. Grove was granted a 21 year lease at £4pa rent and an £18 fine. The property was described as comprising a cellar, a ground floor room, two chambers, and a garret, with a paved yard to the front and a small yard to the north measuring 11ft 6' north to south by 9ft east to west.¹⁵⁸

Property no.6

Originally demised in 1610 to William Carpenter, a beer brewer, this property on 'the east side' of the alley was claimed to abut the tenements leased to Stephen Everet on the west, the yard of Thomas Coxe on the south east, and Richard Driver to the north. Presumably this refers to Everet's house across the yard (see entry for property no.1), and Cox's house was that adjoining to the plot of Woolsack alley. The property directly to the north (no.5 Woolsack) was leased by Liddon, so presumably Driver's property was that adjoining the Woolsack plot on the north east.

Carpenter's dwelling was described as having a cellar, a room on the ground floor, two chambers and a garret, and outdoors a small yard of 8ft (N to S) x 14ft that contained a privy. Unlike the leases associated with the other Woolsack properties, this lease, for 21 years at £6pa (no fine), also specifically noted that Carpenter (and his executors, servants and assigns) was to have unrestricted access to the communal pump in the alley.¹⁵⁹ Unsurprisingly, the parish documentation for the period is littered with references to men named William Carpenter, although it had not been possible to link any of them with this particular property. Perhaps this most likely candidate is the William Carpenter who served as the Church Warden and parish renter.¹⁶⁰

In the following years the resident was Edmund Lightfoot, a barber.¹⁶¹ The Lightfoot family was almost entirely wiped out in August 1625, presumably as a consequence of plague. Edward Lightfoot, born in 1621, was buried on the 3rd August 1625, the same day as his father. They were soon followed by the remaining of Edmund's sons, Thomas and George. The sole survivor of the Lightfoot family appears to have been the wife and mother, Rebeca, who may well have remarried just a year later to a William Fowke.¹⁶² It is not clear who occupied the property after the death of Edmund but Thomas Birkett (Burkett/Burkitts), a carpenter, is granted the lease in August 1629 for 41 years at £5pa (no fine). This was probably the same Thomas Birkett who was the church warden in 1636 and who had held various parish offices in the late 1620s onwards. It is unlikely that Birkett actually lived in the property. According to the 1638 tithes he lived along the High Street but was not grouped with the rest of the Woolsack inhabitants in the tithe listings, and he was paying £10 pa

moderated rents, well above the £5 pa for this Woolsack dwelling. It is instead likely that he lived in an adjoining property to the east that lay between the alley and Petticoat Lane.¹⁶³ It is possible that the house may have been empty for the 1638 tithe assessments, as clearly Birkett was subletting the house. Thomas is recorded in the Church Warden accounts as the rental payer until 1668 with his wife continuing for a few years after that. It is possible that Thomas may have died c.1656-7, as it is from that year onwards that Mrs Birkett is recorded as the rental payer in the assessment for the army.¹⁶⁴ Surprisingly, Thomas Birkett's burial does not seem to be recorded in the parish registers so it has been difficult to confirm when he did indeed die.

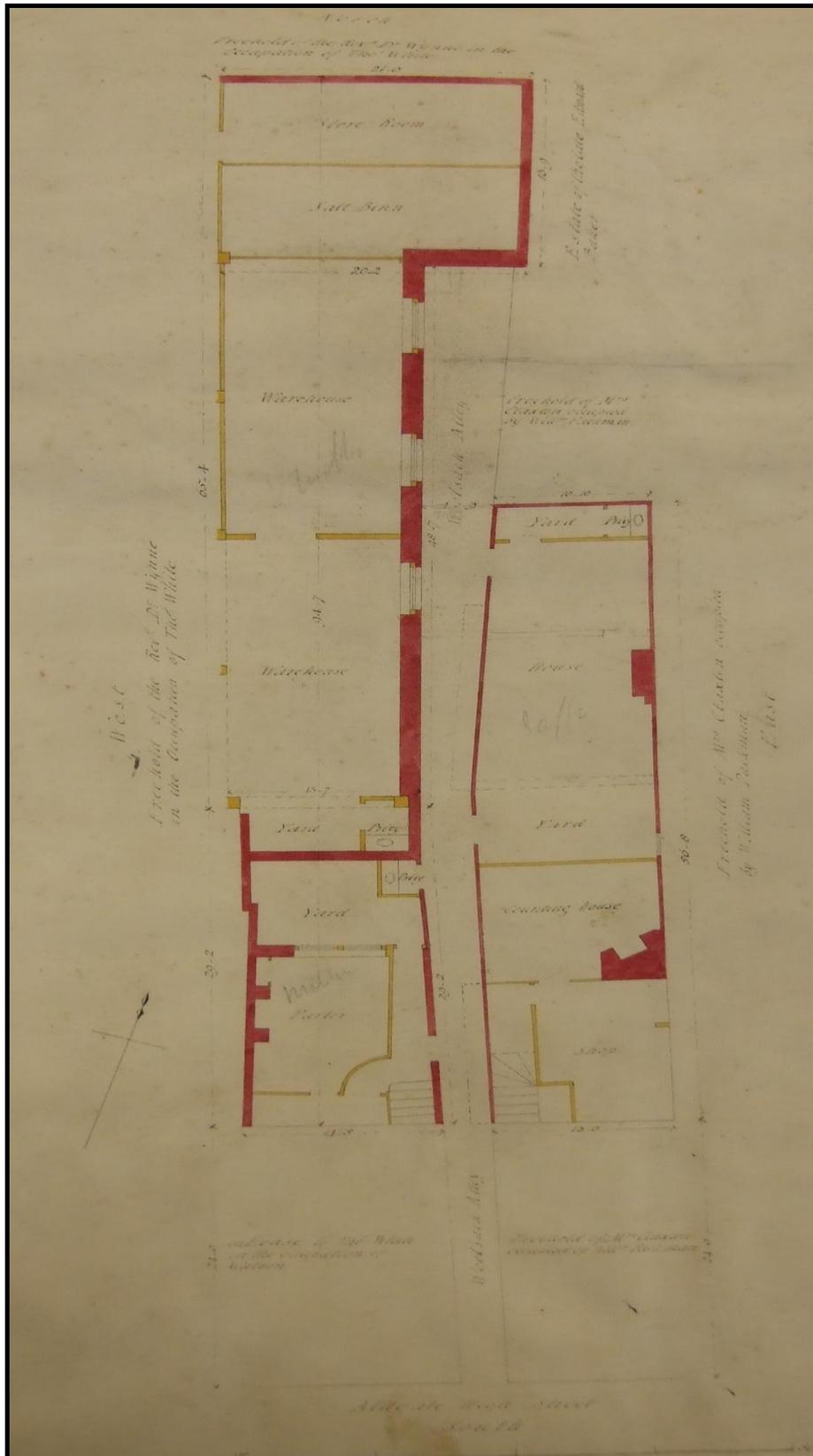
The next lessee was a grocer by the name of Andrew Kildermore, who was granted the lease in November 1670 for 31 years at £5 pa but - unusually for properties in the alley - with a £20 fine.¹⁶⁵ Kildermore had been resident since at least 1666 and probably much earlier; and, interestingly, the property appears to have had significantly more hearths than the others in the alley, 7, compared to 3 or 4 for the others. Kildermore was also recorded as a resident of an adjoining property when Birkett's widow Elizabeth sold the freehold in 1669.¹⁶⁶ It is possible, therefore, that at some point Birkett had combined the two properties - the one in Woolsack Alley and the one on his freehold land - to create a single larger dwelling. This would not only account for the large number of hearths but also for the higher assessed value associated with this property in assessments in the mid 1670s.¹⁶⁷

The distinctive surname of Kildermore allows us to identify several members of the family. Andrew was married to Elizabeth, who died in 1667.¹⁶⁸ A son, Andrew, was baptised in January 1648 and was buried in 1665.¹⁶⁹ Another son, Thomas, suffered the same fate, being born in 1656 and dying in 1659,¹⁷⁰ as did a daughter Elizabeth (baptised 1650, buried 1652).¹⁷¹ Kildermore's other children were daughters Ann (baptised 1651) and Elizabeth (baptised 1660), and sons John (baptised 1655) and William (buried 1659).¹⁷²

Kildermore continues to be listed in the church warden's accounts as the rental payer until 1684 although he no longer appears in the tax assessment lists after the 1674 Hearth taxes.¹⁷³ Whether he died or was simply subleasing is not clear, although there is no record of his burial in the parish registers.

The resident of the property in 1678 was Thomas Smith (Smyth) and his wife, and it was Smith, a pewterer, who was granted the next lease in March 1690. The lease included both properties no 5 and 6 in the alley and was for 31 years at £8pa with no fine mentioned. As with no.5, no.6 was described as a dwelling with a cellar a ground floor room, two chambers and one garret 'one over another' and one 'little paved yard behind the same'.¹⁷⁴

Woolsack Alley c.1810s:
from nineteenth century "Trust Money" book



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- ¹ British Library, Cotton App., xix, fol's 31-32, 1278-9.
- ² CLRO. escheat roll Emm, 59d-60 (calendar pp.93-4). Calendar Inquisition Misc., vol.5, 28 July 1397, p.91.
- ³ British Library, Cotton App., xix, fols.6-10 & fols 52-53.
- ⁴ PRO, E318/27/1527, St Botolph Aldgate, Cal Pat R Edward VI, vol.3, 14 July 1549, pp.143-7. PRO, E315/67 ff.16-18. PRO Sc6/ Edw 6, 294-7.
- ⁵ CLRO, St Botolph Aldgate viewers reports, misc MSS box 91, no.70, 8 May 1550.
- ⁶ Church Wardens Accounts (hereafter CW). The first mention of Grene is in GLMS 9235_3651, 1547-8, f.2. His death is record in GLMS 9235_3717, 1554-5, f.39.
- ⁷ GLMS 9235_3937, f.153.
- ⁸ Husting Roll, 260 (55).
- ⁹ GLMS 3606/1, St Botolph Aldgate Parish deeds, no.3.
- ¹⁰ Parish Clerks Memoranda (hereafter PCM), 1594, f.254.
- ¹¹ PCM, GLMs 9234/1, 1583, f.14. PCM, 1586, f.13.
- ¹² PCM, 1584, f.56 & f.65. PCM, 1588, f.106.
- ¹³ PCM, 1589, f.48.
- ¹⁴ PCM, 1590, f.92.
- ¹⁵ PCM, 1591, f.98. 1592, f.122.
- ¹⁶ PCM, 1590, f.99.
- ¹⁷ PCM, 1593, f.19. Mary was 60 years old and died of the plague.
- ¹⁸ PCM, 1593, f.80.
- ¹⁹ PCM, 1595, f.82 & f.109.
- ²⁰ PCM, 1595, f.111.
- ²¹ PCM, GLMS 9234/6, f.42 & f.21.
- ²² PCM, 1599, f.115 & f.119.
- ²³ PCM, 1599, f.232 & f.242.
- ²⁴ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1588, f.33.
- ²⁵ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1588, f.19 & 1592, f.160.
- ²⁶ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1589, f.81. 1591, f.130. 1592, f.147. 1593, f.80. 1592, f.147 & 1595, f.111.
- ²⁷ PCM, 1595, f.95.
- ²⁸ PCM, 1597, f.278-279.
- ²⁹ PCM, 1599, f.132.
- ³⁰ PCM, 1590, f.101& 104. 1591, f.105 &f.111. 1599, f.102.
- ³¹ PCM, 1593, f.78.
- ³² PCM, 1594, f.169.
- ³³ PCM, 1595, f.81.
- ³⁴ PCM, 1599, f.243.
- ³⁵ PCM, 1589, f.87.
- ³⁶ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1588, f.25.
- ³⁷ PCM, 1595, f.128.
- ³⁸ PCM, GLMS 9234/1, 1583, f.24.
- ³⁹ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1588, f.31.
- ⁴⁰ PCM, 1589, f.49.
- ⁴¹ PCM, GLMS 9234/2, 1588, f.33. 1589, f.106.
- ⁴² PCM, 1592, f.56.
- ⁴³ PCM, 1593, f.87.
- ⁴⁴ PCM, 1592, f.94. PCM, 1594, f.194. PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1598, f.130.
- ⁴⁵ PCM, 1592, f.161.
- ⁴⁶ PCM, 1597, f.293 & f.295.
- ⁴⁷ PCM, 1594, f.161.
- ⁴⁸ PCM, 1594, f.212. 1596, f.101.
- ⁴⁹ PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1598, f.52. 1599, f.146.
- ⁵⁰ PCM, GLMS 9234/6, f.1.
- ⁵¹ PCM, 1594, f.16 & f.29.
- ⁵² PCM, 1595, f.62.
- ⁵³ PCM, 1595, f.96.
- ⁵⁴ PCM, 1595, f.144.
- ⁵⁵ PCM, 1596, f.101.
- ⁵⁶ PCM, GLMS 9234/6, f.114.

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- ⁵⁷ PCM, 1597, f.229.
- ⁵⁸ PCM, 1597, f.230. PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1597, f.64.
- ⁵⁹ PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1597, f.13.
- ⁶⁰ PCM, 1598, f.98 & f.102.
- ⁶¹ PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1598, f.133.
- ⁶² PCM, GLMS 9234/7, 1598, f.142. & f.160.
- ⁶³ PCM, 1592, f.132. GLMS 9234/7, 1596, f.224. PCM, 1598, f.154. PCM, 1600, f.249.
- ⁶⁴ PCM, 1598, f.156.
- ⁶⁵ PCM, 1600, f.263.
- ⁶⁶ Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL microfilm 427), 19 Nov 1594.
- ⁶⁷ PCM, 9234/4, 28 Nov 1594.
- ⁶⁸ GLMS 3606/1, St Botolph Aldgate parish deeds, no.2, 23 Nov 1594.
- ⁶⁹ The Renter Wardens Accounts suggest that nearly £20 was spent in fees in relation to this episode GLMS 9235/1, pt.2, payments.
- ⁷⁰ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money Book, f.166. GLMS 9234/5, PCM, f.79, f.108-9, f.137, f.191.
- ⁷¹ GLMS 3606/1, no.10, 17 June 1599. GLMS 3606/1, 8 May 1599, 15 June 1599.
- ⁷² GLMS 3606/1, no.10, 17 June 1599.
- ⁷³ GLMS 9234/5, PCM, 3 July 1599, f.107.
- ⁷⁴ GLMS 9236, Vestry Minutes (hereafter VM), 3 May 1604, f.117.
- ⁷⁵ Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL mic 427), 20 Mar 1607-8, f.15.
- ⁷⁶ Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL mic 427) 20 Mar 1607-8, f.15.
- ⁷⁷ GLMS 9236, VM, 1583-1640, f.20, 11 July 1609. f.21, 14 Dec 1609.
- ⁷⁸ GLMS 9235/2, CWA payments, 1609-10.
- ⁷⁹ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, f.183-4. GLMS 9236, VM building accounts, f.12-13.
- ⁸⁰ BOD MS RAWL D796B, f.20.
- ⁸¹ GLMS 9223, f.191, 19 June 1614.
- ⁸² GLMS 3606/1, St Botolph Aldgate Parish Deeds, no.11, 26 Feb 1614.
- ⁸³ GLMS 9223, Births Marriages and Burials 1594-1607. PCM, 19 June 1614.
- ⁸⁴ For examples of money spent on repairs see: GLMS 9237, CW poor accounts 1622-73, f.38. GLMS 9235/2, CWA payments 1625-6, 1629-30, 1633-4, 1651-2, 1652-3, 1655-6, 1659-60, 1666-7.
- ⁸⁵ GLMS 3606/1, 20 March 1644. GLMS 9967, St Botolph Aldgate parish deeds, 2 Oct 1663.
- ⁸⁶ Hearth Taxes: COL.CHD.LA.03.25.9.37 014 (1672), TNA, E 179.252.23 035 (1674-5).
- ⁸⁷ PCM, 12 Jan 1616, f.1. 12 March 1616, f.8. VM, 18 July 1616.
- ⁸⁸ PCM, 27 July 1614, f.194. 21 July 1616, f.256. GLMS 9235_5447, CWA, f.259.
- ⁸⁹ GLMS 9966/1, 20 Dec 1610.
- ⁹⁰ GLMS 9223, register of BMB 1614-16. GLMS 9236, VM, 28 Oct 1619, f.65.
- ⁹¹ Bodl MS Rawl D796B, f.48, f.101, f.107, f.19.
- ⁹² GLMS 9236, VM 1583-1640, f.24.
- ⁹³ GLMS 3486/4, no.3, 20 Dec 1610.
- ⁹⁴ VM 1604-5. Bodl MS Rawl D796B, 1613, f.36. GLMS 9235, CWA, vol.2, f.199, f.230.
- ⁹⁵ GLMS 9223, reg of BMB 1614-16.
- ⁹⁶ GLMS 9237, CW poor accounts 1622-73. A number of 'assessments for the army' noted as follows: 10s in 1648-9, 12s 6d in 1649-50, 17s 1652-3. GLMS 9235/2, CW accounts parliamentary assessments, 1648-50.
- ⁹⁷ T.C Dale, *The inhabitants of London 1638*. (London 1931), and 1645 subsidies TNA E 179.147.557 61v-62r.
- ⁹⁸ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 25 June 1650. GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 3 June 1652, f.275. 3 May 1653, f.278-9.
- ⁹⁹ Parish Registers (hereafter PR), 27 April 1663, EvID 411713. GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1620-1690.
- ¹⁰⁰ Heath Taxes 1670, COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 009, f.17. Hearth Taxes, 1674, TNA, E 179.252.23 035, f.50. 18 Month Taxes, 1673, COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 045, f.1. and COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 020 f.19.
- ¹⁰¹ PRO, SC11/32, Rent Roll poor law lands. GLMS 9235, vol.2, no.2, 1620-1691.
- ¹⁰² COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 003, f.1. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 005, f.1.
- ¹⁰³ GLMS 9235, vol.2, no.2, 1620-1691. GLMS 2626, CWA, 1683-1715, f.63.
- ¹⁰⁴ PCM, 10 Sept 1614, f.197.
- ¹⁰⁵ GLMS 9236, VM, 10 Dec 1610, f.24. GLMS 9223, register of BMB, 1616.
- ¹⁰⁶ GLMS 3486/4, no.5, 31 March 1629.
- ¹⁰⁷ Bodl MS Rawl D796B, 1632, f.105. and 1635, f.104. Dale, *Inhabitants*.
- ¹⁰⁸ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 25 June 1650.
- ¹⁰⁹ GLMS 3486/4, no.7, 26 May 1653.
- ¹¹⁰ See footnote 28.
- ¹¹¹ GLMS 9237-1, CWA, 1661, f.162.

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- ¹¹² COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 009, f.17. COL.CHD.LA.03.25.9.37 014, f.14. PR, 15 May 1672, Ev Id 231760.
- ¹¹³ COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 045, f.1. TNA, E 179.252.23 035, f.50. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 020, f.19.
- ¹¹⁴ PRO, SC11/32, Rent Roll poor law lands.
- ¹¹⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 003, f.1. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 002, f.1.
- ¹¹⁶ PR, 15 March 1673, Ev Id 505031.
- ¹¹⁷ GLMS 9236, VM, 10 Dec 1610, f.24.
- ¹¹⁸ GLMS 3606/1, 20 Dec 1610.
- ¹¹⁹ GLMS 9223, register of BMB 1616. GLMS 9237, CW poor accounts 1622-3, f.38. Contains an entry for £2 paid to revert this lease.
- ¹²⁰ GLMS 9236, VM, 28 Oct 1619, f.65.
- ¹²¹ PCM, May 1614, f.186. March 1615, f.246.
- ¹²² PCM, 11 Jan 1618, f.67.
- ¹²³ PCM, 10 May 1618, f.48.
- ¹²⁴ PCM, 17 May 1617, f.103.
- ¹²⁵ GLMS 9235/2, CWA payments.
- ¹²⁶ PCM, 5 Oct 1624, f.233. 20 June 1625, f.260.
- ¹²⁷ GLMS 3426/4, no.8, 23 Oct 1634.
- ¹²⁸ PR, 24 June 1629, Ev Id 110897.
- ¹²⁹ PR, 1 April 1627, Ev Id 110119. 8 Sept 1630, Ev Id 111355.
- ¹³⁰ GLMS 9237-1, CWA 1634, f.64. 1635, f.67.
- ¹³¹ GLMS 9237-1, CWA, 1641, f.90.
- ¹³² GLMS 9235/2, CWA parliamentary assessments 1648-9 & 1652-3. GLMS 9237, CW poor accounts 1650. GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 25 June 1650, f.274.
- ¹³³ PRO, SC11/32 Rent roll of poor lands, 1653.
- ¹³⁴ GLMS 3486/4, no.14, 16 Oct 1655.
- ¹³⁵ PR, 4 Nov 1661, Ev Id 410667.
- ¹³⁶ PR, 26 Aug 1649, Ev Id 223307. 18 May 1651, Ev Id 119144. 4 Oct 1645, Ev Id 120259.
- ¹³⁷ GLMS 9235/2, CWA parliamentary assessments 1657-8, 1660-1 & 1662-3.
- ¹³⁸ PRO, SC11/32 Rent Roll poor lands.
- ¹³⁹ GLMS 9235/2, CWA parliamentary assessments 1671-2.
- ¹⁴⁰ COL.CHD.LA.03.66.22 017, f.3. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 009, f.17. COL.CHD.LA.03.25.9.37 014, f.14. COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 045, f.1.
- ¹⁴¹ GLMS 3486/4, no.32, 15 Sept 1674.
- ¹⁴² PRO, SC11/32 Rent Roll of poor lands, 1678-80.
- ¹⁴³ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 003, f.1. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 002, f.1.
- ¹⁴⁴ GLMS 3606/2, 1 Nov 1715.
- ¹⁴⁵ GLMS 9236, VM, 10 Dec 1610, f.24.
- ¹⁴⁶ PR, 6 Feb 1614, Ev Id 203953. 15 Nov 1616, Ev Id 204537.
- ¹⁴⁷ PCM, 12 Aug 1619, f.84. GLMS 9235, CWA, 1619-20, f.287. See his entry in A. Ashbee et al, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714, 2 vols.* (1998), 2.1178.
- ¹⁴⁸ GLMS 9223, reg of BMB 1614-16. GLMS 3486/4, no.6, 31 March 1629.
- ¹⁴⁹ PR, 19 July 1624, Ev Id 324514. 14 Nov 1623, Ev Id 207111. 12 Nov 1626, Ev Id 110013.
- ¹⁵⁰ PR, 20 July 1642, Ev Id 219184.
- ¹⁵¹ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 3 June 1652. GLMS 3486/4, no.10, 28 Oct 1652.
- ¹⁵² See footnote 28 for assessments. PR 5 June 1656, Ev Id 227301. 15 April 1663, Ev Id 411687.
- ¹⁵³ GLMS 9235/2, CWA payments 1662-3.
- ¹⁵⁴ GLMS 9236, VM, box.E.
- ¹⁵⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 009, f.17. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.17 015, f.13.
- ¹⁵⁶ COL.CHD.LA.03.25.9.37 014, f.14. COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 045, f.1. TNA E 179.252.23 036, f.50.
- ¹⁵⁷ PRO, Sc11/32 Rent Roll of poor lands, 1679-80. GLMS 9235, vol.2, no.2, 1620-1691.
- ¹⁵⁸ LMA, P69/BOT2/D/020/MS03486/003.
- ¹⁵⁹ GLMS 3486/4, no.4, 20 Dec 1610.
- ¹⁶⁰ PCM, 12 April 1615, f.216.
- ¹⁶¹ GLMS 9223, reg of BMB 1614-16. Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL mic 427)
- ¹⁶² PR, 18 Nov 1621, Ev Id 108594. 3 Aug 1625, Ev Id 208800. 3 Aug 1625, Ev Id 208731. 9 Aug 1625, Ev Id 209028. 18 Aug 1625, Ev Id 209392. 30 Nov 1626, Ev Id 317339.
- ¹⁶³ Husting Roll, 3 June 1633, 310 PL.
- ¹⁶⁴ GLMS 9236, VM, box.E, f.20. See: GLMS 9235/2, CWA, Parliamentary assessment 1657-8, for first mention of Mrs Birketts. Assessments span period as per footnote 28.

¹⁶⁵ GLMS 3486/4, no.17, 9 Nov 1670.

¹⁶⁶ Husting Roll, 6 Dec 1669, 340 (134).

¹⁶⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 045v, f.1. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 020, f.19.

¹⁶⁸ PR, 9 March 1667, Ev Id 515332.

¹⁶⁹ PR, 21 Jan 1648, Ev Id 407047. 1 Aug 1665, Ev Id 413541.

¹⁷⁰ PR, 21 Jan 1656, Ev Id 121170. 28 April 1659, Ev Id 229367.

¹⁷¹ PR, 28 March 1650, Ev Id 118870. 8 June 1652, Ev Id 224776

¹⁷² PR, 28 Dec 1651, Ev Id 119341. 15 Nov 1660, Ev Id 122385. 6 June 1655, Ev Id 120532. 20 Nov 1659, Ev Id 229911.

¹⁷³ GLMS 9235, vol.2, no.2, 1620-1691. TNA, E 179.252.23 036, f.50.

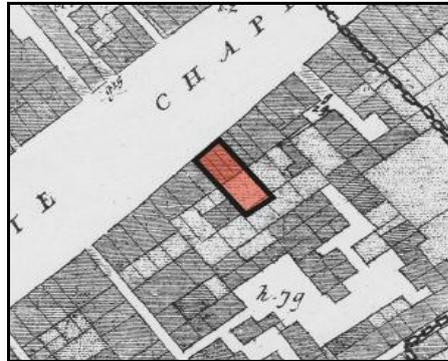
¹⁷⁴ LMA, P69/BOT2/D/022/MS03606/001.

43/5/1

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(THE STIRRUP & No.52, ALDGATE HIGH STREET, SOUTH SIDE):

These properties occupied a plot on Aldgate High Street. The plot corresponds to the area covered by numbers 36 and 37 on the Portsoken ward map of 1858.



Demise of the freehold

Initially in the 1570s these two properties were apparently two separate freeholds, probably in the possession of George and Elizabeth Elyott, and Ann Munders. There is a record of an indenture of a fine between William Newton and these parties in June-July 1576.¹ Newton leased no.52 from Simon Wilson, a gentleman, in March 1577; and a minstrel of London named Richard Frithe leased the adjoining property to Christopher Benne in January 1579-80. It is probable that Elyott, Munders, Wilson and Frithe all held various interests in the properties, although the exact nature of these is unclear. It is probable that the Elyott's and Munders were indeed the freeholders as in May 1588 they agreed a bargain and sale between themselves and Newton for the two houses.²

The Stirrup (no's. 53 & 54 High Street)

This property first etches its presence into the historical record in January 1579-80 with the lease between Frithe and Benne, a saddler, for 18 years with a fine of 20s and a rental charge of £40pa. The usual covenants of lessee repair and the right of the Frithe to re-enter the property if the rent was over 28 days overdue were stipulated. The property was abutted to the east by a tenement in the occupation of William Holmes, a butcher, and to the west by a tenement and garden occupied by Martin Decuster, a coach harness maker.³ Benn was apparently something of a parish notable, presumably due to the fact that the Stirrup was a local tipping house, because he was involved in parish life (acting as an assistant vestryman in 1587 and coroner in 1592⁴), and because he lived to an exceptional age. However, the same could not be said of several of the inhabitants of the Stirrup. In November 1593 Margaret Saunders, a servant to Benn, died at the age of 25. The cause of death was given as 'timpler'. Later that year a bachelor carter by the name of Robert Deacon perished of the plague aged 45 whilst dwelling at the Stirrup, as did another servant in March 1594, a boy aged 14 by the name of Richard Besto.⁵

The affection and esteem in which Benn was held was illustrated in 1596 when the parish held a collection to raise money to for him as he was currently held in Ludgate prison for owing £34 to his creditors. On Sunday the 5th of September at the parish church John

Goswell and Richard Riptonn 'did gather and collect the good wills of the well disposed parishioners . . . for the use and behalf of Christopher Benn an ancient parishioner being old and in need.' They raised the sum of 32s and 5d for Benn 'to relieve his said necessity and to pay his charges there in prison.'⁶

His wife Philis/Fillis/Phillia who he had married in 1560 died in 1599. It was noted in the PCMs that she was 'of great age' and as befitting a woman of such longevity, her burial was conducted by the minister, using the best church cloth. For her burial 14d was also spent on 'the pit and knell', 8d was spent on 'three passing belles', 14d on four bearers, and 4d 'for the searchers'.⁷ It is probable that Benne was issued a further lease sometime in the 1590s as he continued to lease and occupy the property until his death in 1613.⁸ At the time of his death it was claimed that he was 'aged about 100 years', and as befitting for such a long lived member of the parish, he was buried in the south churchyard and his funeral was accompanied with the black cloth and a knell with the great bell.⁹

The property was in the hands of the parish in 1594 as part of Newton's gift (see entry for Woolsack Alley for details of the bequest). But by the mid-1610s they seemed to be unsure as to what course of action to take regarding the property. They allowed it to be let to a tenant-at-will by the name of John Sutton, a joyner (who was occasionally employed by the parish¹⁰), for a short period between Benn's death and the granting of a new lease for both this and the adjoining property to 'our minister' John Brigges in April 1614.¹¹ Interestingly, the record of this agreement in the vestry minutes does not include the terms or charge of the lease. The reason for this becomes clear in July, as at a general meeting of the vestry a 'conference was had' to debate whether it was 'more Convenient to have them Newlie Built, or to be lett as they are for yearly Rent'. In other words, the parish was deciding whether the properties should be rebuilt, which would thereby entail the issuing of a lease for a number of years, or simply lease the properties as they were on a rolling yearly basis, presumably similar to tenancy at will. There is no information in the parochial documents to suggest that the buildings were in poor repair, or give any indication as to quite why rebuilding was necessary. The vestry decided that 'it was most fitting that the Parish should Build them' and therefore took the very unusual decision to rebuild both the properties at the parish's expense, and presumably lease the properties to Brigges for a number of years.¹² Brigges himself was at the meeting. Yet the same document also records that 'this agreement took no effect', and in December 1614 it was agreed at a vestry meeting that Sutton should receive a lease of 21 years at £18pa rent for both properties combined.¹³ This rental of £9pa was a relatively high charge. Sutton was to be 'put in good security to keep the said houses in good reparations'. Whether this suggests that some work had been undertaken by the parish to improve the dwellings, or whether Sutton was essentially being covenanted to undertake the works himself is not clear. However, the vestry minute entry for 15th December notes that 'There is another course taken, about these two houses'. In May 1615 the vestry minutes record that Sutton was to be granted the lease, but this passage is subsequently crossed out. Underneath this is instead written that Sutton came before the vestry and 'promised to surrender uppe his lease', after returning home to fetch his lease, he returned to inform the vestry that 'he would not stand to his former promise.' Although rather confusingly worded it does appear that Sutton was surrendering his lease on the basis that he was unable or unwilling to conform to the stipulations set out in the lease of December 1614. It is possible that Sutton had simply over extended himself financially. Instead in November 1615 Sutton was granted a lease for just one property, the Stirrup, at £9pa, and agreeing to 'performing such Covenantes as in his Former lease is expressed, and giving to the parish the like Securitie as he did before.' The other property was granted to Abel Oliffe for £7p.a. (see property no.52 below).¹⁴ There is still no indication as to whether the property was ever rebuilt, but interestingly, the parish is recorded as paying a carpenter (£1) for work on the house in December 1616.¹⁵

It appears that the Stirrup continued to be used as a tippling house, as upon his death in 1629, Sutton's occupation in the parish registers was recorded as a 'victualler free of the joiners'.¹⁶ The church wardens' accounts record that he was buried in the north churchyard to the accompaniment of the knells of the church bells and the use of the best cloth, and at the cost of 9s 4d.¹⁷ It is not clear who occupied the property after Sutton's death but at the expiration of the lease in 1635 the Stirrup becomes divided on a north to south axis into two properties, which are leased separately.

The Stirrup A

The first documented entry for this part of the Stirrup is in December 1635, when it is leased by the parish to Edward Lawson and his wife Anne who were the current occupants, for 21 years, at £10 rent pa, and a fine of £15. Lawson is variously described as a cook and a victualler. It is possible that they had been living in the property since 1630 when their son Edward is born.¹⁸ The lease contains the usual covenants regarding repair by the lessee, and the right of the parish to view the property, but it also notes that Lawson was forbidden to 'sell' (presumably meaning assigning the lease) unless the first offer was made to the parish.¹⁹ A sum of 10s 6d was spent by the parish 'at ye Stirrup about ye parish business' in 1635 so presumably the vestry was holding meetings or official gatherings at the tavern.²⁰ In 1636 Edward Lawson junior was buried. He was described as an 'infant' so whether this is indeed the same son born in 1630 is not clear. His mother is recorded as Agnes Lawson rather than Anne.²¹ Edward senior is noted in the 1638 tithes paying £8pa moderated rent, and he himself dies in 1641.²² A Mr Lawson is still recorded as the rental payer in 1645 although this is probably a mistake and more likely to have been the widow Mrs Lawson. The church warden's accounts of 1646 note that a Thomas Sparkes is now the occupant, and had probably been assigned the lease.²³ It is possible that Lawson was survived by his widow who in 1651 was in receipt of some form of relief from the parish.²⁴ Sparkes who was noted as a victualler in the vestry minutes continued to pay the rental until the end of the lease in 1654. Interestingly there is some evidence that nursing may have occurred at the tavern as a 1647 entry in the church wardens accounts notes that £1 6s was paid to Goody Peirson 'for keeping Reads childe at ye stirrup.'²⁵ Sparkes may have been the same Thomas Sparkes who, with his wife Margaret, had a son by the name of Thomas in 1646: although the Thomas Snr involved was recorded as a Merchant Taylor living in the High Street rather than a victualler.²⁶

The next lease was signed for the property in January 1653-4 saw a considerable increase in both the length of the lease, but also, most notably, the level of the fine. The property was valued by the parish at £15pa, yet despite this presumed 50% increase in rental value they leased the Stirrup to a butcher called Alexander Hall for a 51 year term at £10 pa rental, albeit with a substantial £100 fine. The covenants note that repairs to the property, in particular the 'pales and fences' to the backyard, were the responsibility of the lessee, but whereas in the lease of 1635 to Lawson the parish was allowed to view the property twice per year, in Hall's lease this surveillance was increased to four times per annum. Similarly whereas Lawson was given 6 months grace to affect repairs, Hall would be allowed just three. The parish's motivation for keeping such a close eye on Hall's tenancy is not immediately clear.²⁷ Hall entered into bond to pay the fine in yearly instalments of £25, the final one received by the parish in 1658.²⁸ He continues to be listed as the rental payer as far as 1680.²⁹

The Stirrup B

This half of the Stirrup is apparently in the tenure of Michael Strettons in 1637 was coveted by William Ardington, although judging by the terms he offered, the property was in some disrepair. In return for a 51 years lease, Ardington offered the parish £7 pa rent (including £12 pa for the 'remainder of the term', which presumably meant the remainder of the existing lease) and the promise to rebuild the property within seven years. He also apparently offered to resolve an issue over a piece of ground behind the property, although the nature of this issue is not recorded. No fine was mentioned.³⁰ The plot was measured by the parish in June 1640, presumably to include in the lease, which sadly appears not to have survived.³¹ It is almost certain that a lease was signed as William Ardington pays £7pa rental on the property until his death in 1651-2. Upon his death, the parish ordered that Michael Stretton's name was to be 'put in the rent roll in the room of William Ardington', whether this indicates that Stretton was again assigned the lease is not clear, although his name does appear in assessment list of 1652-3.³² The resident or potentially the lessee then appears to have been a Nicholas Adames from 1653-4 till 1655-6,³³ although this particular relationship may have soured somewhat by 1656-7 as the church wardens' accounts note that the parish had paid 2s 4d for the 'arrest' of Adames.³⁴

The death of William Ardington does seem to have triggered some form of legal dispute between the parish and a Mr Ardington, presumably William's son Lawrence. After the death of William senior members of the vestry were instructed to 'look through the writings and see what they can find concerning the house that was in the tenure of Mr Ardington deceased.'³⁵ No reason is given for this instruction. Whatever it is that is vexing the vestry continues to do so for several years, and in September 1656 the Parish Clerks Memoranda record that the vestry was to meet to 'consider the state of business between the parish and Mr Ardington, there being a suit now depending' between them.³⁶ It is probable that this suit was between the parish and Lawrence Ardington over the fact that Lawrence's father William had not rebuilt the house prior to his death, and as was stipulated in his lease, and it is probable that the disagreement was ended by Lawrence being given a new lease on the property in return for him rebuilding.³⁷ Unless Lawrence had been assigned the lease by his father it is difficult to see how he may have become liable for the covenants in his father's lease agreement. Whatever the case, the whole incident indicates the parish's determination, not only to get the property rebuilt, but also to ensure that, at least part of the costs were borne by a lessee. The lease that Ardington was granted was for a term of 51 years, although unfortunately no rental charge or fine is recorded. What is recorded however is the building materials and dimensions. Ardington was ordered to build a house 'with good oaken timber three stories above the cellar besides the roof and to raise the ground to carry the water unto the street'. If it was not possible to build in timber then it should be built 'substantial and workmanlike with brick.' The dimensions were given as 17ft 11" along the street front, 63ft on the eastern wall, 17ft across the rear, and 64ft on the western boundary.³⁸

Ardington continues to be assessed for the property for a short period until 1658-9. It likely that it is then sub-tenanted by Mrs Ingolsbie until 1666-7, a Mr Burges for two years after 1667-8, with the final two recorded tenants as widow Burges in 1671³⁹ and a widow Mullings 1678-80.⁴⁰ The rental charge was recorded as £10pa both in 1665-6 and 1678-80.⁴¹ A plan of the property is contained in a late eighteenth century lease which confirms the division of the property into two units, although it is almost certain that both dwellings had altered markedly by this time.⁴²

Number 52 the High Street

As with the Stirrup only one record exists for this property prior to its purchase by Newton in 1588, this was the indenture for a lease between Simon Wilson, a gentleman, and Newton. In return for a 21 year term, a fine of £7 was paid, and rental charge was set at 39s. The covenants note that Wilson was allowed to view the property once per year, and give warning if repairs were needed. The property was described as possessing rooms, chambers, a kitchen, a cellar and a yard, and judging by the covenant for repair, it was mainly a timber construction and also possessed a privy. The dwelling was currently in the occupation of William Holmes, a butcher, and was abutted on the east by a tenement in the occupation of George Curwyn, and on the west by a tenement and garden occupied by Christopher Ben, a saddler.⁴³ Holmes was still resident in the property according to Newton's will in November 1594, although by 1614, when John Brigges was offered the lease, a butcher called Abel Oliffe was dwelling there.⁴⁴ As with the Stirrup (see above), there was debate as to whether the properties should be rebuilt, and eventually a lease was granted to Oliffe rather than to Brigges. The lease was for a 21 year term at £7pa, with the stipulation that Oliffe give a 'good security'.⁴⁵ It is possible that by 1616 the property was occupied by John S---ey (the name is obscured) possibly now married to Oliffe's wife/widow.⁴⁶

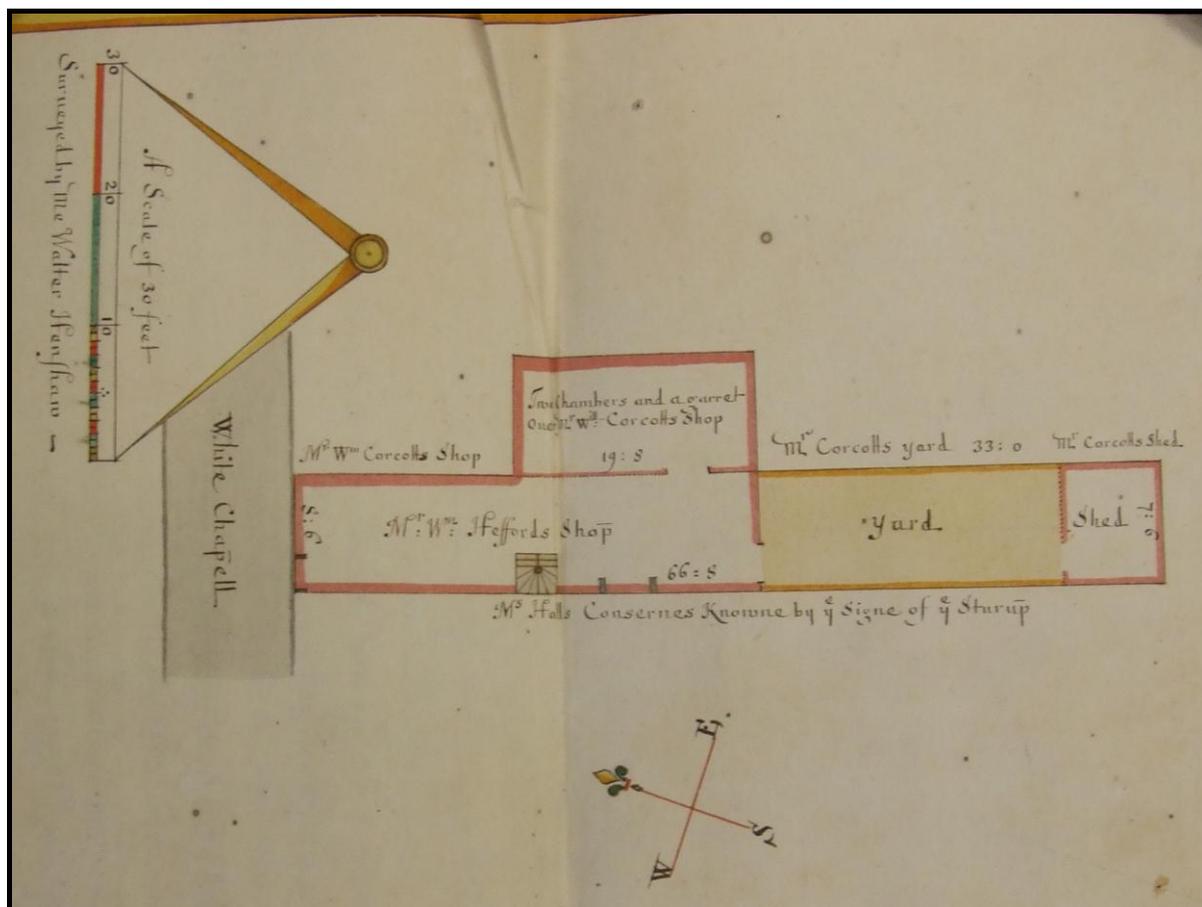
As with The Stirrup at some point after this the property becomes divided into two, with separate leases issued for each dwelling. No.52 A was the west tenant, whilst no.52 B was the easterly of the two.

Number 52.A

It appears that both number's.52 A&B were 'butchers houses' by the mid seventeenth century according to a vestry meeting of June 1649 which requested that a committee of the vestry sought to 'agree' with the current lessees, John Warren a draper in 52A, and Mr Marshrother in 52B, about the terms of new leases. The committee, comprised of five men 'for the ward', and six 'for East Smithfield', was also required to 'consider about the shops under the church wall whose they shall be', and report back about the agreements they had reached by the 1st August that year.⁴⁷ The contents of that "report" are unrecorded, however in mid August a vestry meeting agreed that Warren and Marshrother, should pay the £6 for the previous half-years rent, and £6 for the oncoming half yearly charge, and then 'surrender their houses unto the church wardens for the use of the poor, and after they shall be put in reparation they are promised the refusal of them.' Quite what this proposal meant, and what the parish is attempting to achieve here is unclear, however by February 1650 the parish had agreed to lease the property back to Warren for 21 years at £6pa, albeit with another proviso that he would have to bestow £10 within two years 'upon the entire reparations' of the house.⁴⁸ The lease itself, sealed in March 1650, notes that the work to be carried out by Warren 'new building and reedifying the said premises' had to be evaluated by two 'honest workmen, indifferently chosen' in order to ensure that £10 had indeed been spent. The lease also contained the covenants that any repairs to the pavements, privies, sinks, gutters, widdraughts, and the property in general must be carried out within six months of warning being given by the parish. Finally the document records that William Addington occupied the abutting property to the west.⁴⁹

Warren continues to appear in the various rent rolls and parliamentary assessments, up until the assesment of 1657-8 when the tenant of no.52B Nicholas Adams is noted in the assessment list, presumably having been assigned Warren's lease.⁵⁰ In 1667 the vestry minutes record that Adams (noted as a butcher) was offered the lease for 21 years from Christmas 1670, with a £14 fine and £6pa rental. Presumably Adams entered into the lease as again he continues to appear in the churchwardens account, but interestingly paying just

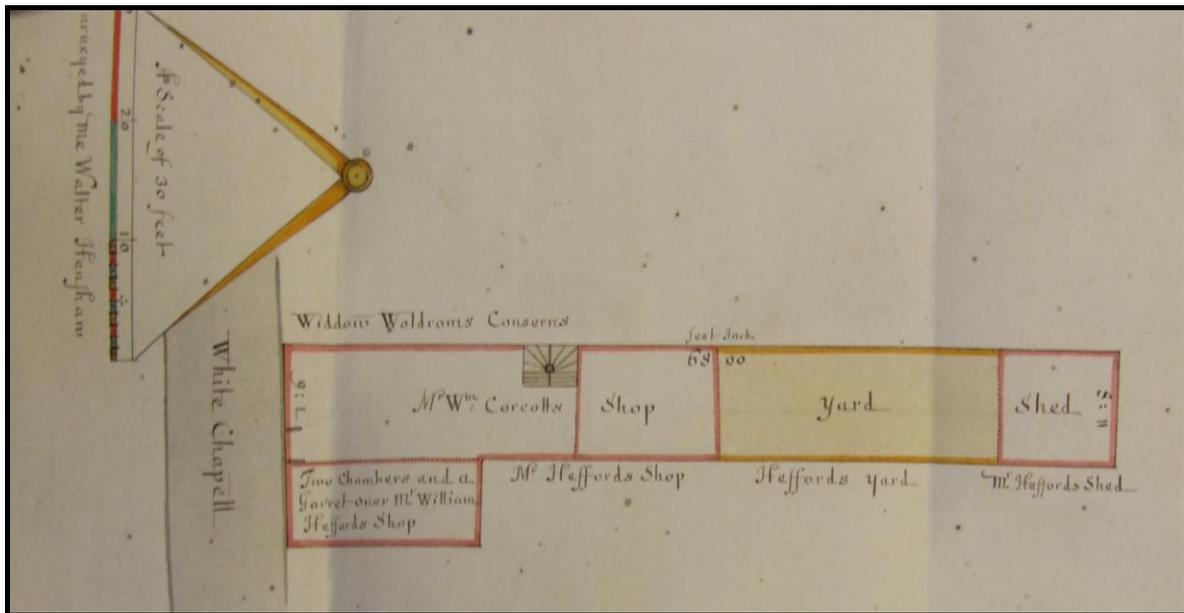
£12pa rent for the two properties rather than £14.⁵¹ The accounts also record that between 1674 and 1678 a Thomas Braiynne was the rental payer for both 52.A and 52.B. He continues to pay the rent on just 52.A from 1679 until 1683, when the lease is apparently assigned to a Mr Hyott.⁵² A lease of December 1706 to William Halford, a butcher, contains a plan of the property, described as a ‘messuage and yard’ with ‘shed behind the same’. The lease was for 41 years, at £9pa, and no fine. To the east was the dwelling of Roger Alton, and the west William Corkett.⁵³



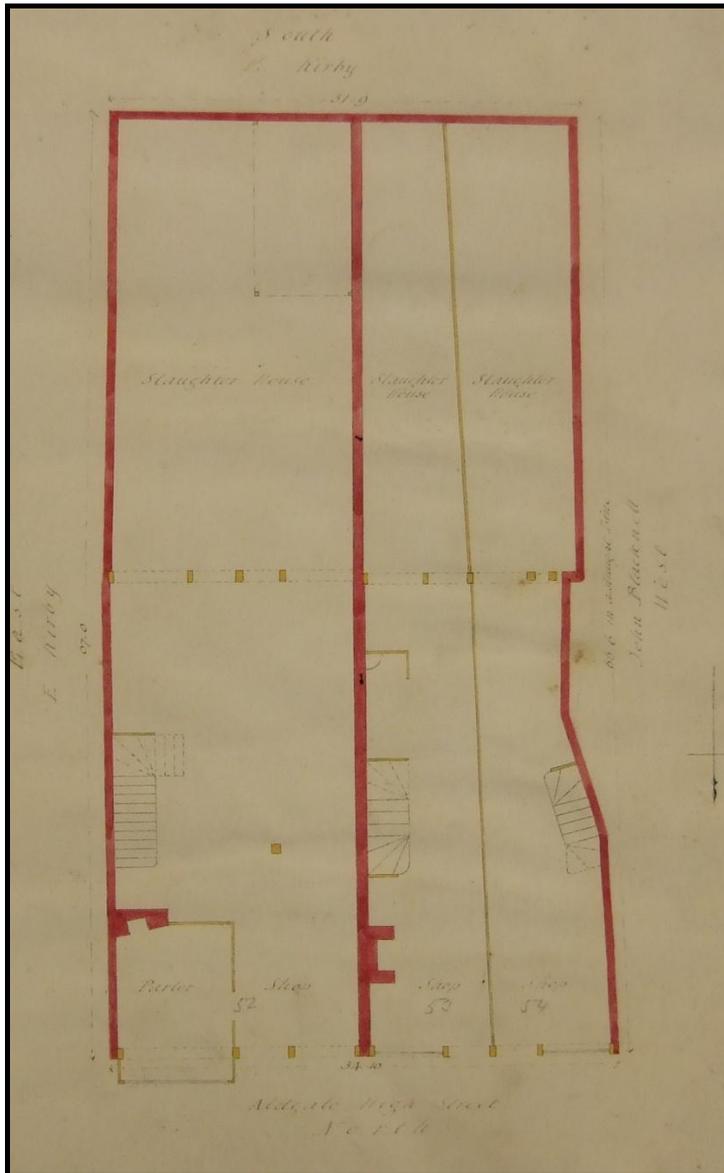
Number 52.B

After the deliberations over the lease in 1649 (see 52.A above) Marshrother a butcher was granted a 21 year lease at £6pa in March 1650. As with Warren, he was required to spend £10 on repairs to the property, and see to its upkeep as detailed in Warren's lease. His neighbours were noted as John Warren to the west and the ‘tenement or tavern now in the tenure of Thomas Sleightholme’ to the east.⁵⁴ The churchwardens accounts recorded that John remained the rental payer until his death in 1653-4, with his widow subsequently taking over for a single year before Nicholas Adams is presumably assigned the lease and adopts the property as ‘his dwelling house.’⁵⁵ Adams is also assigned the lease for the neighbouring property 52.B in 1657-8 (see above), but as with property 52.A it appears that the lease was in the hands of Thomas Braiynne between 1674 and 1678. Oddly, Adams is again recorded as the rental payer from 1680 until 1689. By 1690 the property, along with 52.A is in the hands of Mr Hyott. A lease of 12 December 1706 records the lessee as a William Corkett, with the

property of William Halford situated to the east, and the property of Robert Waldron to the west.⁵⁶



A final plan of the building contained in a nineteenth century document indicates that both properties continued to be used as shops (presumably for butchers) and contained slaughterhouses to the rear.⁵⁷



¹ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, f.169.

² GLMS 9236, Vestry Minutes (hereafter VM)

³ GLMS 9965, Deeds relating to parish property, box 1, 28 Jan 1579-80.

⁴ Parish Clerks Memoranda (hereafter PCM), 21 June 1587, f.93. 11 April 1592, f.62.

⁵ PCM, 1 Nov 1593, f.65. February 1593-4, f.127. March 1594, f.142.

⁶ PCM, 5 Sept 1596, f.32.

⁷ Parish Registers (hereafter PR), 27 Jan 1560, Ev Id 311780. 12 Oct 1599, Ev Id 301648. PCM, 16 Oct 1599, f.160.

⁸ GLMS 9236, VM, 27 Jan 1613- (14?) GLMS 9235_5394, Church Wardens Accounts (hereafter CWA), f.23.

⁹ PR, 09 August 1613, Ev Id 203481.

¹⁰ GLMS 9235, CWA, vol.2, 1613-14, f.236.

¹¹ GLMS 9236, VM, 28 April 1614. 6 July 1614.

¹² GLMS 9236, 6 July 1614.

¹³ GLMS 9236, VM, 15 Dec 1614, f.35. 12 May 1615, f.38.

¹⁴ GLMS 9236, VM, 12 May 1615, f.38. 2 Nov 1615, f.44.

¹⁵ Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL microfilm 427), 23 Dec 1616, f.103.

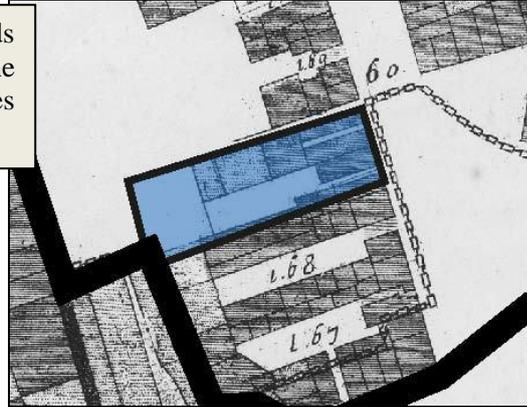
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- ¹⁶ PR, 06 July 1629, Ev Id 211377.
- ¹⁷ GLMS 9235, CWA, vol.2, pt 1. 1628-29, f.361.
- ¹⁸ PR, 24 Oct 1630, Ev Id 111393.
- ¹⁹ GLMS 3486/4, Deeds relating to parish property, no.15, 16 Dec 1635.
- ²⁰ GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1635-6.
- ²¹ PR 16 Nov 1636, Ev Id 215666.
- ²² PR 03 Jan 1641, Ev Id 218938.
- ²³ GLMS 9235, CWA, vol.2 pt 1. 1628-29, f.448 and f.450. T.C Dale, *The inhabitants of London 1638*. (London 1931)
- ²⁴ GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1645-6, 1648-50. GLMS 9237, CW Poor Accounts, 1651.
- ²⁵ GLMS 9237/1, CWA, 1647, f.111.
- ²⁶ PR, 13 Sept 1646, Ev Id 406149.
- ²⁷ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 5 May 1653, f.278. GLMS 9966/1, Deeds relating to parish property, 15 Jan 1653-4.
- ²⁸ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 29 Nov 1653. GLMS 9237, CW Poor Accounts, 20 June 1654 and 1658.
- ²⁹ PRO SC11/32 Rent Roll of poor lands.
- ³⁰ GLMS 9236, VM, 7 June 1637, f.99.
- ³¹ GLMS 9236, VM, 14 June 1640.
- ³² GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 3 June 1652, f.276. GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1652-3.
- ³³ PRO SC11/32 Rent Roll of poor lands. GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1655-6.
- ³⁴ GLMS 9235/2, CWA, 1656-7.
- ³⁵ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 19 July 1652.
- ³⁶ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 22 Sept 1656, f.280.
- ³⁷ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 7 Dec 1656, f.281.
- ³⁸ GLMS 9236, VM, Box. E.
- ³⁹ GLMS 9235/2, CWA parliamentary assessments 1657-8 to 1671-2.
- ⁴⁰ PRO SC11/32, Rent Roll of poor lands, 1678-80.
- ⁴¹ PRO SC11/32, Rent Roll of poor lands, 1665-6 and 1678-80
- ⁴² GLMS 3486/1, Deeds relating to parish property, no.62, 31 Jan 1788.
- ⁴³ GLMS 9966, Deeds relating to parish property, box.1, 23 March 1577.
- ⁴⁴ Bodl MS Rawl D796B (GL microfilm 427) 19th Nov 1594. GLMS 9236, VM, 27 Jan 1613 & 28 April 1614.
- ⁴⁵ GLMS 9236, VM, 2 Nov 1615.
- ⁴⁶ GLMS 9223, Register of Births, Marriages and Burials, 1616.
- ⁴⁷ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 27 June 1649, f.272.
- ⁴⁸ GLMS 9234/8, PCM, 14 Aug 1649, f.273. and 5 Feb 1650.
- ⁴⁹ GLMS 9966/1, Deeds relating to parish property, (no.22), 10 March 1650.
- ⁵⁰ GLMS 9235/2, CWA parliamentary assessments, 1657-8.
- ⁵¹ PRO SC11/32 Rent Rolls poor lands, 1679-80.
- ⁵² GLMS 9235/2, CWA.
- ⁵³ GLMS 9966, Deeds relating to parish property, box.1, 12 Dec 1706.
- ⁵⁴ GLMS 3486/2, Deeds relating to parish property, no.23, 10 March 1650.
- ⁵⁵ GLMS 9235/2, CWA.
- ⁵⁶ GLMS 9966, Deeds relating to parish property, box.1, 12 Dec 1706.
- ⁵⁷ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, fol.169.

43/6/1

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(THE GREEN DRAGON, No.3 MINORIES, EAST SIDE):

This property occupied a plot towards the south of the Minories on the west side. The plot corresponds to numbers 92-94 the Minories on the Portsoken ward map of 1858.



i. 1575-1660

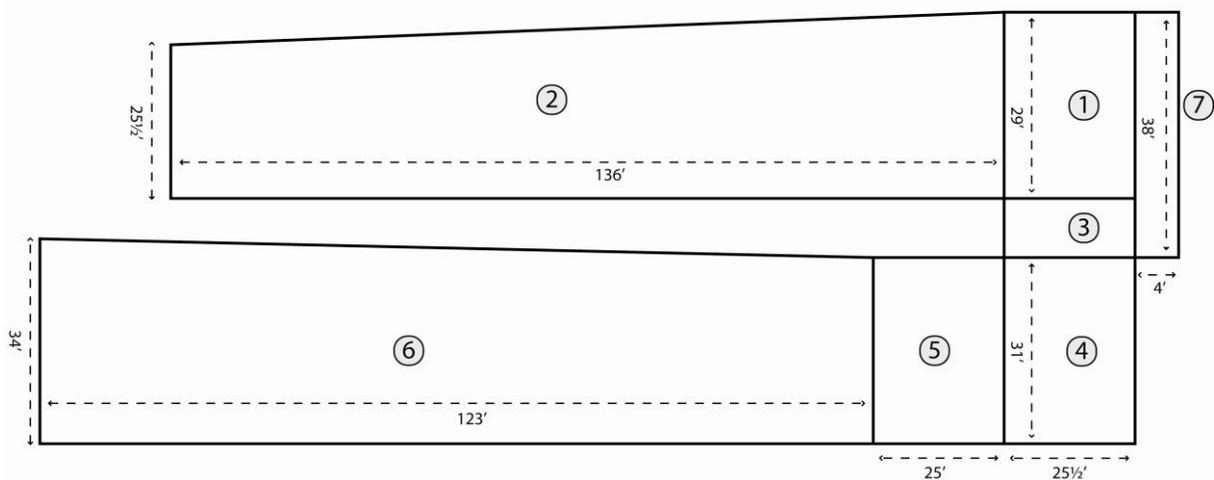
This property was first recorded as a garden in East Smithfield that had been ‘lately enclosed’ by a William Wyggins, a skinner, who had leased the plot from the City for a term of 41 years at a rent of 10s pa.¹ A few years later, in 1581, Wyggins surrenders his lease (the reasons are not recorded) and is issued another lease on ‘his garden near the postern’, again for 41 years at 10s pa with covenants regarding repairs (again unrecorded).² At some point over the next 15 years Wyggins must have constructed a dwelling on the plot as when he surrendered his lease yet again in March 1597-8 the grant books note that the lease now comprised of a tenement and a garden. Wyggins (possibly in view of his construction of this dwelling) and his wife were granted a lease for 50 years. Interestingly, the lease contained the covenant that if the property ‘came to possession of a foreign’ i.e. a non-freeman either by Wyggins assigning the lease or by his wife remarrying, ‘or be not preserved for the City’s use, the lease shall be void’. To ensure Wyggins’s compliance the lease required the tenant to enter into a bond on the alienation of the lease.³

The historical record falls silent for a number of decades after this until 1632 when the City’s cash books record that Thomas Matthew, who had presumably been assigned the lease, was paying the rental on the property at a rate of 10s. His widow, Joane was assigned the lease upon the death of Thomas in c.1639-40, although it appears that a Johan Matthew(?) acquired the lease in 1642-3 and remained the lessee until its expiry in 1647-8. The City, as was its wont, had agreed terms some years earlier in 1645 with a new lessee of the property, a widow by the name of Anne Tedder, for a 31 year term at 40s pa rent. Tedder paid a £200 fine for the lease of the property now described as a tenement by the name of the Greene Dragon which was used as a tavern, with a stable and ground adjoining.⁴ Tedder had been living there since at least 1637 as she is recorded as paying £4 pa (£3 pa moderated rent) in the 1637 tithes.⁵ The grant books also record that the current lessee, Mrs Matthews, would allow Mrs Tedder to dwell in the tenement until her (Matthews) lease expired in 1647-8 for a seemingly prohibitive rent of £27pa, although presumably Tedder accepted these terms as she is noted as the occupier in June 1647.⁶ By June 1647 Tedder had already spent money on

‘new building’ parts of the property and, in recognition of her outlay, the committee granted her a newly extended lease for 45 years.⁷

Yet, despite her investment in the property, just a few months later in November 1647 Tedder assigned and granted the lease to a London gentleman by the name of John Hatt. It appears that this was not a straightforward assignation, with Hatt simply subleasing the property, but rather it is probable that Tedder actually surrendered her lease (although this is not stated) as the subsequent indenture demising the property to Hatt in December 1647 was between himself and the Corporation (the freeholder). Why Tedder had chosen this course of action is intriguing - the indenture suggests she may have continued to occupy a dwelling she had constructed on the site - but the documentation provides no further clues. What the documentation does provide, however, is a detailed description of the tavern and the related buildings.

The description and dimensions given in the lease provide the following layout: (North is to the top, and the eastern side abutted the Minories.)



1 - The tavern (29x25½ft) contained two cellars, with the ground floor consisting of two drinking rooms, a hall and a kitchen. The second floor comprised of four rooms, with another five rooms on the third floor.

2 – The garden of the tavern

3 – Anne Tedder’s dwelling contained a cellar, a kitchen and buttery on the ground floor, second and third floors of two chambers each, and topped off with a garrett. This dwelling was described as a ‘new building’.

4 – Two stables in the ‘occupation’ of William Stane

5 – Three sheds containing a cellar of the same dimensions underneath them, with two haylofts above them.

6 – A garden plot.

7 – Described as ‘a piece of ground enclosed with a pale and a little shop’.

Given the description of the property in 1645 it appears that Tedder had added both her dwelling and the three sheds as part of her renovations.

A number of typical covenants were contained in the lease, such as the forbidding of inmates, the right of the freeholder to enter and view the property, the obligation of the lessee to pay the rental within 28 days, and the right to demise the lease to his wife, children or executors only. There are also a handful of nonstandard covenants. Only elm, oak or fir was to be used in repairs, and Hatt was covenanted to use only City workmen and surveyors to

undertake such repairs. Most interestingly though the lease stipulated that Hatt would breach the covenants if he ‘divides or builds into more tenements, or if by building he diminishes the lights of any nearby building’. In other words the committee was acutely aware of the potential pressures to cram further dwellings on the plot.⁸

It is likely that Anne Tedder died in 1655, and Hatt continued to lease the Green Dragon until 1658-9, although he suffered a period between 1651-2 and 1655-6 when he was constantly in rental arrears.⁹ His widow Dorothy was assigned the lease for a short period in 1659, but in November 1659 it was then assigned to Henry Leeke, a vinter. The City cash books record that in 1674 the property was assigned to Thomasin Richmond, the sister and legatee of Leeke.¹⁰

ii. 1692-1714

A lease indenture between the City and Ezekiel Gibbs, a brewer, for a period of 21 years at £16pa rent and a £200 fine shows that significant alterations had occurred since 1647, and indeed the indenture notes that Gibbs had incurred costs thanks to ‘substantial repairs’. The tavern and stables were no more, having been converted into dwellings, and the gardens divided into several plots with large sheds. The plot size had also been reduced slightly with dimensions of 61ft along the street front, 62 ft 2in at the rear, and 168ft along its southern edge, although the northern edge remained at 165ft 6in. The tenant to the north was tenanted by Allen, with that to the south in the possession of Jasper Rawlins. The lease also contained a number of covenants that were fairly standard for the time. These covenants included the stipulation that Gibbs or his subtenants should ‘suffer any inmates to dwell or to habit in any part of the premises’. The covenants also proscribe the close attention to the physical state of the property that Gibbs must adhere to. In the advent of their demise Gibbs was to replace the principle timbers of the properties with ‘well seasoned oaken timber’ as per the Acts of Parliament for rebuilding London. Similarly, the pavements were to be maintained and the ‘privies and wyddraughts’ belonging to the dwellings were to be ‘emptied scowered and cleansed’ when required. Gibbs was also covenanted to essentially leave the properties as he found them, with all ‘locks, keys, bolts, barrs, latches, windows, glazing’s, casements, shutters, dressers, shelves, chimney pieces, wainscots, pipes, gutter of lead and such like other materials and things’ to be still in situ at the end of the lease. The City also reserved the right to enter the property to monitor its state and order repairs when necessary, and Gibbs was also required to seek the City’s assent if he wished to assign the lease.

The lease also notes that the three messuages facing the street were occupied by Benjamin Smith, Stephen Gifford and a Wilson. The tenement behind was occupied by Charles Lewis.¹¹ This information allows us in conjunction with taxation listings to track the occupants of the properties both back and forward from this point.

iii. Occupants 1660s-1710s

Dwelling 1. The most southerly on the street front, was occupied by Benjamin Smith from some years prior to 1692. He is first recorded in the 1668 11 month taxes.¹² Interestingly, according to the Hearth Taxes of the 1670 the dwelling contained just 3 hearths, whereas by the time of the 1674-5 assessment this had risen to 5 hearths.¹³ The 1678 Poll taxes offer the first indications of the composition of the household, with Smith recorded as dwelling there with his wife, two children, and a maidservant by the name of Deborah Solomon to whom he paid £2 in wages.¹⁴ Smith again reappears in the 6 months taxes of 1689, and the Poll taxes of a year later indicate that the household still consisted of Smith, his wife, two children and a

maid. A maid was no longer present by the 1692 poll taxes.¹⁵ By the early 1690s Smith is paying £20pa in rent, and is assessed for 3s in the 1693 land taxes and 4s 6d in the 1694 *4s in the £* assessments suggesting that, although hardly wealthy, he was a man of some means.¹⁶ One man who was certainly wealthy however was William Prescott, a bachelor who was recorded as lodging with the Smiths in the 1695 Marriage Duty Assessments. Prescott has at least £600 in capital assets and paid a total of £1 12s 6d in the MDA. Why such a man would choose to lodge like this is not clear, although the 1698 land tax assessments show he was still lodging with Smith three years later.¹⁷ The rest of the household according to the MDA was wife Hanah Smith and daughter Elizabeth, with another inhabitant Jane Blanchett presumably a maid or servant. In 1698 Hanah and Elizabeth are absent from the listed inhabitants with the household now consisting of just Smith (recorded as a Tinner) Prescott and a servant Jane Brookes. Astonishingly Smith is still resident in 1703-4 (and still paying £20 pa rent) although by the time of the 1713 land taxes he has finally been replaced by Nathaniel Frankling as the resident of this property¹⁸.

Dwelling 2. This dwelling, the middle of the three along the street front, was occupied in 1692 by Stephen Gifford. It is probable that a Henry Beal occupied the property in 1668, followed by William Fisher in 1670. Fisher was resident in the four hearth dwelling till c.1675.¹⁹ He was followed by John Tufly (Tuffley) who's household in 1678 consisted of his wife, two children, an apprentice, and a servant called Alice Tipson. He is also recorded as resident in 1680.²⁰ Gifford first makes an appearance in 1689 residing in the property with his wife, a child, a maid, and 'one man'.²¹ The unnamed male is gone by 1692, and the maid is named as Anne Buckby. In addition the Giffords had had another child.²² His wife was Charity Gifford (nee Marlow) who he had married in 1683.²³ The Giffords had probably been resident since at least 1685 as they are recorded as living in the Minories in 1685 when their son Stephen was baptised and buried within a week.²⁴ Another young son by the name of Stephen suffered the same fate in 1687.²⁵ Efforts to raise a child by the name of Charity also succumbed to the same fortune. Three daughters by that name were baptised between 1690 and 1697, and three daughters called Charity were buried between 1692 and 1704.²⁶

Gifford was paying £18 pa rental in the mid 1690s and was assessed for 3s in stock.²⁷ The assessments also indicate that his household continued to grow. In 1695 it consisted of himself, his wife Charity, three children: Thomas, Joseph (baptised 1689²⁸), and Anne, and two servants: Robert Walder and Elizabeth Harlow. The 1698 poll taxes still record that Gifford, noted as an Apothecary, and his wife had three children, an apprentice, and a servant called Elizabeth Smith.²⁹ Gifford was still recorded as resident in 1704 and again in 1713. He was still paying £18 pa rent according to the 1703 assessments, and the 1713 version notes that he was assessed for 15s personal estate and £1 16s rents.³⁰ It is possible that this the same Stephen Gifford that was a vestryman and churchwarden at numerous times from the late 1690s to early 1710s although it has not been possible to confirm this and there are certainly several other Stephen Giffords in the parish during this period.³¹

Dwelling 3. Although the lease of 1692 notes the occupier as 'Wilson' there is no record of such an individual in any of the taxation listings. Instead it is clear that in the early 1690s this property, the most northerly of the three along the street front, was in the occupation of Christopher Husband. Prior to his occupation we can trace the residents back to 1668 and a William Ffludiere (Ffloodyer/Fflyder/Flider are some of the many alternative spellings). The property possessed four hearths and, according to the 1678 Poll taxes, was occupied by Fludyer, his wife, a daughter and an apprentice. The final record of Flyder is in the 1680 6 month taxes.³² Given the wide variety of spellings of his surname it is difficult to ascertain with any certainty any further information on William and family. However, it is likely that

his wife was called Sarah Ffludyer and she gave birth to a son William in 1667, and who had presumably died by the time of the 1678 poll. She herself died in late 1678.³³

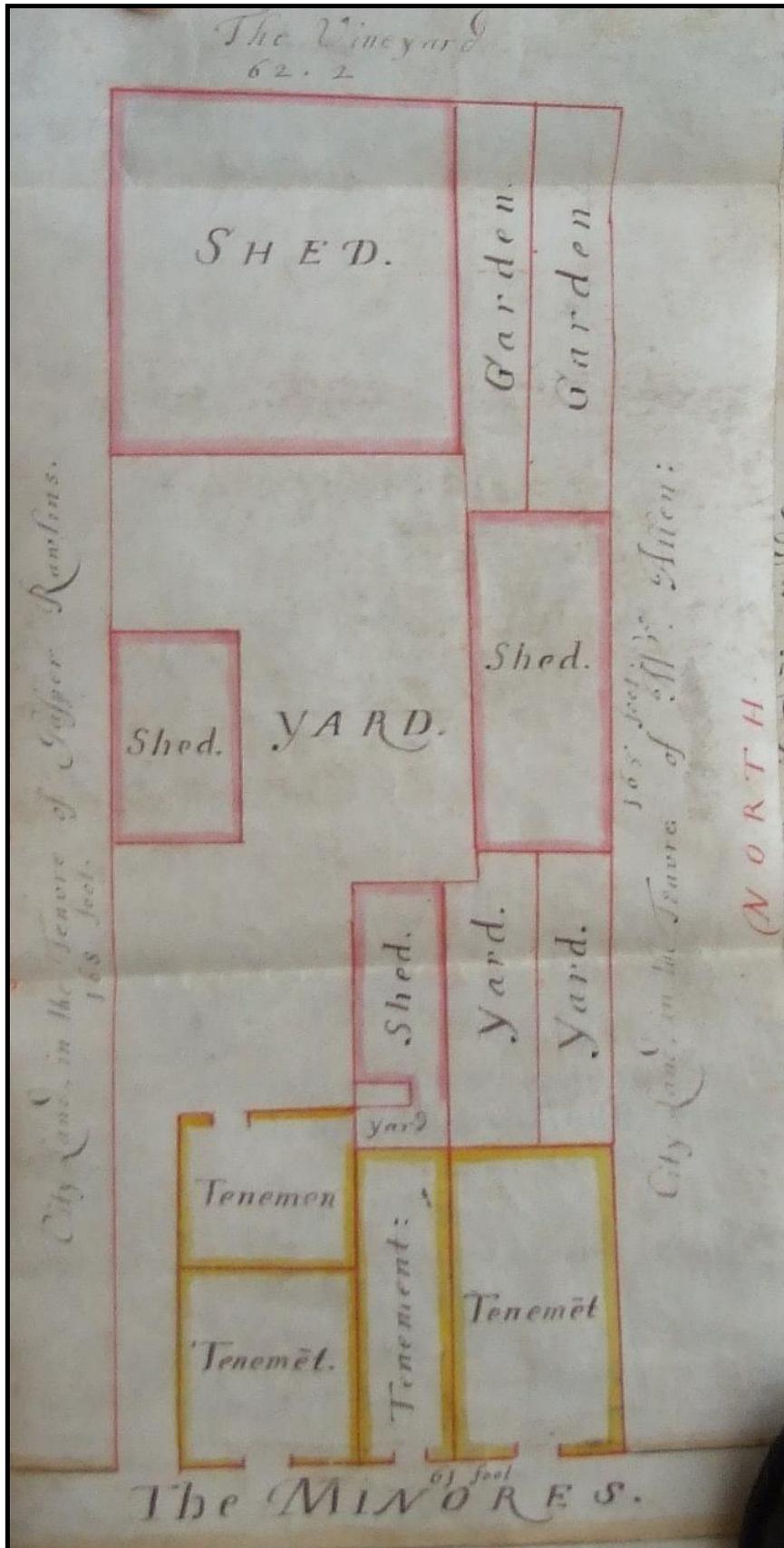
Husband and his wife Anne were present in the property from at least 1689, but interestingly it appears the household only ever consisted of the two of them, no children, servants or apprentices are listed as resident with them.³⁴ He is no longer listed by the time of the 1698 poll. It is also difficult to establish the rental Husband was paying. He is only recorded intermittently in the land taxes and 4s in the £ aid of 1693-4. In some instances he is assessed for just 3s rent, meaning a yearly rental charge of just £3, whereas in the 1694 4s in the £ aid his rent is assessed a £1 4s giving a yearly charge of £24. Furthermore, an assessment carried out by the City in 1693 of the rents paid by those living on its lands records his rental as £6 pa.³⁵ There is no mention of the couple in the 1698 poll and the exact identity of the occupants after 1695 is unclear.

Dwelling 4. The tenement behind the street front was in the tenure of Charles Lewis from at least 1689. It is not possible to trace the residents of this dwelling back to the previous existing taxation listings, the 6 month taxes of 1680. It may be that the dwelling was actually constructed sometime in the 1680s although this is again simply speculation.³⁶ In 1690 Lewis, a joiner, occupied the property with his wife, an apprentice, and a maid. By 1692 Lewis had taken on another apprentice and the maid was named as Hannah Jacob.³⁷ The Marriage Duty Assessment of 1695 records the household consisting of Lewis and his wife Sarah, three servants George Walters, John Dolmer, Mary Baker, and a lodger called John Towers. As with their neighbours the Husbands, there is no mention of the couple ever having children living at the property. Lewis was paying £19 pa rent, and was assessed for 4s 6d in stock in the taxes of 1693-4.³⁸ He is still present in the 1698 Poll with just his wife, but it appears likely that James Jones, another joiner and his apprentice may have also been residing there.³⁹ It is also likely that Jones was the resident in the early 1700s.⁴⁰

iv. lease of 1715.

The plot size seems to have been reduced slightly again by the time of the next indenture in February 1714-15, when William Lawrence, a joiner, was granted the property described as a parcel of ground with ‘messuages or tenements and several sheds thereupon’ for 21 years at £20pa rent and a £200 fine. There were now six dwellings on the plot, and the configuration of the rear of the plot had altered substantially since 1692, with yards and sheds repositioned, a dwelling house and washhouse added, and the gardens lost.⁴¹ It is probable that these buildings added by Gibbs were of dubious quality as Lawrence was covenanted to spend within three years the fairly substantial sum of £300 in repairs to the premises. It is also probable, given the evidence from the 1695 Marriage Duty Assessments and poll of 1698, that these additional dwellings had been added in the 1700s rather than 1690s.

The Green Dragon plot 1692



The Green Dragon plot 1715

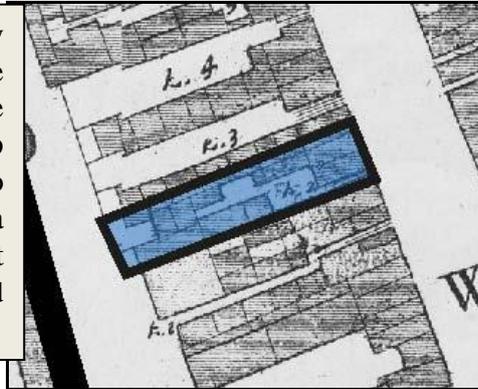


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- ¹ CLRO, Court of Alderman repertories, 18, 6 Sept 1575, f.417.
- ² *Ibid.*, 20, 2 June 1581, f.204.
- ³ CLRO City Lands Grant Book (hereafter CLGB), vol.1, 8 Oct 1596, f.25. 8 March 1598, f.31. 24 March 1598, f.32.
- ⁴ CLRO, City Cash Accounts, vol.5-6.
- ⁵ T.C. Dale (ed.), *Returns of Divided Houses in City of London 1637* (London 1937).
- ⁶ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 13 June 1645, f.101.
- ⁷ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 2 June 1647, f.108.
- ⁸ CLRO, Comptroller Deeds, box E, no.15.
- ⁹ Parish Registers (hereafter PR), 30 Nov 1655, Ev Id 226938.
- ¹⁰ CLRO, City Cash Books.
- ¹¹ CLRO, Comptroller Deeds, 39.24, 20 Oct 1692.
- ¹² COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 008, f.4. TNA, E 179/252/23, f.53.
- ¹³ COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 015, f.29.
- ¹⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 036, f.8.
- ¹⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 032, f.6. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 029, f.8. COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 008, f.7.
- ¹⁶ GLMS 11316.11 008, f.7. COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 037, f.7.
- ¹⁷ Marriage Duty Assessment 1695. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 008, f.7.
- ¹⁸ GLMS 11316.14 024, f.13. GLMS 11316.44 060, f.20.
- ¹⁹ COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 008, f.4. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 015, f.29. TNA, E 179/252/23, f.53.
- ²⁰ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 036, f.8. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 010, f.5.
- ²¹ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 032, f.6. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 029, f.8.
- ²² COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 008, f.7.
- ²³ PR, 05 Feb 1683, Ev Id 322592.
- ²⁴ PR, 14 Nov 1685, Ev Id 510175. 18 Nov 1685, Ev Id 1224715.
- ²⁵ PR, 27 Nov 1686, Ev Id 510688. 17 May 1687, Ev Id 1225792.
- ²⁶ Baptisms: PR, 22 Feb 1690, Ev Id 114955. 28 Aug 1696, Ev Id 117466. 26 Oct 1697, Ev Id 118007. Burials: PR, 08 April 1692, Ev Id 1220834. 02 Sept 1696, Ev Id 1203694. 30 Sept 1704, Ev Id 1410786.
- ²⁷ GLMS 11316.11 008, f.7. COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 037, f.7.
- ²⁸ PR, 15 Nov 1689, Ev Id 12029.
- ²⁹ Marriage Duty Assessment 1695. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 008, f.7.
- ³⁰ GLMS 11316.14 024, f.13. GLMS 11316.44 060, f.19.
- ³¹ GLMs 2644_1, Vestry Minutes.
- ³² COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 008, f.4. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 015, f.29. TNA, E 179/252/23, f.53. COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 036, f.8. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 010, f.5.
- ³³ PR, 01 Aug 1667, Ev Id 125296. 22 Nov 1678, Ev Id 132671.
- ³⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 032, f.6. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 029, f.8. Marriage Duty Assessment 1695.
- ³⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.13.14A-D 025, f.8. COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 037, f.7. Misc MSS, 9.24 034.
- ³⁶ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 032, f.6.
- ³⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 029, f.8. COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 008, f.7. Marriage Duty Assessment 1695.
- ³⁸ COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 037, f.7. GLMS 11316.11 008, f.7.
- ³⁹ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 008, f.7.
- ⁴⁰ GLMS 11316.14 024, f.13. GLMS 11316.44 060, f.19.
- ⁴¹ CLRO, Comptroller Deeds, 52:28, 8 Feb 1714/15.

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(BLACK HORSE YARD, No.15 MINORIES, EAST SIDE):

This plot was situated approximately where number 121 and John Street are located on the eastern side of the Minories on the Portsoken ward map of 1858. Initially leased as two separate plots it was combined into a single plot in a lease of 1632. The plot is marked as k.2 on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676.

**1629-1633**No.15A.

The first mention of this property was in 1622 when the City Grant books record that the current occupier, Thomas Smedley, a woodmonger, was 'heard as suitor . . . to have the City's reasonable favour for a lease when they may lawfully let the same'. Smedley had probably been resident for some time previously, as he is noted as Scavenger for Tower Hill precinct in 1607 and a questman in 1609, and he was married to an Agnes Johnstone in 1604.¹ Interestingly the grant book also records that there was a proviso attached to this bid that Smedley 'lay open his garden.'² However it was not until 1629 that he was actually granted a lease for the 'tenement and stables'. He was granted a 41 year term at 40s pa rental, with the daunting proviso that he spend at least £100 within one year on rebuilding the tenement, and he was asked to give securities to ensure that he complied.³ Whether he did indeed bestow the required amount on repairs is far from clear as by 1633 it appears that Smedley had surrendered the lease, and the 'interest' in the property, along with 15B, was in the hands of Josias Devoris, a blacksmith who was said to have lavished over £400 on the rebuilding of 15A&B. In recognition of the monies spent, the committee granted Devoris a 42 year lease for both properties, at the existing rental charge of 40s, and no fine.⁴ However, it is evident that Smedley continued to dwell in the property. He was resident in the Minories when Agnes was buried in 1629, and he is recorded as paying £6 moderated rents in the 1637 tithes, and is almost certainly the same Thomas Smedley recorded in the Divided Houses list of the same year. The list noted that he was married, so had obviously remarried after the death of Agnes, he had a child of two, and he was host to inmates Richard James and his wife. It is also possible that he was receiving money from the parish for nursing a Thomas Botolph.⁵

No.15B

As with Smedley, John Coche, a blacksmith, petitioned for his lease in 1622 but was not actually granted one until 1629. The property was described as two tenements, one in the occupation of Coche, the other in occupation of Edmond Ridley,

a carpenter. Cooch (Coche) (variously described as a blacksmith, gunsmith and freemith) and his wife Alice (nee Alice Elliot) had probably been resident since at least 1608 when his son John was baptised.⁶ Another son William was born and died in 1609 and Alice died in 1614. Interestingly, the parish register entries associated with William's birth and death notes that they lived 'within ye Redgate neere the Tower Hill' and 'within the Broade gate' suggesting this plot had a local identity. John had clearly remarried by the time his next wife Joanne gave birth to their daughter Marie in 1617 and another daughter, Elizabeth, in 1620.⁷

As with Cooch, Ridley was resident well before the 1620s. He was living in the Minories when his son Peter was baptised in 1608 and when his wife Christian died whilst giving birth to a son Anthonie in 1614.⁸ She was buried in the common ground accompanied by a knell of the great bell of the church, although 'no cloth was used' for her burial.⁹ Anthonie died a decade later in 1625, presumably a victim of that year's plague.¹⁰ As with Cooch, Ridley apparently remarried after the death of his wife, as his wife Margaret gave birth to another son, William in 1623. William was buried in 1635, although interestingly by this time, Edmond's occupation is noted as Throster.¹¹ A further son, Edmond, was buried in 1625.¹²

Coche was granted a 41 year lease at 40s rent, with the proviso that he spend £150 on rebuilding the same within a year, provide securities for the rebuilding, and that he allow Ridley tenure for life at £4pa rent.¹³ As with 15A it appears that Coche surrendered the lease in 1633, and Devoris was granted a new lease for 42 years.¹⁴

Cooch was recorded in the 1637 tithes paying £3 moderated rent, although it appears that by this point Ridley had been replaced by an Abraham Boyce who was paying £8 moderated rents.¹⁵ Boyce (also Boyse) was recorded in the list of divided houses as hosting inmates in his dwelling, John Atkinson and his wife. Interestingly the list records them as 'in the cellar inmates' presumably indicating that it was in the cellar of the house that they lodged. Cooch was buried in 1640.¹⁶

Demise of the lease 1633-1712

The probate will of Deverex (Dovoris), who died sometime in late 1666/early 1667, offers some very interesting information regarding the type of men that leased such properties, and the pattern of their landholdings. To begin with, Deverex gave to his grandson Samuel Neale his executors and assigns 'all those my six messuages or tenements' in the Minories for the remainder of the lease. Such a description again suggests that a further two dwellings had been added to the plot since Deverex took the lease for 'four tenements' in the 1630s.¹⁷ The will records that Deverex himself was fairly wealthy, with £450 in bequests made to various grandchildren including Samuel, and Samuel's brothers Henry and John. All three were apparently under 21 years of age, and Samuel was married to a Sarah Neale. Deverex himself lived in Goswell Street in Middlesex (St Ann's Lane, Finchley?) and as well as the lease for the properties in Minories he held the freehold to two crofts or parcels of meadow or pastureland in Finchley, and a parcel of land in St Ann's Lane London, where two tenements stood (one occupied by Samuel Neale) before they had recently burnt down.¹⁸

Interestingly Neale, a blacksmith, was not granted a new lease until November 1682, seven years after the expiry of the 42 year lease assigned to him by his grandfather. The indenture describes the property as 'several tenants, yards, gardens or garden plots', and notes that Neale had incurred charges 'in new building one of

the front houses' of the plot, presumably those on the street front. Neale was granted a 21 year lease, at £4pa rent, and a £208 fine.¹⁹ According to the City cash books the lease for the 'several tenants and grounds' was assigned to Thomas White in 1689. Interestingly in 1703 the same cash books record that the property had been demised (presumably meaning assigned) to Mary Peters from the late Thomas White, and that Peters, Robert Morris 'and the other inhabitants of the houses . . . were immediate tenants to White'. It then records what these sub-tenants were paying White in rent, £16pa for Peters, £8 pa for Morris, and £25 10s pa for the rest of the unnamed tenants combined, for a grand total of £49 10s pa rent that White was receiving from his sub-tenants.²⁰

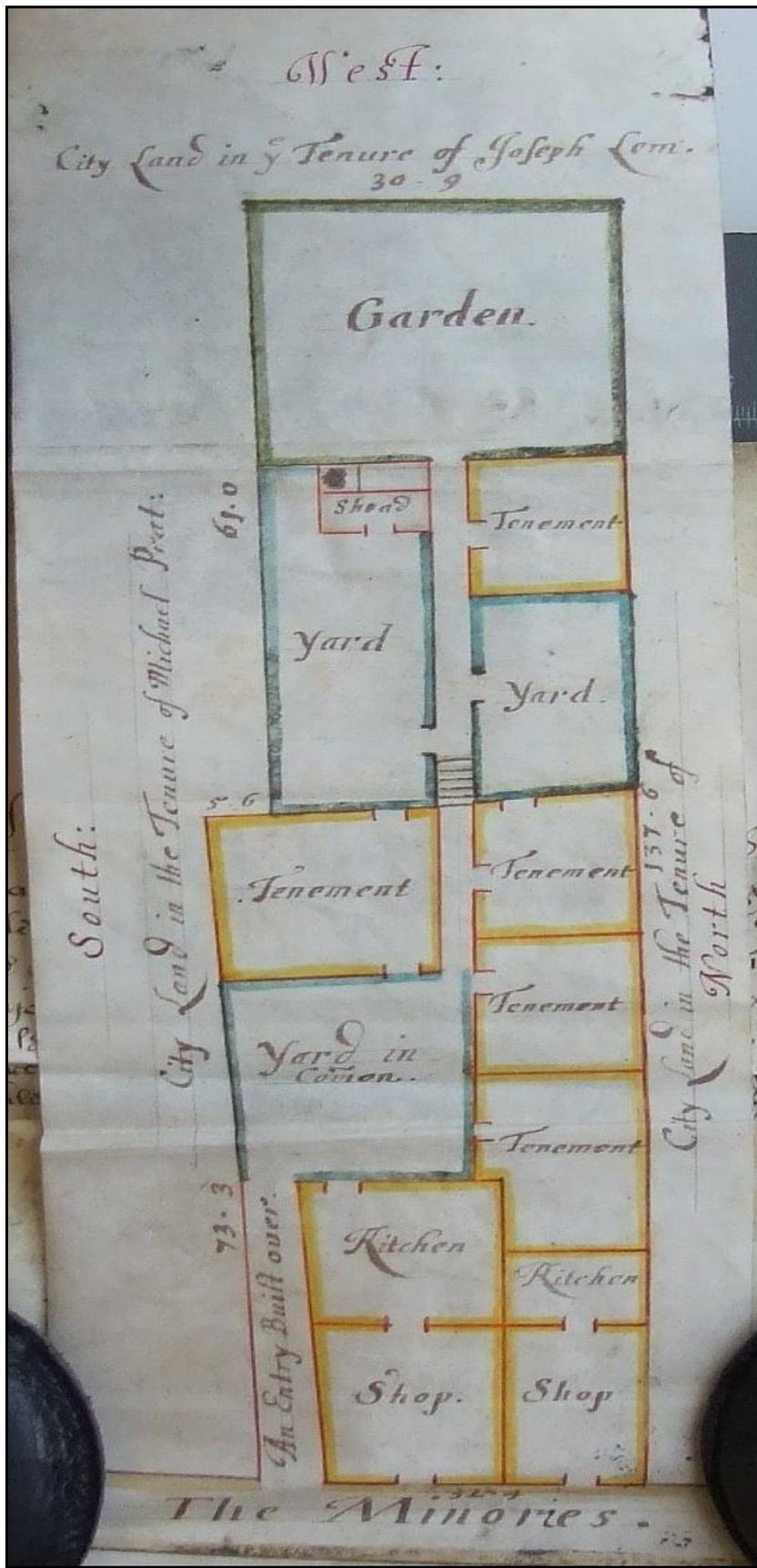
The subsequent lease issued for the property in 1704 was unusual in many respects. Firstly, it was granted to widow Peters and it is uncommon to find widowed females amongst the ranks of those *granted* leases. Secondly, it was for just 9 years, a remarkably short term in a period when the City was moving towards a standardised system of 21 repair and 61 year rebuilding leases. Thirdly, the almost peppercorn entry fine of £10 was dwarfed by the £20pa rental charge, an rare inversion of the normal state of affairs where the fine was substantial and the rental charge often negligible. Amongst the usual covenants regarding the payment of rent, and the repair of the property, the lease also contained a dictate that Peters was to 'set up the City arms on this and any new building.' She was also covenanted to 'put the premises in good and sufficient tenantable repair' suggesting that they were in a rather shabby state (also see section iii below) The property is described as a parcel of ground 'with several houses and sheds thereupon' and the dimensions of the plot are given as 32ft 3inches along the street front, 134ft 3inches east to west along the northern border which abutted the property of widow Watts, 29ft 1inch at the rear, and a total of 135ft east to west along the southern boarder which abutted the property of Robert Arthur.²¹ Peters was granted a further lease for the property in 1712, this time for the standard 21 years, with a £16pa rent, and a fine of £20.²²

Physical development of the property 1650s – 1710s

There is something of a lacuna in our knowledge of the physical development of the property between the 1630s, when it is probably fair to assume that three dwellings were located there, and the 1660s when six dwellings are recorded. It is likely that the original three dwellings were located to the east of the plot along the street front, and the subsequent development occurred in terms of off street housing additions. However, by the latter 17th century the picture becomes much clearer.

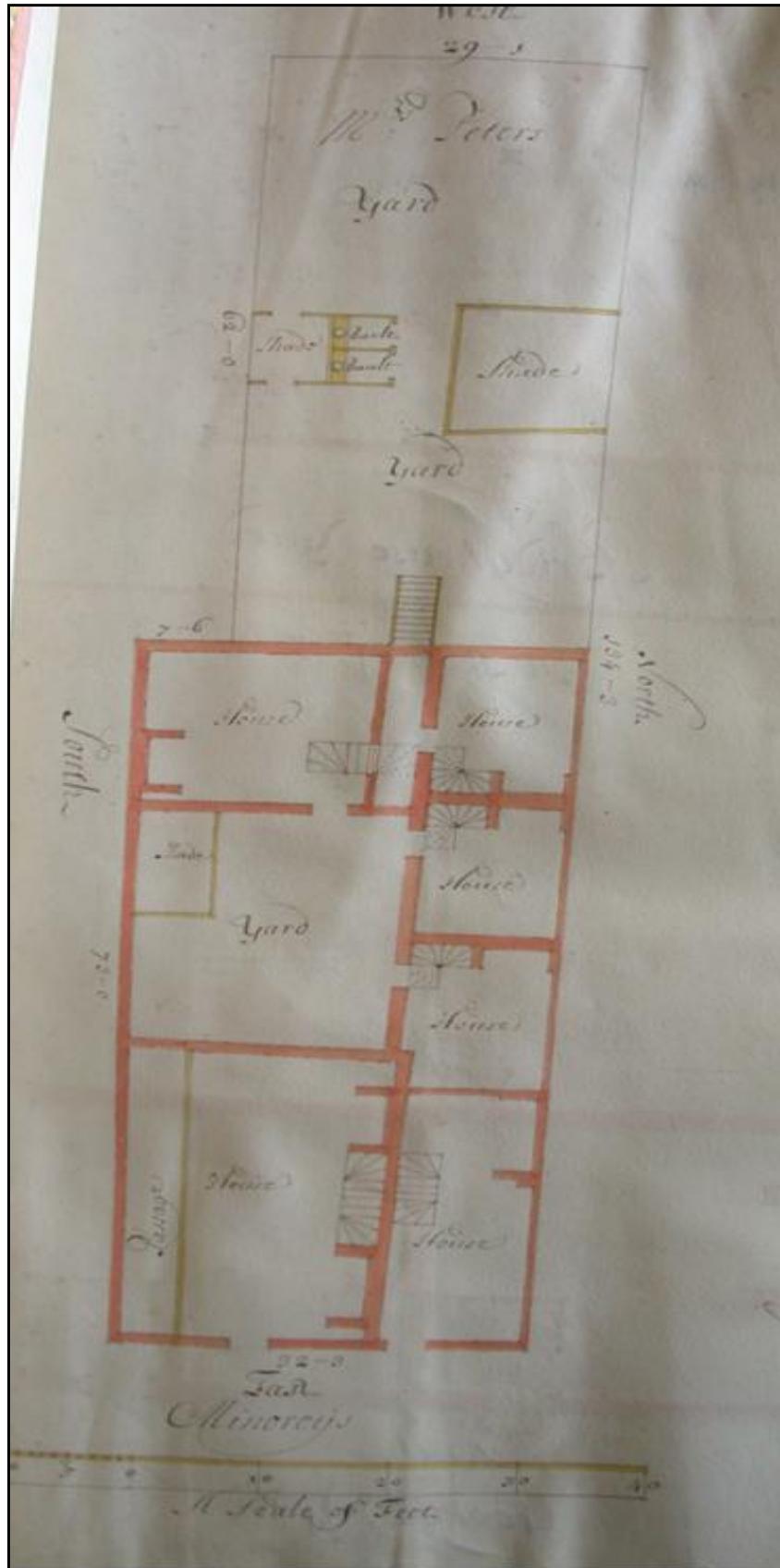
One of the outstanding features of this property is the two relatively detailed floor plans that survive from 1682 and 1704 which allows a comparison of the property at two separate points in time. As we can see, the basic layout of the plot remains the same, but there are subtle but significant differences between the two plans. Perhaps the two most significant apparent changes are the fact that the two street front properties are no longer designated as shops by the time of the 1704 plan, apparently having been given converted solely into dwellings. Whether this is a genuine revision of use, or simply an issue of semantics is unclear. However, the left hand street front dwelling has clearly seen some alterations, with a wall recorded in 1682 apparently removed by 1704 and the doorway to the yard no longer marked by the time of the latter plan.

Black Horse Yard 1682



Comp deeds 33:42 plan for 1682

Black Horse Yard 1704 and 1712



Plans of City Lands and Bridge House Properties' CLA/008/EM/03/018-9.

The second notable divergence between the two plans is the existence of a ‘tenement’ in the back yard. By 1704 this apparently wooden structure was now being designated as a ‘shade’.

Again this is probably more likely to be a matter of a change of description rather than a significant alteration to the structure itself – any structure such as a storehouse or outbuilding could be converted to a dwelling or vice versa with relative ease – but it does suggest that the building was no longer utilised as housing.

Throughout the latter 17th century there did seem to exist a strong distinction between the housing to the front of the plot and the housing in the yard to the rear. As we shall see in the section on occupants below, those houses on the street front contained several hearths and occupants that were often assessed for stock. In comparison those dwellings to the rear were often contained only a single hearth. It is also apparent from the taxation listings that household density on the plot peaked in the 1670s when 10 households were recorded. Interestingly, it also appears that by the 1700s a number of the rear dwellings were empty and a ‘proof house’ is located in the yard. Strype notes that many gunsmiths were present in the Minories and it is likely therefore that the yard was being used as another workshop or testing area for gunsmiths. By 1713 the land taxes only assess the actual lessee, Mary Peters who also occupied one of the street front properties, for herself and ‘her tenants’ - presumably those individuals who still lived in dwellings to the rear of the plot. Similarly Strype describes the Yard as ‘containing two small courts, which are but ordinary’ suggesting that any dwellings located there were of a fairly low standard.²³

Occupants 1660s-1710s

Thanks to the various taxation listings of the latter 17th century we are able to trace the occupants of the two street front properties over several decades. It is also possible to identify others who lived in the various off street dwellings on the plot.

Street front property 1

This was the most southerly of the two along the street front and abutted the passageway into the yard. It was by far the largest dwelling on the plot containing six hearths. It was occupied in the late 1660s-early 1670s by Jone Garratt/Garrit/Garnet, a widow, however by 1673 the occupant is a Hugh Garritt.²⁴ Garratt and his wife Elizabeth were possibly resident there as late as 1677 when their son Hugh was born.²⁵ The 1678 Poll taxes give the first indication of the size and composition of the household dwelling there. The head of the household, by this time a Joseph Hilyard, was accompanied by his wife, two children, two apprentices, and a maid servant by the name of Eliza Piles. Hilliard’s wife was called Elizabeth, and one of the children was a son by the name of Joseph who was born in 1683 and buried in 1688.²⁶ Interestingly, it appears that Hilliard moved houses to an address a little further north along the Minories sometime in the 1680s (number 13a). He was assessed for stock in the 1680 six month taxes, indicating that he was a man of at least some wealth, as was indeed the next occupant, a cook by the name of Edward Peters.²⁷ Peters was resident from at least 1689 when he was also assessed for stock. In 1690 the size of his household was similar to that of Hillard, with his wife, two children an apprentice, and a maid in residence. The 1692 poll records that only his wife and an apprentice were present, although the Marriage Duty Assessments of 1695 suggest that this may have been an under-recording as Peters and his wife Mary were joined by four

children, Moses, Aron (baptised 1687)²⁸, Edward (baptised 1689)²⁹ and Mary (baptised 1691)³⁰, along with two servants, John and Rebecca Whittington.³¹ Peters was paying £12pa rent according to the early 1690s land taxes. He died in late 1699.³² As previously mentioned, widow Mary Peters leased the entire property in 1704 and was recorded as resident of this particular house in the 1703 land taxes, by now paying £16pa rent. She is also noted in the 1713 land taxes, by which time, unlike in previous years, she is being assessed for the entire plot and her 'tenants' rather than just her dwelling. It is also interesting that it appears that she is paying £15pa rent rather than the £16pa recorded in 1703.³³

Street front property 2

This property, to the north of property 1, is perhaps most remarkable for the long tenure of the Davis family. Henry Davis is first recorded in the three hearth property in 1668 and it is not until 1693 that the Davis family are replaced.³⁴ In 1678 the household consisted of Henry, his wife, one child, and a maidservant called Grace (no surname).³⁵ Henry was last recorded as the head of the household in 1680 but by 1689 he had died leaving his widow and two children in residence.³⁶ However, the household had swelled by 1692 and apparently consisted of Mary Davis (presumably the widow) her children (not named) another Mary Davis noted as 'the drafter', Henry Davis (perhaps a son?) and his wife.³⁷ Unfortunately, given the large number of Davis and its variant spellings in the parish registers and other parish documentation it has been impossible to clarify the situation regarding the Davis household at this time, or indeed offer any further details on Henry and family from the late 1660s onwards. Widow Davis, who was paying £8pa rent, left the property in 1693 to be replaced by Thomas Cooke.³⁸ The Marriage Duty Assessments record the head of household as a Richard Cooke rather than a Thomas, so whether this the same individual mis-recorded of a father son combination is not clear. There appears to be no record of a death of a Thomas Cooke in the period between 1693 and 1695 in the St Botolph parish documentation. As with the Davis family, the sheer volume of individuals with matching forenames and surnames has made it difficult to establish with any sort of certainty any further details for the Cooke family from sources such as the parish registers or church warden accounts. The MDAs do however give the names of Cooke household, which comprised Richard, his wife Anne, a daughter Mary and two apprentices William Smith and Thomas Foster.³⁹ Later occupants of the property were Robert Morris or Norris (noted in the 1703 land taxes) and Widow Watts (1713 land taxes). As with property no.1 next door, the rental charge for the dwelling seemed to decline between 1703 and 1713 from £8pa Morris was paying, to £7 10s paid by Watts.⁴⁰

Occupants of the rear properties

Given the constant changes in occupants and the number of individuals involved, it is perhaps best to present the information according to the chronological order of the sources. It is interesting that a number of individuals appear intermittently in the lists over periods of several years, suggesting that they were either absent for particular assessments or, more likely, that they were so poor that they simply fell into the classes of exemption for the various taxes.

The first inhabitants list from 1668 records four heads of households: Michael Maylin, Anne Mitten, John Hodgkin and John Frith. As we shall see, Hodgkin and Frith were resident for over a decade. The hearth taxes of 1670 show five dwellings. The houses of Maylin (possibly spelt Mollines), Hodgkins, and Frith, along with that

of Benjamin Page contained three hearths each, with Mitton's possessing four. Yet the hearth taxes of 1673-1674 and 18month taxes of the same years show that there was a fairly rapid turnover of occupants, and that a number were exempt from the tax.⁴¹ All this suggests that the occupants were fairly poor. In the 1673 18month tax listings Mitton, Hodgkins, and Frith are still recorded but Page and Maylin are replaced by John Stodard and George Wright. A year later Stodard is replaced by Robert Raydone, and presumably Robert's wife Sarah who died that year.⁴² The hearth tax of 1674 shows that Frith, Hodgkins and widow Mitton were still resident, however whereas the Frith and Hodgkin's properties still contained three hearths, Mitton had reduced her hearth from four to one, presumably as a method of reducing her tax burden. The properties of Rayen and Wright contained three hearths each, with those of Mr Neale (listed as the 'owner' so presumably this is Samuel Neale the current lessee), widow Fox and someone by the surname of Anderson, each containing only a single hearth. Anderson, Mitton, Fox and Neale were exempt from the hearth tax in 1673, Mitton and Neale were recorded as having no hearths, with Anderson and Fox two. The case of Mitton (who died in 1679⁴³) in particular illustrates how the number of hearths per dwelling could vary across time, presumably as the occupant's economic circumstances waxed and waned.⁴⁴

The poll of 1678 sees the dwellings occupied by a number of childless couples; a Thomas Cooke and his wife, Henry Antonis and wife, and Robert Archer and his spouse. Neither Cooke nor Antonis are mentioned again in reference to this property. Jane Thrift also occupied one on the properties apparently alone.⁴⁵ Thrift is probably the same person as widow Frith who was resident in 1680, along with Archer and widow Hodgkins.⁴⁶ Hodgkins, whose husband John had died in 1680, had probably been resident for the 1678 poll but was presumably exempt from the tax.⁴⁷ This postulation is reinforced by subsequent polls in the early 1690s where Hodgkins is not recorded, but is clearly still resident in the property as she is listed in the 1689 six month taxes, the 1693-4 land taxes and the 1695 Marriage Duty Assessments. Other residents appear to have been similarly exempt from the poll taxes. As well as Hodgkins the 1689 six month taxes record the occupants as Archer, William Browne, Edward London, Richard Addams and John Slade.⁴⁸ Only Archer, his wife and three children are recorded in the 1690 poll, and Archer, his wife and his apprentice in the 1692 poll. Yet London, Adams, and Slade are assessed for the land taxes of 1693 and 1694, along with Archer, Hodgkins and a new face, Henry Warwine (his surname is also noted as Varnon and Vernon).⁴⁹ The rental each was paying varied between £2 and £4.

The MDAs indicate the households varied significantly in size. Archer lived with his wife Joyce, two daughters Sarah (born in 1678)⁵⁰ and Katherine (probably born in 1685)⁵¹ and two apprentices, Richard Collier and John Reynolds. Henry Varrill (almost certainly the aforementioned Henry Varnon/Vernon) lived with his wife Anne, sons Henry and James, and daughter Elizabeth. London's household consisted of his wife Joane, and children Thomas (born 1683)⁵² and Elizabeth (born 1686)⁵³. Richard Adams had presumably died with his widow Anne and possibly daughter, also Anne, living in the property along with a bachelor by the name of Mordica Potts. Joyce Hoskins (probably the aforementioned widow Hodgkins) headed a household of herself, Anne Harris and Elizabeth Pheeps, presumably lodgers or, less likely, servants. John Slade lived with just his wife Sarah. The final occupant of the properties, William Browne, lived on his own and 'received alms'.⁵⁴ Interestingly, the number of dwellings appears to thin out by the early 1700s. Archer, Slade and Henry Vernon's widow were still present, as were a William Rose and Edward Williams, but

the land taxes of 1703 also record several empty houses, and by 1713 the separate occupants of these yard dwellings are no longer recorded.⁵⁵ The rents they were paying had risen slightly to between £3 and £5 but were still very low.

Clearly, all this evidence indicates that the residents of these off street properties were by most measures fairly poor, but what is interesting is that a number of them remained resident for significant time periods.

¹ BOD MS RAWL D796B, f.100-101. Parish Registers (hereafter PR), 03 June1604, Ev Id 315168.

² CLRO, City Lands Grant books (hereafter CLGB), vol.2, 11 Nov 1622, f.29.

³ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 24 July 1629, f.52.

⁴ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 29 Jan 1633, f.68.

⁵ PR, 23 Feb1629, Ev Id 211654. T.C. Dale (ed.), *Returns of Divided Houses in City of London 1637* (London 1937), f.95 & f.100. GLMs 9237_1, Church Wardens Accounts, 1622-78, f.68, f.72, f.77, f.79.

⁶ PR, 07 April 1605, Ev Id 315265. 08 May 1608, Ev Id 104638.

⁷ PR, 13 Aug 1609, Ev Id 104978. 20 Dec1609, EvID 104545. 30 Nov1614, Ev Id 203890. 01 March 1617, Ev Id 107473. 28 Sept1620, Ev Id 108243.

⁸ PR, 19 Feb 1608, Ev Id 104856. 22 May 1614, Ev Id 203720. 01 May 1614, Ev Id 106354.

⁹ PCM, 22 May 1614, f.188.

¹⁰ PR, 05 Aug 1625, Ev Id 208865.

¹¹ PR, 11 May1623, Ev Id 109067. 05 Aug1635, Ev Id 214117.

¹² PR, 14 Aug 1625, Ev Id 209250.

¹³ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 11 Nov 1622, f.29. 24 July 1629, f.51.

¹⁴ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, 29 Jan 1633, f.68.

¹⁵ Dale, *Returns*, p.367.

¹⁶ PR, 19 Dec 1640, Ev Id 218109.

¹⁷ CLRO, City Cash Books, vol.1, 1634-5.

¹⁸ CLRO, Chamberlains Accounts, 351/18.

¹⁹ CLRO, Comptroller Deeds, 33:42 (Nov 1682)

²⁰ COL/CHD/CT/01/019, City Cash books, 1689. COL/CHD/CT/01/023, 1703.

²¹ CLRO, Comp deeds, 39:23, (Nov 1704)

²² CLRO, Comp deeds, 54:9, (June 1712)

²³ J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, vol.1 book 2 (London 1720), p.28.

²⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 010, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 016, f.31. TNA, E 179/252/23, f.53.

COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 065, f.13. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 038, f.37.

²⁵ PR, 12 May 1677, Ev Id 506332.

²⁶ PR, 10 June1683, Ev Id 508997. 24 Aug 1688, Ev Id 1226688.

²⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 039, f.11. COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 012, f.7.

²⁸ PR, 18 Dec 1687, Ev Id 11194.

²⁹ PR, 11 Aug 1689, Ev ID 11916.

³⁰ PR, 20 Dec 1691, Ev Id 115297.

³¹ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 033, f.7. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 031, f.9. COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 010, f.9.

Marriage Duty Assessment 1695.

³² PR, 16 Sept 1699, Ev Id 1205646.

³³ GLMS 11316.14 029, f.18. GLMS 11316.44 065, f.24.

³⁴ COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 010, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 016, f.31. COL.CHD.LA.03.14.11 065, f.13. COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 038, f.37. TNA, E 179/252/23, f.53.

³⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 036, f.11.

³⁶ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 033, f.7. COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 031, f.9.

³⁷ COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 010, f.9.

³⁸ GLMS 11316.11 010, f.9. COL.CHD.LA.03.13.14A-D 028, f.9.

³⁹ Marriage Duty Assessment 1695.

⁴⁰ GLMS 11316.14 029, f.18. GLMS 11316.44 065, f.24.

⁴¹ COL.CHD.LA.03.66.23 009, f.4. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 016, f.31.

⁴² COL.CHD.LA.03.24.7 037, f.37. PR, 07 June1674, Ev Id 233297.

⁴³ PR, 14 July1679, Ev Id 133049.

⁴⁴ TNA, E 179.143.367 012, f.27.

⁴⁵ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 036, f.11.

⁴⁶ COL.CHD.LA.03.36.6 012, f.7.

⁴⁷ PR, 25 May 1680, Ev Id 125663.

⁴⁸ COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 033, f.7.

⁴⁹ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 031, f.9. COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 010, f.9. GLMS 11316.11 010, f.9.

COL.CHD.LA.03.13.14A-D 028, f.9. COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 038, f.8.

⁵⁰ PR, 21 April 1678, Ev Id 506735.

⁵¹ PR, 08 Nov 1685, Ev Id 510163. Another daughter by the name of Katherine was born to the couple in 1678 but although there is no record of her burial it is likely that she had died prior to the birth of Katherine in 1685. PR, 21 April 1678, Ev Id 506735.

⁵² PR, 09 March 1683, Ev Id 509384.

⁵³ PR, 04 July 1686, Ev Id 510502.

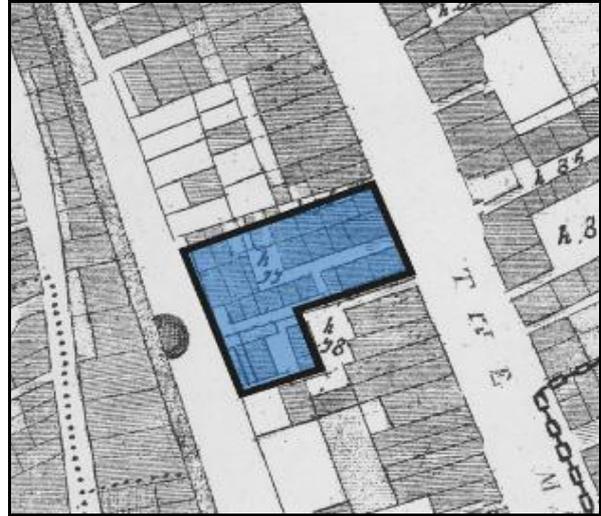
⁵⁴ Marriage Duty Assessment 1695.

⁵⁵ GLMS 11316.14 029, f.18. GLMS 11316.44 065, f.24.

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(THREE CROWN COURT, No.28-9 MINORIES, EAST SIDE):

This plot, located on the north east Minories corresponds to the street frontage of numbers 146-148 on the Portsoken ward map of 1858. Initially leased as two separate plots it was combined into a single plot in a lease of 1715. The plot is marked as *h.77* on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676.

No.28

This property, described as two tenements and ground, was demised to John King, a Merchant Taylor, and his wife Helen in 1624 for 21 years at 33s 4d pa rent and a fine of at least £30; a fine that was due in 1626 but still outstanding as late as 1635-6.¹ Unfortunately, the parish documents yield few further details on the occupants of the properties in this period of the 17th century, bar a few interesting pieces of information. In the list of divided houses of 1637 a John King is noted as the ‘landlord’ of ‘Kings Rents’ in the High Street precinct (in which Three Crown Court lay). King was almost certainly non-resident and the properties on the plot had been ‘divided by King, landlord’. The three families living in the divided property were John Wells and wife, William Graunt, a butcher, and his wife, and Joseph Ditchfield and his wife.² None of these names, nor King’s, appears in the tithes listings of 1638. However, the parish registers confirm that Joseph Ditchfield, a tailor, and his wife Mary, were resident in the Minories when their daughter Katherine was born in 1637 (she died a month later) and another daughter Mary in 1638.³ By the time their daughter Sarah was buried in 1645 the Ditchfield’s were living in Ship Alley,⁴ presumably the Ship Alley located across the Minories (see gazetteer entry 43/7/7A) although there is no confirmation of this.

It appears that Peter Wood, another Merchant Taylor, was assigned the lease in 1639, and it was he who was issued with a new lease in April 1641 for 21 years at 40s rental. No fine was charged presumably because, as the property was described as ‘two ruinous tenements’, Wood was covenanted to ‘bestow £50 at least in substantial repairs’. He was also covenanted to ‘give security by bond to maintain widow Hill for life’.⁵ Exactly why this proviso is included is unclear, as is the exact identity of widow Hill, however by February 1641-2 the grant books record that both parties (presumably Wood and Hill) had agreed that Hill ‘should provide for herself and Wood should pay her 40s pa for life in full performance of the said condition.’⁶ Peter apparently dies in 1644-5 as his widow and relict Dorothy Wood is recorded as paying the rental from then on. She surrendered the existing lease and is

granted a new demise in May 1652 for 61 years at 40s rent pa and a £30 fine. The property still comprised of two messuages, with the plot measurements given as 32ft 7inches N-S along the east, 32ft 7inches along the west, 15ft 2inches east-west along the southern edge, and 14ft 6inches along the northern edge. A piece of ground lying before the tenements measured 30ft 7inches N-S, by 19ft 1inch E-W, with a piece of land to the rear of the tenements measuring 30ft 3inches N-S, and 38ft 3inches E-W. Finally the passageway leading from the street to the tenements measured 4ft 1inch wide at the street front, 6ft 2inches wide at the rear next to Mr Kenton's pale, and extended back 37ft 2inches from the street. In February 1657 the lease was assigned to Edward Cotterell, a plasterer.⁷ The City cash books record a complex trail of assignments of the lease between the 1650s and early 1700s. By 1706 the lease had been passed to Joseph Cotteril, the devisee of Edward, and then onto Jane Cotteril, the administratrix of Joseph. Jane presumably remarried as the lease finally ended up in the hands of Henry Sherwood the executor for Charles and Jane May (nee Cotterill?)⁸

No.29

As with no.28, the first mention of this property was in July 1626 when Thomas Downes a stationer, was granted license 'to let by lease or otherwise the tenements now in his tenancy.'⁹ According to the cash books and subsequent deeds, Downes was granted a lease in midsummer 1626 for 41 years at £4 pa rent. No fine mentioned. In 1632-3 Downes assigned the lease to James Fletcher (also referred to as Jacobs Fletcher?) and at this stage the property comprised of four tenements. Fletcher subsequently surrendered this lease in March 1651-2 as was granted a 61 year demise at £4 pa rent and a fine of £220 to be paid within a month. The property was again described as four tenements and the deeds give a rare description of the probable occupants and composition of these dwellings. The first (A) was in the tenancy of Thomas Purser and contained a cellar, a shop, a kitchen, a little yard and three other rooms (presumably the upper floor chambers). The second (B) contained a shop, a kitchen, four chambers and a garret and was tenanted by Nicholas Carter. The third (C) comprised of a kitchen, a yard, seven other rooms, a garret and a garden, and was tenanted by Abraham Marrett. Whilst the fourth (D) was tenanted by Jane Cole and contained a cellar, a shop, a workhouse, four other rooms and a garret.

Later documentation indicates that the individuals recorded were sub-lessees rather than tenants-at-will. There was possibly a number of sheds also located on the plot, which measured 60ft N-S, and 70ft E-W. Fletcher was almost immediately granted license to assigned the lease as 'he thinks fit' but apparently died soon after as the cash books record that by 1655-6 the lease was in the hands of his legatee, Thomas Aspinall, the elder. An indenture of October 1663 records that Aspenwall, an ironmonger from Chester, was effectively holding the lease in trust for his two sons Samuel and Thomas the younger (also an ironmonger) who 'were bequeathed jointly the remaining term in the said property by their kinsman the said James Fletcher by his last will and testament dated 13th January 1654-5'. The property was divided into two equal moieties for the brothers. A list of occupants of the four tenements was again given, with dwelling A now in the hands of 'master Hughes and master Pratt'. Property B was still occupied by a master Nicholas Carter. House C was now in the occupation of Thomas Marriot, and D was still occupied by mistress Jane Cole. There was by now also 'certain new buildings' on the plot 'in the tenure of Thomas and William Ludyer' although no further information regarding these new buildings is given. The entire plot was valued at £50 pa and Thomas was granted A, B & D, valued at £25pa, with Samuel granted the remaining half, and each of the brothers responsible for £2 of the £4 pa rental charge.¹⁰

29A – Samuel Aspinwall

The lease for this half of the plot continues to pass through a number of hands in the subsequent decades and the unusually detailed primary source documentation (unusual for St Botolph's Aldgate) relating to the property allows us the rare opportunity to reconstruct the way in which interest in property could be exploited, sold as a commodity, and used for investment purposes.

In July 1670 Samuel and his 'grown guardian or overseer', John Hough of Chester, signed an indenture with Robert Fletcher, a paintstainer, for 'one messuage or tenement lately built at the costs of Fletcher lying in Merriotts yard in the Minories'. Presumably this dwelling was an addition to the existing dwellings recorded in 1663. The description of the property is unusually detailed. It comprised of a 'ground room' situated next to the common houses of easement in the yard, and measuring 16ft 'in length' along the south side and 12ft 'in breadth' along the west side. A chamber above measured the same dimensions but lay 'partly over the said ground room and partly over the said common houses of easement'. The chamber contained a closet measuring 6ft x 4 ½ ft. Above this was an identically proportioned and equipped chamber, and finally a garret. The agreement was for 31 years at a peppercorn rent of 1s pa 'payable if demanded'. Fletcher was responsible for the maintenance and the taxation of the property.¹¹ Samuel Aspinwall, now recorded as a brewer, took out a £100 mortgage on his half of the plot in March 1675 with Hugh Noden, a merchant taylor who lived in Milk Street in the parish of St Lawrence Old Jewry. The interest was 6% with payments due in September 1675 (£3) and March 1676 (£103) although Aspinwall did not make the repayments and in May 1677 with the consent of Aspinwall, Noden sold the debt to John Wood a haberdasher for £100 with a 5s payment to Aspinwall. Aspinwall's mortgage repayments were now due to be paid in November 1677 and May 1678 at Wood's house in Paternoster Row.¹² It appears that the mortgage was never repaid as in July 1680 Wood wrote off the debt and paid a further £200 to Aspinwall to purchase the remainder of the lease.¹³

In 1691 an indenture of assignment records that Sarah Caldecott, the daughter and administratrix of John Wood,¹⁴ along with her husband George Caldecott, and her sister Rebecca Wood, a spinster, sold the remainder of the lease in the property to Nathaniel Guillym a draper for £270. The indenture also records the subleases accompanying the property and gives interesting and rare information on the value of such sub-leases.

Two tenements were held by John Bradley who was presumably a sub-lessee or assignee of Thomas and William Ffluddyer, a tiler and bricklayer, and plasterer, respectively, who signed a sub-lease for the property with Thomas Aspinwall the elder in February 1659-60 for 41 years at £9 pa rent. Marriotts Yard, first mentioned in 1670, appears to have grown further and developed a stable identity by the time of this 1691 indenture. Not only was Robert Fletcher's dwelling located there but five further houses were recorded. One tenement was occupied by [blank] Dickinson and John Johnson, two cottages were sub-leased by Edward Sea thanks to a lease signed between Samuel Aspinwall and John Hough and Augustine Johnson, a tiler, in October 1673 (Sea was presumably an assignee or sub-lessee of Johnson) for 21 years at £4 14s pa rent. Two further tenements in the yard were subleased by Daniel Webb thanks to an indenture dated June 1691 between himself and Thomas Major a draper for an 11 year term for a peppercorn rent for the first half year and then 50s pa rent for the remaining 10 ½ years.¹⁵

Guillym held his interest for just over 13 months as in January 1692-3 an indenture of sale delivered the lease to John Sweetapple, a goldsmith, in return for his payment of £270.

29B – Thomas Aspinwall the younger

Unfortunately the primary source material associated with Thomas' half of the plot is far from as rich as that relating to his brother Samuel's moiety. However, the material that does exist again gives interesting insights into the activities of lessees and absentee landlords.

In August 1693 the lease on the property was assigned by Joseph Rock, a 'tobacconest' from Sandbach in Chester, and Thomas Spendelow, an apothecary from Newcastle under Lyme Staffordshire, to the London joiner Thomas Poole in return for a £280 payment. The premises were recorded as 'free and clear' apart from two outstanding sub-leases granted by Elizabeth Aspinwall widow of Thomas and her two feoffees. The first (house D) was for a single tenement that had been in the occupation of James Coles (possibly a relation to Jane Coles?) but had been sub-leased by Thomas Poole, a boxmaker, in June 1676 for 26 years a £10 pa rent. Whether this is the same Thomas Poole is unclear. The second sub-lease was for properties A & B, and was granted to Nicholas Carter, a cordwainer, for the remaining three tenements including his dwelling and those in the occupation of Thomas Hughes and Michael Pratt. The lease, signed in June 1677, was for 28 years at a rental of £17 10s pa. Poole (the joiner) soon cashed in on his investment by assigning his sub-lease to Sweetapple in September 1693 for the princely sum of £416.¹⁶

Sweetapple by this point was the lessee of 29A, 29B and plot no.27 and in October 1696 he mortgaged his entire property portfolio for £1200. The schedule for repayment to the mortgagee Samuel Sheppard, a distiller, was £36 in six months time and £1236 in October 1697, to be paid at the house of Edward Stratey, a scrivener in Wallbrooke. Sweetapple was bound to Sheppard for the sum of £2000 to ensure the £1272 was repaid. It appears that this money was never repaid. An indenture records that sometime prior to November 1702 a commission of bankruptcy was awarded against Sweetapple and his partners Benjamin Hodgkin and Richard Harris. By an indenture of 7th April 1701 Sweetapple had demised to four trustees his leases and the equity of redemption on the mortgage. The four trustees had subsequently assigned both the leases and the equity of redemption to Henry Sherwood, a glazier, and Sherwood was expected to clear the mortgage debt of £1272. The indenture of November 1702 was between Sherwood and Phillip Shephard, a distiller and executor of the will of the deceased Samuel, and records that Sherwood had repaid the interest (£72) plus £200 of the capital sum, and therefore owed Shephard £1000 plus 'interest at rate of six percent'. Once this sum was cleared Shephard was indentured to transfer his interest in the property to Sherwood.¹⁷

Inhabitants of 28 & 29 according to the Marriage Duty Assessments of 1695

Using information contained in various land tax assessments, Corporation surveys and floorplans, the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676, and numerous other sources connected with this plot and the neighbouring plots, it has been possible to identify with relative accuracy the inhabitants of the plots 28 & 29 according to the Marriage Duty Assessments. It has also been possible to suggest whether the families lived in the on-street or off-street dwellings.

Property	Location	Forename	Surname	Value	Relationship	Burials	Births
1	Off Street	James	Worlaw			4s	2s
1	Off Street	Dorothy			his Wife	4s	
2	Off Street	Margt	Salmon			4s	
2	Off Street	Mary			Children	4s	
2	Off Street	Jeremiah			Children	4s	
3	Off Street	Samll	Harris			4s	2s
3	Off Street	Dedfeild			his Wife	4s	

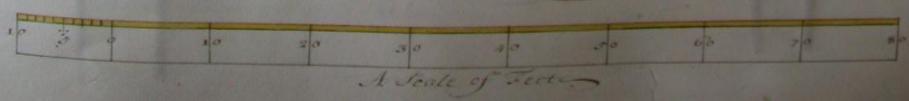
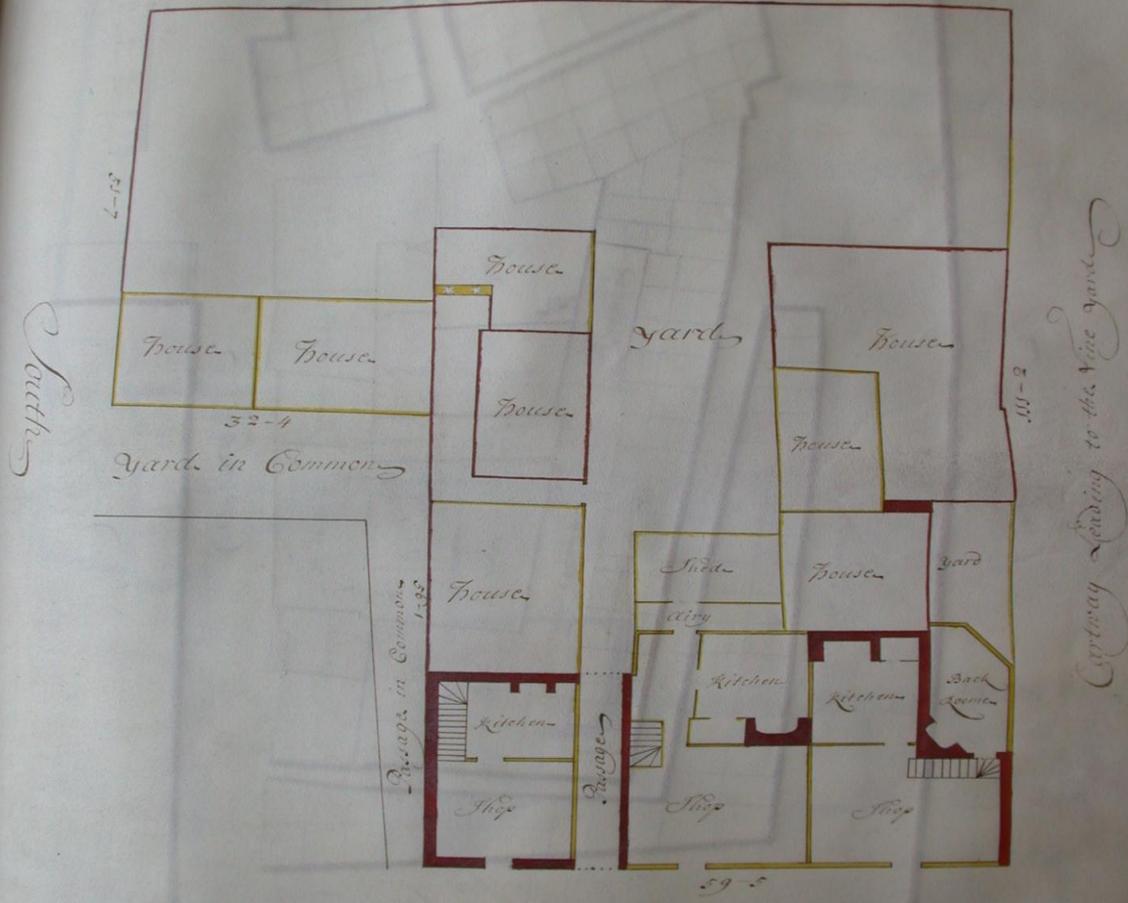
3	Off Street	Alice		a Child	4s	
3	Off Street	Joseph	Stubbs		4s	2s
3	Off Street	Elizth		his Wife	4s	
4	Off Street	Mary	Hasler		4s	
4	Off Street	Elizth		a Child	4s	
4	Off Street	Josias	Boulter		4s	2s
4	Off Street	Jane		his Wife	4s	
4	Off Street	Elizth	Kitching		4s	
4	Off Street	Hannah	Comby		4s	
4	Off Street	Hannah		a Daugr	4s	
5	Off Street	Samll	Long		4s	
5	Off Street	Judeth		Daugr	4s	
6	Off Street	Thomas	Cock		4s	2s
6	Off Street	Elizth		his Wife	4s	
6	Off Street	Margt		a Maid	4s	
7	Off Street?		Gues		4s	2s
7	Off Street?	Mary		his Wife	4s	
8	Off Street?	John	Bennett		4s	2s
8	Off Street?	Mary		his Wife	4s	
8	Off Street?	John		Children	4s	
8	Off Street?	Robt		Children	4s	
9	Off Street?	John	Gregory		4s	2s
9	Off Street?	Anne		his Wife	4s	
9	Off Street?	Adron		Children	4s	
9	Off Street?	Sarah		Children	4s	
10	On Street	Thomas	Colcott	600l Estate	£1	4s
10	On Street	Daniell		Children	14s	
10	On Street	Thomas		Children	14s	
10	On Street	Grace		Children	14s	
10	On Street	Wm	Mattinglee		4s	
10	On Street	Edward	Penton		4s	
10	On Street	Elizth	Colcott		4s	
11	Off Street	Richard	Rey		4s	2s
11	Off Street	Elizabeth		his Wife	4s	
11	Off Street	Elizabeth		a Child	4s	
12	Off Street	Jobe	Stroulger		4s	2s
12	Off Street	Elizth		his Wife	4s	
12	Off Street	William		a Son	4s	
12	Off Street	Elizth	Warner		4s	
13	Off Street	Leo	Whittinton		4s	
13	Off Street	Leo	Whittinton		4s	
14	Off Street	Richd	Bailey		4s	
14	Off Street		Bailey		4s	
15	Off Street	Dorothy	Davis		4s	
16	Off Street	Willm	Trever		4s	2s
16	Off Street	Mary		his Wife	4s	
17	Off Street	Joseph	Price		4s	
18	Off Street	Hugh	Bryant		4s	2s
18	Off Street	Susan		his Wife	4s	
18	Off Street	Joan	Stone		4s	
18	Off Street	Marcey	May		4s	
19	Off Street	John	Johnson		4s	2s

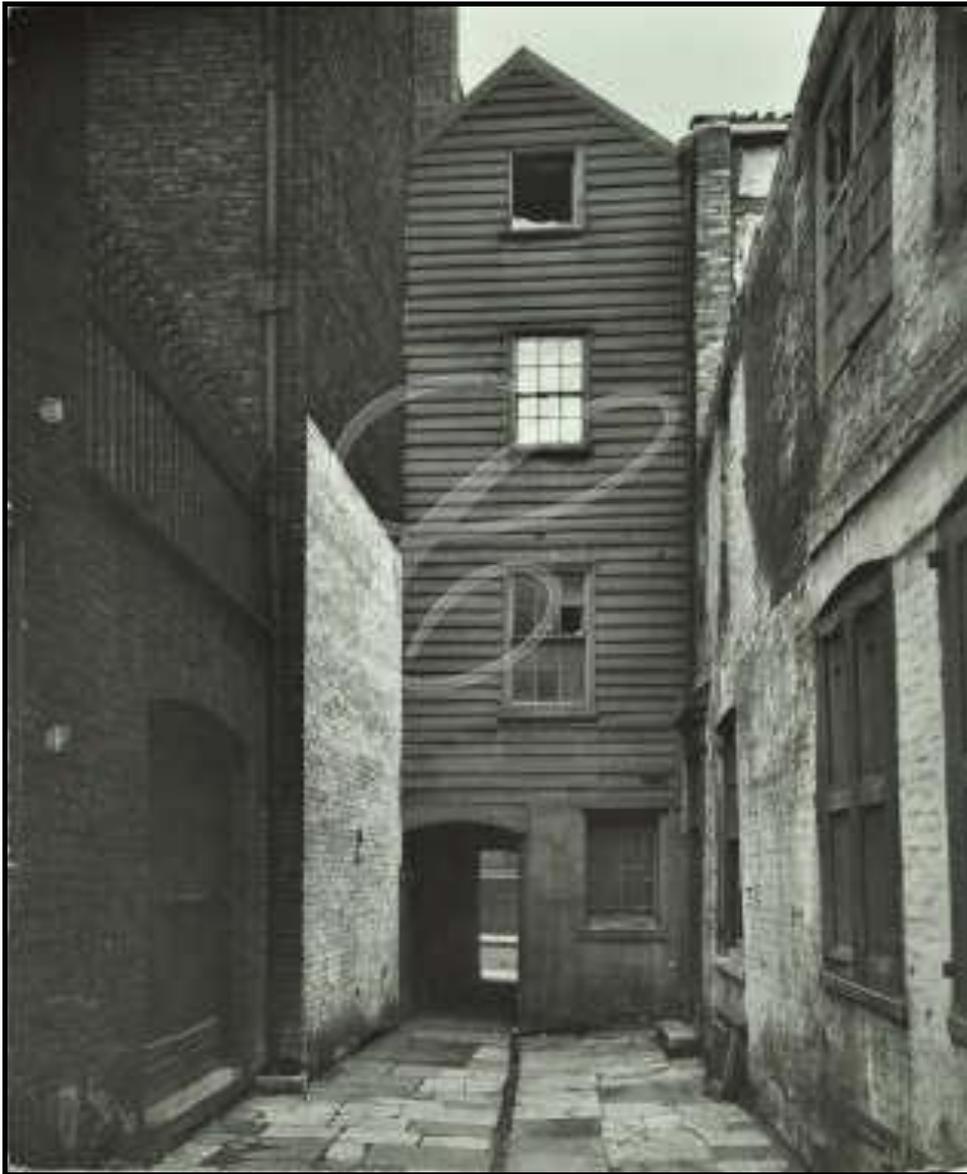
19	Off Street	Sarah		his Wife	4s	
19	Off Street	Edward		a Son	4s	
20	Off Street	Elizabeth	Worth		4s	
20	Off Street	Robt		a Son	4s	
21	Off Street	Stephen	Cockson		4s	2s
21	Off Street	Mary		his Wife	4s	
21	Off Street	Elizth		a Child	4s	
22	Off Street	John	Sibley		4s	2s
22	Off Street	Mary		his Wife	4s	
22	Off Street	Elizth		a Daughter	4s	
22	Off Street	John	Elletson		4s	
22	Off Street	Peter	Arkell		4s	
22	Off Street	Susan	Murins		4s	
23	On Street	John	Silke		4s	2s
23	On Street	Mary		his Wife	4s	
23	On Street	Richd	Stone		4s	
23	On Street	Samll		a Sonn	4s	
23	On Street	Nicholas	Carter		4s	2s
23	On Street	ffrances		his Wife	4s	
23	On Street	Anne	Lasey		4s	
24	On Street	Richd	Dyer		4s	2s
24	On Street	Mary		his Wife	4s	
24	On Street	Richd		a Sonn	4s	
24	On Street	Peter	Patris		4s	
24	On Street	Tho	Hubbard		4s	
24	On Street	Mary	Hasler		4s	
25	Unclear	Clement	Haynes		4s	2s
25	Unclear	Anne		his Wife	4s	
25	Unclear	Mary		a Daughter	4s	
25	Unclear	Joshuah	Moore		4s	
25	Unclear	John	Preist		4s	
25	Unclear	Mary	Prettyman		4s	

1715+ plots 28 & 29 amalgamated

Both plot numbers 28 & 29 were amalgamated into a single lease in September 1715 when Sherwood was granted a fresh demise for 21 years (beginning in March 1713) at £30 rent pa and a £100 fine. The property was described as '11 dwelling houses' which were rendered in the accompanying plan. However, the indenture also notes that there were 'several others not described in the said scheme (plan)' and ordered that Sherwood pulled down the offending structures within three years and in their place 'substantially new build two new messuages of tenements'. This information indicates that several temporary or jerry built structures had established themselves on the plot over the years. The dimensions of the plot were given as 59ft 5" along the street front, 111ft 2" E-W along the northern edge, 90ft along the vineyard. The southern edge measured 51ft 7" E-W - 32ft 4" N-S - 56ft 1" E-W.¹⁸ Strype describes the court in rather unflattering terms as 'but ordinary, both as to House and Inhabitants.'¹⁹

Demised unto Henry Sherwood
West
Vine-yard
90-0





¹ City of London Cash Accounts, vol.1.

² T.C. Dale (ed.), *Returns of Divided Houses in City of London 1637* (London 1937), f.94.

³ Parish Registers (Hereafter PR), 30 July 1637, Ev Id 114274. 03 Aug 1637, Ev Id 216202. 26 Aug 1638, Ev Id 402233.

⁴ PR, 11 Oct 1645, Ev Id 221074.

⁵ CLRO, City Land Grant Books, (hereafter CLGB), vol.2, f.87, 14 April 1641.

⁶ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, f.90, 7 Feb 1641-2.

⁷ CLRO, Copies of City Deeds, vol.I, f.129-131, 17 June 1652.

⁸ City of London Cash Accounts, vol.1.

⁹ CLRO, CLGB, vol.2, f.41, 19 July 1626. CLRO, City Lands Committee 'copies of leases', vol.1, ff.142-144, 13 April 1652.

¹⁰ PRO, C113/64, 27 Oct 1663.

¹¹ PRO, C113/64, 20 July 1670.

¹² PRO, C113/64, 20 March 1675, 12 May 1677.

¹³ PRO, C113/64, 29 July 1680.

¹⁴ The indenture notes that John's executrix (his wife?) Sarah Wood was deceased

¹⁵ PRO, C113/64, 19 Dec 1691.

¹⁶ PRO, C113/64, 7 Aug 1693, 14 Sept 1693.

¹⁷ PRO, C113/64, 24 Nov 1702.

¹⁸ CLRO, Comptroller Deeds, 53:31, 12 Sept 1715. PRO, C113/64, 12 Sept 1715.

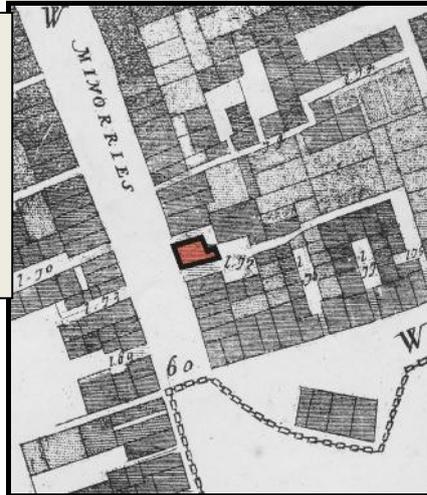
¹⁹ J. Styrpe, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, vol.1 book 2 (London 1720), p.28.

43/7/1

ST. BOTOLPH ALDGATE

(THE BLUE ANCHOR – Minories, East Side):

This property occupied a plot towards the south of the Minories on the east side. The plot corresponds to no.77 the Minories on the Portsoken ward map of 1858, and can be identified on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676 at the entrance to Blue Anchor Alley (1.75)



i. 1588 –late 18th c

This history of this property begins on a gruesome note, as the first entry in the Parish Clerks Memoranda (PCM) is a memo of a coroner's inquest into the death of the occupant of the Blewe Anker(sic) 'upon Sparrowes corner', a John Dunstone. The inquest found that Dunstone, 34 years old and a bricklayer, was murdered 'whilst sitting on his seat at his door' between 8 and 9pm on the night of Wednesday 15 May 1588. The perpetrator, a 'labouring householder' by the name of Thomas Campyan (Campion) who 'did dwell in a garden alley being near Sparrowes corner' approached from 'Behynde the Sayd Jhon Donstone Sittinge at His owne Dore Ded throoste a knyfe in to his Backe under His lefte Showlder Blade wch wente abowte v entchis Deepe into His Bodye and more whereof He Dyed'. Dunstone was buried in the south aisle in the church under the right side of the great stone, with the 'best cloth' of the parish being used and 'an afternoons knell with the great bell' accompanying the burial.¹ Campion, the husband to an unnamed wife and father to 'three small children' was executed soon after, hanged 'upon a giblet' set up at Tower Hill close to the Blue Anchor itself. He was buried in the common church yard.²

By this period of the early 1590s the property was being occupied by a Robert Elsworth, who is described as a 'tipler', and who apparently took in lodgers. The PCM record that one such individual, a scholar by the name of Adrian Poynes (Poynnes), died from the plague aged 33, and was buried on 12 September 1593.³ Another man, Symon Greaves, described as a 'skottishe man some times a lieutenant of a coronet of horsemen' and 'no parishioner' of the parish, was buried on 23 January 1593-4 at the age 40 after 'lying sick' at the Blewe Anker the house of Robert Elsor.⁴ It is clear that by this period the Blewe Anker was a significant local landmark, as a number of times in the PCM the locations of places are referred to in relation to the Anker.⁵

By December 1596 Elsworth had been replaced as the occupant by a Fishmonger called John Smith, whose son Statius was christened on the 29 December 1596.⁶ Smith lasted only a few years in the property, as by September 1599 John Glory, a pewterer, and his

family were dwelling there. It appears that his existing daughter Anne (baptised in 1596) was joined by twins William and Dorothy who were christened on the 3 September 1599.⁷ It is possible that Glory had married an Anne Symmons in 1593. It is also probable that Glory moved to the Anchor from Houndsditch, as the PCM record the christening of a Stephen Glory, son of a pewterer by the name of John Glory who was resident in 'Mr Gaskens rents' in Houndsditch. The PCM also record that in 1594 Glory had Andrewe Parker the son of Andrewe Parker, a trumpeter, 'lying' at his house in Houndsditch.⁸ If as it seems likely, this is the same Glory that moved to the Anchor in the late 1590s then he is still engaged in the practice of taking in lodgers in 1614 as in November of that year Joane Read 'an aged widow (reputed to be a 100 years old) who lodged in the house of John Glory in the precinct next to the tower' was buried.⁹ His daughter Anne was married to George Howcroft, a taylor from St Saviours parish on 28 April 1616.¹⁰

In terms of the ownership of the property in this period it appeared to be in the hands of a Nicholas Reynolds, as his will dated the 1 August 1593, and proved in the Archdeaconry court on 25 October 1602, left the freehold of the Blue Anchor to his wife Elizabeth, who was betrothed to Robert Wheatley, a salter. The freehold was to pass to Wheatley (presumably upon marriage) and the rent of £6pa was to be paid to the executors of Reynolds. After the death of both Wheatley and the executors the freehold was to pass to the Church Wardens 'in the ward of Portsoken' for the 'needy poor.' The property was described as a 'new build tenement' with a vault into the street.¹¹

However, the vestry minutes indicate that by 1604 there was some form of legal dispute regarding the title of the property. The minutes do not explain in detail the nature of the dispute, but record that the ward of Portsoken was to 'bear one third of litigation costs of Wheatlye at common law' regarding the property, and that 'if his case is overthrown' then the ward would 'begin their own case' to 'sue at law' and Wheatley would pay one third of the ward's costs. Wheatley clearly won the case as the minutes have a signed receipt from him showing that on 22 May 1606 he received £4 2s for a third of the charges.¹² Whatever the case, the next documented reference to the property is contained in the Church Wardens poor accounts of 1622 indicating that the title was indeed successfully transferred to the parish.

The property probably leased by a widow Elizabeth Tubman at that time, for the sum of £2 10s per quarter (£10pa).¹³ It is possible that she lived with her father Mr Lomley, who died in her house and was buried 'in the country.'¹⁴ Tubman was involved in an interesting internal dispute within the vestry that was resolved at the Chancery, and resulted in a series of legal clarifications as to the procedures of the vestry. The case was brought before the Chancery by John Brigg, clerk, and governors of parish church of St Botolph Aldgate, against Thomas Vinton, William Carpenter, William Price, William Hearte, Robert Leutour, and widow Tubman. Presumably the two camps were involved in some form of internal power struggle between parish and corporate authority. The parish argued that the defendants ought not to be permitted to keep the 'common chest, evidences, writings, church books, accompts and a stock of money' at their private houses as the 'custody, ordering and disposing' of these items was the responsibility of the minsters, wardens, and vestrymen of the parish, and that 'no vestry ought to be kept in any private mans house.' The defendants responded that Vinton was an alderman's deputy, and that all the rest were common councilmen and had been church wardens (although this clearly could not have been the case for Tubman herself) and that effectively they were just exercising their rights. After a 'long debate of the matter' the Lord Chancellor 'was pleased to declare' that as the defendants were the 'civil government of the said ward' they did not possess the legal authority to hold the aforementioned documentation or parish resources, and that the chest should be returned to the vestry house and to the custody of the wardens and minster. The judgement also stipulated that vestry meetings were to be held in the vestry house, that no parish officers were to be excluded from

these meetings, and reaffirmed that it was the minister, church wardens and vestrymen that 'shall dispose of all matters and affairs belonging to the parish'. Finally, the financial state and procedures of the parish were to be clarified. It was ordered that Brigg (now a minister?) and six vestrymen (three from the City, and three from Middlesex) should form a commission take a 'stock' of the 'sums of money given to use of the poor and of yearly employment thereof.' To complete this audit the commission was given the power to 'interrogate' the defendants. They were also required to question the defendants in relation to the account books of the parish which had been 'torn and defaced', and the 'suppressing and decaying' of other books concerning the parish premises. It was noted that Widow Tubman herself had 'in her hands several rents belonging to the parish' but that she had been unsure as to who to pay the monies to, given the state of the accounts and internal power struggle within the parish.¹⁵ Interestingly, as a result of the dispute Tubman appeared to have been withholding her rental payments to the parish.¹⁶

By the following year (1623) the parish was apparently required to pay legal fees to transfer an interest that a Sir John Leimon held in the property (the exact nature of which is not mentioned although the evidence suggests it was indeed the freehold) to the parish.¹⁷ The deed relating to this case provides the only detailed description of property, along with rudimentary ground floor plans seemingly penned in 1836.¹⁸ The deed notes that the occupant of the Blue Anchor was now a George Bayley and that the property was bordered by properties in the occupation of John Martin to the north, John Howe to the east, and a 'tenement or gatehouse' owed by Walter Mears to the south. The property comprised of 3 ½ floors and included substantial cellars. The ground floor of the property consisted of a shop 14ft 7 inches east to west, by 14ft 3 inches north to south. Underneath this room was a large cellar measuring 14ft 7 inches east to west and 18ft 10 inches north to south, and containing a chimney. Interestingly the property's underground space extended further, as it included another substantial 'vault' or cellar 'shooting from the said tenement under the street called the Minories' and measuring 27ft east to west and 16ft north to south. The chamber over the shop on the second floor apparently jutted out over both the east and west walls being 18ft 10 inches in size along this axis, and 14ft 7 inches north to south, and the chamber above that on the third floor measured 16ft 10 inches east to west, and 14ft 7 inches north to south, with the garret located above. A staircase (the deeds indicate this was an external staircase) was located on the south east corner of the property and climbed 7ft 4 inches from east to west. Another staircase, presumably internal, ran from north to south and climbed 7ft 1 inch. Finally, there existed a funnel next to the staircase which ran down to a 'privy vault' located under the yard of the adjoining property belonging to Howe.

Interestingly the deed notes that the freehold was to be held by Leman for the remainder of his life, then to be held in trust that would 'distribute the rents amongst the poor'. Once the membership of this trust had been reduced to four men (no mention is made of the original number of trustees) then the premises would be conveyed to '18 more of the ward of Portsoken.'¹⁹ The parish spent £3 1s 'in suite' as late as 1635 for 'cleering the title' of the property, indicating that the conveyance was still proving problematic as late as the mid 1630s.²⁰

Between 1632 and 1648 the £10p.a. rent on the property was paid by a Mr Francis Johnson, although it is not clear if a lease agreement was involved.²¹ Johnson may have held the post of a parish collector a couple of times in the early 1630s, and the post of 'Examyner' for Tower Hill precinct (for plague?) in 1636.²² However, a lease was clearly involved when Henry Ratlief took over occupancy of the Blue Anchor in 1648 (still at £10p.a), as he paid a fine of £15.²³ The same year the parish also paid 9s 6d to search for Reynolds' will, in light of a 'difference between two parts of parish', suggesting there may still have been some unresolved issues with the title of the property. Ratlief, who was on the vestry in the late

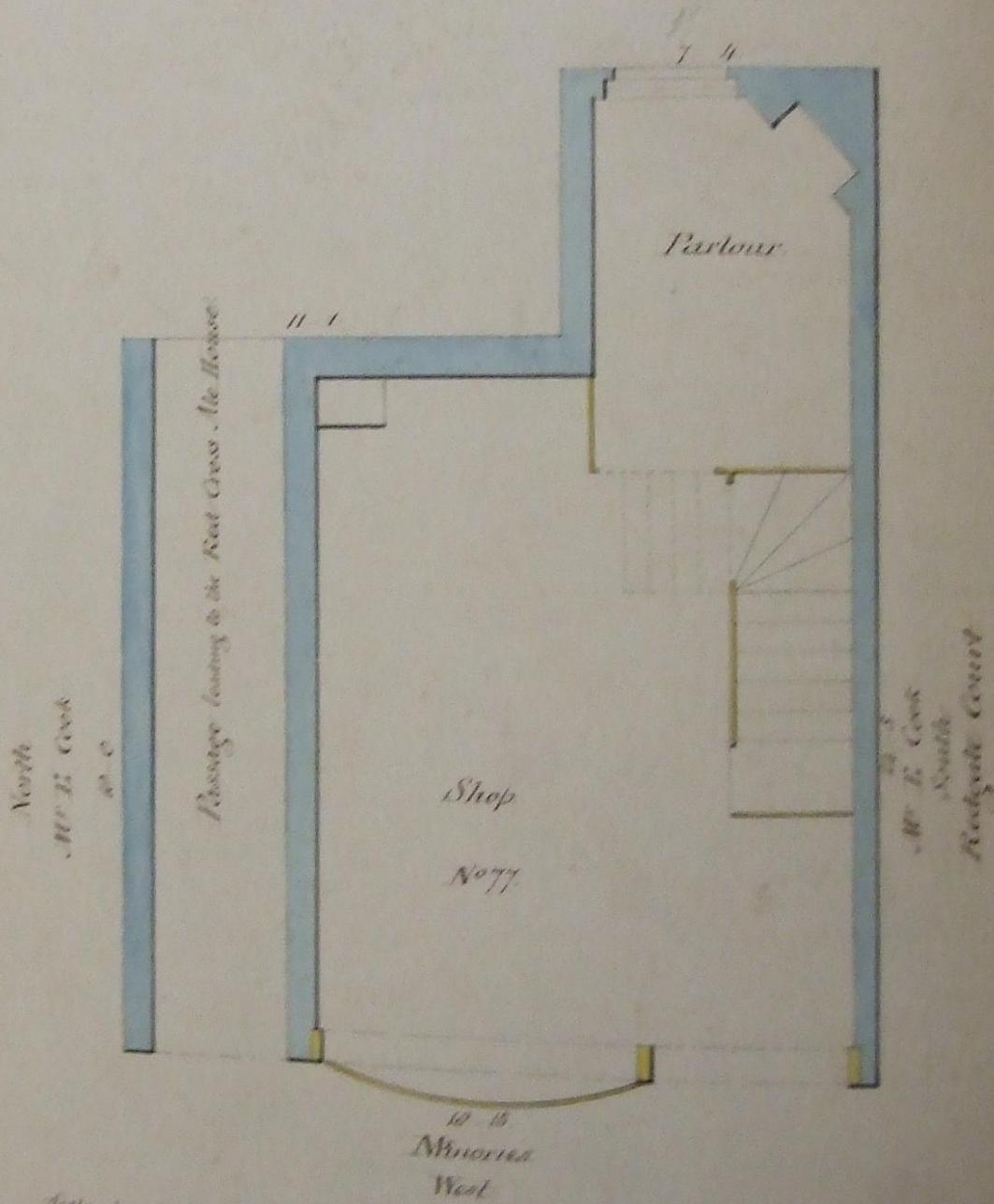
1650s and held the post of Churchwarden in the early 1660s,²⁴ continued to lease the property until 1666, when the account books record that Anthony Dyott (Dyatt) was paying rental on the dwelling.²⁵ This is probably the same Anthony Dyott, an ironmonger, who married Mary Walker (daughter of Thomas Walker) in February 1657. Dyott's place of residence at the time of his marriage was recorded as the parish of St Michael Queenhithe.²⁶ He died in 1668 and in October 1672 Mary his widow signed a lease for the property, still described as a messuage of tenement, and containing three hearths according to the Hearth Taxes of the 1670s, for the unusually long term of 41 years, at the existing rent of £10 pa although no fine is mentioned. Widow Dyatt was in receipt of assistance from the parish in the form of £2 'expended upon her' in 1672, although the poll tax returns of 1678 reveal Dyett to be a woman of significant wealth. She was recorded as possessing £200 plus in 'money' and was assessed for the relative high value of £2 1s.²⁷ Her household consisted of three women 'maid servants', Eliza Cope, Mary Flecher and E Newland, to whom she paid £2 in wages, suggesting she was running some kind of business from the premises, although what type of business was engaged in is not clear.²⁸ She was buried in July 1686.²⁹

The subsequent occupier was a Daniel Picard a haberdasher (also recorded variously as Pickard and Pikard) who presumably occupied the property after Dyatt's death.³⁰ The 1690 Poll Taxes record the household as consisting of Pickard, his sister and his brother. A sister was still living with him by 1692, along with his wife and servant by the name of Elizabeth Pell.³¹ The land tax assessments of the 1690s also reveal Pickard to be a man of substantial wealth. He was paying £17pa rent for the Anchor, and was assessed for 3s to 4s 6d in stock, whilst the Marriage Duty assessments of 1695 also reveal that he was assessed for £600 in capital assets.³² The Pickard household continued to remain compact, with only Daniel, his wife Anne and a servant by the name of Elizabeth Peele resident in 1695, and an apprentice and a servant by the name of Ellis Willis living there along with the Pickard's in 1698.³³

Pickard continued to reside in the property into the 1710s, and was apparently quite active within the parish, appearing in the wardmote presentment as a prosecutor against a pair of men accused of running disorderly and unlicensed houses in Covent Garden.³⁴ He was granted a 41 year lease for the property in 1713 by which time the Blue Anchor was also being referred to as The Sign of the Bell. The nineteenth century 'Trust Money' book records the property as abutting north with a tavern formerly known as The George (subsequently as The Standard), and also situated next to the Red Cross Ale House. In 1755 the Anchor was leased to Francis Hawes for a 31 year term, and again in 1786 to a Joseph Burton for 21 years in return for a £14 annual rent and £85 spent on repairs.³⁵ An early nineteenth century plan included below gives an indication of the scale and layout of the property which apparently had not changed a great deal since the description given in the 1620s.³⁶

East

Mr Larky Cook



Privilege leading to the Red Cross, the House

North
Mr E. Cook

Mr E. Cook
South
Redgate Court

Shop
No 77

Parlour

10 15
Minorities
West

Scale

-
- ¹ GLMs 9235_4995 Church Wardens accounts 1587-1588, f.18. Parish Registers (hereafter PR) EvID 201755, 12 May 1588.
- ² Parish Clerks Memoranda (hereafter PCM) 16 May 1588, f.65. 17 May 1588, f.68. 23 May 1588. PR, EvID 201758, 23 May 1588.
- ³ PCM, 12 Sept 1593. GLMs 9235_5059, Church Wardens accounts, f.50. PR, EvID 303633.
- ⁴ PCM, 23 Jan 1593, f.115. GLMs 9235_5077 Church Wardens accounts, f.59. PR, EvID 300215, 23 Jan 1593.
- ⁵ PCM, 20 Aug 1592, f.122. 19 Nov 1592, f.171. June 1594, f.185. 23 July 1598, f.123.
- ⁶ PCM 29 Dec 1596, f.88.
- ⁷ PR 1 Aug 1596, EvID 308985. PCM, 3 Sept 1599, f.138.
- ⁸ PCM, 30 Sept 1593, f.37. 16 March 1593 fol.133. Nov 1593, f.254. PR, 4 Nov 1593, EvID 314089.
- ⁹ PCM, 9 Nov 1614, f.202. PR 9 Nov 1614, EvID 203874.
- ¹⁰ PCM, 28 April 1616, f.249.
- ¹¹ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money Book, f.21(11)
- ¹² GLMS 9236, Vestry Minutes, 29 Sept 1604, f.95. GLMS 2630 19th c. Trust Money Book, f.21. GLMS 9236 Vestry Minutes payments, 22 May 1606, f.98.
- ¹³ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens Poor Accounts receipts 1622. GLMS 9236 Vestry Minutes, 16 Dec 1622.
- ¹⁴ GLMs 9235_5484, Church Wardens Accounts, f.278.
- ¹⁵ GLMS 3606/1, St Botolph Aldgate parish records, 16 Dec 1622.
- ¹⁶ GLMs 9237-15 Church Wardens Accounts, 16 Dec 1622, f.19.
- ¹⁷ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens Poor Accounts 1622-73. St Botolph Aldgate miscellaneous Vestry Minutes, 22 Jan 1623-4, and Disbursements, 1623-4, f.40-1.
- ¹⁸ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens Poor Accounts, 1622-73. Vestry Minutes, 22 Jan 1623-4, f.28&29.
- ¹⁹ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, 1 May 1623, f.22.
- ²⁰ GLMs 9237_111/112, Church Wardens Accounts, 1635, f.67.
- ²¹ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens Poor Accounts 1622-73, receipts 1644-1648, f.60/62/66/67/71/74/81/84/85/89/92/97.
- ²² GLMS 9237_98/99, Church Wardens Accounts 1633, f.62. GLMS 9237_111/112, Church Wardens Accounts 1635, f.67. GLMS 9237_120, Church Wardens Accounts 1636, f.71.
- ²³ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens Poor Accounts 1622-73, Receipts 1648.
- ²⁴ GLMS 9237_610, Church Wardens Accounts 17 March 1656, f.263. GLMS 9237_608, Church Wardens Accounts, 25 Dec 1657, f.261. GLMS 9237_296, Church Wardens Accounts 1661, f.161.
- ²⁵ GLMS 9237, Church Wardens poor accounts 1622-73, rentals f.3.
- ²⁶ PR, 10 Feb 1657, EvID 320354.
- ²⁷ PR, 12 Aug 1668, EvID 515695. COL.CHD.LA.03.25-9.7 014, f.27. The National Archive, E 179/252/23. GLMS9237_397, Church Wardens Accounts 1672, fol.205.
- ²⁸ COL.CHD.LA.03.68.1 033, 1678, f.5.
- ²⁹ PR, 18 July 1686, EvID 1225175.
- ³⁰ COL.CHD.LA.03.29.22.019, 1688, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.22.2 030, 1689, f.4.
- ³¹ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.2 026, 1690, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.32.16 006, 1692, f.5.
- ³² GLMS, 11316.11 006, 1693, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.13.14A-D 021, 1693, f.5. COL.CHD.LA.03.17.6 035, 1694, f.5.
- ³³ COL.CHD.LA.03.18.4 005, 1698, f.4.
- ³⁴ GLMS 11316.14 019, 1703, f.8. COL/AD/04/012, Portsoken wardmote presentments 1703, 21 Dec 1703.
- ³⁵ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, f.22
- ³⁶ GLMS 2630, 19th c. Trust Money book, fol.11.