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THE WALBROOK STUDY:
A SUMMARY REPORT

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i. Introduction

Since 1979 the Social and Economic Study of Medieval London has been engaged on a detailed investigation of the history and development of the city of London over the period of 600 years before the Great Fire of 1666. A study of five parishes in Cheapside has been completed. Recently the project has been concerned with the district lying to the east of Cheapside, and with the suburb outside Aldgate. This paper summarizes some of the results arising from work on the Walbrook area, which immediately adjoins Cheapside. The study is based on a reconstruction, primarily from documentary sources, of the history of each house or other property in the area, providing a unique insight into the changing physical conditions of life of the citizens of London, and into their business and social affairs. A small sample of this material is presented in the Appendix, which contains histories of the church of St Mary Woolchurch and of the properties in the block bounded by the streets now known as Poultry and Bucklersbury, an index of property holders, and a series of reconstruction maps (Figs. A-D) covering the period, from AD 1200 onwards. Fig. 1 shows the principal landmarks of the area during the late Middle Ages.

The Walbrook study area, comprising the ancient parishes of St Benet Sherehog, St Mary Woolchurch, St Mildred Poultry, and St Stephen Walbrook, lies at the heart of the modern city of London. It includes Mansion House and the headquarters of several important financial institutions. It immediately adjoins the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange. While the Walbrook area has included a major nodal point in the city's street system since at least as early as the reign of King Alfred, it did not really emerge as the focus of the city's financial district until the modern period. Cheapside, with its shops, bazaars, great houses, taverns, and street market, was the hub of the city's commercial life in the Middle Ages. As early as the thirteenth century, however, the Walbrook area was notable for its substantial residences of wealthy merchants, many of whom had extensive dealings with the king. There are signs that at this time the street of Bucklersbury, to the west of Walbrook, was a centre for financial and monetary affairs. With the establishment of the king's exchange for coin in Lombard Street during the later fourteenth century, the area to the east of Walbrook acquired a more distinctly financial character. Goldsmiths were attracted to the street, which came to be used as a forum for the interchange of business information. It was to provide a

worthy setting for this established practice that in 1566 the Royal Exchange was set up close to Lombard Street, and at the end of the seventeenth century the newly-founded Bank of England was drawn to the same neighbourhood, its first long-term home being at Grocers' Hall. This marked the beginning of the modern evolution of the Walbrook area and its environs as the heart of the city's financial district.

Over virtually the entire period before the Great Fire, however, the Walbrook area was distinguished less by its associations with high finance than by the continuing involvement of its inhabitants in a changing range of specialized commodity trades, by its public market, and by the large houses of a small number of wealthy residents. Patterns of both trade and residence in the area were to a large extent determined by its proximity to Cheapside. The streets, and the markets associated with them, are thus the best topic with which to begin.

ii. Street, churches, and markets

During the earlier Middle Ages it was common notionally to divide the community of Londoners within the city walls into two halves, those who lived to the east of Walbrook and those who lived to the west. The Walbrook stream, running from north to south across the city, continued to influence the life of the area until the time of the Great Fire and beyond. By 1500 the stream had been culverted over and was no longer visible within the area, but earlier in the Middle Ages it had constituted a barrier to movement across the city on the east-west line. The principal crossing of the stream lay within the Walbrook study area, as the convergence of major streets on the neighbourhood of Mansion House makes clear. Little is yet known of the origin of these streets. They have only a slight relationship with their Roman predecessors. Between AD 400 and AD 900 the city within the walls was virtually uninhabited, and the earlier lines of communication became obscured. The prosperous trading settlement which re-emerged in these years lay outside the walls to the west of the city. The rectilinear grid of streets in the western half of the city, including the great market street of Cheapside, was probably laid out in 886, when King Alfred is said to have made the city habitable again. The less extensive grid in the neighbourhood of London Bridge may belong to the same period or up to a century later. It is not clear, however, whether the Walbrook crossing, and the streets radiating eastwards from it, came to be established after Cheapside, or whether they were part of some earlier, less well-defined, east-west route across the then deserted city. Certainly, the Roman crossing of Walbrook in this neighbourhood did not continue in use, and its medieval successor lay some 50 yards to the north. East of this crossing the city was still relatively sparsely settled in the twelfth century, a time when the city's population was concentrated between Cheapside and the river, and around London Bridge.

As is often the case where roads converge, the neighbourhood of the Walbrook crossing seems initially to have contained a large extent of unenclosed ground forming part of the highway. The boggy margins of the stream may also have been open to all comers. By the thirteenth century, when the picture is first clear in the documentary source, much of this space appears to have been enclosed and built upon. The last stages of this encroachment are on record, however, and the topographical pattern the established can be interpreted to suggest ways in which the earlier stages of the process had come about.

From the thirteenth century onwards the eastern end of Cheapside was marked by a large triangular block of property bounded to north and south by narrow lanes, whose modern successors are the streets of Poultry and Bucklersbury. Houses at the western point of this triangle faced down Cheapside. The Walbrook stream ran from north to south across the eastern part of the block, and the base of the triangle faced on to the street or lane known as Walbrook. This entire block has the appearance of an encroachment on to an open space at the eastern end of Cheapside near the Walbrook crossing. The greater part of the encroachment had taken place by the end of the twelfth century, since a property near the western end of the triangle is recorded in 1182-3 and the property at the north-east corner of the block is recorded in 1227. These properties may not have existed a century previously since an early, possibly late eleventh-century, reference to the church of St May Woolchurch, which lay to the east of Walbrook, describes the church as being 'of Westcheap' (i.e. Cheapside), a description which would have been impossible, or highly misleading, if the properties

in the triangular block had been there. During the twelfth century London grew rapidly in wealth and population: the evidence for the Walbrook area indicates that close to Cheapside this growth was accompanied by much new building and encroachment on hitherto open land.

At the eastern end of the triangular block the process of encroachment appears to have been complete by 1227, when property there was separated by a narrow lane (*viculus*) from the cemetery of St Mary Woolchurch on the east. This lane was part of a street now known as Walbrook, leading down to the Thames. The street may itself have been laid out on the open ground beside the stream. At the western end of the triangular block the process of encroachment continued well into the thirteenth century. By 1220 a group of wooden shops had been built, apparently by encroachment, to the west of the stone shops and house which occupied the site of the property mentioned in 1182-3. By 1246 a further encroachment, in the form of a lean-to building, had been erected to the west, and by the 1270s this structure had been replaced by a row of four shops with rooms above facing Cheapside. Public space in Cheapside itself became progressively encumbered in this period. About 1240 the Great Conduit, bringing piped water from Tyburn, was erected just to the west of this block. Further to the west, probably in the middle of the street and in line with the Great Conduit, was a row of permanent stalls occupied by butchers and other tradesmen.

The church and cemetery of St Mary Woolchurch may also have been established by encroachment on to open ground. Certainly, other London parish churches are known to have been built on the public highway, perhaps because at the time this was the only place where space was available. The early history of this church is shrouded in a mist of conflicting claims and forged documents. The church certainly seems to have existed by the time of King William the Conqueror or his son, and was associated with a stone house adjoining it (possibly later incorporated in the church or its cemetery), and with the nearby church of St Stephen which lay on the east bank of the Walbrook stream. In the twelfth century St Mary's was often described as 'new church'. This was perhaps because it was remembered as a new foundation on a spacious and hitherto open site, intended to serve the needs of a growing body of parishioners who could no longer be accommodated within the relatively constricted church of St Stephen. The new church would also have been better placed to attract the devotions, and donations, of traders passing to and from Cheapside, but it is not possible to tell whether this consideration influenced its founders.

The other parish churches of the area had all been established by c.1150, and possibly much earlier. St Mildred Poultry may have originated as the private chapel of the large residence on the east bank of the Walbrook stream which by 1200 is known to have adjoined the church on two sides. About 1100 there was some confusion over rights in a church then known as that of St Benet or St Pancras. The church in question was that later known as St Pancras Soper Lane, but had presumably been confused with that of St Benet Sherehog which was only thirty yards away. The relationship between these two churches may have paralleled that of St Mary Woolchurch and St Stephen Walbrook, one being established within the parish of the other. London was noted for its great number of parish churches, most of them probably founded by AD 1100 in response to a range of popular initiatives very like those which led to the proliferation of Non-Conformist chapels in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was perhaps even some over-provision of parish churches in twelfth-century London, a situation which was remedied, or at least regularized, when the ecclesiastical authorities, intent on providing effectively for the cure of souls and on securing reasonable incomes for the parish clergy, curbed new foundations. There is some evidence for this reaction in the Walbrook area, where the church of St Mary Coneyhope had by the end of the twelfth century been demoted to the status of a chapel dependent upon the parish church of St Mildred Poultry. The chapel, however, continued to be a popular centre of devotion until the Reformation.

In spite of the many uncertainties associated with the interpretation of the evidence, the Walbrook study has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the emergence of the parochial system in the city. It has also provided clear evidence for the renewed interest which fifteenth-century Londoners expressed in their parish churches. This seems to have reflected both the increased resources which many ordinary parishioners had at their disposal, and were prepared to devote to this localized expression of their religion, and the greater availability of land which followed the loss of population in the Black Death and later pestilences. Thus in 1442 the

parishioners of St Mary Woolchurch, who had a good deal of space in their churchyard, rebuilt and enlarged their church. In 1428 the parishioners of St Stephen Walbrook acquired a plot of land opposite their church where they were able to build a new and much enlarged place of worship for themselves.

Major encroachments on to the street appear to have ceased before 1200, presumably when the community at large recognized that further changes of this character would seriously hinder the movement of traffic in the city. Minor encroachments, in the form of stalls, steps, and entries to cellars, continued to be made, but were carefully regulated, so that between c.1200 and the Great Fire of 1666 there was little change in the street frontages. The continuing pressure for space in which the citizens of London could live and trade was now met by opening up hitherto private land to public access. This was an informal process in which private entries came to be used as public thoroughfares, and sometimes reverted to their former status. The Walbrook area and the adjacent part of Cheapside are particularly notable for this development in the later twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries. Soon after 1200 Soper Lane, running south out of Cheapside, was described as a new street. In the thirteenth century, Pancras Lane, running east out of Soper Lane into the street now known as Bucklersbury, was also described as a new street. Before then access to the two churches in Pancras Lane was probably by means of lanes leading directly off Cheapside. A deed of 1170x97 mentions the street later known as Pancras Lane, but implies that Size Lane, which ran out of Pancras Lane opposite the church of St Benet Sherehog, did not then exist. In this way it is possible to trace the evolution of the network of minor streets in this part of the city, where it was almost certainly complete well before 1250.

Cheapside was the principal trading area of the city and was often simply known as 'the market' (*forum*). Before the twelfth century this market may have extended east as far as the Walbrook stream. In an important sense the streets and other open ground within the city of London collectively constituted a single market place, within which there were certain areas of intensive and specialized trading activity. From an early date these markets were probably subject to a customary, communally-determined system of regulation concerning the hours and places of trading, as well as to the supervision of the king's officers who collected tolls and other dues. In the Walbrook area, close to Cheapside, there seem to have been two early centres of marketing, one of which probably did not survive the twelfth century. The surname of the church of chapel of St Mary Coneyhope, first recorded before 1183-4, incorporates a reference to a market. This was probably the king's market, rather than a market for rabbits (coney; cf. below, section iv), as has also been suggested. This market, perhaps in some sense a satellite of the Cheapside market, may have been so called in order to distinguish it from the private market which, according to a royal charter of 1189, was associated with the church of St Mary Woolchurch.

The Woolchurch market had a longer and more distinctive history than that of St Mary Coneyhope. It seems originally to have been held in the churchyard of St Mary Woolchurch, probably on the north side of the church next to the open space where Broad Street, Cornhill, and Lombard Street converged. This was an obvious and advantageous site for commerce. By 1268, however, the owner of the church appears to have lost control of the market, which was now regulated by representatives of the king. This probably means that the site of the market was no longer enclosed, and was considered to be public ground. At this time the market was known as that of Woolchurchehawe, a name which denoted the church and the distinctive plot of ground in which it stood. The church, originally 'newchurch', did not come to be known as Woolchurch until about 1250, and presumably took its name from the adjacent market, which at that time was characterized by its trade in wool, sheepskins, and yarn. Dealing in these relatively cheap and bulky commodities was appropriate to this spacious setting, at a time when Cheapside traders were specializing to an increasing degree in high-value manufactured and imported goods. Marketing in this part of the city underwent a radical upheaval early in the reign of Edward I. In 1274, when Edward was expected to arrive from overseas in order to take up his kingdom, the mayor of London caused the untidy stalls of butchers and fishmongers to be cleared away from Cheapside. His aim seems to have been to make a broad processional way fit to welcome the king, and in the longer term to add to the dignity of the city. The traders displaced from Cheapside were accommodated at three new locations near by. Two

of these lay to the west of Cheapside, in Newgate Street and by St Paul's churchyard, but the most notable of them was the new market building erected in the highway next to *Woolchurchehawe* on the site of the old wool market.

The new structure was known to some as the hales, and was probably modelled on the famous market buildings of Paris erected earlier in the century. It soon acquired an English name, 'the Stocks', which denoted its timber construction. The market continued to be known by this name until it was closed in 17378. The thirteenth-century timber building appears to have survived until it was rebuilt in stone about 1410. Within the market house in 1358-9 there were 71 plots occupied by the stalls of the butchers and fishmongers, set out in four rows. There were a further 27 plots under the outside walls of the building, apparently protected from the weather by pentices. Upstairs were a room for the collector of market tolls, and three lodgings let out for rent. Later in the fourteenth century the upper storey was used as a cloth hall for drapers from outside London, who rented up to 38 cupboards there. The fifteenth-century stone building, which continued in use up to the Great Fire of 1666, was imposing structure whose appearance and arrangements can be reconstructed in some detail (Fig. 2). The ground floor was occupied by butchers and fishmongers as in the earlier building. Above this were two storeys containing chambers which seem generally to have been let out to young, single men. On the eve of the Reformation many of these tenants were chaplains. The drapers at the Stocks, already declining in numbers by 1380, had migrated to Blackwell Hall in Basinghall Street by the time the new market had been built.

After the Fire the site of the Stocks market and of St Mary Woolchurch and its churchyard was taken to make a new market place where fruit and herbs were to be sold, as well as fish and meat. This gave the neighbourhood a sense of spaciousness which its inhabitants had probably not experienced since before the Norman Conquest. At the same time Poultry was widened and straightened, making it a more effective thoroughfare. Much of this newly-gained space was lost when the market was closed and Mansion House built on the site.

iii. Plot, houses, and other buildings

Despite the importance of the east-west thoroughfare which crossed the area and the market at the Walbrook crossing, the character of the Walbrook area reflected its location on the periphery of the commercial district which centred on Cheapside. Demand for space was less than in Cheapside. Land was subdivided to a smaller degree. The earliest written records thus reveal a more 'primitive' stage of the city's development, characterized by a relative sparsity of settlement, than they do for Cheapside. The relative availability of space in the Walbrook area is evident in the social and economic character of its inhabitants, as well as in its pattern of building and plot division.

In Cheapside the later pattern of property rights suggests that in the twelfth century and earlier the street contained many properties with frontages of 80 feet or more, extending back to a fairly uniform depth of between 120 and 150 feet. By about 1200 a common frontage width was between 40 and 50 feet. There are signs, too, that the long narrow plots of about half that width which characterized the area from about 1250 onwards were beginning to be established. On corner sites by c.1220 the rear parts of these plots were being separated from the sites on the main frontage as more buildings were erected and the money value of the sites increased.

By contrast, in the Walbrook area at this time there were many much larger properties, which single families managed to retain in their control over longer periods. A property on the north side of Poultry in 1212-13, for example, had a frontage of about 90 feet and extended back about 150 feet. There is a possibility that this had formerly been part of a single property at least twice that size. On the banks of the Walbrook stream there were some very large properties indeed, perhaps because there was cheap marshy land ready to be colonised. It is noteworthy that Cheapside itself occupied a prominent, well-drained position. A site on the east bank of the stream, with a frontage of about 230 feet against the street now known as Poultry to the south, and extending back about the same distance, was in the late twelfth century the residence of the wealthy Blunt family. At this time the family included a sheriff and several aldermen of London, and produced a clerk in the royal service who became archbishop of Dublin. This connection enabled some members of the family to establish themselves as landed gentry in Essex, Staffordshire and Wiltshire. One branch, however, continued to

use the Walbrook property as a residence, and in the mid thirteenth century, when one of them was described as a permenter, evidently kept up an interest in the fur trade. This probably indicates the character of the business on which the family's fortune was based, for soon after this date the craft of skinner, as the dealer in furs was then called, is known to have been widely practised in the neighbourhood. In spite of subdivision between coheirs, later members of the Blunt family retained control of the property, and occasionally resided there, until c.1360.

On the west bank of the stream, and perhaps originally facing the Blunt property across the open space to the east of Cheapside, was the famous tenement known as Bucklersbury. This measured about 150 feet against the street on the north, and about 300 feet in depth. It had a stone gatehouse (recently revealed by excavation) on the northern frontage, and two back gates leading towards Watling Street and Walbrook. It took its name from the aldermanic and mayoral Bukerel family, which was first prominent in London in the early twelfth century. Members of the family probably lived on the site from about that time onwards, although their association with it is not certain until 1227, when the name Bucklersbury is first recorded. The 'bury' element in the name probably denotes the enclosed character of the establishment, and at a later date the privacy of the house and its garden was a feature jealously guarded in a mid thirteenth-century list of London churches, which names the church of St Stephen Walbrook, which adjoined the Bukerel tenement, as St Stephen Bukerel. The Bukerels had no legal rights in the church, but as the principal local householders had clearly come to be recognized as its effective, though informal, patrons. Soon after this the family gave up the Bucklersbury tenement, and by 1350 the name Bucklersbury had been transferred to the street adjoining. By this time the site contained several separate houses, but even after this subdivision the property, which came to be known as the Barge, retained its reputation for residents of high standing, particularly in their larger houses off the street frontage. One of these was Sir Thomas More, who wrote *Utopia* and was visited by Erasmus and other humanists while living at the Barge between 1505 and 1524. More's former garden there, with its arbour and flower-beds, is clearly shown in the 'copper-plate' map of London drawn in the 1550s (Fig. 3).

The Blunt family also owned a property opposite their residence, on the north-east corner of the triangular block between Poultry and Bucklersbury. They or their immediate predecessors as residents may have been responsible for colonizing this part of the open space at the east end of Cheapside. Property at the western end of the block was acquired at the end of the twelfth century by another, and apparently unrelated, family called Blunt. By 1220 this comprised two substantial houses and a row of stone shops. In the thirteenth century much of the remainder of the block belonged to the aldermanic and mayoral Tolesan family. They evidently came from Toulouse, and their first representative may have been the Michael of Walbrook, a London merchant of the 1220s. Their residence, which included stone buildings to the rear and stone shops on the northern frontage, was on the east bank of the Walbrook stream, and by 1280 had been divided into two houses occupied by separate branches of the family. West of the stream the Tolesans owned a row of smaller houses or shops, including another stone house, let out for rent. The layout of the family land-holding units in this block is shown in Fig. 4.

The frequency of references to stone houses and shops in this block is remarkable, particularly by comparison with Cheapside. These buildings probably reflected the high status of the men who settled there in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Cheapside most of the buildings on the street frontage were of timber, concealing more substantial stone houses to the rear. In appearance, Poultry would seem to have been very different, with stone frontages expressing the wealth and standing of those who lived there. In part, this was an expression of the more dominant residential character of the Walbrook area, especially near the principal frontages. Away from these frontages, in particular away from the closely packed, solidly-built houses of the Poultry-Bucklersbury block, the texture of the area was rather different. In 1302, for example, the western boundary wall of the Bucklersbury property was built of earth, in notable contrast to the long stone walls which divided the Cheapside properties at this time. This style of building, using a form of *pise de terre*, was more characteristic of a rural or suburban location than a busy city centre. Wealthy men favoured the Walbrook area because it was close to Cheapside where many of them would have done their business, yet was sufficiently removed from the commercial bustle (and the associated high land values) for it to be

possible to create spacious dwellings with the degree of privacy appropriate to their occupants' station, as well as a garden or recreation. The case of the thirteenth-century draper and mayor, John Adrian, provides a vivid example of the working arrangements of such men. He lived in a large house in Walbrook on the site occupied after 1429 by the church of St Stephen Walbrook. This house probably included extensive facilities for storing the woollen cloths which were his stock-in-trade, but his retail outlet occupied a prime site in Cheapside next to the church of St Mary le Bow, where he rented a part of the prominent stone building belonging to Canterbury Cathedral.

These conditions favoured the emergence in the Walbrook area during the second half of the thirteenth century of a distinctive group of aristocratic establishments known as wardrobes. London's distributive trade was growing rapidly at this time. This reflected not only the expansion of population and business throughout Europe, but also London's increasingly important role as a market for the luxury textiles, manufactured goods, and spices, which the king and the aristocracy above all used to express their standing. Increasingly, purchases of such goods were made in the city, at the expense of trade at the regional fairs. Many of these purchases were made from merchants who dealt through Cheapside outlets and lived near by. The wardrobe was that department of an aristocratic household which managed clothing, furnishing, and valuables. These self-contained London wardrobes clearly served as places where such goods were taken, stored, and maintained before being distributed for use elsewhere. The owners of the wardrobes sometimes resided there for short periods. One in Ironmonger Lane contained a chapel and a bath house which were presumably used on such occasions. Wardrobes were also a convenient and secure base for conducting financial business in the city. The principal London residences of their owners, however, were more spacious establishments, generally located in the suburbs and often close the centre of political power in Westminster. The city wardrobes occupied houses equivalent in scale to those of the very wealthiest London merchants, a good many of whom around 1300 were aliens from France or Italy. Such men both sold luxury goods to leading magnates, and acted as their agents in acquiring these goods and in other financial affairs. It is not surprising that some of their houses were at times taken over for use as wardrobes, emphasizing the close association between aristocratic households on the one hand and the leading merchants in the luxury trades on the other.

At least two of these wardrobes were close to the church of St Mary Woolchurch. In 1252 a Florentine merchant acquired a house on the east side of the church where ten years later he was keeping imported silk and woollen textiles, plate, and jewels belonging to the queen. At the end of the thirteenth century the same house appears to have served as the wardrobe of the notorious pluralist cleric Bogo de Clare, many of whose purchases from Florentine and Lucca merchants in London, and from Londoners, are on record. It then became the wardrobe of Bogo's relative, the earl of Gloucester. The earls of Gloucester also had a house on the south side of the church, but this is not known to have been used as a wardrobe. A short distance to the west of the church, opposite the Bucklersbury tenement, King Henry III's financial servant, John Mansell, had his wardrobe. Soon after Mansell's death in 1265 the property passed into the hands of the Riccardi merchants of Lucca. The house probably continued as a centre of financial dealing, perhaps especially in bullion, since the Lucca merchants, whose headquarters it was, managed the exchange of coin on behalf of the king. Earlier in the thirteenth century another owner, and possible occupant, of the property, the Londoner William son of Benedict, had held the same office. The Lucca merchants held the house until about 1301, when the Cahorsin merchant and financier, William Servat, who had long been active in the London spice and textile trade, decided to bring his family to the city and took over the property. Servat lived there until about 1314. At his new house he built a battlement tower above the gateway, which caused the house later to be known as Servat's Tower.

As in Cheapside, most of the street frontages in the Walbrook area by 1300 were occupied by shops. These served primarily what we would now describe as a retail function, although in many cases they were probably also used for the manufacture and processing of goods. The term shop was also used to denote a small house, with the retail outlet on the ground floor and living rooms above. A building erected in 1559 opposite Woolchurch cemetery and containing three small houses, each with a shop on the ground floor, and room on two storeys with a garret above (Fig. 5), was probably not very different from the building on the same site in 1400, which contained three shops with rooms

above, or from the four shops which occupied the site in the thirteenth century. This simple accommodation, with one room above another, a chimney, a latrine pit, and little, if any, back yard, was typical of that of the artisan-retailers who made up a substantial proportion of the city's population.

Shops were well established in the study area by 1212-13, when a property on the north side of Poultry was described as lying 'opposite the shopkeepers'. This property itself consisted of twelve shops, with a mean frontage width of 7ft 6 in. The shops opposite were about the same width, and ranged from six to seventeen feet in depth. Cheapside shops were about the same size, or smaller. Cheapside was clearly the focus of the retail trade, for in the later thirteenth century the frontages of the shops on the south side of Poultry progressively increased in width from about 7 ft 6in. at the Cheapside end of the street, to about 13ft. 6 in. near the Stocks market. A typical Cheapside shop at this time had a floor area of about 75 square feet, while towards the Stocks shops contained about 225 square feet each, a clear demonstration of the high demand for trading space near Cheapside. Altogether Poultry contained about 80 shops, by comparison with an estimated total of 400 in Cheapside. The eastern frontage of the Poultry block, facing the Stocks and Woolchurch, was lined with shops, but there are many fewer references to shops on the southern frontage of the block, in the back street now known as Bucklersbury. In the street called Walbrook, too, shops are much less prominent in the records than for Poultry.

The Cheapside retail trade was also conducted through numerous outlets in the private bazaars known as *selds*, which occupied buildings behind the shops. There were hardly any *selds* in the Walbrook area. Many of the substantial residences which lay immediately behind the shops presumably combined a warehousing with a domestic function, as our knowledge of the wardrobes suggests. The term warehouse as such did not come into use until the fifteenth century, and then almost invariably denoted a room or building set well back from the frontage. Not surprisingly, the Servat's Tower property in about 1540 contained a warehouse and a 'great warehouse'. The latter appears recently to have been made by converting the great hall of the house.

iv. Trades and occupations

The Walbrook area was characterized by several distinctive groupings of trades. Despite some marked changes in this pattern between the thirteenth century and the seventeenth, several characteristics of occupational structure of the area which were apparent at the beginning of this period were still present at the end. It has not yet been possible to undertake a complete analysis of all the recorded property holders and residents of the area, but some valuable conclusions can be drawn from several sources. These include a full analysis of the block of houses between Poultry and Bucklersbury (cf. Fig. 6), an impressionistic survey of the remainder of the area, the wills of the inhabitants of all four parishes over the period 1370-1670, a tax return for the whole area in 1522-4, and the hearth tax returns for the parishes of St Benet Sherehog and St Stephen Walbrook in 1666.

The trades pursued by the inhabitants of the area seem principally to have been determined by the demands associated with the markets and other centres of consumption, and by its topographical characteristics. Among the latter the most important were the relative availability of space and the good local water supply.

The Walbrook stream was the best local source of water, at least for cleansing and industrial purposes. It is rarely mentioned as a local landmark after the early fourteenth century, presumably because by that time, as the density of building reached a peak, it had been culverted along much of its length. Latrines built over, or voiding into, Walbrook were a characteristic nuisance caused by local householders. In the fifteenth century Walbrook was vaulted over even in the relatively uninhabited northern margin of the area where it flowed by the garden of Grocers' Hall. The late medieval Walbrook culvert was recently exposed in Poultry: it was only 3 ft. wide, but evidently once carried a fast-flowing stream. The district also enjoyed good supplies of well water. Aquifers came close to the surface of the crest of the slope to the west of Walbrook: archaeologists have revealed many wells in this location, and this clearly explains the twelfth and thirteenth-century references to the church of St Olave in Old Jewry as *upwell*, and to that of St Mary Coneyhope as *ad fontem*.

One of the dominant trades of the area throughout the period was that of the skimmers (*pelliparii*), who dealt in and processed furs. They were concentrated along the north-south axis of the street known as Walbrook, particularly in the parish of St Stephen. In 1666 they were the third largest occupational group in the parishes of St Benet and St Stephen, where all of them were in Walbrook, on both sides of the street. Under the name *parmentarii*, traders in furs are known to have been living in this street in the late 12th century, and the Blunt family which occupied the mansion next to the Walbrook stream to the north of Poultry at that period is known to have been interested in that trade. Some of these men may have dealt in sheepskins at the market near Woolchurch, but their main concentration seems to have been to the south of the area in the parish of St John. The good supply of running water, may initially have drawn them to the vicinity of the Walbrook stream. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the skimmers of the Walbrook were a moderately prosperous but not distinctively wealthy group.

Another significant group in the area in the thirteenth century were the drapers, who dealt in woollen cloth. Some members, at least, of the Tolesan family engaged in this trade. Other houses known to have been inhabited by drapers at that time were as substantial as those of the Tolesans and were generally set back from the frontage. This group of drapers, however, was by no means as distinctive as that in Bow Lane near Drapers' Row in Cheapside. The Walbrook drapers seem to have been outstandingly wealthy men, like John Adrian or the Tolesans, who took advantage of the spacious houses which the area offered, as well as its association with the wool and cloth markets in the neighbourhood of Woolchurch, where their houses were clustered. Drapers were not a significant group in the area after the later fourteenth century. Further north, in St Christopher's parish, they were more prominent and remained so for a longer period, up to about 1500. There they counted among their neighbours ancillary craftsmen such as fullers and shearmen. In St Stephen's parish in the late thirteenth century there was a dyer's workshop next to the stream. Those who dealt in cloth and those engaged in finishing and processing it, to groups which presumably did a good deal of business together, were perhaps attracted to the northern part of the Walbrook area on account of its water supply. At this point the stream was relatively uncontaminated by household refuse, and other pollution, perhaps in particular that was associated with the skimmers.

Drapers were also involved in the wool export trade, providing them with another reason for settling near St Mary Woolchurch, at least up to 1274, when the wool market there was closed down. The small number of woolmongers (*lanarii*) recorded in the area around 1300 had presumably persisted from an earlier period: they all lived close to Woolchurch.

The Italian and French merchants who occupied many of the larger houses in the Walbrook area during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries included spices among their ware. At this time the retail trade in spices, conducted by Londoners described as spicers, pepperers, and apothecaries, was concentrated in a small, central part of Cheapside opposite the church of St Mary le Bow and towards the southern end of Soper Lane close to the church of St Antonin. By the late fourteenth century these traders were known as grocers, and had begun to move eastwards into the Walbrook area, where they were one of the second most numerous groups of tradesmen after the skimmers. Over the period 1371-1420 skimmers were about twice as numerous as grocers as testators in the area. The reasons for this move are not clear. The establishments of the alien merchants may have attracted them in the first instance, and this process may have been facilitated when the exchange moved from Bucklersbury into Lombard Street. The fall in the density of population in the city over the fourteenth century may have enabled the Soper Lane spicers to move closer to Cheapside. By the mid fifteenth century the grocers had overtaken the skimmers, and remained the largest single group of tradesmen in the area up to the time of the Great Fire. Grocers came to be concentrated to a most remarkable degree in the street known as Bucklersbury, especially near the junction with Pancras Lane. The association with Bucklersbury is the more distinctive since few, if any, grocers were to be found in Pancras Lane itself. In 1522-4, when they comprised 31% of all the taxed households in the area, they were to be found in all three parishes, but 75% of them resided in or close to Bucklersbury. In 1666 the druggists and apothecaries, as the practitioners of the trade were now called, comprised 22% of all householders in the parishes of St Benet and St Stephen, and 91% of them lived in Bucklersbury.

In the later Middle Ages the religious life of the Grocers' Company centred on the church of St Antonin, an original focus of their trade. The topographical shift in their interests clear from the fact that in the early fifteenth century the company met for business and dinners in room shire for that purpose in Bucklersbury, first at Servat's Tower, and then at the Barge. In the 1420s the company, which was evidently looking for a site in this neighbourhood, acquired the large plot of ground to the north of Poultry where its hall still stands today. On this hitherto open ground a magnificent hall was built (Fig. 7, partly modelled on Penshurst Place. A notable and well recorded feature of the hall in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was its elaborate and well-tended garden, which almost certainly resembled the gardens of the large private houses in the vicinity.

The fourth concentrated grouping of craftsmen in the area was concerned with the trade in iron goods, and between the twelfth and early fifteenth century occupied the western end of Poultry. This trade probably originated in that of the smiths and marshals who serviced the traffic coming to and from the Cheapside market, and who occupied properties at the western end of Poultry around 1190. At this time there was also a trade in charcoal, essential for smithing, in this neighbourhood, indicated by the presence of a charcoal-dealer (*carbonarius*) and by the parish church name of St Mary Colechurch (*cole* being charcoal). By the mid thirteenth century the minute shops at the west end of the street we now call Poultry were occupied by ironmongers and were said to lie in Ironmongers' Row. A house nearby was devoted to the sale of knives, and later in the century this part of the street was known as 'Spurrier Street'. At about the same time the eastern end of the street we now call Poultry was known as *La Lorimerie*, presumably because of its trade in horse harness, including bits and other metal fittings. This was the area of the city where small iron articles of all types, but particularly horse trappings, could be purchased. Some of these items may have been made or finished in these shops, and this perhaps helps to explain the grouping of stone shops in the area. The larger workshops and furnaces, however, with their noise, smell, and danger of fire, were situated at some distance from the shopping district, in areas like Watling Street, and probably also at the small number of ironmongers' and cutlers' properties recorded at this time in the street called Walbrook. In the thirteenth century at least one of the occupants of the houses at the western end of Poultry was a manufacturer of, or trader in, body armour. In the course of the next century armourers took over the former ironmongers' shops. By 1500, however, there was very little trace of the once important trade in iron goods, and at the western end of Poultry grocers' shops were beginning to predominate (Fig. 6).

Business at the eastern end of Poultry was drastically altered by the establishment of the Stocks market house in 1274. Previously the shops there had probably been occupied by lorimers. Now poulterers' shops began to predominate, and in the later fourteenth century the poulterers and the fishmongers, who traded at the Stocks, were equal to the grocers as the second most numerous of the groups of tradesmen in the Walbrook area. The poulterers were presumably drawn to the neighbourhood because of its new role as a focus for the marketing of provisions. They had no place in Stocks market house itself and were supposed to keep to their shops, but they tended also to throng the street. Out-of-town poulterers, in contrast, could trade in the street, but only in Cornhill near Leadenhall and probably also, as at a later date, in Cheapside. By 1300 the street formerly known as 'Spurrier Street' at its western end and 'La Lorimerie' at its eastern end was coming to be known throughout its length as Poultry. By the 1360s a part of the former Blunt mansion on the north side of the street was known as the Scalding House (Fig. 1), and must have been widely used by the poulterers of the neighbourhood. There were still poulterers in Poultry in 1500, but by 1550 they were no longer present in significant numbers.

Poulterers dealt in rabbits as well as in fowls, and this has caused some historians to interpret the name Coneyhope (see above, section ii) as an early reference to the poultry market. This cannot be so, since poulterers had no association with the area until at least a century after that name came into use.

The change in the marketing specialism of the area probably stimulated other aspects of the victualling trade. In the course of the fourteenth century brewhouses and taverns were set up on several prominent corner sites close to the Stocks market. In Cheapside, by contrast, taverns and brewhouses were an established feature at an earlier date. The services provided for those attending

the Stocks market extended to the fast-food trade. Thus a notable inhabitant of the area in the last decades of the fourteenth century was John Pigeon, a pie-baker who ran a corner shop in Bucklersbury, opposite St Mary Woolchurch, and also held property facing the north side of the Stocks.

A small but distinctive occupational group in the Walbrook area in the early sixteenth century was made up of those who provided learned and artistic services. Among the householders listed in the tax assessment of 1522-4 for the Cheapside parishes such men were a very small group indeed, representing 2% of the whole and comprising two scribes and a 'learned man', who provided the legal and drafting services essential to the conduct of business. Scribes did not require the same direct access to the market place as shopkeepers and merchants, and this presumably explains why four of them were listed in the 1522-4 assessment for the Walbrook area, representing 5% of the total. To the Walbrook scribes we can add a bookbinder, two painters, and a remarkable group of four organ-makers (at least two of them related to each other) living in St Stephen's parish. It is possible that the presence of Sir Thomas More's household generated a special, localized demand for writing and bookbinding skills. Organ-makers, however, seem to have been a distinctive feature of St Stephen's parish over a longer period, since in 1455 one had wished to be buried in the church. Painters (or painter-stainers), regularly present among the testators of the area from about 1520 onwards, probably found it convenient to be close to the grocers who supplied their colours and other materials.

The most significant contrast in occupational composition between the Cheapside and the Walbrook areas was in their variety of trades, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cheapside contained a greater range of trades than Walbrook, and was less dominated by particular categories of tradesmen. Thus the householders in the Cheapside parishes listed in the assessment of 1522-4 followed 35 trades, and 23% of them were mercers and 16% grocers. The householders of the Walbrook parishes in the same list followed 22 trades, and 31% of them were grocers. In the Walbrook sample no other trade was followed by more than 5% of the householders. This situation may have arisen from the grocers' movement into the area during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It will not be possible to test this suggestion until a full analysis has been undertaken of the trades and the inhabitants of the area. In the meantime, however, given the apparent numerical predominance of the ironmongers and skippers in the area during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it seems unlikely that the rise of the grocers is the primary explanation of this characteristic. It may rather be that the peripheral location of the Walbrook parishes in relation to Cheapside explains their relative lack of occupational diversity. This argument gains support from a contrast within the Walbrook area in 1522-4. Thus Poultry, which was a major thoroughfare, contained a greater diversity of trades than any other part of the Walbrook area. Not one of these trades dominated the others to an exceptional degree, and the most numerous categories among them (skippers, drapers, poulterers, haberdashers and scribes) indicate that Poultry was characterized by a pattern of varied retail trade, stimulated by the passing traffic. Bucklersbury, containing the same number of tradesmen as Poultry was inhabited almost entirely by grocers. This degree of occupational specialization was perhaps a special feature on the side streets of the Walbrook area, for in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as in the seventeenth, the northern part of the street known as Walbrook, lying in the parish of St Stephen, was dominated by skippers to a comparable degree. The relative absence of skippers among the Walbrook householders taxed in 1522-4 is difficult to explain. They are unlikely to have been too poor to be taxed. The explanation may be that since the city was less densely populated in the 1520s than in 1300 or 1400 the area occupied by skippers had contracted southwards towards the principal focus of their interest, and that as population grew again after the 1520s skippers once more became a significant group in the area.

This high degree of occupational specialization in the side streets, and the diversity of the main thoroughfare, present a sharp contrast to the Cheapside area. Poultry emerges as a peripheral market street which served also as a thoroughfare. Cheapside's role as a thoroughfare was less important in determining its occupational make up than its role as the city's prime location for the distributive trade in high quality goods. Thus in 1666 only sixteen trades were practised by the inhabitants of street frontage houses in the eastern half of Cheapside, and this group was heavily dominated by

dealers in textiles, 30% of the tradesmen there being silkmen and 20% drapers. The side streets off Cheapside, where 49 trades were practised were much more diverse in their occupational character. Here only the merchants (13% of the tradesmen) approached the dominant position occupied by the silkmen and drapers in Cheapside itself. Many of the tradesmen in the side streets were engaged in manufacturing and processing activities, of which a large number concerned the goods sold in the Cheapside shops. Comparable evidence concerning Poultry in 1666 does not survive, but that for the parishes of St Benet and St Stephen indicates that the side streets in the Walbrook area were characterized by a relatively high degree of occupational specialization in 1666, as they had been in the 1520s, now in the form of druggists in Bucklersbury and skimmers in Walbrook.

In the Cheapside and Walbrook areas there thus appear to have been four functionally distinct groupings of trades, each of which probably characterized their respective areas over the entire period between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century. These were: a concentration of specialized distributive (primary retail) traders in the city's principal shopping and commercial street, Cheapside; a more miscellaneous group of trades, many of them processing the products sold in Cheapside, located in the side streets close to the principal shopping area; a grouping of miscellaneous distributive trades, probably characteristic of streets like Poultry which served as important routes for traffic across the city but which were not shopping districts of the first rank; the relatively exclusive concentrations of specialized trades in side streets such as Bucklersbury and Walbrook. The last type of grouping, of processing rather than distributive trades, was perhaps characteristic of areas outside the immediate influence of the principal shopping district, where the particular specialism arose from the suitability of the local environment or from long-established marketing and cultural associations whose origins remain unknown.

The members of one occupational group, the merchants, who only emerge as a distinctive category under that name in the seventeenth century, appear to have chosen their residences for the space they afforded rather than for any local association. They were primarily wholesale dealers, with a variety of specialisms, and for this reason would have required substantial room for warehousing but no retail outlet. At an earlier period such men would have been known by a guild or company designation, such as that of grocer or draper. Occupational terms of this type could equally have been used to denote a trader whose business was primarily of a localized retail character as one who was mainly concerned with large-scale and long distance trade. In both Cheapside and Walbrook in 1666 merchants were the second most numerous occupational group (8% in the former and 14% in the latter). In both areas they favoured secluded, peripheral locations, and in the parishes of St Benet and St Stephen were concentrated in Size Lane and in Walbrook.

v. Wealth and social structure

The relative wealth of the occupational groups and the distribution of the wealthier and poorer households within the Walbrook area can be established from a variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, all of which convey broadly the same picture. In many respects the distribution of wealth in the Walbrook area resembled that in Cheapside, although on average the inhabitants of the Walbrook area, especially those of middling rank, were poorer than their Cheapside counterparts, and there was a greater polarization of wealth than in Cheapside. Thus, if we divide those assessed for tax in 1522-4 into five equal groups according to their wealth, we find that the Walbrook residents in the wealthiest group, with a mean valuation of £1032, were much wealthier than their Cheapside counterparts, with a mean valuation of £679. In the three middle groups, however, the means for the inhabitants of Walbrook were much less than for the inhabitants of Cheapside. The means for the poorest group in each area were the same, although it is likely that in Walbrook a higher proportion of inhabitants than in Cheapside was too poor to be taxed. The Hearth Tax assessments of 1666 reveal a similar distribution of wealth. In both areas between 80% and 90% of the households contained 8 hearths or less, distributed in a similar fashion, but in Cheapside the commonest size of house contained 6 hearths, while in the Walbrook parishes of St Benet and St Stephen it contained 4 hearths. Walbrook was distinguished by its relatively high proportion of large houses, 11% with 11 or more hearths by comparison with 3% in Cheapside. There are no hearth tax returns for the other two Walbrook parishes (St Mildred Poultry and St Mary Woolchurch), but the tithe valuations or those

parishes in 1638 indicate that they contained higher proportions of both the most and the least valuable houses than the Cheapside parishes and the other two parishes of the Walbrook area. St Mildred Poultry parish in particular contained a large number of the less valuable houses, built in alleys which had been laid out on the back land pertaining to the once substantial houses to the north side of Poultry. One of these, Scalding Alley, occupied the site of the former mansion of the Blunt family, and took its name from the Scalding House which they had once owned (cf. Fig. 1). On the eve of the Great Fire it contained 25 houses, most containing about 3 rooms each, built on the site of or converted from non-domestic structures such as carpenters' sheds, stables, and the Scalding House itself. Many of the inhabitants of these alleys, which were somewhat remote from the main areas of business activity, were widows. Some of the smallest houses in the area, those erected about 1550 next to the church of St Mary Woolchurch, were also commonly occupied by widows, as well as by those in receipt of alms.

The distinctive social structure of the Walbrook area was a product of relatively low land values, which enabled cheap housing to be built, and the availability of open space, a feature which was attractive to the wealthy who required large secluded residences. So far as we can tell, these principles applied as much in the thirteenth century as they did in the seventeenth. Cheapside, by contrast, was characterized by its greater density of building, higher land values, and the relative wealth of its inhabitants of middle rank.

The wealthiest of the occupational groups in the Walbrook area in 1522-4 was made up of two men described simply as alderman (one was a grocer and the other a mercer) and a third described as a merchant of the staple (he was a member of the Drapers' Company). Their goods were valued at between £1000 and £4000. Such men were identified less by any occupational specialism they may have had than by their official or mercantile status. Apart from these, the wealthiest of the occupational groups was the much more numerous body of men described as grocers, with valuations ranging from £5 to £1000, and with a mean of £117. The next wealthiest group, the skinnners, covered a smaller range of wealth, with a mean of £18. The Walbrook grocers were on average less wealthy than their fellow tradesmen in the neighbouring Cheapside parish of St Mary Colechurch, the mean valuation of whose goods was £146. The St Mary Colechurch grocers benefited from their access to the best trading outlets, but were clearly part of the Bucklersbury group. The small number of grocers elsewhere in Cheapside were markedly poorer than those in Bucklersbury, where the trade was concentrated.

The Hearth Tax returns of 1666 show a similar relationship in terms of wealth between the occupational groups in Walbrook. Druggists and apothecaries (corresponding to the grocers of the earlier period) lived in houses which on average contained 6 hearths. The skinnners' houses contained 5 hearths. The wealthiest group at this date were the merchants, whose houses contained an average of 8.3 hearths. In Cheapside, too, the merchants had the largest houses of any occupational group, although with a mean size of 6.9 hearths, these were smaller than those of the Walbrook merchants. The Walbrook druggists also had larger houses than their Cheapside counterparts where the mean for the houses of druggists and apothecaries was 5.3 hearths.

The largest house of all in the Walbrook area in 1666, lying on the east side of Walbrook, contained 27 hearths and was occupied by a sugar baker. This was an industrial establishment, and eight of the hearths were stoves for refining sugar. Even so, the domestic part of the accommodation, with 19 hearths, was exceptionally large, and probably included rooms occupied by employees. The relatively new business of sugar refining had probably been established in the area on account of its association with the long-established trade in spices, and there was a second, but smaller, sugar refinery in the area, in Size Lane. This was in the house of a merchant and alderman, described in the Hearth Tax return as a sugarbaker, who had interests in the East India trade. This, the third largest house in the area, contained two stoves out of a total of 14 hearths. The second largest house, lying on the west side of the street called Walbrook, contained 18 hearths. In 1666 it was occupied by the Hearth Tax Office, but had recently been the home of a wealthy East India merchant. Thus some of the most recent occupational and social characteristics of the area seem to have grown out of local associations established as early as the thirteenth century.

vi. Trends in building density and land values

In the broad pattern of its development, as reflected in building density and in land values between the thirteenth century and the seventeenth, the Walbrook area resembled Cheapside. The density of building, and the subdivision of plots, increased steadily up to about 1300 or shortly afterwards. Then there was a slight but perceptible fall in the number of shops, houses and other buildings in the area. This reflected the economic difficulties of the second decade of the fourteenth century. The Black Death of 1348-9 and the later pestilences contributed to more long term reduction in demand, reflected in an overall fall in the rental values of properties of the Walbrook area between the early fourteenth century and the early sixteenth. Over the shorter term, however, in the half century or so after the Black Death, London, though smaller than before, seems to have benefited from the increasing spending power of wage earners, and continued in relative terms to increase its share of the nation's business. Thus, while the overall density of building in the Walbrook area fell, there was a lively demand for those houses and shops which remained in use, and between the 1360s and the 1380s the rental values of a number of properties in the Poultry area rose. In this period too several houses in the streets near by were totally rebuilt. In the longer term the density of building continued to fall throughout the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Rents for properties in the Poultry area fell sharply between c.1390 and c.1420, and then more steadily to c.1530.

Several of the large establishments, including the 'wardrobes', which had been a feature of the Walbrook area in 1300, had by about 1450 been replaced by groups of smaller houses, presumably created by subdividing the earlier buildings. It is not clear, however, when these subdivisions took place. In some cases, as with the site of the Blunt mansion which ultimately became Scalding Alley, this seems to have been before 1350. This development, then, probably arose from the social and commercial changes, including a redistribution of income, which caused these establishments to become redundant rather than from an increase in the demand for housing in the area during the late Middle Ages. It seems unlikely that in this period at least the change in the character of these sites was necessarily accompanied by a change in the numbers of people living on them, since it was the practice, as at Servat's Tower, for example, for their owners to provide accommodation for craftsmen and their families, and to take in lodgers. These large, well-built, and probably complex structures could readily be divided into groups of self-contained and still quite substantial houses. There is certainly no evidence that once they had been divided in this way the numbers of house on the sites increased until towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

As in Cheapside, the low point in both building density and in land values seems to have occurred in the 1520s. These are signs of an increasing demand from the 1530s onwards, but this seems only to have become marked after 1550. Walbrook land values then rose sharply, increasing two to three times in real terms by 1590. The number of houses in the area increased roughly in proportion. While Cheapside land values peaked in the first decade of the seventeenth century and remained more or less stable thereafter, those in the Walbrook area continued to rise up to about 1640. This was presumably because there was still space available for building in the Walbrook area, while near Cheapside a critical density of building had been reached which, in such a crowded area, it was impossible to exceed without a serious loss of amenity to the residents. In both areas property values fell slightly after 1640 because of the economic uncertainties arising from the Civil War and the Interregnum.

vii. Conclusion

In broad terms the study of the Walbrook area has confirmed the conclusion concerning the long term development of London, in particular the cycle of growth and contraction in the city c.1100-1670, which emerged from the study of the Cheapside area. Differences between trends in the two areas have enabled us to understand more clearly the character of those areas of the city which were less densely populated than Cheapside but nevertheless closely associated with the trade of that central commercial district.

The Walbrook study has made a new contribution to understanding several different aspects of London's history. These include the evolution of the street pattern in the eleventh and twelfth

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centuries; property development and building in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; the residences of some of the leading city families in the same period; the impact of the reorganization of food marketing 1274; and the role of alien merchants and aristocratic households in the life and economy of the city at the end of the thirteenth century. In connection with the last of these topics it has been possible to detect, as early as the thirteenth century, the germs of what later was to become the city's central financial district. In addition, the study has developed out knowledge of the grocers' and skimmers' trades in London, and of those forces which determined the distinctive social and occupational make-up of individual streets and areas within the city. For the later part of the period studied it has been possible to provide a context for the establishment of new industries such as sugar refining.

Finally, the study has produced definitive accounts of several important city landmarks and institutions, notably the Stocks market, Servat's Tower, Grocers' Hall, and four parish churches.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LONDON

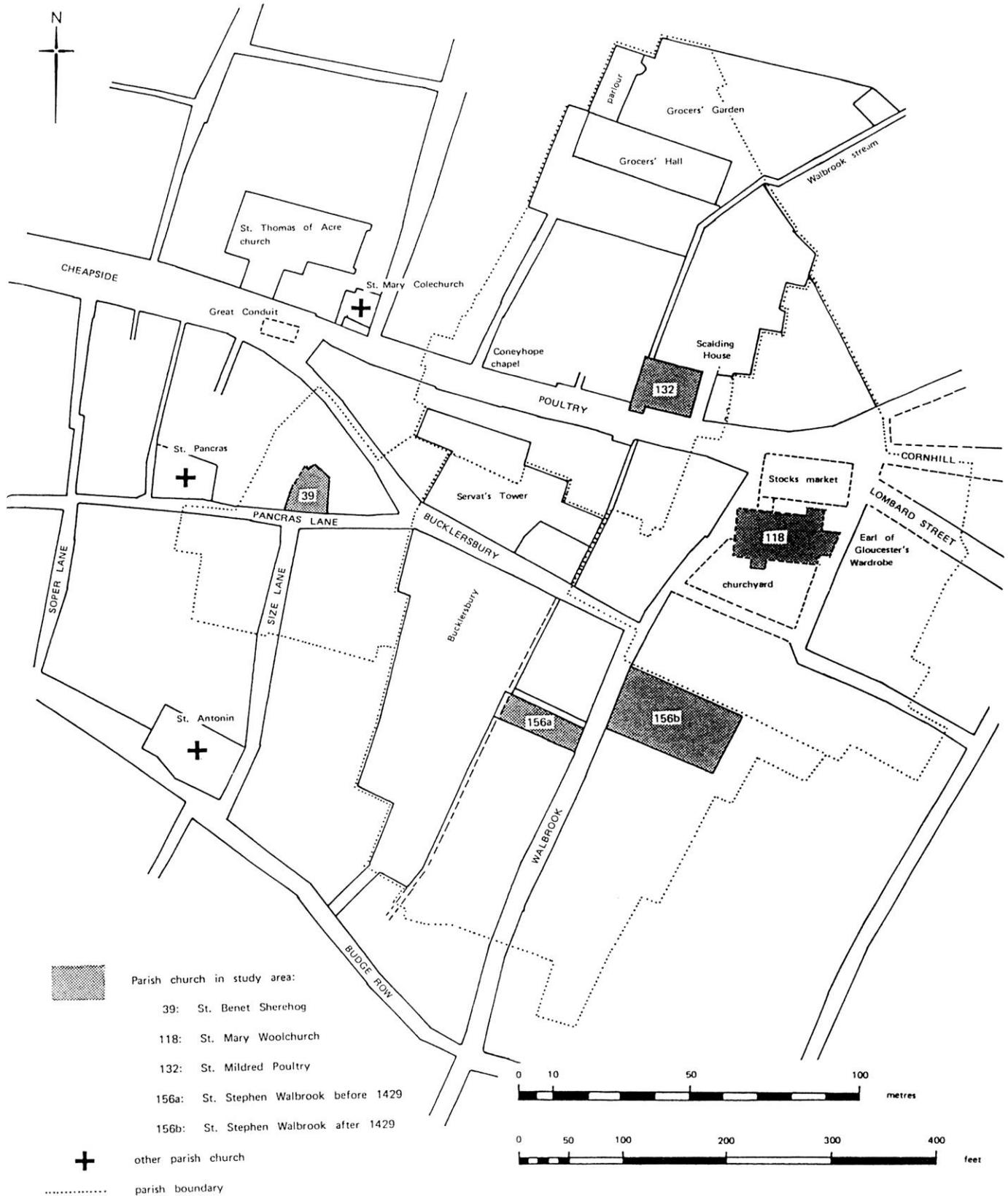


FIG. 1. The Walbrook study area in the later Middle Ages: principal landmarks and parishes

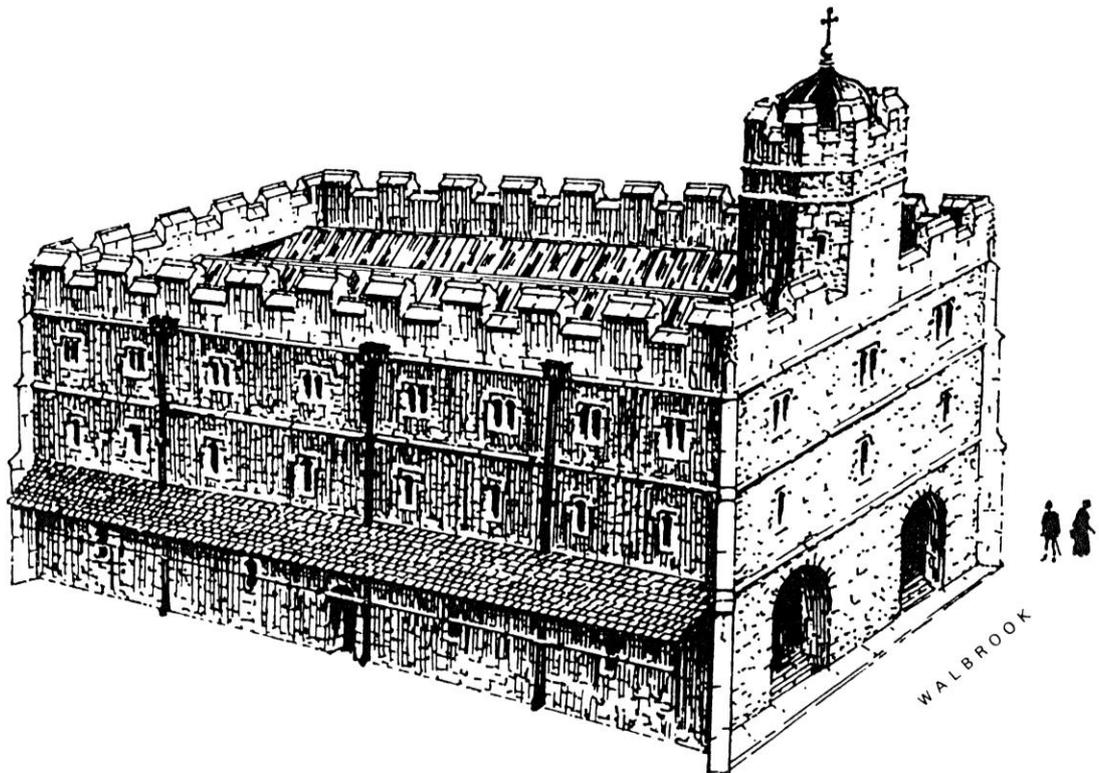
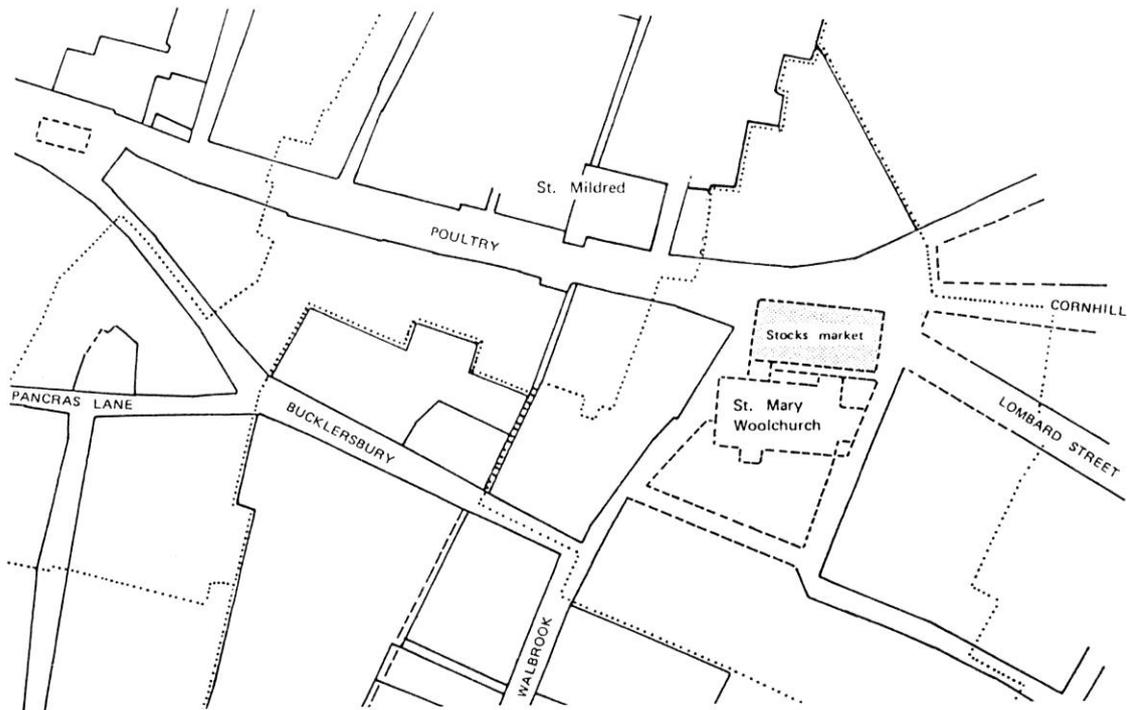


FIG. 2. The Stocks market house as rebuilt in the early fifteenth century (reconstruction drawing by David Crouch)

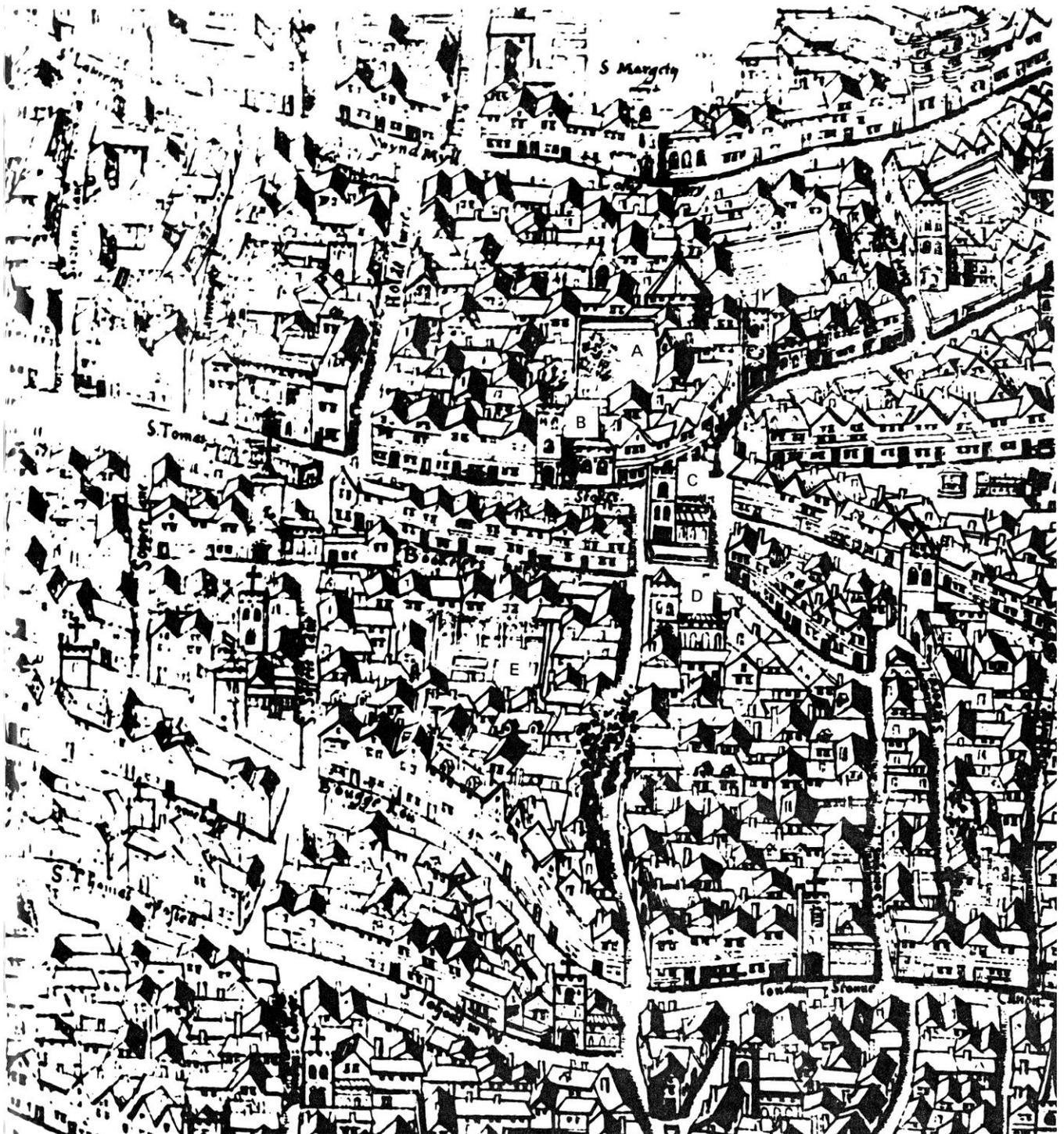


FIG. 3. The Walbrook study area as shown on the 'copper-plate' map of c.1555

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| A: garden of Grocers' Hall | B: St. Mildred Poultry |
| C: St. Mary Woolchurch | D: St. Stephen Walbrook |
| E: garden formerly part of Sir Thomas More's house at The Barge, Bucklersbury | |

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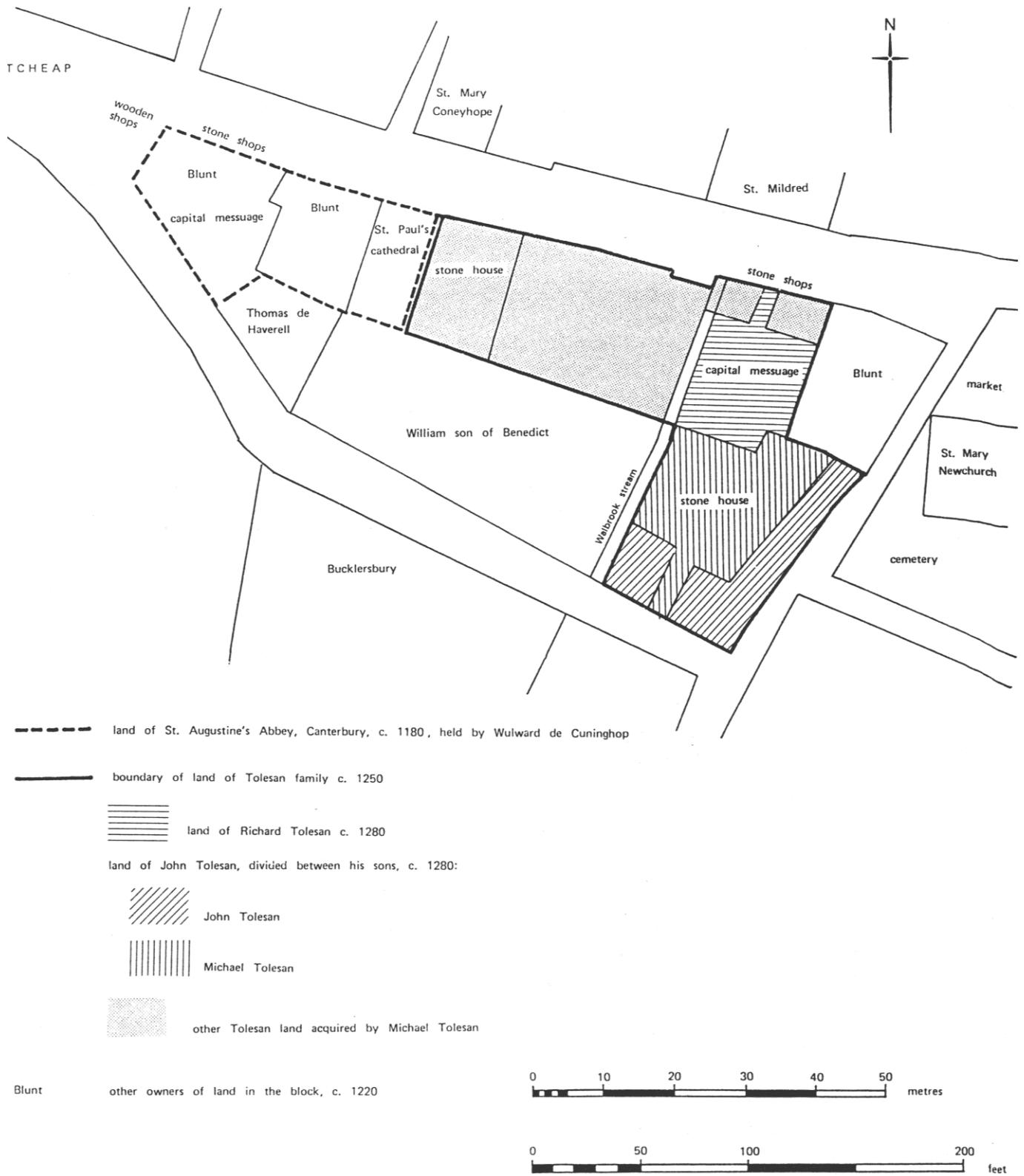


FIG. 4. Land divisions and buildings in the Poultry block, twelfth and thirteenth centuries

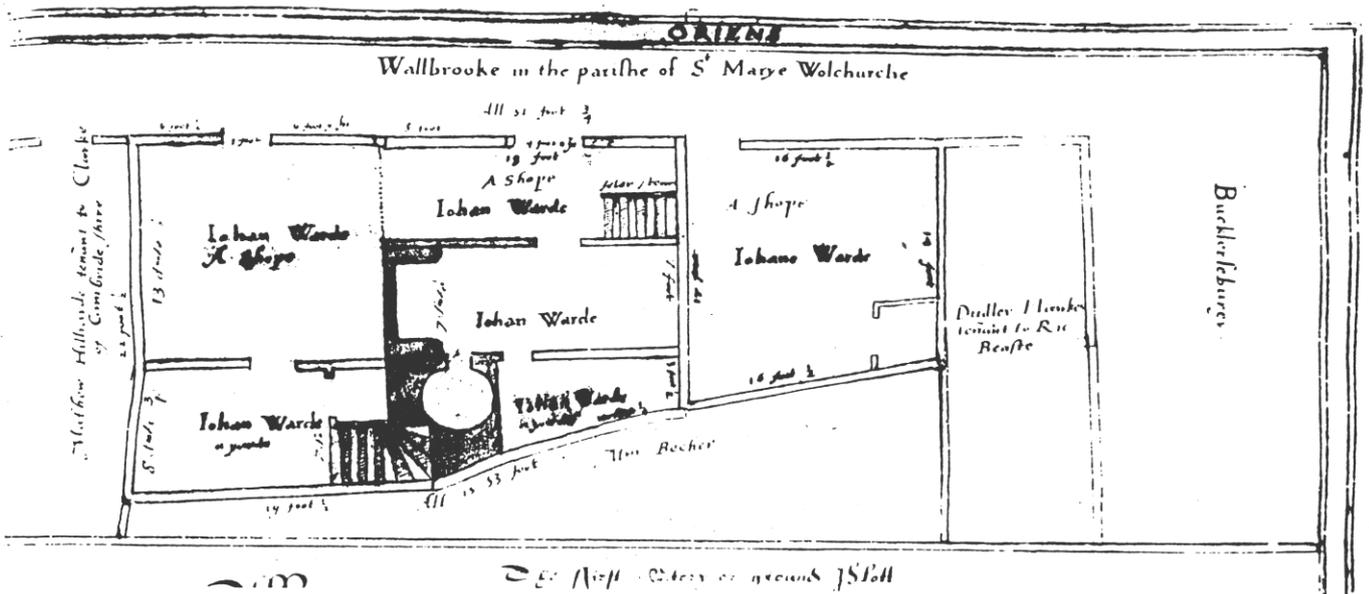
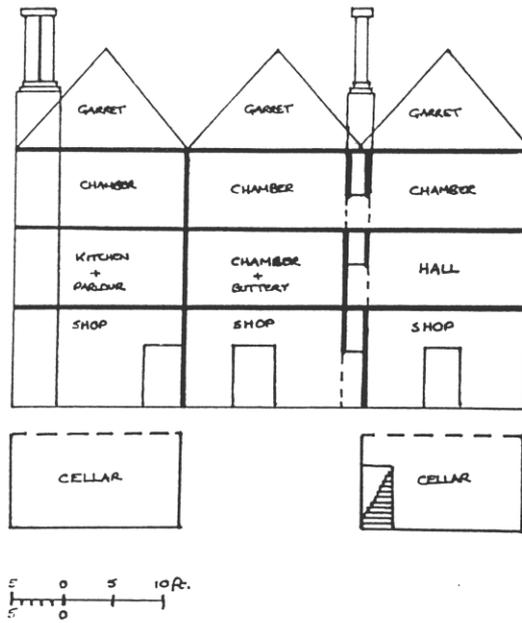


FIG. 5. Ground floor of two (earlier three) small houses of the Clothworkers' Company, facing St. Mary Woolchurch; surveyed in 1612; see 118/14

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FIG. 6. Occupations of residents and shopkeepers in the Poultry block, c.1300 and c.1500

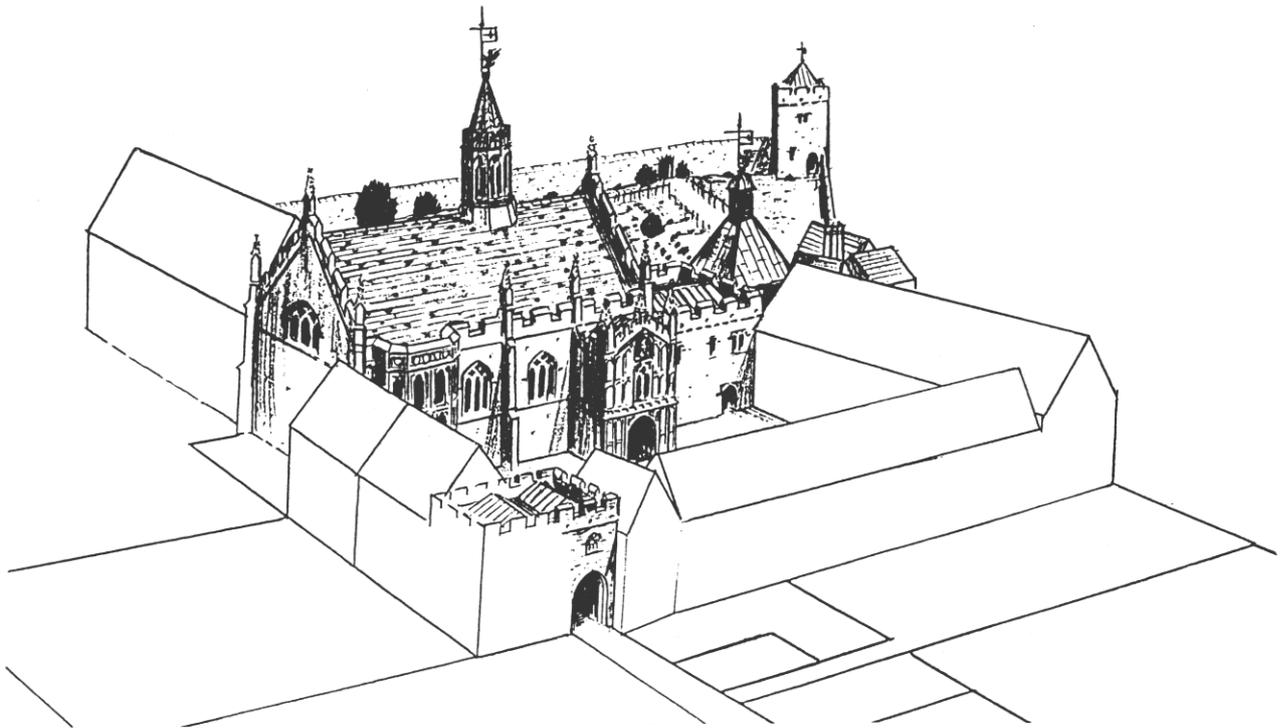
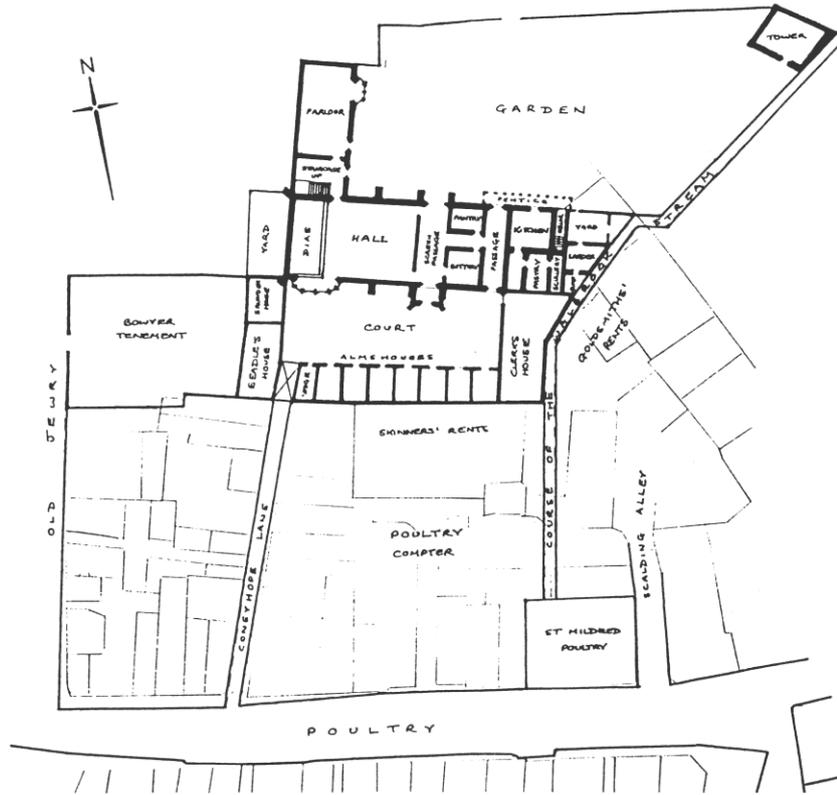


FIG. 7. Grocers' Hall in the later fifteenth century (reconstruction drawing by David Crouch)

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LONDON

APPENDIX TO THE SUMMARY REPORT
ON THE WALBROOK STUDY

Part 1: Property Histories

Derek Keene

1987

APPENDIX TO THE SUMMARY REPORT ON THE WALBROOK STUDY

This appendix presents a sample (about 20%) of the detailed results arising from the study of the Walbrook area over the 600 years up to the Great Fire of 1666. With the financial resources available so far (to November 1987) it has been possible to collect all the available documentary sources relating to properties in the four parishes of the study area, and to arrange them according to the properties (a total of 91) to which they refer. This work was done by David Crouch and John Stedman under the supervision of Derek Keene, and the files are available for consultation at the Centre for Metropolitan History in the archive of the Social and Economic Study of Medieval London. Full accounts of about half the properties covered by these files have been written up, mostly by David Crouch and Derek Keene. It is hoped that, if resources become available, these texts and accounts of the remaining properties will eventually be published as a part of the *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire*. About half the accounts written so far exist in revised and corrected typescript, and have been indexed. These are presented here. The remainder exist only in manuscript. Typing and indexing were undertaken by Olwen Myhill.

The histories which follow concern the church of St Mary Woolchurch (written by David Crouch, revised by Derek Keene) and properties in the triangular block of land bounded by the streets of Poultry, Bucklersbury, and Walbrook (written and revised by Derek Keene). These properties lay in three parishes, each identified by a code number, as follows: St Benet Sherehog (**39**), St Mary Woolchurch (**118**), and St Mildred Poultry (**132**). Properties are numbered individually within each parish, in the form **39/1**, **29/2**, etc. Fig. 1. in the 'Summary Report' shows the parish boundaries and the principal landmarks in the whole of the Walbrook study area in the later Middle Ages. The changing boundaries of the properties over the period c.1200-1660 are shown on Figs. A-C. Post-Fire and 19th-century alterations to the streets of the area are shown on Fig. D. Properties at the western tip of the block lay in the parish of St Mary Colechurch, and full accounts of them have been published in D Keene and V Harding *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire. Part 1, Cheapside* (Chadwyck-Healey, Cambridge, 1987), as **105/25-35**.

References in the property histories to figures concern Figs. A-E in this Appendix, Figs. 1-7 in the 'Summary Report' on the Walbrook Study, or figures (as yet unnumbered) which it has not yet been possible to prepare.

Part 2 of this Appendix contains indexes to property holders (persons and institutions), and to occupations and status (referring to headforms in the index of persons), and a topographical index.

The detailed contents of this Appendix are as follows:

PART 1

FIGS. A-E iii-vii

PROPERTY HISTORIES

St Benet Sherehog parish
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St Stephen Walbrook parish:	
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St Mary Woolchurch parish:	
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St Mildred Poultry parish:	
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PART 2

INDEXES

Index of persons	1
Index of institutions	84
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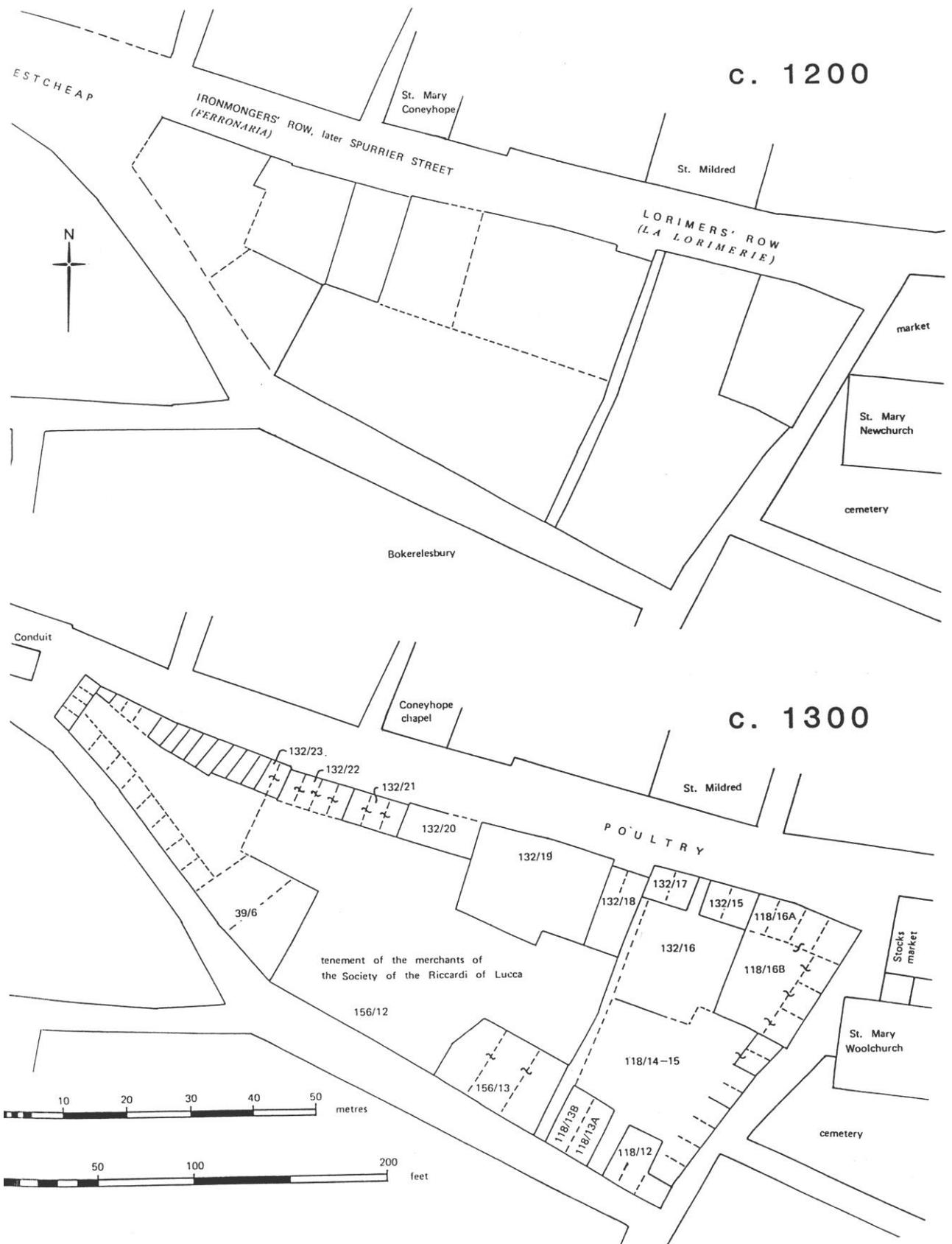


FIG. A. Poultry block: reconstruction plans c.1200 and c.1300



FIG. B. Poultry block: reconstruction plans c.1400 and c.1500



FIG. C. Poultry block: reconstruction plans c.1550 and c.1650



FIG. D. Poultry block:

A c.1670, showing land taken to widen street

B 1858, showing intended line of Queen Victoria Street and other improvements

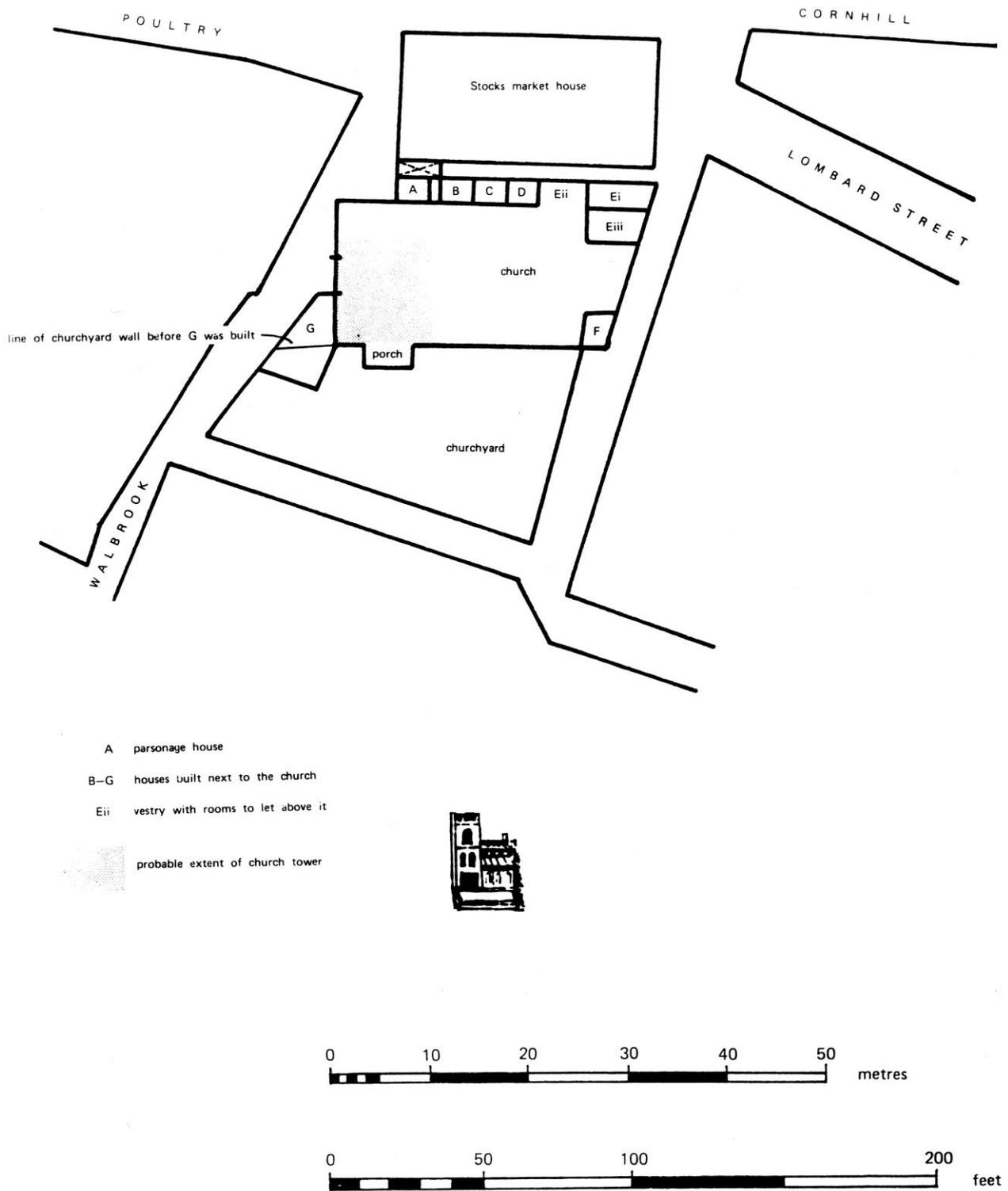


FIG. E. The church of St. Mary Woolchurch and the houses adjoining it, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

(Note: the exact outline of the building is uncertain)

PROPERTY HISTORIES

39/6

ST. BENET SHEREHOG: 6

This property lay on the N. side of the street now known as Bucklersbury between **105/26** on the W. and **152/12** on the E. and N. Its bounds can be identified from the post-Fire surveys and other records relating to the adjoining properties. They appear not to have changed between the early 13th and the 17th century. On the ward plan of 1858 the property can be identified as no. 35 Bucklersbury.

i. Thirteenth century and early quit-rents

In the early 13th century John son of Washer le Marelemer (also rendered as Wascher le Marliner) held the land and houses in Cheap ward representing **6** from Thomas de Haverell. Thomas, who was sheriff of London in 1203-4 and appears to have ceased to be active in the city about 1220, granted £2 p.a. quit-rent from this property, then belonging to John, to God, St. Mary, and the hospital of St. Giles, Holborn. 13s. 4d. of this rent was to be used for the purposes of the hospital, 6s. 8d. was to be distributed to the brothers and sisters there as a pittance on the donor's anniversary, and the remaining £1 was to be used to acquit the birthplace of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the neighbouring parish of St. Mary Colechurch of the charges due to the capital lords of the fee (see **105/18**). The hospital of St. Giles may subsequently have gained possession of the property. By a charter datable to 1231 x 1237 Walter, procurator of the hospital, and the brothers and sisters, with the assent of the wardens of the hospital, namely Andrew Bukerell, mayor, and Roger Duk, granted the property to John son of Walcher the mazeliner (*Walcherus mazelinarius*: perhaps a keeper or maker of mazers), in fee and inheritance for ever. In this deed **6** was described as the land and houses which the grantee (presumably identical with the John who had held in Thomas de Haverell's time) and his father held of the grantors in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog between the land which had belonged to Geoffrey Blund on the W. and the land which had belonged to William son of Benedict on the E. The grantee was to pay rent of £2 p.a. and was not to sell or mortgage the property to any Jew or religious house without the grantor's consent. The grantors were to have no right of lodging at the property, and in payment for the grant the grantee gave a tun (*doleum*) of ale.[1] The land to the E. can be identified as **156/12**, while that to the W. was part of a large block of property of the Blund family which had once belonged to the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and which probably also adjoined **6** on its N. side (see **132/21**).

The site of the birthplace of St. Thomas was later in the possession of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre, which in the late 13th century had £1 p.a. rent from this property. In 1332 the master of the hospital of St. Giles successfully claimed a quit-rent of £2 p.a. from this property which had been in arrears for 2 1/2 years: of this rent £1 was due to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre. The hospital of St. Thomas still claimed this rent in 1519, when it was said to be 51 1/2 years in arrears. The rent is entered in royal rentals of the 1540s, after the dissolution of the hospital, but seems not to have been paid. A note of c. 1539 indicates that at that time a quit-rent of 6s. 8d. was due from the property to the hospital of St. Giles, but it is not clear whether this rent was paid.[2]

The John Wager who was named as a former owner of the property in 1291 was presumably identical with the John to whom it had been granted in 1231 x 1237. The next known owner was Isabel le Wymplere, widow of William le Wymplere, who in 1271 leased it to Gilbert called (*dictus*) Cosyn, vintner, and his heirs and assigns for a term of 20 years, paying annual rents of £1 to the hospital of St. Giles, £1 to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre, and £1 6s. 8d. to the lessor. During this term the lessor was to maintain the property against wind and rain, and at the end of the term the lessee was to continue to hold the property until Isabel had repaid £4 10s. which he had lent her. Should Isabel wish to sell during the 20-year term the lessee was to be favoured as a purchaser. In this lease the property was described as two stone houses with appurtenances *ante et retro et iuxta*

desuper et subtus lying in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog between **156/12** on the E. and **105/26** on the W.[3]

Gilbert Cosyn had died by 1276. The next known owner or holder of the property was Alianora widow of Adam of St. Albans, ironmonger, who held it in 1291 and 1300, and from whose hands Ralph of Aldgate, clerk, was accustomed to receive a quit-rent of 6s. 8d. for the 2 stone houses. Between 29 September and 26 November 1291 Ralph granted the rent, with warranty, to Robert de Molton, citizen and tailor, his wife Agnes and their heirs and assigns, reserving an annual rent of 1d. On 26 November 1291 Ralph quitclaimed to de Molton and his wife in the 2 stone houses, excepting the 1d. rent due from them. The 6s. 8d. rent may have been connected with the rent reserved by Isabel la Wymplere by her lease of 1271, the term of which would have expired on 29 September 1291. De Molton and his wife Agnes then seem to have acquired possession of the property, which they held up to the time of their deaths. In 1303-4 they granted to James le Boteler, citizen, and his heirs and assigns in return for a sum of money, an annual quit-rent of £1. 6s. 8d. from the property, which was now described as a tenement with appurtenances. De Molton may have united the two stone houses to make a single residence. At about this time the property was inhabited by Geoffrey de Barnat (also del Bernet), girdler (*zonarius*), who in 1320 was said to hold it with his wife Maud for the term of their lives. By her will, enrolled in May 1308, Robert de Molton's widow Agnes divided the property into two parts. She bequeathed to her children Bartholomew and Boneioya and their heirs her tenement where Geoffrey de Barnat dwelled and which he held on lease (*ex causa conductionis*). This tenement seems to have occupied the W. part of the property. Agnes left the remaining part to two other sets of legatees. One of these was Adam de Walsokne, his wife Isabel, and their heirs, who were to have the shop where Robert de Molton had been accustomed to work. This was perhaps the house in this parish which in 1303 Robert had laboured in contrary to the prohibition of the mayor. Agnes left the buildings over (*ultra*) this shop to her daughter Leticia for the term of her life, with remainder to the testator's next heirs.[4] These various interests in **6** then descended separately until they were reunited in 1333.

Agnes's children Bartholomew and Boneioya continued jointly to hold the tenement let to Geoffrey de Barnat. Boneioya married Ralph Beleuerge, citizen and ironmonger, with whom in 1320 she granted £1 p.a. quit-rent due from the whole of **6** to Hugh of Worcester (*de Wygorn'*), citizen and skinner, for the term of the grantors' lives. The tenements with houses and appurtenances representing the W. part of **6** later came into the possession of John Edmund, called le Mareschal, of Wood Street, citizen, and his wife Agnes. In 1325 Bartholomew son of Robert de Molton, Ralph Beluerge, and Ralph's wife Bonaioya quitclaimed to John Edmund and Agnes in these tenements, which were bounded by **105/26** on the W., the tenement of Adam de Walsokne (the E. part of **6**) on the E., and **156/12** on the N. John Edmund, under the name of John le Marescall, and his wife Agnes were in possession of this property in 1332, when the master of the hospital of St. Giles successfully claimed a rent of £2 p.a. there which had been in arrears for 2 1/2 years. In 1333 John Edmund and Agnes granted this property to William de Horzede, called Brunne, citizen and ironmonger, and his heirs and assigns.[5]

Leticia, daughter of Robert de Molton and his wife Agnes, granted her share of the E. part of **6** to Robert de Kelesey, citizen, for the term of her life in return for £1 p.a. rent. She described her share of the property as a house *sita super quoddam solarium* (possibly a clerical error for *shoppam* or *celarium*). In November 1308 she granted this rent to her brother, Oliver de Moltone. Soon after this, and before 27 January 1309, Oliver granted the rent to de Kelesey, and Leticia quitclaimed to de Kelesey in both the house and the rent. Later, by 1325, the whole of the E. part of **6** seems to have been acquired by Adam de Walsokne, citizen and tailor, who originally had had only the shop on the ground floor. This may have been the house in Cheap ward where Adam was living in 1319. The shop with a solar over it representing the E. part of **6** descended by inheritance to Adam's daughter and heir Margery who in 1329 granted it to William Broune, citizen and ironmonger.[6] Broune thus came to acquire both parts of **6**.

William Broune was also known as William de Brunne, who by his will, dated 1338 and proved in 1339, left to his son William his tenements in the parishes of St. Benet Sherehog and St. Mary Colechurch for the maintenance of a chaplain in the church of St. Thomas of Acre and another in the

church of St. Peter in Broad Street for a period of 12 years. If the son William died without heirs during the lifetime of the testator's wife Alice, she was to have the tenements for the term of her life. Alice then married Philip de Aungre, whom she survived, and by her will, enrolled in 1349, left to be sold all the tenements which she and her first husband William de Broune had jointly acquired in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog, in the event that Gregory, the son of her son William de Broune, should die without heirs. Alice and her first husband are not known jointly to have acquired any tenements in St. Benet Sherehog parish. If the reference in her will was intended to concern **6**, Alice was certainly implicitly claiming a right which she did not have under her first husband's will. In the event there appears to have been no conflict, and in 1350 Richard Peticru, as executor of the William Brunne who had died in 1338-9, sold William's former tenements in the parishes of St. Benet Sherehog and St. Mary Colechurch to Walter de Somersham, citizen and draper. In January 1352 de Somersham sold back to Peticru, a citizen and ironmonger, the property representing **6**, which was described as a corner tenement with a stone house and shop adjacent, cellars, and solars lying in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog in the street leading from the Conduit to the tavern called *la Catfethele* (**39/7**) between the street on the W., **156/12** on the S. and E., and **105/26** on the N. The unusual orientation of these abutments is presumably explained by the attempt to describe the property as a corner tenement, on the grounds that it lay at a point where the street now known as Bucklersbury changed direction slightly.[7]

The inhabitant of **6** in 1338, when William de Brunne drew up his will, was one Gregory Bonacours, a Lombard and a citizen and apothecary of London. Under de Brunne's will Gregory was to be allowed to hold the property for the term of his life, paying the rent due. Gregory still held the property in 1352, when he was refusing to pay any rent, probably because he had ceased to live there. In 1353 Gregory quitclaimed in the property to Richard Peticru. In 1357 Richard Godchild, citizen and cutler, and his wife Juliana, who had formerly been the wife of William Browne (presumably the son), quitclaimed to Peticru all right which they may have had in **6** by reason of Juliana's dower.[8]

On 30 November 1362 Richard Peticru granted the tenements, shops, and appurtenances representing **6** to Dom Richard Vyncent, rector of the church of St. Benet Sherehog and his heirs and assigns. Then on 11 December Peticru granted to Vyncent £10 p.a. quit-rent from all his tenements in the same parish, which at that time must only have comprised **10**. On the same day Vyncent granted to Peticru £7. 6s. 8d. (11 marks) p.a. from the tenements which Peticru had given him (i.e. **6**). The underlying purpose of this elaborate settlement on Vyncent of an income with a net value of £2. 13s. 4d. p.a. remains uncertain. In 1368 Vyncent granted **6** to Fulk de Horewode, citizen and merchant (*mercator*), and his heirs and assigns. Fulk later granted this property to Robert Frensche of Horsham (Sussex), and in 1384 quitclaimed in it to Robert's son and heir, Henry Frensche.[9]

Henry Frensche of Horsham (Sussex) leased this property, described as a tenement with appurtenances in *Bokeleresbury* in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog, to a succession of tenants for terms of years. In 1386 he leased it to Henry Godyn, citizen. At Christmas 1394 he leased it to William Vannere for a term of 10 years at £14. 13s. 4d. rent. In 1399 he leased it for a further term of 10 years (presumably from 1404 when Vannere's term ended) to Richard Neuport, citizen and grocer, at £11. 6s. 8d. rent. In 1401 Vannere assigned the remainder of his term to one John Grey. In January 1404 Frensche sold the rent under the lease in being and the reversion of the tenement at the end of the term (presumably Christmas 1414) to John Hadlee, John Curteys, John Morcar, and John Grey, all *domini*, and to Simon Gaunsted, Robert Grey, Robert Newnton, and Thomas Curteys. In a Chancery suit of c. 1418-19 this enfeoffment was said to concern two messuages to be held to the use of Thomas Grey of London, grocer, who had paid £200 for the property and a further £400 to rebuild and repair it after the purchase. Hadlee, John Grey, and Robert Newnton had been nominated as feoffees by Thomas Grey, while the others had been nominated by John Newton, parson of the parish church of St. Benet. Then Hadlee, John Grey, John Curteys, and Newnton quitclaimed to Gaunsted, Morcar, and Thomas Curteys. Thomas Grey made his will and went overseas to trade. According to Thomas Grey's petition in Chancery, John Newton, hoping to dispossess Thomas Grey, then went to Gaunsted, Morcar, and Thomas Curteys and told them falsely that Grey had died at sea and that his will was that his feoffees should sell the property. Believing the story the feoffees sold **6** to John Spryngthorp, clerk, John Cobilstone, and William Rotse, who in 1418 by an indenture enrolled in Husting, granted

it to William Waldern and James Surenden, citizens and mercers, and to Robert Neuton, clerk, Thomas Clenehand, and William Clenehand, in return for quarterly payments of £12. 10s. until £200 had been paid. Thomas Grey's petition in Chancery that he be repossessed was successful, and in 1419 these feoffees granted the property to him, his wife Maud, and his heirs and assigns, and followed up the grant with a quitclaim.[10]

Thomas Grey's title was probably challenged again in 1422, when John Outred and his wife Alexandra brought a plea of intrusion against him and his wife, concerning a tenement in St. Benet Sherehog parish. In 1425 Grey granted the tenement representing **6** to William Dene and William atte Lee, citizens and pewterers, who in 1426 granted it to John Fray, recorder of London, John Gedney, draper, John Carpenter, and Richard Stace, jeweller (*jueller*), all citizens. These feoffees held on behalf of John Gedney who in his will directed that the property be sold. At the request of Gedney's executors in pursuit of this will and as the surviving feoffee, Fray in December 1449 granted the tenement and on 20 January 1450 quitclaimed in it to the executors, who were Thomas Tyrell, knight, John Clopton, esquire, John Stokker, draper, and Thomas Clerk, scrivener. These executors sold the property to Ralph Holand, citizen and tailor, for £133. 6s. 8d. provided from the goods of the late Isabel Brikles, daughter of William Brikles, late citizen and wool merchant (*lanarius*) by her executors. The aim of this transaction was to endow a chantry for members of the Brikles family in the priory of St. Leonard at Stratford-at-Bow (Middx). This endowment was accomplished by means of a codicil to Ralph Holand's will dated 24 January 1450 and proved in Husting in 1452.[11] The priory then remained in possession of the tenement until it was dissolved in 1536.

In 1521 Stratford Priory leased the tenement representing **6** to Henry Lumney, citizen and grocer, for a term of 80 years at £1 p.a. rent. He was clearly the Henry Lomner who was taxed as a resident of the parish in 1524 with goods valued at £20, and was said to be dwelling in this house in 1529. In 1539 the king, having acquired the property on the dissolution of the priory, granted this messuage, still in the tenure of Henry Lomnour as he was now called, to Sir Ralph Sadler, one of his chief secretaries, reserving a rent of 2s. p.a. Sadler immediately obtained a licence to alienate the messuage to Robert Riche, esquire, brother of Sir Richard Riche. Lomnour seems no longer to have been living there in 1544.[12]

The property appears to have remained in the possession of the Riche family into the 17th century, although no direct record of their ownership has been identified. Abutments from the adjoining property to the W. (**105/26**) described this one in 1596 as a tenement of one Riche occupied by Thomas Hunt, comfit-maker, in 1623 as a tenement in Bucklersbury occupied by John Baker, and in 1640 as a tenement of one Riche occupied by one Wigge. A Mr. Wiggs occupied a house in St. Benet Sherehog parish in 1638 which was 'moderately' valued at £14 p.a. This was probably the more westerly of 2 houses on the site. Wiggs still lived there in 1642.[13]

In 1643 the two tenements on the site of **6** were known as the King's Head and as the Boar's Head, respectively. Both belonged to Stephen Shering, citizen and skinner, who by his will dated March 1643 left them to his daughter Elizabeth Shering and her male heirs, with successive remainders to her female heirs, the testator's brother Thomas Shering and his sons and heirs, and thence to the testator's right heirs. Stephen Shering charged the messuage with an annuity of £5 due to the parish of Swannington (Norfolk). After Stephen's death Elizabeth married James Flesher, citizen and stationer, and in 1653 they leased the King's Head to Daniel Sanders, citizen and grocer, for a term of 21 1/2 years from Michaelmas that year at £20 p.a. rent and for a fine of £150. Sanders died in or shortly before 1658, leaving the remainder of his term to his wife Martha, who held the King's Head under lease at the time of the Great Fire in 1666. James Flecher and his wife Elizabeth leased the other part of **6**, the messuage known as the Boar's Head, to Edward Elliott, who held at the time of the Fire. James Flesher had 3 children by Elizabeth, Miles, Sarah, and Roberta, who were all under age in February 1672. Elizabeth died and James took a second wife, also called Elizabeth. James Flesher, who had paid for two foundation surveys in Bucklersbury in February 1667, then died. Most of this succession of events was related in a petition to the Fire Court in February 1672 brought on behalf of James's three infant children by their stepmother Elizabeth. By this time Edward Elliott had surrendered his lease, but it was proving impossible to rebuild since Martha Saunders would neither surrender her lease nor rebuild on her own account. The rooms of the King's Head, held by Martha

Saunders, were so intermingled with those of the other part of the property that it was impossible to rebuild that other part alone. In the Fire Court it was determined that Martha Saunders be discharged her arrears of rent and be paid 20 nobles for her interest in the lease. Elizabeth Flesher was to be allowed a lease of the whole property for a term of 51 years from Christmas 1671, paying an annual rent of £25 to the guardian of her stepchildren. She had already had the site surveyed and was to rebuild by Christmas 1672. Elizabeth Flesher was excused payment of the arrears of the annuity of £5 charged on the property, but was to resume payment from Christmas 1672 onwards.[14]

In 1666, on the eve of the Fire, the property, which corresponded to that of part of St. Benet Sherehog parish which lay on the N. side of Bucklersbury, was occupied by 3 households. Francis Eastwick and his partner had a house of 4 hearths, John Plomer, gentleman, a house of 3 hearths, and Christopher Guy, druggist, a house of 5 hearths. These occupants, were presumably tenants of the two leaseholders. Eastwick had held the same house in 1662-3, but it is not possible to identify the other occupants in the hearth tax return of that year.[15]

No post-Fire foundation survey has survived, but the extent of the site can be determined from surveys of adjoining properties in the parishes of St. Mary Colechurch and St. Stephen Walbrook.[16] It corresponded to that of no 35 Bucklersbury on the ward map of 1858.

NOTES

- 1 MC, Reg of Writings i, f. 108; BL, MS Harl 4015, ff. 47, 51.
- 2 *Tax Eccl*, 9. PRO: E315/269; SC6/Hen 8/2373, 2375, 2396; E318/19/969; LR2/262, f. 5v; SC6/Edw 6/293.
- 3 MC, Reg of Writings i, f. 107.
- 4 HR 8(5), 21(38-9), 29(19), 31(71), 36(93); *Cal EMC*, 144.
- 5 HR 53(58), 61(47); MC, Reg of Writings i, f. 108; *LBE*, f. 95v.
- 6 HR 37(41, 70), 53(58), 57(130); *Ekwall Subsidy Rolls*, 297.
- 7 HR 66(49), 77(237), 78(244), 80(15).
- 8 HR 66(49), 84(133); *PA*, no. 98.
- 9 HR 90(192, 196-7), 96(116), 113(14).
- 10 HR 132(41), 146(7), 148(8, 13); PRO, C1/4/145.
- 11 HPL 146, m. 1; HR 154(1, 66), 178(32-3), 181(15).
- 12 PRO: SC6/Hen 8/2345, 2350-5, 2424-8; LR2/262, f. 23v; SP1/33, no. 969(3); E179/144/123, m. 21. *L & P Hen VIII* xiv, nos. 403 (44, 62), 779 (26); Northants R.O., BH(K) 894.
- 13 Northants R.O., BH(K) 800, 897; HR 277(50); *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 41; PRO, SP16/492, no. 95.
- 14 BL, Add. MS 5098, nos. 72-3; PRO, PROB11/34(87); *M & O* i, p. 7.
- 15 PRO, E179/252/25, 32.
- 16 *M & O* iv, ff. 6v, 130.

ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK: 12

This was a large property on the N. side of the street now known as Bucklersbury, and its history can be traced from the early 13th century onwards. It lay between **39/6** on the W. and **156/13** on the E., but early in the 13th century may have included **156/13**. Later in the 13th century the property came to be used as a high-status residence and was enlarged towards the N., and perhaps also towards the W. and E. At the end of the century it was the dwelling of the wealthy Cahorsin merchant, William Servat, and later came to be known as Servat's Tower. Towards the end of the 15th century the boundaries of the property were rearranged again so as to include a small property on the Poultry frontage towards the N. At this time Servat's Tower belonged to the college of St. Stephen Westminster, and the houses within the N. part of it lay in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry, while the S. part was in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook. After the dissolution of the college in 1547 the N. part of the property was absorbed by the properties on the Poultry frontage (see **132/22**), while the remainder was held as 2 freehold units held under 3 leases. The bounds of these 3 parts appear to be defined in foundation surveys drawn up after the Great Fire. From W. to E. they corresponded to nos. 32-3 (corresponding to one unit), no. 32, no. 31, and no. 30 Bucklersbury on the large-scale ward map of 1858. The northern and eastern boundaries of the Servat's Tower property in the 13th and 14th centuries can be established from the abutment descriptions and measurements of the properties which adjoined it. Much of the site of the property is now occupied by Queen Victoria Street.

i. Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the origin of Servat's Tower

At some time between 1231 and 1237 the property on the E. side of **39/6** was described as the tenement of William son Benedict. William, who appears to have died at about this time, held many properties in the city and was alderman of the ward of Cheap. He may have lived in a house on this site, which was within Cheap ward. Many of his London properties descended to his son, Lawrence of St. Michael, who in 1291 (under the name of Lawrence son of Michael) was remembered by a local jury as a former owner of **156/12** and **156/13**. The latter property is not otherwise known to have been associated with William son of Benedict or his family, but this reference may mean that William's property here had included **13** as well as **15**. In 1271 the property on the E. side of **39/6** was described as the former tenement of William son of Benedict, but by this time the property had passed out of the possession of his family.[1]

The next known holder of **156/12** was John Mansel (d. 1265), keeper of the seal and one of the leading counsellors of Henry III who played an important part in the king's relations with the city of London. In 1276 it was related how during the disturbances in the latter part of Henry III's reign certain persons had broken into the wardrobe (*garderoba*) of John Mansel on Walbrook and dispersed papal bulls and other documents concerning royal affairs which Mansel had kept there. This wardrobe was said now (i.e. in 1276) to be the house of Luke de Luca and his associates, and so can be identified as **156/12**. The wardrobe was presumably John Mansel's chief business headquarters in the city of London and may from time to time have served as his residence, although his principal dwelling when in London was his house at Tothill near Westminster. On Mansel's death in 1265 the property escheated to the king, who in the same year granted Mansel's former houses on Walbrook to Jordan le Chaundeler, a sergeant of the king's son Edward, at whose request the grant was made. At an inquisition in 1266 a London jury stated that Mansel had held certain houses in London of the heir of Robert son of Walter by service of 9d. p.a. These had been taken into the king's hands because the king's enemy, William de Heywode had last held them and they were now held by Master William de Fescaump of the king's gift. This inquisition probably concerned properties in London once in Mansel's possession other than those which had been granted to Jordan le Chaundeler in 1265.[2]

Lucca merchants were already established in **156/12** in 1276 (see above), presumably as tenants of Jordan le Chaundeler. The former wardrobe of one of the wealthiest and most influential clerks in the kingdom would have been a suitable base from which the Italians could conduct their business in spices and expensive textiles, and would have provided high-quality accommodation, both for themselves and for their wares. The establishment would also have continued in its role as a centre for financial dealing. After 1279, when the king delivered the office of the exchange of London and Canterbury to Gregory de Rokesle as mayor of London and to the merchants of Lucca dwelling in that

city, much of the business of the exchange may have been transacted on this site. William son of Benedict, a possible earlier occupant, had also been master of the exchange, so that the repute of the property as a site for important monetary and commercial business may well have been established before 1230. Jordan le Chaundeler's right to the property appears to have become vested in himself and his brother, Hugh le Chaundeler, both of Pontefract. From them it passed to their brother and heir John le Chamberleyn, and then to John's son Thomas. In three separate transactions dated May 1291 Thomas quitclaimed his right in the property to Giovanni Simonet, Renerio Magario, Rolandino de Podio, and their fellows, citizens and merchants of Lucca, who thus came into full possession of Mansel's former wardrobe. Thomas received a payment of £20, which he promised to return if the Lucca merchants were disturbed in their title by any claim descending from his uncles. He also bound all his goods to the same end. In these transactions the property was described as a tenement with houses built on it which had belonged to Jordan le Chaundeler and lay in the parish of St. Stephen *super Walebrok* between **105/26** and **39/6** on the W., **156/13** and **132/16** on the E., 3 properties corresponding to **132/19-23** on the N., and the highway leading from Walbrook towards the Conduit on the S.[3]

In abutments from adjoining properties during the 1290s the property is described as the tenement or house of the merchants of the Society of the Riccardi of Lucca. The latest of these descriptions occurs in a deed dated 19 February 1300. By September 1302 the Cahorsin merchant, William Servat, had probably purchased the property from the Lucca merchants, for Solomon le Coteler complained that he was responsible for a nuisance in Solomon's tenement in St. Mildred parish (probably **132/16** or **132/19**). Servat had certainly acquired the property by 1303-4, when it was described in an abutment as his tenement.[4]

In 1292 Servat had been dwelling in Cordwainer Ward, and it was probably in his house there that he had taken Italian or Provencal lodgers. He dealt extensively in spices, cloth, and wine, and had close contacts with the Italian merchants and with royal finances. His move to the former Riccardi establishment in Cheap ward may have been associated with his decision in 1301 to bring his 12-year old son to London, perhaps with other members of his family. One Durand, a foreign merchant dealing in spices, was dwelling in Servat's house in 1304, suggesting that in his new establishment Servat was accustomed to let out lodgings to alien merchants as he had done before. Servat appears substantially to have rebuilt or improved a property which must already have contained some imposing buildings. This work included building a crenellated stone tower above the gate of his dwelling (presumably on the Bucklersbury frontage), for which he obtained a royal licence in 1305. This tower was a prominent local landmark and was responsible for the property's later name of Servat's Tower, first recorded in the form *la Tour Servat* in 1331. This tower may have survived until the mid 16th century, for Stow records that 'of late years [it] was taken downe by one Buckle a Grocer', who intended to replace the structure with a timber frame and was injured when a part of the tower collapsed on him. The mid 16th-century 'copper plate' map of London in its depiction of the N. side of Bucklersbury shows no building recognisable as the tower, and no 'Buckle' has been found in the records of the area at that time. Servat himself became alderman of Walbrook in about 1308, and held the position until 1318 or 1319 when he died. Between 1313 and 1315, however, he lost possession of the Servat's Tower property, which was acquired by Antonio Passano, a Genoese who was involved with Servat in financial dealings on behalf of the Crown. In 1317 Passano gave Servat's houses in London to the king in exchange for the manor of Kennington, and immediately afterwards Edward II granted the houses to his consort, Queen Isabel, for the term of her life.[5]

The property acquired by the queen extended further N. (probably about 40 ft. (12.19 m.) further) towards Poultry than the equivalent property had done in the early 13th century. Thus, a 14th-century endorsement on an early 13th-century deed[6] concerning a St. Paul's property (**132/21**) which lay to the N. states that at that time only a part of the property defined by the 13th-century measurements now belonged to St. Paul's, while the other part was 'in the Queen's Wardrobe' (in *garderoba regine*). The St. Paul's property had been reduced in size by 1269 (see **132/21**), suggesting that the Servat's Tower property had been enlarged to the N. by John Mansel or a predecessor.

ii. Fourteenth to mid seventeenth century

Queen Isabel probably held William Servat's houses until a few years before her death in 1358. Isabel used Servat's Tower as her wardrobe or principal headquarters of her household administration in London. In 1339, for example, it was described as the wardrobe of Queen Isabel called *Seruettestour*, and in the 1330s the property was several times specified as the place where money payments were to be made to the queen. A violent incident in May 1320 reveals something of the internal life of her

wardrobe. John son of Simon Corp, a pepperer who lived not far away in Pancras Lane (145/14-15), and John Reyner, servant or apprentice (*vallectus*) of Raymond of Bordeaux, came to the Queen's Wardrobe and there attacked John of St. Florentine, a goldsmith, and William le Galeys, a tailor. The victims appear to have been servants of the queen and presumably worked at the wardrobe making and maintaining her robes and her plate. Other servants of the queen were also involved in the incident. Towards the end of her life, when the queen retired from the world, her son, King Edward III, assumed control of her former wardrobe in London and let the property. Thus in 1355 the king's house or *hospitium* called *Cervettestour* was let to Fridus de Guynsane and Landus Bardoil, merchants of Lucca, for a term of 3 years at an annual rent of £20. The buildings may have been in a state of decay, since the cost of any repairs undertaken by them was to be allowed against their rent, by the view of the clerk of the great wardrobe.[7] There is no evidence that, as is sometimes stated, Servat's Tower was used in this period by Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, rather than by his mother, Queen Isabel.[8]

Over a long period in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the inhabitants of Servat's Tower and its predecessors were engaged in financial dealing and the exchange of coin. This may have caused the street outside, now coming to be known as Bucklersbury, to be used as a place for the interchange of business, and more particularly financial information, in much the same way as Lombard Street later came to be. The clearest indication that this was the case is in the royal order of 1344, during the issue of the new gold currency, a matter in which Lucca merchants were deeply involved, that the public exchange for coin was to be set up in the street next to Servat's Tower. A similar arrangement was anticipated in 1367, when it was ordered that all exchanges of gold and silver were to take place *in loco de Bokleresbury*. Not long after this the exchange was set up at a house in Lombard Street, and Bucklersbury lost its special link with high finance.[9]

In May 1358, 3 months after the expiry of the lease granted in 1355 but well before the death of Queen Isabella the following August, the king granted Servat's Tower in Bucklersbury to the college of the royal chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster in perpetuity. In a confirmation of this grant in 1360 the property was said to be worth £13. 13s. 4d. p.a. The college of St. Stephen remained in possession until it was dissolved in 1547. In 1361 the college leased the Servat's Tower property, which was described as a house or inn (*hospitium*), to William de Holbech, citizen and draper, and his wife Maud, who were to hold it for the terms of their lives plus two years more, paying an annual rent of £20. Holbech and his wife lived at Servat's Tower, and William's will, dated 1365 and proved in 1367, was drawn up *in manso meo vocato Suruitestour*. He wished to be buried in the church of St. Benet Sherehog and left money for the payment of tithes both to that church and to the church of St. Stephen Walbrook in whose parish Servat's Tower lay. His domestic establishment, therefore, may have spanned the boundary between the two parishes. Holbech was a very wealthy man, and his legacies give some sense of the size of his household at Servat's Tower. They include sums of money left to 9 individuals who are probably all to be identified as his servants. These include a butler named Alice, a bailiff, his wife's senior maid and junior maid, his cook, and one Ralph from the kitchen (*de coquina*), who by the time Holbech's widow drew up her will in 1392 appears to have become the family cook. Holbech's widow Maud probably continued to live at Servat's Tower, although this is not certain. By her will, proved in 1393, she left her estate in the property, comprising a two-year leasehold interest after her death, to John Clee, a draper who had benefited under her husband's will, and his wife Senicla.[10]

The next known tenant of Servat's Tower, or a part of it, was the Grocers' Company, which presumably held it from about 1395 onwards, although under what terms is not known. The company appears to have been using part of the property as a hall and courtroom by May 1398, when it possessed a table and benches *in domo communi nostra in Turre in Bokelerisbury*. In 1406 the company owned a chest containing financial records there. Between 1400 and 1417 the Grocers paid rent equivalent to £1. 13s. 4d. p.a. for a house or chamber *en le tour en Bokelerisbury*. These payments were usually said to have been made to Hugh Alforde, a resident of St. Stephen Walbrook parish who died in 1416 and perhaps held the whole of the Servat's Tower property on lease from the college of St. Stephen. At the end of 1417 the Grocers moved from Servat's Tower to the Barge (156/10), on the opposite side of the street.[11]

In 1454-5 the rent from this property, now described as tenements called *Sylvestertour*, together with the rent from the property in Lombard Street which also belonged to the college of St. Stephen, was assigned for the upkeep of the chantry of William Lyndwode in the chapel of St. Stephen. Should the college fail to keep up the chantry the income, worth £16 p.a., was to pass to the dean and chapter

of St. Paul's for the same purpose. This revenue may be compared with the valuation of the same two properties in 1360 at a total of £33 13s. 4d. p.a.[12]

iii. Sixteenth to mid seventeenth century

In the first half of the 16th century the property in Bucklersbury belonging to the college of St. Stephen was held under several separate leases. The northern part of the property, probably further enlarged towards the N. in the course of the 15th century, was counted as part of St. Mildred Poultry parish, and is discussed under **132/22**. The more southerly part, lying in St. Stephen Walbrook parish, was let in 3 parts. One of these, known as Servat's Tower, appears to have occupied the rear of the property and to have included a house and a gate on the Bucklersbury frontage. It probably included the principal buildings surviving from the 13th- and 14th-century establishment, or their site. The other 2 parts, known as the Lamb and as the Woolsack, respectively, probably occupied the Bucklersbury frontage on either side of the gate. The surveys of this area drawn up after the Great Fire (see below) appear to reflect this arrangement.

The tenement called *Seruestower* was in 1540 let to William Normanville for a term of 31 years from 1546 at £10 p.a. rent, the tenant to bear the cost of repairs except the purchase of timber. Lawrence Bere had formerly lived in the house. He was described as an apothecary and was perhaps identical with the Lawrence Beere of this parish who had died in 1504, and who as Lawrence Bere, grocer, had paid parish assessments between 1483 and 1488. In the lease of 1540 this holding was described as a tenement called *Seruestower* with solars, cellars, and appurtenances in Bucklersbury, together with a great hall and a great cellar with an entry and gate belonging to the hall, and with a little shop annexed to the entry on the E. side of the said tenement. A warehouse formerly belonging to the tenement was excepted from the lease because it was now held with another part of the property (see below). From this description it seems likely that the great hall of the medieval house with a cellar below was still standing towards the rear of the property, and that the tower built by William Servat was also still in existence. William Normanville was taxed, almost certainly as a resident of this house, in 1544, but the valuation of his goods at £80 shows that in relation to other parishioners he was of no more than moderate wealth. He died in 1545, as a parishioner of St. Stephen Walbrook. The property held under his lease came into the possession of the Crown in 1547, and in 1548 was sold, at 19 years purchase, to the king's servant, John Cheke, esquire, and to Walter Moyle of Broughton (Kent) esquire, who were acting on behalf of Nicholas Lane of London, grocer. In the deed of sale the great hall was said commonly to be called 'le greate warehouse', and Normanville's successor as tenant was not named. The subsequent descent of the property is not known.[13]

The tenements known as the Lamb and as the Woolsack descended together, although they were held under two separate leases. In May 1536 the tenement called the Lamb and the shops, cellars, solars and appurtenances belonging to it, were leased to John Bodnam for a term of 40 years from the following Michaelmas at £2 p.a. rent, the tenant being responsible for repairs. In June 1536 the tenement called the 'Wolsacke', together with the warehouse adjoining it to the rear (presumably the one excepted from the lease of the tenement known as Servat's Tower, cf. above), was leased to Bodnam for a term of 40 years from the following Michaelmas at £4. 3s. 4d. p.a. rent. John Bodnam (sometimes spelled Bodman) was a grocer who in 1522, when his goods were valued at £100, had lived in Cheap Ward in St. Stephen Walbrook parish, probably in one or both of these tenements. He died in 1541 as a resident of St. Stephen Walbrook parish, and was succeeded by Ralph Bodnam and William Bodnam, both grocers. In 1544 Ralph and William were taxed as partners with goods valued at £300 and almost certainly resided in this property. The tenements came into the possession of the Crown, and in 1548 were sold at 19 years purchase. William Bodnam applied to purchase the Lamb, and Ralph Bodnam the Woolsack, but the royal grant of these and other properties in the neighbourhood was made in free burgage to them both jointly and to their heirs and assigns. Ralph Bodnam died in 1552, probably as a resident of this property. William continued to reside and to pursue the trade of grocer in Bucklersbury, and was probably dwelling in this property at the time of his death in 1580.[14]

A deed of 1638 concerning the Woolsack stated that the messuage had been in the tenure or occupation of Ralph Bodnam and William Bodnam, then in that of Edward Collins, and then in that of Robert Underwood, citizen and grocer, who died in or shortly before 1638. In December 1638 Underwood's widow Timothea, together with his son and heir, Robert Underwood, citizen and draper, John Batty, citizen and mercer, and Toby Maydewell, citizen and grocer, sold the Woolsack with its shop, cellars, solars, chambers, and rooms to William Underwood, citizen and grocer, and his heirs, and assigns for £800. In the tithe valuation of that year the Mr. Underwood whose house in this parish

was 'moderately' valued at £44 p.a. presumably resided in a part of **156/12** and was identical either with Robert or with William Underwood. William Underwood appears in several parish assessment lists of the 1640s and was listed as a pewholder in St. Stephen Walbrook church in 1648. He was later an alderman, and at the time of his death in 1658 may still have been dwelling at the Woolsack.[15]

iv. At the time of the Great Fire

The site of **156/12** (apart from the N. part which had been absorbed by **132/22**, q.v.) appears to correspond to the area covered by 4 surveys drawn up in the years following the Great Fire. These 4 buildings appear to have belonged to 3 owners. Two of these owners held 3 sites on the Bucklersbury frontage. The 2 more easterly of these belonged to one owner, and between them was an entry leading to the holding of the third owner. This last occupied the rear part of the site and was adjoined by **156/13** on its S. side. It probably corresponded approximately to the property known as Servat's Tower which had been leased to William Normanville in 1540. It is not possible to determine which of the properties on the Bucklersbury frontage corresponded to the Woolsack or to the Lamb. The Hearth Tax return for St. Stephen Walbrook parish in 1666, on the eve of the Great Fire, lists 6 houses on the N. side of Bucklersbury which presumably occupied the sites of **156/12** and **156/13**. A comparison of these names with those in the post-Fire surveys suggests that before the Great Fire the site of **156/12** was occupied by 5 houses, the occupants of which can be traced back to the Hearth Tax return of 1662-3. On the basis of these identifications it is possible to suggest the names of some earlier occupants.

The easiest of these properties to identify is the site which lay to the rear with an entry on the Bucklersbury frontage. In 1662-3 this was a house with 11 hearths occupied by John Lilbourne and Edmund Hill, who in 1666 were listed as John Lilburne and partner, druggist(s), with a house of 11 hearths. A foundation occupying the site of this house was surveyed for Edmund Hill in 1668. The 2 sites on the Bucklersbury frontage on either side of the entry to the house of Lilburne and Hill were surveyed for Major Sadler. He was evidently the Blunt Sadler, merchant, who occupied a house of 9 hearths in 1662-3 and 1666. A John Sadler, grocer (d. 1659), who had been a parishioner in 1642 and 1648, may have been his predecessor in the property, and may have been identical with the Mr. Sadler who in 1638 occupied a house in the parish valued 'moderately' at £30 p.a. Sadler's house, however, does not appear in the 1638 list close enough to that occupied by Mr. Underwood (the Woolsack, cf. above) for it to be conclusively identified as part of **156/12**. The 2 foundations surveyed for Major Sadler probably corresponded to 2 houses before the Fire, one (perhaps on the E. side of the entry) occupied by Blunt Sadler, and the other (perhaps on the W. side of the entry) containing 6 hearths and occupied by William Willingham in 1662-3 and by Henry Payne, druggist, between 1664 and 1666. The remaining part of **156/12**, occupying the W. part of the frontage was in 1668 surveyed as 2 foundations for Mr. Hunter. A part of the rear of the property, used as a warehouse, lay beneath rooms belonging to **132/22** (q.v.). These 2 foundations probably corresponded to 2 houses before the Fire, one with 5 hearths occupied by Edward Nevitt between 1662-3 and 1666, and the other with 11 hearths in 1666 and 10 hearths in 1662-3 being occupied by Henry Lascoe and his partner, druggist(s). Lascoe's partner was named in 1662-3 as Henry Willingham and in 1664 as Edward Willoughby. The 2 houses on this part of **156/12** probably adjoined each other on the street frontage, as in the 19th century.[16]

NOTES

1 BL, MS Harl 4015, f. 47; MC, Reg of Writings 1, f. 107; LBA, 178 (f. 84v). For William son of Benedict and his family, see *Historical Gazetteer, Part 1, Cheapside, passim*.

2 *London Eyre 1276*, no. 521; *Cal Pat R 1258-66*, p. 443. For Mansel, see *DNB*; cf. Williams, 209-11, 219; for his house at Tothill, scene of a magnificent banquet in 1256, see *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora* ed. H.R. Luard v (R.S. 1880), 256; *Cal IPM* i, no. 621.

3 *Cal Pat R 1272-81*, p. 301; Williams, 51; HR 20(52, 54, 56).

4 HR 21(38), 25(30), 29(19), 32(71); AN, no. 29.

5 For Servat's career, see Williams, 142-3 and the references there cited. For his death, see Beaven i, 216; LBE, 244. For the name Servat's Tower and outline histories of the property, see *LTR* 12 (1920), 26-7, *LTR* 22 (1965), 67-8. For other sources: *Cal EMC*, 161; *Cal Pat R 1301-7*, p. 379 (the calendar reference to the 'turret beyond the gate' presumably includes a mistranslation of *ultra* where the intended sense is 'above'); *Cal Pat R 1317-21*, pp. 42, 53; HR 41(44), 44(37, 54); Stow i, 260; *A descriptive catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office* v (1906), no. A10948.

6 GL, MS 25121/1567.

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7 *Ancient Deeds* v, no. A10948 (see above, n. 5); *Cal Pat R 1338-40*, p. 115; *Cal Fine R 1347-56*, p. 420; *London Eyre 1321* ii, 143-4.

8 This invention by C.L. Kingsford ('Historical notes on medieval London houses', *LTR* 12(1920), 26) is repeated in M.B. Honeybourne, 'The reconstructed map of London under Richard II' *LTR* 22 (1965), 68.

9 *Foedera* vol. 3 part 1 (Rec Comm, 1825), 16-17 (the calendared version in *CCR 1343-6*, pp. 448-9 is incorrect); *ibid.* vol. 3 part 2 (Rec Comm, 1830), 839; Stow's incorrect statement that in 1344 the exchange was to be in Servat's Tower (Stow i, 52, 71, 260) has misled later writers; see also T.F. Reddaway, 'The King's Mint and Exchange in London 1343-1543' *EHR* 82 (1967), 1-23.

10 *Cal Pat R 1358-61*, pp. 51, 441-2; *Monasticon* vi (3), 1350; HR 95(99), 122(27).

11 *Facsimile of First Volume of MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers*, ed. J.A. Kingdon (1886) i, *passim*. GL, MS 9171/2, f. 346.

12 GL, MS 25121/2004; *Cal Pat R 1358-61*, p. 441-2.

13 PRO: E318/26/1487; E315/68, f. 308; SC6/Edw 6/293; PROB11/14(2); E179/144/123. *Cal Pat R 1547-8*, pp. 284-5. GL, MS 3106.

14 PRO: E315/68, ff. 58-60; E318/25/1428, mm. 2-3; SC6/Edw 6/293, f. 106; E179/251/15B; E179/144/123, m. 21; PROB11/28(37); PROB11/36(4); PROB11/62(51). *Cal Pat R 1548-9*, pp. 129-30; *Cal Pat R 1555-7*, p. 191; GL, MS 11571/6, *passim* (Grocers' Company wardens' a/cs: payments of brotherhood money).

15 HR 315(42); *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 181; Beaven ii, 79. PRO: SP16/492, no. 75; SP19/79, no. 28; PROB11/274(147). GL, MS 594/2, pp. 4-5.

16 GL: MS 594/2; Add MS 243. PRO: E179/252/27, m. 160; E179/252/32; PROB11/286(7). *M & O* iv, ff. 6v, 85v, v, f. 58v.

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This property lay on the N. side of the street now known as Bucklersbury. It was bounded on the W. and N. by the Servat's Tower property and on the E. by the Walbrook stream or by **118/13**. Its site appears to be represented by that of 2 properties surveyed after the Great Fire. These corresponded to no. 28 and no. 29 Bucklersbury on the ward map of 1858. The site of these two houses, which had a combined frontage of about 62 ft. (18.90 m.), was almost entirely taken for making Queen Victoria Street.

i. Early history and quit-rents

In the early 13th century this may have been part of the same property as **156/12** (q.v.) which adjoined it on the N. and W. Otherwise, the earliest known owner of **156/13** was James le Mazeliner, named in or before 1274 as the former owner of houses next to *Walebrok* from which a quit-rent of 18s. 3d. was due. This property descended to John le Mazerer, presumably a relative of James, who in 1291 owned one of the tenements which was bound to maintain the nearby bridge across the Walbrook stream. By 1304 the property was in the possession of John de Dunstaple, a skinner whose will was enrolled in 1308.[1]

There are several references to rents of 13s. 4d. from the property, but it is not clear whether they concern a single rent or several rents of that annual value. By his will enrolled in 1296 Robert Dagge left to his daughters Isabel and Alice a quit-rent of 13s. 4d. p.a. from a tenement in St. Stephen Walbrook parish bounded by the tenement of the merchants of Lucca (**156/12**) on the W. and by the highway on the S. Should Isabel and Alice die without heirs of their bodies the rent was to remain to Dagge's next heir. This rent may have been identical with the quit-rent of 13s. 4d. from **156/13** which by his will, dated 1335 and enrolled in 1337, Lawrence le Botoner left to his son Richard. In 1341 the prioress of St. Leonard, Stratford, successfully claimed that she and her predecessors time out of mind had been seised of 13s. 4d. p.a. quit-rent from this property. In 1379 the abbess and convent of St. Clare outside Aldgate (the Minoreesses) were allowed to keep a rent of 13s. 4d. p.a. issuing from a part or the whole of this property. They had acquired the rent under a general licence issued in 1340.[2]

The quit-rent of 18s. 3d., which was charged on the whole property, has a longer history. By his will enrolled in 1274 Geoffrey Godard, citizen, left it and other rents to be sold by his executors, who were to give the proceeds to a pilgrim setting out for the Holy Land on the next general passage. The rents were not actually sold until 1304, when Robert de Assendon, as Geoffrey Godard's executor and with the assent of the other executors, or their executors, sold them to Richard Constantyn, draper, and his wife Alice, who had formerly been married to Simon Godard, one of Geoffrey's executors. By his will, dated and enrolled in 1332 Richard Constantyn left the rents to John de Tyerne, chaplain, for life, with remainder to Constantyn's heirs. In 1394 John Constantyn complained of intrusion concerning his tenement in St. Stephen Walbrook parish, presumably in connection with this rent. John had an estate of tenements and rents in 8 London parishes, including St. Stephen Walbrook. He granted this estate, which was not described in detail, to one set of feoffees in 1406 and to another set in 1416. John Constantyn died soon after this, and in February 1417 his son William Constantyn alias Pecche quitclaimed in the estate to his brother John Constantyn and to the feoffees of 1416. In 1418 John Constantyn's widow Katharine sought dower in the estate against her late husband's son John. The properties were listed on this occasion, and included the 18s. 3d. rent. The rent remained in the possession of the Constantyn family until 1505, when John Turner, citizen and spurrier, acquired it and the other quit-rents in the estate by means of a common recovery in Husting against John Constantyne, the son and heir of Ralph Constantyn. John Turner conveyed these rents to George Monoux, citizen and alderman, as security for a loan, which he did not repay. In 1513 Turner quitclaimed to Monoux in the rents, and in the following year quitclaimed jointly with his wife Joan. Monoux, described as a knight from 1536-7 onwards, is known still to have been receiving the rent in 1537-8. He died in 1544.[3]

ii. Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

By his will enrolled in 1308 John de Dunstaple left the tenements with appurtenances which represented **156/13**, bounded by William Servat's tenement (**156/12**) on the W. and by the Walbrook

stream on the E., to William de Medelane, dyer of London, his wife Tiphania, their son Geoffrey, and Geoffrey's legitimate heirs. Out of the issues of the property these legatees were to pay for a chaplain celebrating for de Dunstaple's soul for a period of 2 years. Geoffrey de Medelane, citizen, had succeeded his father William de Medelane by 1319, when he was living in Cheap ward, possibly in or near this property. Geoffrey was dead by 1326, when the guardian of his son and heir William leased to Roger de Wedon, saddler (*seler*) and his wife Isabel a house (*meson*) with chambers and solars representing a part of **156/13** for a term of 12 years at a rent of £1. 3s. 4d. p.a. The property leased occupied the western part of the street frontage and was bounded on the W. by **152/12** and on the E. by two properties which seem also to have been part of **156/13**. These were a shop held by the same Roger de Wedon and a tenement lately held by an Italian (*homme dieu le Lombard*). The term of the lease granted to de Wedon and his wife was due to end at Christmas 1338, and in 1332 they assigned the remainder of it to Burnet Guillim of Lucca, citizen and spicer. Parts of **156/13** were thus held by Italian spicers, some of whom may be recorded in taxation lists of the period. In the subsidy roll of 1319 Guy Lespicer (perhaps an Italian) was listed immediately after Geoffrey de Medelane, and in the 1332 roll Nicholas Guillem occurs in about the same position in the list.[4]

In 1333, when William son of Geoffrey de Medelane was assigned to a new guardian, his rents and tenements were said to be worth £2. 16s. 4d. p.a. clear. This may have been the annual value of **156/13** or of William's share in that property. William de Medelane was of full age by May 1339, when he granted to Baldwin de Gledeseye, chaplain, the tenements representing **156/13** which he had inherited from his father. These tenements were said to lie in the street called *Bokelersbury* and were bounded by **156/12** on the W. and N., and by **118/13** on the E. The purpose of this grant was to create a title for William de Medelane, his wife Joan, and their heirs and assigns, to whom Baldwin de Gledeseye granted the tenements in June 1339. In fact, William de Medelane's title appears to have covered only about two thirds of the site of **156/13**. The middle third of the property now belonged to William de Littleford, shearman, and his wife Katharine, who in July 1339 leased the shop with a solar above bounded by the tenements of William de Medelane on the E. and W., to Gilbert le Chamberleyn and his wife Anneyse, in return for a sum of money already paid. When the prioress of Stratford claimed her quit-rent from the entire property in 1341 (see above, section i), William le Shereman and his wife Katharine were in possession of one third of the tenement, while William de Medelane and his wife Joan were in possession of the remaining two thirds. At this date **156/13** may thus have consisted of 3 small houses or shops, each about 20 ft. (6.10 m.) wide on the Bucklersbury frontage.[5]

William de Medelane had died by May 1362, when 2 messuages in London, apart from one shop, were in the possession of his widow Joan. These messuages may have represented **156/13** or they may have represented that property plus another. William had assigned these messuages for a term to Simon de Reynham by a statute merchant. Simon's interest was acquired by Adam de Bury, who in 1362 was defending it in Husting against one Thomas de Medelane, who had sued out a writ of right against Joan. The relationship of Thomas de Medelane to William de Medelane is not known, but Thomas certainly ended up in possession of **156/13**. Thomas was a citizen and vintner, and in 1387 conveyed to feoffees (William Rykhill, William More, William Sharping, all citizens and vintners, Robert Gerlethorp, clerk, and John Gravenyng the younger, citizen and corder) all the lands, tenements, and rents which he had in his own right and in that of his wife Maud, lying in the parishes of St. James Garlickhithe, St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Stephen Walbrook (presumably **156/13**), and St. Faith. In 1391 **156/13** was described as the tenement of Thomas Medelane, and in the same year there is a reference to a lease made by him of a shop in Bucklersbury which was presumably a part of the property.[6]

The next known owner of **156/13** was William Skrene, senior, who conveyed the tenements to John Skrene, Richard Gybon, and William Pondare, who in 1407 conveyed them, with properties in other city parishes, to Thomas son of William Rykhill, knight, and his legitimate heirs. Should Thomas die without heirs the tenements were to remain successively to William Rykhill's other children, John Rykhill, Nicholas Rykhill, Agnes, Joan, and Maud, and to their heirs, and thence to William Skrene, senior, and his heirs and assigns. In 1422 Thomas Rykhill, esquire, conveyed this estate for the term of his life to John Holand earl of Huntingdon, John lord de Grey of Codnore, Ralph Rochefort, knight, Oliver St. John, knight, Richard Casey, clerk, Thomas Giffard, Richard Drayton, William Roos, Richard Rixton, Nicholas Rykhill, and John Beverley, citizen and skinner.[7]

The land and tenements in Bucklersbury representing **156/13** passed from the Rykhill family to Henry Pevenesey and his wife Joan, who in 1438 granted them to Richard Lyndesey, scrivener, and John Luttur, William Bothe, and William Edward, citizens and grocers. In 1448 Walter Hunte, citizen

and grocer, held the property, presumably as tenant of these feoffees. In 1451 Bothe and Edward, as the surviving feoffees, granted the property to Hunte, who later that year conveyed it to Richard Lee, Richard Philip, John Michell, and Robert Pownde, citizens and grocers. The beneficiary of this conveyance was Richard Lee, later mayor, who died in 1472. In 1474 John Michell, as surviving feoffee, granted the property to Lee's widow, Leticia Lee, Richard Lee, esquire (son of Richard Lee and Leticia), John Stokes, citizen and grocer, John Hert, gentleman, and Thomas Kyrton, gentleman. Leticia's cofeoffees gave up their interest to her, and by her will dated 1477 she left **156/13** and properties in other parishes to the rector and churchwardens of the church of St. Stephen Walbrook, where her husband had been buried near the altar of St. Nicholas and St. Katharine, and where she herself wished her body to lie. This legacy was to be the endowment for a chantry chaplain, who was to receive £7 p.a. and celebrate daily at the altar. In 1484, when Leticia's will was proved, **156/13** thus came into the possession of the church of St. Stephen Walbrook.[8]

It seems possible that Richard Lee, the mayor, his widow, and then their son Richard Lee lived in a house on this site. Lady Lee paid contributions towards the parish clerk's wages in 1483 at the highest rate for the parish. She was then succeeded by Mr. Richard Lee, who paid at the same rate until the record ceases in 1488.[9]

iii. Late fifteenth to late sixteenth century

The church of St. Stephen Walbrook retained possession of **156/13** until the dissolution of the chantries in 1547. Initially the property was a single tenement, but in 1505 was described as 'two messuages built from one'. These two messuages are recorded in the parish churchwardens' accounts from 1507 onwards, and in the mid 16th century were known as the Christopher and as the White Bear, identified here as **156/13A** and **156/13B**, respectively. The former of these two houses probably corresponded to no. 29 Bucklersbury on the 19th-century ward map, and the latter to no. 28 Bucklersbury.

156/13A

Between 1507 and his death in 1521 John Laxham, a resident of the parish and probably of this house, paid £4. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent for **156/13A**. Minor repairs by a dauber and a carpenter were paid for in 1518-19. From 1522 onwards Thomas Ashe, grocer, paid the same rent. In 1522 Ashe was taxed, probably as a resident of this house, with goods valued at £20. In 1526-7 Ashe's yard and the street before his house and **156/13B** were paved with gravel. Minor repairs to the house by a labourer and bricklayer were paid for in 1527-8. More substantial work, costing £2. 2s. 7d., was undertaken in 1531-2. This included closing up the stonework of the latrine ('drawte') after it had been emptied, providing two privies in the house with lead pipes which would carry away the urine and prevent it running into the latrine, repairing the mantle of the chimney with freestone, and providing a grate for the drain ('sink') in the kitchen. In 1537-8 £2. 3s. 1d. were spent on repairs to Ashe's house, mostly in the kitchen where boards and paving stones were laid, and where lead was cast for a cistern. These repairs appear to have added to the value of the house, and in 1541 Ashe took a lease of the tenement called 'le Christopher' with its shops, cellars, and solars, for a term of 50 years at £5 p.a. rent, the tenant being responsible for all repairs, except for beams and for cleansing the latrine.[10]

Ashe was still living in the parish, perhaps in this property, in 1544, when his goods were valued at £200. In 1548 Ashe and his wife Leticia bought the messuage from the Crown for £100 (20 years purchase). Leticia outlived her husband, and on her death the property descended to Thomas Egborowe, who conveyed it to Thomas Jennyns, citizen and girdler. In 1565 Jennyns sold the messuage called 'the signe of the Christopher' with its shops, cellars, solars, warehouses, yards, entries, chambers, rooms, storehouses, backsides, and easements to Alice Marburye of London, widow of John Marburye, for the sum of £300. The sale was followed by a quitclaim from Jennyns and his wife Thomasina.[11]

156/13B

Between 1507 and 1535 Thomas Peerson (or Person), grocer, was recorded as paying £4. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent for this house. In 1507-8 and 1510-11 (no accounts survive for the intervening years) he also paid £1. 6s. 8d. under a bond, but by 1518-19 was no longer making this additional payment. In 1540 Thomas Person was described as a former inhabitant of this tenement, and in 1522 he was taxed as a resident of this part of the parish, with goods valued at £100. Repairs costing £4. 11s. 11d. were undertaken, principally by a carpenter, at his house in 1518-19. A lead cistern and a grate were supplied for the kitchen in the same year at a cost of 17s. 10d. In 1521-2 a mason repaired the

chimney at a cost of 4s. 5d. Thirteen tons of nightsoil were cleared from the latrine in 1525-6, 24 yards of boards were renewed in 1527-8, and 10s. were spent on tiling and minor repairs in 1531-2.[12]

In 1536 Roger Thatcher, grocer, began to pay the £4. 6s. 8d. rent for the tenement. In 1540 he took a lease of the 'Whitt Beare' with its shops, cellars, solars, yards, and warehouses for a term of 50 years at £4. 6s. 8d. rent for the first 15 years and £5 p.a. thereafter. The tenant was to be responsible for repairs, except for beams, and was to have the free flow of water into the house and out again as Thomas Person had had it. This last clause may refer to the Walbrook stream or to a leat drawn off it. Thatcher inhabited this house in 1544, when his goods were valued at £40. In 1548 the king sold the property to Ralph Bodnam and William Bodnam, citizens and grocers, at 20 year's purchase.[13]

The Bodnams may then have sold the property to Thatcher, for the next known owner was one John Thatcher, citizen and grocer. In 1568 John Thatcher granted the White Bear, lately occupied by William Fulwood, to John Hudson, citizen and grocer. In the following year Thatcher and his wife Martha quitclaimed to Hudson, who shortly afterwards granted the property to Alice Braunche, widow. In 1570 Hudson and his wife Anne quitclaimed to Alice Braunche. Alice died in 1590, and the White Bear passed to Robert Braunche of Parkepale in the parish of Tolpuddle (Dorset), gentleman, who in 1594 with his wife Mary sold the property to John Newman and his heirs and assigns. At this date the White Bear was occupied by Roger Gwyn, grocer. The Edward Gwyn, grocer, who occupied a house in Bucklersbury between 1568 and 1578, died in 1584 as a resident of St. Benet Sherehog parish, and so probably did not occupy **156/13B**. Roger may have been related to him, however, and may have continued to occupy the house until 1624 when he died as a parishioner of St. Stephen Walbrook.[14]

iv. Seventeenth century

References to the property in this period are not easy to identify. The messuage formerly of John Newman deceased, which adjoined the S. side of **132/16A** in 1624, was presumably **156/13B**. In 1601 the tenement on the W. side of **118/13**, and probably representing **156/13B**, was said to be then or lately in the tenure or occupation of John Hodge. He may have been the John Hodges of St. Stephen Walbrook parish, alderman, who died in 1624. It seems likely that Hodges or his descendants acquired possession of the property, and were still in possession at the time of the Great Fire (see below).[15]

After the Great Fire two foundations were set out on the site. The more westerly one, surveyed for Alderman Bonde (presumably William Bond, alderman of Walbrook 1649-50, and d. 1671) in March 1669 probably corresponded to **156/13A**. [16] Nothing else is known for certain of this part of the property during the 1660s, although by a process of elimination it is possible to suggest the names of some of its inhabitants (see below).

The site of the more easterly foundation, corresponding to **156/13B**, was occupied before the Fire by a messuage known as the Saracen's Head. This name may have been transferred to the messuage from **132/16**, which had been known as the Saracen's Head in the 15th and 16th centuries, and which included an alley leading to Bucklersbury along the eastern boundary of **156/13B**. In 1651 Thomas Hodges, esquire, leased this **156/13B** to Benjamin Banister for a term of 21 years at £40 rent. By his will, proved in 1656, Hodges left the property to his wife Mary, at whose death it passed to their son George Hodges, who owned it in 1671. Banister, a citizen and apothecary, had been a resident of the parish in 1642, but not in 1638. In 1662-3 he was taxed as a resident of this house, which had 9 hearths. He died early in 1666 and his executors assigned his lease to James Travers, a citizen and apothecary, who later that year, when his trade was given as apothecary, occupied the house with 9 hearths. Travers, for whom the foundation was surveyed in 1669, rebuilt the house after the Fire, and in 1671 came to an agreement with his landlord that a term of 40 years was to be added to his existing lease (due to end in 1672), for which he was to pay £16 p.a. rent.[17]

From the Hearth Tax returns for 1662-3 and 1666 and from a parish listing of 1664 it is possible to identify all the heads of households for the houses in St. Stephen Walbrook parish on the N. side of Bucklersbury (i.e. for **156/12-13**). The most easterly of these houses (**156/13B**) was occupied by Banister and then by Travers. The five households which occupied **156/12** can also be identified with some certainty. The two further households which can be identified in the lists probably occupied the site of **156/13A**. These were headed by Peter Herringbroke, merchant, who had been living in the parish since 1648 and whose house had 8 hearths, and by John Briscoe, druggist, whose house had 6 hearths in 1662-3 and 5 hearths in 1666.[18]

ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK: 13

NOTES

- 1 HR 6(47), 20(54), 32(4), 36(9); *LBA*, 178 (f. 84v).
- 2 HR 25(30), 63(238). PRO: JUST1/549, m. 7d; C145/221/16. *Cal Pat R 1377-81*, p. 432; *Cal Inq Misc* iv, no. 108.
- 3 HR 6(47), 34(4), 60(46), 133*(27), 144(49, 69), 237(16); HCP 142, m. 5d; HPL 116, m. 6; HPL 172, m. 17d; BL, Add MS 18873, ff. 13d, 23-6; GL, Add MS 279, MS 593/1-5, *passim*.
- 4 HR 36(9); *LBE*, 272 (f. 231v); Ekwall, *Subsidy Rolls*, 297; Curtis, 'Subsidy 1332', 73. For *Medelane*, see Ekwall, *Street Names*, 108 and *Liber Custumarum*, 450.
- 5 *LBE*, 275 (f. 233v); *LBF*, 38 (ff. 26v-27); HR 66(56); PRO, JUST1/549, m. 7d.
- 6 HR 115(163), 120(54); HPL 84, m. 11d; *Cal PMR 1381-1412*, pp. 180-1.
- 7 HR 135(49, 50), 150 (20).
- 8 HR 167(6), 179(28), 188(28), 206(30), 219(1); GL, MS 9171/6, f. 364; Beaven ii, 10.
- 9 GL, MS 3106.
- 10 GL, MS 593/1, *passim*. PRO: E315/68, f. 333; E179/251/15B, f. 15.
- 11 PRO: E179/144/123, m. 21; E318/24/1399. *Cal Pat R 1547-8*, p. 313. HR 253(55).
- 12 PRO, E179/251/15B; GL, MS 593/1, *passim*.
- 13 GL, MS 593/1. PRO: E318/25/1428, m. 4; E179/144/123, m. 21. *Cal Pat R 1548-9*, pp. 129-30.
- 14 HR 256(29, 31, 80), 274(22). GL, MS 1571/6, *passim*. PRO: PROB11/75(45), 144(76); PROB6/3(119).
- 15 HR 280(12), 301(40); PRO, PROB11/155(37).
- 16 *M & O* iv, f. 131; Beaven ii, 72.
- 17 *M & O* iv, f. 147v; BL, Add MS 5096, no. 42. PRO: SP16/492, no. 75; E179/252/27, 32; PROB11/258(315); PROB11/319(2).
- 18 PRO, E179/252/27, 32; GL, MSS 243, 594/2.

**THE PARISH CHURCH OF
ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 118/0**

Introduction

The church first appears as 'St. Mary Newchurch' (*Niwekirke, Niewechirche, Newechurche*) in the records of a protracted dispute between the abbeys of St. John, Colchester, and St. Peter, Westminster, following the death of Eudo Dapifer, the founder of Colchester Abbey, in 1120. Eudo had probably granted the church to Colchester Abbey during the reign of William Rufus (1087-1100). His 'foundation charter', entered at the beginning of the abbey's cartulary, is evidently a forgery of the mid 12th century or later, but probably contains some germs of truth. It relates that he had granted to the abbey the *ecclesia sancte Marie de Westcheping Londonie que vocatur Niewecherche*, which had formerly belonged to his father (referred to as his *antecessor*), his stone house next to the church, and the church of St. Stephen Walbrook (156/0). The gift of St. Mary Newchurch is corroborated by what appear to be genuine records of the early 12th century (see below), and that of St. Stephen's by mid 12th-century records. There are no other references to the stone house, although in the 13th century Colchester Abbey certainly had property other than the church in the parish of St. Mary (see below). Westminster Abbey had a claim on the church of St. Mary, but this was left unclear at the time of Eudo's death. The two abbeys disputed their respective claims during the time of Abbot Gervase of Westminster, an illegitimate son of King Stephen. Gervase was abbot between 1138 and c. 1157, and he seems to have used his influence with his father to take St. Mary Newchurch away from Colchester Abbey. At some time in Stephen's reign, the king issued a writ ordering his officers in London that Gervase and his abbey should have the church of St. Mary in London. There are many forged charters associated with the dispute between the two abbeys, but the editors of the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* accept this writ as genuine. That the struggle between the abbeys over St. Mary Newchurch may be dated to this reign is the more likely since the forgeries include, in addition to charters attributed to William I and William Rufus, a supposed record of a suit in the court of Henry I. Such a forgery could hardly have been exhibited in King Henry's *curia* in pursuit of a claim.[1]

The nub of the competing claims of Colchester and Westminster to St. Mary Newchurch seems to lie in the rights of a certain Ailward, a chaplain of Hubert de Ryes, father of Eudo Dapifer. Ailward was said to have been parson of the church as a result of a grant by Hubert, and was also said to have given the church to Westminster Abbey. Since both Colchester sources (where he is referred to as *Eluuardus Grossus*) and Westminster records (where he appears as *Alwardus de London'*) refer to the episode, we may take it that something like this had actually happened. The claim of Westminster Abbey, therefore, derived from the rector's grant sometime in the reigns of the first or second William, while the Colchester claim was rooted in the grant to the abbey by the church's lay patron, Eudo Dapifer. Colchester Abbey seems likely to have possessed the church through the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. J.H. Round judged that a charter of 1104 by which Henry I confirmed St. Mary *de Newechercha* to Colchester Abbey is genuine. Westminster could produce no genuine royal charter recognising its claim before 1135, when Stephen became king: all early royal charters concerning the Westminster claim are forgeries. Abbot Gervase kept up the struggle after his royal father's death in 1154. In 1157 (not long before his death) Gervase secured a bull from Pope Adrian IV confirming *omnes ecclesiasticas possessiones quas habetis in London' scilicet Newechirch'*. Whether or not Westminster Abbey still possessed Newchurch when Gervase died is not known, but if it did, it did not retain it for long; a charter of King Henry II of 1159 x 1161 confirmed Newchurch to Colchester Abbey by name.[2]

At the time of this dispute, St. Mary Newchurch would seem to have stood within a larger plot of land which belonged to it. The writ of King Stephen ordering the sheriffs of London to uphold the claim of Westminster Abbey to Newchurch also granted the abbey 'the land appurtenant' to it. Since Westminster Abbey made no claim to the other grants of Eudo Dapifer in the area, this 'land' cannot be the house of Eudo mentioned in the Colchester charters, and was presumably the land to the N. and S. of the church that later became the churchyard. It may also have included the large open space to the north of the church at the junction of the streets later known as Poultry, Lombard Street, and Cornhill, where the Stocks market was to be (17). A charter of King Richard I of 25 November 1189 confirmed to Colchester Abbey *ecclesiam sancte Marie de Neowecherche Londonie, cum foro*. This

market (*forum*) may have been held on land which pertained to the church and adjoined its N. side, and the market dues presumably belonged to Colchester Abbey. There was a market on or near this site in 1268, when it was known as the *mercatum ... de Wollechirchewawe*. By this latter date, however, the dues were collected on behalf of the king, perhaps because the site of the market had ceased to be enclosed and so was claimed as part of the highway. Certainly, a market building erected here in 1274 was declared to have been an encroachment on the highway (see 17).[3]

The situation of the church at the point where several major routes through the city converged on the principal crossing of the Walbrook stream, and apparently within a large plot of land (probably containing more than 1/3 acre or 0.14 hectares), suggests that it was founded on a site created by encroachment on to an area of waste ground, presumably in response to the growing population and business of the area. The church was probably founded before about 1072, when Eudo Dapifer succeeded his father Hubert de Ryes. The name 'Newchurch' must be relative to some older church or churches in the vicinity. Perhaps other nearby churches of St. Mary (for instance, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Mary le Bow, or St. Mary Aldermary) were, by implication, the older foundations or buildings. An alternative explanation is that the church was new in relation to some other church near by, not necessarily dedicated to St. Mary. A possible candidate for this other church is that of St. Stephen Walbrook, which also belonged to Eudo Dapifer, and which in several 12th- and early 13th-century references is described as a chapel (*capella*), apparently in relation to the church (*ecclesia*) of St. Mary Newchurch. It is possible that St. Stephen's was the earlier of the two churches, having perhaps been founded as a private house-chapel, and that in response to a growing local need St. Mary's was founded in a more spacious and commodious site. The new church perhaps quickly became the focus of parochial devotion, with the old church dependent upon it. Later, distinct parishes would have been defined for each of the two churches.

The early history of the two churches would perhaps be easier to interpret if it were possible conclusively to identify the stone house *iuxta Niewecherche cum suis appenditiis* which Eudo Dapifer apparently gave to Colchester Abbey. This house was perhaps 118/11, a large property immediately to the S. of the churchyard of St. Mary Woolchurch, but since in the early 13th century that property was recorded as part of the fee of the earls of Gloucester, this identification seems unlikely. Eudo's stone house may have been one of the several other properties close to the church of St. Mary, but there are few positive clues to aid the identification. Given Eudo's interest in the church of St. Stephen, it is possible that his house adjoined that church and was later the meeting-place of the honour court of Walbrook (see 156/8). It seems unlikely, however, that any house in that position could accurately be described as 'next to Newchurch'. Another possibility is that the stone house occupied a site which later was within the churchyard of St. Mary Woolchurch, or which came to be incorporated in the church itself as the structure was enlarged. This interpretation, however, is not supported by the fact that in the mid 13th century Colchester Abbey had a rent from a tenement in St. Mary Woolchurch parish (perhaps the remnant of its interest in Eudo's stone house) which it granted to Geoffrey of Winchester (this rent is discussed under 156/8).

The reference in Eudo Dapifer's 'foundation charter' to the church of St. Mary being *de Westchepinge*, may provide another clue as to the early topography of the area. In considering this, however, we need to bear in mind the possibility that the phrase *de Westchepinge*, which is not otherwise known to have been used in describing this church, may not represent the way in which Londoners referred to the church in the early 12th century or at any later date. It may, for example, have been introduced by the Colchester clerk who put together the text, and who, lacking any detailed knowledge of London, was aware that his abbey's church of St. Mary in that city was somewhere near the famous street called Westcheap. But if the text of this charter does preserve a genuine early name for the church, some useful observations can be made. From the 13th century onwards the name Westcheap denoted the E.-W. highway we now know as Cheapside no further to the E. than Old Jewry. Beyond that point the street, which by contrast with Cheapside was narrow and irregular in plan was known by a variety of names, and ultimately came to be called Poultry. On general topographical grounds it seems possible that the triangular block of properties between Poultry on the N. and the street which came to be known as Bucklersbury on the S. was an encroachment on waste ground near the crossing of the Walbrook stream. Certainly, several stages of encroachment at the western end of this block towards Cheapside on the W. can be identified in the late 12th and 13th centuries (see 105/25, 132/121). It thus seems possible that there was a time, in the late 11th or early 12th century, when St. Mary Newchurch could accurately have been described as lying in Westcheap,

since there may have been no houses or enclosed plots of land due W. of the church to impede either the view or traffic moving westwards into the city's principal market place.

From the 1250s onwards the name 'Newchurch' began to be replaced in documents by the name 'Woolchurch' (*Wollochirch*, *Wulcherche*). By 1260 the alternative *Wolcherchehawe* is also found; the *hawe* (OE *haga*) referring to the distinctive enclosure or churchyard in which the church of St. Mary stood. After 1300 the name 'Newchurch' occurred only as a toponymic fossil in monastic accounts, where it still appeared as late as the Dissolution. A deed of 1325 neatly points out the change. Referring to an earlier 13th century deed, it places the tenement with which it is dealing as being *in parochia tunc vocata Newechirche et modo vocata Wolchirchehawe*. The substitution of the name 'Woolchurch' for 'Newchurch' could be explained in several ways. The least convincing is Round's idea that St. Mary Woolchurch was built in the old churchyard of St. Mary Woolnoth, and that its name is a shortening of *Wulnoth-maricherchaw*. The recorded name forms do not support such a conclusion. Centuries earlier than Round, Stow associated the name 'Woolchurch' with the weighing of wool, which he believed took place on a beam kept in St. Mary's churchyard. The *Liber Albus* of the City of London lends some support to Stow's interpretation, since it includes in a miscellaneous collection of city customs (some dating from the mid 13th century) a list of tolls levied on wool, wool fells, and woollen yarn at Woolchurchaw. The market on the N. side of the church thus included a substantial trade in wool, from which the church, and the plot of land on which it stood, probably derived their names.[4]

For obvious reasons it is not unusual to find St. Mary Woolchurch also referred to as *atte Stokkes*, a byname which is also given to the churches of St. Mildred Poultry (132/0) and St. Christopher (48/0). This practice is current from the time of the erection of Stocks Market c. 1274-82 onwards. One eccentric variant of the church's name is to be found in records between the years 1540 and 1607 when the parish is sometimes given the name St. Mary Oldchurch, with the qualifying phrase '... or Woolchurch'.[5]

i. The advowson

The dispute between Colchester Abbey and Westminster Abbey over the possession of the rectory of St. Mary Woolchurch has been detailed above. Although Westminster may briefly have obtained possession of Woolchurch during the abbacy of Gervase (1138-c. 1157), it seems likely that the abbey lost the church after King Stephen's death. Thereafter Colchester Abbey continued to enjoy the advowson uninterrupted into the 14th century. Its rights as rector were exchanged by 1202 for an annual pension of 40s., as revealed by a bull of Innocent III. By the time of a confirmation of Bishop Roger of London of December 1237 this had been reduced to 24 s., while the rent of 5s. owed to Colchester by St. Stephen Walbrook (156/0 in 1202 had been increased to 10s. This adjustment in the relative values of the pensions could have arisen from a settlement concerning parish boundaries. Soon after 1237 the church of St. Mary was valued at £2 p.a. in addition to the pension of 24s. paid to the monks of Colchester. The pension remained at this level until the dissolution of Colchester Abbey in 1539, when it ceased to be paid. As the rectory was vacant in 1539 its revenues were diverted to the king and the Court of Augmentations. The pension was not reserved in 1542 when the new rector was at last presented.[6]

Colchester Abbey did not enjoy an uninterrupted right of presentation to the church. In March 1350 King Edward III presented his clerk, William de Hynelond, to the rectory, and in April forbade any person from proceeding against his presentation 'in his gift by reason of the alienation of the advowson thereof, held in chief, by the abbot of Colchester, the late patron, to William de Greyllonde of London, made without his licence'. An inquest of 1361 returned that the church was in the king's hand because John of Wymondham, abbot of Colchester (1327-49), had demised the advowsons of St. Mary Woolchurch and St. Stephen Walbrook along with 'a certain message' (see 118/0A) to William of Greyllonde, citizen, for his life without licence. William had failed to reap any benefit from the grant, since at the death of a rector during that time papal provisors obtained the presentation by previous grant of the monastery. In 1362 the abbot and convent of Colchester petitioned in Parliament for the return of the churches and a pardon. The king referred the case to Chancery for consideration, and on 24 February 1363, William de Greyllonde having died, pardoned the abbot and returned the advowsons and messages. The king's last appointee to the church in this period was his clerk, Richard Pountfreyt of Great Bardfield, Essex, alias Richard of Berdefeld, who had been appointed in January 1353 and continued to hold the rectory after 1363 (see also 2). He was signally unpopular with the parishioners, having been involved in an unspecified quarrel with them in 1363 which led to

the intervention of the mayor and aldermen. This itself is said to have arisen from a long history of bitterness between the rector and his flock. In June 1365 he assaulted his chaplain with a sword, and on 15 August of the same year violently attacked a party of his parishioners who were inspecting the belfry of the church for repairs. On 6 October 1365 he was committed to Newgate until he paid 6s. 8d. fine. On 14 October he was prevented from appealing to the pope at Avignon.[7]

The king again presented rectors to St. Mary Woolchurch in 1389, 1391, 1401, June 1404, and October 1404. In 1401 the appointee was another royal clerk, John Pekke. In none of these cases was it stated why the king had taken over the advowson. There was no vacancy in the abbacy during this period, although in March 1404 the abbey was sequestered because Abbot Geoffrey Story was involved with a conspiracy against King Henry IV. The abbot was pardoned in November of the same year. The explanation may lie in the generally bad state of the abbey's finances at this time. Geoffrey Story was notorious for waste and dilapidations of the abbey's property. The loss of the advowson of St. Mary Woolchurch may have been a consequence of one of the alienations of the abbey's properties which he is known to have made. Presumably possession of the advowson of St. Mary Woolchurch returned to Colchester Abbey soon after 1404. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives the value of the rectory as £18. 13s. 4d. but fails to mention the 24s. pension due to Colchester. At the abbey's dissolution in 1539 the rectory was vacant, and so it came into the hands of the Crown, as successor to Colchester Abbey as patron. In 1540 the rectory was farmed by the Court of Augmentations at £15. 3s. 0d., of which £8 was paid to a chaplain to serve the cure, 3s. went to the bishop of London as procurations, and the £7 balance went to the king. In 1541 there was an identical account, but between Michaelmas 1541 and Michaelmas 1542 a rector was presented, the advowson remaining henceforth to the king. In 1548 the church was again said to be worth £18. 13s. 4d. p.a, and the rector, Griffith Jones, hired a curate, Nicholas Audley. In 1650, during the Interregnum, the Committee for Plundered Ministers ordered the Lord Mayor to find a fit person to serve the cure. After the Great Fire, St. Mary Woolchurch was united with the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, the then incumbent to continue to enjoy his income until his death or resignation.[8]

ii. The church structure

Little is known of the structure of St. Mary Woolchurch before the rebuilding begun in 1442. John Sunday, the rector, in his will dated 6 March 1349 left his body to be buried in its chancel (*in cancello ecclesie mee*). In August 1365 the rector, Richard de Berdefeld, assaulted several parishioners in the belfry of the church. In his will dated 25 May 1368, John Mortymer left a rent of 12d. from his tenement in Bearbinder Lane (10) towards the upkeep of the rood beam (*trabs*) of the church. In his will dated 11 November 1400, John Senesterr' left 3s. 4d. for a light before the rood 'on the high beam of the said church', and in her will dated 4 May 1430, Christina Mallyng, widow of Thomas Mallyng, left her body to be buried under the slab next her late husband before the *alta cruce*. [9]

In 1442 this church was said to be, 'now old and feeble and standing nigh the wall of the common market place of the city called the Stokkes', and preparations were under way to rebuild it. The process involved a settlement, dated 19 April 1442, between the rector and churchwardens of St. Mary Woolchurch and the mayor and commonalty as proprietors of the Stocks market (17) which lay to the N. of the church. The settlement reveals that it had been originally intended to demolish the old church and build the new one directly against the S. wall of the Stocks, in order to increase the space available in the churchyard to the S. A start had already been made, and a vestry had been built at the E. end of the church up against the Stocks. The vestry was to be demolished by Pentecost 1443, and the new church was to be raised approximately on the site of the old one (which apparently had already been at least partially demolished). In return for an unspecified sum of money the rector and churchwardens undertook to keep clear a right of way along the N. side of the church 15 ft. (4.57 m.) wide and 72 ft. (21.94 m.) along the church from E. to W. A later view found that the right of way constructed actually measured 14 ft. 7 ins. (4.45 m.) by 80 ft. 11 ins. (24.67 m.). At its W. end toward Poultry this alley passed under an arch, over which the parsonage (0A) was built. According to the agreement the N. wall of the new church was to be placed slightly to the S. of the old N. wall. A previous right of way through the churchyard S. of the church was closed off as a result of the opening of this N. alley in the hours of daylight. The building of the new church took several years, for in a will dated 1444 John Humber, citizen and brewer, left £3 towards the fabric of the body of the church. Construction might still have been in progress in August 1449, when the churchwardens of St. Mary Woolchurch paid the wardens of London Bridge 11s. 3d. for five loads of the stone called *Smaleragg'*. In 1458 it was reported that the rector and parishioners had made an encroachment of 4 ft. (1.22 m.)

on to the common soil by the Stocks. This may also have been connected with building operations, and the Court of Aldermen ordered the nuisance to be removed.[10]

While these records of the rebuilding are themselves uninformative, much can be gathered of the appearance of the new church from details of repairs and burials contained in the churchwardens' accounts, 1560-1670, and the vestry minutes, 1647-1670. There are also several surviving depictions of it, of which the most useful are those in the mid 16th-century 'copper-plate' map of London (Fig. 00), in Hugh Alley's sketch of the Stocks market in 1597-8 (Fig. 00), and in Hollar's 'Long View of London' of 1647 (Fig. 00). Using these sources it is possible to convey an accurate impression of the church's interior and exterior.[11]

As rebuilt in the 1440s, St. Mary Woolchurch seems to have been typical of the larger perpendicular churches of the city. It had a western tower; a nave, probably with arcades separating it from N. and S. aisles which terminated in aisle chapels; a choir leading to the chancel, with apparently no structural division between them; a S. porch; and on the N., a vestry opened off the N. aisle chapel. The whole effect was spacious, as might be gathered from Stow's comment that 'this church is reasonably fayre and large, and was lately new builded'. Stow was referring to the mid 15th-century rebuilding, but also noted that John Wingar (mayor in 1504-5) was 'a great helper to the building of this church'.[12]

The 'copper-plate' map and Hollar's view show a structure with windows in its S. wall rising above what could be the leaded roof at the S. aisle of the church. This could have been a clerestory over the middle aisle of the nave, but it seems more likely that the structure was in fact the Stocks market house to the N. of the church, and that the church lacked a clerestory. The leaded roof shown on the 'copper-plate' map presumably covered both the church nave and aisles, although a reference in 1595-6 to the lead of 'all three roofes' (see below), suggests that the nave and aisle roofs were differentiated in some way. The tower itself seems to have been contained within the S.W. corner of the structure, and possibly extended across the width of the nave and the S. aisle.

The tower at the W. end was of three stages. It provided the main access to the church by its W. door, called 'the great door', from Walbrook. The 'copper-plate' map seems to show a door in the S. face of the tower, leading into the churchyard.

Between the W. door and the tower arch was a tall lower stage with a paved floor and presumably also a W. window lighting the nave through the tower arch. Burials took place here 'under the belfry'. There was a stair-turret at one of the corners of the tower (the N.E. would be usual) for there are references to 'the hovell over the belfery stayers' being repaired in 1588-9, and (presumably at the bottom end) to 'the bellfree dore' in 1568-9. The stairs gave access at the second stage to a belfry loft (presumably for the ringers) and also had a door 'in the clock loft to go onto ye leads' (the roof over the nave). A clock was installed here in 1613-14 at the cost of George Scott, a churchwarden. It had two dials, one probably facing W. the other either E. or S., the N. face of the tower being obscured by the Stocks market house. The drawing in the mid 16th-century 'copper-plate' map shows two windows in the S. wall of the tower at this level. Above the belfry loft was the bell chamber, with a peal of at least five bells recorded in 1584-5, including the great bell tolled for funerals. A sanctus bell is also recorded, which would have been in the choir. The drawings show that the N., S., and W. faces of the tower included a single window or opening at this level, and there was probably a similar opening on the E. face. The tower was topped with a plain battlement on a corbel table. In 1580-1 the churchwardens' accounts refer to the weatherboarding of the tower roof, to lead plates being laid and a leaden cross erected. This may be the time that an onion-shaped dome, shown on Hugh Alley's drawing of the church in 1597-8, was placed over the tower. This feature, possibly exaggerated by Alley, is not shown in the drawing of 1647, by when it had perhaps been removed.[13]

Until 1560 the nave was separated from the choir by a rood loft and screen, which in that year was removed from the church and its timber stacked in the churchyard. The rood itself had presumably been removed in Edward VI's reign. Some of this timber (perhaps the screen) was reinstated in 1561-2. As late as 1578-9 the rood's position was remembered, since burials were being made then 'under the place where the rood lofte stood'. Pews had probably been provided for in the 15th-century rebuilding, since in 1457 the churchwardens' right to allocate them was recognized. By the 1560s the nave, aisles, aisle chapels and choir were filled with pews, and between 1575 and 1578 large sums were spent on renewing them, some having carved end-pieces of angels and lions. There was also special provision for women's pews. The pews were divided by three aisles: there are references to pews in the 'south yle', 'north side yle', and 'the middle yle', denoting the central part of the nave and the aisles to the N. and S. There was also 'ye crosse ile', which ran between the N. and S.

doors of the church, and which contained (probably near the S. door) the font of the church, said by Stow to be 'very curiously wrought, painted and gilded' and to have been made by John Handford, 'grocer'. Handford, in fact a merchant tailor who died about 1525 and was buried in the church, presumably gave money for the font to be made. Before 1560 there had been more than one stoup in the church, but in that year 'the holy water stones' were removed. The pulpit is mentioned in 1560, when it was provided with two desks; it had its usual attributes of tester (or sounding-board) and hour glass. The pulpit of 1560 was apparently the same as 'the old pulpit' mentioned in an inventory of December 1650.[14]

At the E. end of the church was 'a great window'. Beyond the screen at the end of the nave, the choir occupied one or more bays. The choir was flanked by the side chapels at the E. ends of the aisle. The reference to 'mending the ile at the quere doore' in June 1565, shows that there was at least one door from the choir into the chapels. There seems to be a reference to the partitions separating them in 1581-2 when wainscot was purchased for the choir and the 'side chappelles', as well as for the partitions of the chancel and the place where the rood had stood. The side chapels did not extend to the E. end of the chancel (always clearly differentiated from the choir) because houses were built in the angles between the E. walls of the chapels and the chancel. None of the drawings show this feature, however. One of the aisle chapels (it is impossible to say which) was that referred to as 'the chapell of Seinte Nicholas' where Agnes Wyngar covenanted with the city to be buried beside her husband John, in an indenture dated 1522. Agnes had a pew here, for by his will, proved in 1521, George Wyngar directed that he be buried under a stone lying 'at my Lady Wyngar's pew door at the step coming up to the chapel'. The two side chapels, one dedicated to St. Nicholas and the other to Our Lady, are mentioned in an account of the fees charged for digging graves in the different parts of the church in 1520. This makes it difficult to understand the reference in the will of Roger Barlow, tailor, dated 1493, in which he directs that his body was to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady and St. Nicholas. One of the chapels retained its dedication after the reformation, for in 1578-9 a burial was made 'in St. Nicholas chapell'.[15]

The vestry seems to have been reached by a door in the N. wall of the N. aisle chapel. In 1594-5 the vestry is mentioned as a small, plastered and whitewashed room with one window, presumably looking out on to the alley along the N. side of the church. The vestry can have occupied no other position, since the house on the N.E. corner of the church (**0E**) is mentioned in 1573 as being built partly on the churchyard, 'and the other part over and on a place belonging to the church called *the vestrie howse*'. Between the choir and the N. aisle chapel was a stair turret. This is likely to have been at the S.W. corner of the chapel, where it would originally have given access to the rood loft door. After 1560 this stair was principally used to give access to the 'leads' (the roofs over the nave and aisles). In 1561-2 a carpenter was paid to close up 'the top of ye stayres that goeth up to ye North side of ye church under the leades'. This was probably a reference to closing the rood loft door, since in 1588-9 a key was made for 'the stayer foot door going up to the leads next unto Mr Sharlyes house' (**0E**). The church is referred to in 1595-6 as having 3 roofs, meaning the roofs of the nave, N. aisle and S. aisle. In that year £3. 1s. 0d. were paid to a plumber to repair them. The roofs were flat, or low-pitched, and covered with lead sheets. After the Fire of 1666, 13 tons and 9 cwt of melted lead were sold by the parish for the sum of £127. 15s. 6d. The roofs were masked by crenellations as is clear from Alley's drawing as well as from a reference in 1580-1 to 'the battelment of the leades'. The other drawings, however, show a plain parapet above the S. aisle, with crenellations only on the tower.[16]

On the S. side of the church, giving access to the churchyard, was a porch. The copper-plate map shows this entry to the church to have been part of the tower structure, but this is not certain. Stow wrongly believed the porch to have been built according to the will of Richard Shore in the early 16th century. In fact Shore's will referred to building a porch at St. Mildred Poultry (**132/0**). The porch was probably integral to the church built in the 1440s. Its roof also was leaded. There would seem to have been a corresponding N. door to the church, opposite the porch door - so much is implied by a reference in 1595-6 to the N. end of the cross aisle of the nave 'against the church dore'. By then there had been several small houses built against the N. side of the church. The N. door probably opened at that time into a narrow passage leading to the narrowed alley. The lantern which the churchwardens erected over the door in 1607-8 was perhaps intended to light this passage.[17]

The church's exact dimensions are unknown. However, the agreement in 1442 between the parish and the city refers to there being 72 ft. (21.94 m.) from the N.E. corner of the intended new church to the archway at the N.W. corner of the church, over which was the parsonage (**0A**). This distance perhaps corresponded to the combined lengths of chancel, choir, and nave as far as (but not including)

the tower. There are also measurements given for paving the street under the W. and E. end of the church. In 1579-80 6s. 3d. were paid 'for pavyng thirty yards on the West Side of our church', and in 1587-8 8s. 4d. were paid for forty yards paving along the W. end of the church and churchyard. As the latter reference indicates, the length of 90 ft. (27.43 m.) on the W. and 120 ft. (36.58 m.) on the E. doubtless includes both church and churchyard perimeter.[18]

In the 1620s the church, like many others in the city, was modernised and repaired. A 'very fair screen at the middle west door of this church' was given by an outgoing churchwarden in 1620, and in 1629 the church was 'richly repaired and beautified' at the charge of the parishioners. It is impossible, on account of gaps in the surviving series of records, to establish the extent of this work, which may have been a major programme of embellishment.[19]

Following the Great Fire the shell of the church remained standing. The churchwardens had two doors fitted soon after the conflagration in order to keep secure anything inside which could be salvaged. By 1667, however, it had been decided that the church was not to be rebuilt, and that the parish was to be incorporated in that of St. Mary Woolnoth. In February 1669 the remains of the church were still there, but were described as 'dangerous to passengers ... and an obstruction to the market to be settled in its place'. It was now ordered that they be taken down and the materials used to help rebuild St. Mary Woolnoth. Compensation of £350 was paid by the Corporation for the site of the church and the tenements once standing there.[20]

iii. Fraternities

One of the side aisle chapels, presumably that dedicated to Our Lady (see above) was the home of the fraternity of St Mary of St. Mary Woolchurch. It is first mentioned in the will of John Fairher, fishmonger, dated 1365 and proved in Husting in 1366, where he left 40s. to the fraternity *in ecclesia beate Marie de Wolcherche*, of which he says he was a member (though he was buried in St. Leonard Eastcheap, where he lived). By 1372 the fraternity had prospered sufficiently to buy property in the parish of St. Christopher Stocks (48/-) which abutted on land granted to the London Charterhouse in the same parish. It is there called *fraternitas beate virginis Marie de Wolcherchewawe*. In 1392 it had licence to acquire in mortmain a messuage in the parish of St. Mary itself (see 22). In his will dated 1400, and proved in Husting in 1401, John Senesterr', brewer, left 6s. 8d. to the fraternity, to be increased to 20s. if it ensured he was buried in St. Mary Woolchurch beside his wife. By that date the fraternity clearly had some weight in the parish. Its emergence might well account for the friction in the parish between the parishioners and the strong-minded rector, Richard de Berdefeld, in the early 1360s (see above). The fraternity survived into the 16th century. In his will dated 1493 (proved in Husting 1500) Roger Barlow, tailor, left *to the sustentation of the brethered of owe lady in the said church all that my tenement sette in Cornehill in the parish of St. Michael (124/-)*, and instructed that he was to be buried in the chapel of SS Mary and Nicholas in Woolchurch. Barlow's will also mentions the wardens of the fraternity, who are to ensure that his obit is kept. There is a further reference in an indenture of 1516 concerning 23 to two wardens of the fraternity who were party to an agreement with the Bridge Wardens. The chantry certificate of 1548 does not mention the fraternity as such, although Barlow's tenement is mentioned as being worth £3. 6s. 8d., but as having been combined with another chantry to endow a joint priest. The fraternity probably continued to prosper, however, until the suppression of the chantries under the Act of 1547, although it came also to be associated with the cult of St. Anne. Thus in 1541 a small bequest was made to the fraternity of Our Lady and St. Anne, and in 1526 the 'men and systyrs' of St. Anne clearly constituted the leading fraternity at the church. At the latter date there seem also to have been lesser fraternities of St. Christopher and St. James associated with the church.[21]

iv. The churchyard

If the writ of King Stephen of 1138 x 1154 already quoted above which mentions 'the land appurtenant' to St. Mary Newchurch, refers to the churchyard, then its recorded history stretches back to the mid 12th century. There are frequent mentions of the *cimiterium* of St. Mary Woolchurch in the 13th century, usually in descriptions of the locations of surrounding tenements. In 1252 a tenement (1) in the parish of St. Mary Newchurch is described as 'lying opposite the cemetery of the said church', and in 1287, the same tenement is described as extending on the W. side to the *cimiterium vocatum Wolcherhawe*. In 1227 a tenement on the other side of the churchyard, belonging to the Blunt family (16) is described as having on its east side 'a lane next the cemetery of *Newcherch* which goes towards *Bokerelesbury*', but in 1258 as having on the east the church itself.[22]

Although in the reign of Richard I the patron of the church may have had claims on the open space to the north, where a market was held (see above), by about 1280, when the Stocks market (17) was built, the boundary between churchyard and market place had been defined by a wall. In 1282 letters patent of Edward I confirmed to Henry le Waleys, mayor, and commonalty of London a certain empty plot *contigua muro cimiterii ecclesie de Wolchurich' ex parte boreali in parochia de Wolchurich'*. Until the 16th century the strip of land within the churchyard between the church and the Stocks market house contained only the parsonage, which was built above an arch at its W. end, and fronted on to Walbrook (see 0A). The eastern end of the strip was marked by a gate a few feet short of the street, leaving a notch of public land between the church and the market. In 1346 the mayor and commonalty granted an empty piece of land 7 1/2 ft. (2.29 m.) deep to the church, to bring this notch of land into the churchyard, and thus to bring the churchyard right up to the side of the street at its E. end. The grant mentions a door leading into this N. side of the churchyard from the street, said to be some 4 1/2 ft. (1.37 m.) from the S. side of the Stocks. The existence of this door on the E., and of the arch under the parsonage on the W., indicates that before 1442 (when a right of way was formally opened to the public along the N. side of the church) there was already a through passage along the N. side of the church. This may have been used for liturgical processions. Under an agreement of 1442 concerning the rebuilding of the church (see above, section ii) the strip of ground between church and Stocks was to be widened to 15 ft. (4.57 m.), and a vestry which recently had been built against the S. wall of the Stocks at the E. end of the church was to be removed. This vestry must have very considerably narrowed the passage at its E. end. Between 1548 and 1560 the right of way was again narrowed by a row of tenements built against the church and extending from the parsonage to the E. end of the church. The right of way was maintained, however, being generally referred to as 'the alley'. By then it would have been only a few feet wide (see below 0A-E). The 16th-century alley was closed at its W. end by a gate across the arch below the parsonage. At its E. end there was another gate with a pentice over it, the lock of which was frequently repaired. These two gates would enable the parish officers to lock up the alley at night, as was agreed in 1442. The residents had private keys for access at night. The alley between the gates was paved with loose stone and gravel, according to the account for 1567-8, and it included a water course or gutter, according to the account for 1560-1.[23]

The greater portion of the churchyard lay to the S. of the church. This relatively large space must have afforded light to several of surrounding houses. In or about 1304 the rector and parishioners were impleaded by the bailiffs of the earl of Gloucester (who owned 11, S. of the churchyard) for extending the paling (*palicium*) surrounding the churchyard at this point southwards, and narrowing the lane between the churchyard and 11. A view found for the bailiffs, and the parish was ordered to move the paling back to the elm trees growing a little northward. There were still trees in the churchyard during the 16th and 17th centuries, and annual charges for 'trimming the trees' appear in the churchwardens' accounts from 1560 onwards. Five trees from Windsor Forest were planted there in 1614-15. The parish clearly had a deliberate policy of maintaining and enhancing the arboreal landscape of its churchyard. In 1560-1 the account mentions repairs to the arbour in the churchyard, a feature which survived into the early 17th century. In 1562-3 and 1569-70 bay trees enclosed by frames are mentioned. Bird boxes were set up in 1615. By 1560 the churchyard on the S. side was surrounded by a wall of brick and stone. The wall was over man-height, for in 1651 an 84 year-old parishioner remembered that in his younger days the W. wall of the churchyard contained an arched door at its N. end, close to where it joined the wall of the S. aisle of the church. A larger gate into the churchyard is mentioned in 1565-6, when 2d. were paid for board 'to mend the penthouse over the door in the churchyard'. A further 1s. 8d. were laid out in 1579-60 'for mending the penthouse in ye churchyard'. These two references indicate a lych-gate. The position of this gate is not certain, but it may have been on the E. side since the right of way through the S. part of the churchyard which is mentioned in 1442 may have run from the small door near the church on the W. side to a larger gate on the E. References in wills to burials in the S. part of the churchyard between 1462 and 1506 mention a preaching cross in its S.E. corner. It does not appear thereafter in wills or accounts, and may have been defaced or dismantled during the Reformation.[24]

v. The tenements in the churchyard (0A-G)

With the exception of the parsonage (0A) there were no houses in the churchyard until the 16th century. However, by 1560, 7 tenements had been built against the N. and E. sides of the church. In 1573 these were described as 'lately erected and built in and on the churchyard and soil belonging to the said church'. In 1601 another was erected on the S.W. side of the church, partly on land belonging

to the city (see **0G**). These tenements may have been no more than a response to an increasing demand for housing, but the date of their first appearance suggests that they may also have been an attempt to make good the loss of revenue arising from the seizure of the church's chantry endowments by the Crown in 1547-8. **0A**, the parsonage, was the property of the rector, but the ownership of **0B-0G** was less clear. Certainly in 1560-1, the churchwardens accounted for the rents and the money they collected was devoted to the use of the parish. This state of affairs continued to 1570. In that year, however, the rector and churchwardens fell into dispute as to who had the right to administer the tenements. The dispute continued until 1574, and its course can be charted from the churchwardens' records of legal expenses incurred. From these and from a surviving bill of complaint and the attached reply in Chancery, we find that the rector, Thomas Jenkinson, chose **0E**, the largest of the tenements, as the subject of a test case concerning the ownership of the entire row. The rector may have been challenging the parishioners' right to the entire church estate, since in 1569-70 the churchwardens took a legal opinion about their tenement in Bearbinder Lane (**6**). Be that as it may, in 1570 the rector prosecuted a suit *de ejectione firme* against William Shirley, the parishioners' lessee of **0E**, having issued a rival lease to a (possibly fictional) Mr. Wawll. During 1570-1 Mr. Shirley was bailed and sureties found for him, probably so that he might continue to live in **0E** during the course of the case. The original suit was prosecuted in the Court of Husting, but by Michaelmas 1571 the rector had sued out a writ in the Exchequer. In 1572 an arbitration was made (at the Consistory of St. Paul's) and costs of 51s. 4d. were awarded to William Shirley against Wawll. In 1573, however, the disappointed rector renewed his attempt by appealing to Chancery. The rector's bill of complaint reveals that he considered that the lawful ownership of the tenements was vested in the Queen 'as in the right of the said church'. What he seems to have meant was that since the rectory was in the royal gift the tenements on church ground were in the joint ownership of the Queen and her rector. In their answer the churchwardens declared that the buildings had been built 'at the only cost of the parishioners' and that the rector had never had any possession or rents in the premises. Chancery referred the case back to the Court of Husting where it had begun, and an arbitration was enforced: perhaps the one decreed in 1572. While there is no record of the exact terms of the arbitration, it seems likely that the Crown was recognised as theoretical owner of the tenements, but that the churchwardens were to continue to collect and dispose of their rents, as indeed their accounts prove. That the Crown had the subsequent ownership of the tenements is apparent from letters patent of King James I dated 1619 granting the parish lands to Sir John Leman, alderman, and the chamberlain of London in free burgage. In 1620 the lands were conveyed by these two to 10 trustees for the parish for a token payment of 12d., to be used 'for the benefit and on behalf of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch'. The small houses on the N. side of the church were very often let to parish officers and to pensioners.[25]

0A

A parsonage house was in existence by June 1365 when the rector, Richard de Berdefeld, drew his sword on John Coursy (a chaplain living in another room in the parsonage) in its hall. This parsonage may be the same as the 'certain message' which the king took into his hands along with the advowsons of St. Stephen Walbrook and St. Mary Woolchurch in about 1350. From the details of the settlement between the church and Stocks in 1442 (see above) it is clear that the parsonage was at first-floor level over an archway at the W. end of the alley on the N. side of the church. In 1588-9 the parsonage was still there, for the churchwardens accounts mention a door on the alley side of the house leading (presumably to stairs) up to the rooms above the passage. Hugh Alley's drawing of the Stocks market in 1597-8 shows a building, evidently the parsonage, over a tall arch between the market house and the church to the S. The building appears to have two floors above the arch, and two chimneys can be seen over the roof. That the arch and passage were of stone and vaulted can be gathered from the vestry minutes of 21 October 1651 which ordered that 'the arch over the alley' between Woolchurch and the Stocks were to be repaired with freestone. The width of the parsonage house N.-S. would have been approximately 14 to 15 ft. (about 4.5 m.). The measurement E.-W. is less sure, but can be estimated as about 10-12 ft. (about 3.5 m.).[26]

The parsonage house belonged to the rector, and as such was apparently taken into the king's hand *c.* 1350 (see above). As far as can be told, the rectors continued to reside over the archway until the Fire of 1666. Undoubtedly there were gaps in occupation, such as the period 1570-4 when the rector was involved in a legal dispute with the parishioners over the ownership of the parish lands. Thus the churchwardens' accounts for 1573-4 record that a curate was paid for five weeks from Christmas 1573 to serve the parish until 'the parson's entry to his parsonage again'. Occasionally the

parish contributed to the repair of the parsonage, as when the vestry granted £5 towards repairs to the parsonage house in 1648. By 1651 it was recognised that maintenance of the arch beneath the parsonage was the responsibility of the parish. The parsonage is not otherwise mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts for repairs, and so must have been the rector's responsibility. During the Interregnum the parsonage briefly came into the hands of the parish and was let out. In the year ending Christmas 1650 the churchwardens accounted for £7 for half a year's rent from Mr. Reginald Herne. The vestry minutes for 5 March 1655 devoted the rents 'what shall be raised out of the parsonage house where Mr. Herne now liveth', to the relief of a certain debt on the parish. Herne continued to enjoy the use of the parsonage, apparently from year to year, until in 1655 the vestry agreed to grant him a short lease of three years commencing at Lady Day 1655 for £18 p.a., providing he put the parsonage into good repair 'and he shall not entertain any married couples in the house without the consent of the parish'. Herne continued to pay this rent until Christmas 1662. Presumably at that date, Herne's last lease expired and the parsonage reverted to the rector. The parsonage is not included in the list of tenements belonging to the parish at the time of the Fire of 1666 for which the parish received compensation in 1669, but on 6 December 1669 'the ground where the church and a messuage called the parsonage house stood' is mentioned as an addendum to the list of parish lands for which compensation was offered by the City 'all of which ... are intended by the Mayor ... to be laid into the new market place to be made'.[27]

0B-0D

By 1560 there were 3 'little houses' in the alley between the parsonage arch and the vestry, built against the N. wall of the church. The succession of tenants in each of the three houses can be identified, but it is not possible to establish even the relative positions of the houses on the ground. They have therefore been arbitrarily numbered **0B**, **0C** and **0D**. The three tenements seem to have had brick chimneys and tiled roofs, judging from occasional references in the accounts to tiles, brick, and mortar expended on them; probably, like **0E**, the main fabric was of timber. All three were laid into the new Woolchurch market in 1670, when they were described as 'the three tenements in the alley', each of which was then valued at £6 p.a.[28]

0B

This tenement had a long association with a family usually known as Willan, but also as William or Willand. In 1560-1, the sexton of the parish, James Willand, paid £1 rent for a whole year. At Midsummer 1570 he ceased to be sexton but continued to occupy the tenement, falling into rent arrears of 7s. 1d. in 1570-1, £1 in 1571-2 and £1 again in 1572-3. In 1579-80 he paid 15s. for three quarters of a year's rent, but paid the full rent in 1580-1. By 1585-6 he was again sexton. He died in that office and was buried in St. Mary Woolchurch in 1588. In 1588-9 he was succeeded by Edward Willan 'our saxten', who by 1602-3 had become the parish clerk. In 1604-5 he was succeeded as tenant by Goodwife William, presumably his widow, but in 1606-7 another (presumably) Edward Willan was paying the £1 rent. That this reappearance is not an accounting error seems plain from the indenture of 1620 conveying the parish lands to trustees, where Edward Willan is named as one of the three then tenants of 'three little messuages or cottages ... nere the foresaid church'. There is a gap in the churchwardens' accounts between 1616 and 1637. When they resume the Willan family has disappeared. Edward Willand, described as 'a distracted almsman' was buried in St. Mary Woolchurch in 1633. The tenement may be that held in 1637-8 by Mr. Fish (probably the John Fish, clerk, resident here or near by in 1635) at £1 p.a., and in 1639-40 by Widow Fish, whose rent was remitted in lieu of a pension. She was replaced in 1650-1 by the sexton, Gilbert Rigby, who paid 1/4 of a year's rent that year and thereafter paid £1 p.a. until the Great Fire destroyed his house and health in 1666. A vestry of 1669 recorded that he was 'now disabled by the late dreadful fire' and resolved to find a place for him in Syon College.[29]

0C

In 1560-1 this small tenement was in the tenure of Henry Becket at £1 rent p.a. In 1561-2 it was held for three quarters of a year by a widow (unidentified). In 1562-3 it was in the tenure of Margaret Dankoster for the whole year. In 1564-5 it was held by Goodwife Wilson. For the first quarter of 1565-6 it was held by William Sherley (see **0E**), and for the remainder by Anthony Hoveman. The latter, whose name was also given as Anthony van Hoven (presumably a Dutchman), paid the rent up to and including the first quarter of 1569-70. John Mather paid the rent for the next quarter and was

immediately succeeded by Henry Sheppard who remained tenant 'of his house in ye allye' until 1597-8. During Sheppard's tenure 1s. 8d. were spent on mending the chimney. Sheppard was named as tenant during the prolonged dispute over ownership of the tenements between the rector and parish. In 1571 he was described as 27 years old, of Flemish origin but now a denizen having lived in England for about 14 years, and as having married an English woman, by whom he had a daughter. He earned his living by mending old clothes. He was buried in Woolchurch on 28 October 1598. Goodwife Sheppard paid the £1 rent from 1598 to 1603. Between then and 1605 the tenant was Goodman Hutchins or Robert Hutchinson, who refused to pay the rent 'for he denieth the payment'. The parish lost patience with him, and in 1605 paid 1s. 4d. for his arrest. Goodman Smith was tenant from 1605 to 1616 (when there is a break in the series of churchwardens' accounts), or later. In 1620 **0C** was probably the 'little messuage or cottage ... nere the foresaid church' occupied by Margaret Smith, widow. She was buried in St. Mary Woolchurch 30 February 1620. In 1637-8 when the series of accounts recommences, the tenement was probably that held by Widow Wollaston, her rent being remitted in lieu of a pension. In 1639-40 the tenement was taken by Edward Field at £1 p.a., and for a 30s. fine. He held it until 1648-9 when Widow Field took over, her rent remitted in lieu of a pension. In the poll tax assessment of 1641 this was probably the house whose only adult assessments were Richard Feild, cordwainer, and his wife Katharine. There are no further rent account entries for this tenement, but in a vestry of 1657 it was agreed that, in compliance with an order received from the justices of the peace, Edward Chamberlin, with his wife and child, should dwell in the little house in the alley 'late in occupation of Widow Feeild'. In February 1658 it was agreed that Chamberlin should continue to hold the house until a further order was made.[30]

0D

The third of the tenements in the alley was in 1560-1 held at £1 p.a. rent by Thomas Ronckthorne. Between 1562 and 1567 Goodwife Roonckthorne paid the same rent. John Paviar paid the rent for 1567-8, Peter Led from then until half way through 1572-3 for 'his dwelling hous in the alleye'. Led was succeeded by his widow, Agnes Lyde, who paid the rent until 1576. Richard Wytteryns then held the tenement until 1584-5 when he accounted for the rent with John Turnour. During Wytteryns's tenancy 2s. 0d. were paid in 1578-9 on repairs to the house and chimney. In 1585-6 William (*sic*) Turnour was the tenant, succeeded in 1586-7 by Tristram Basford. Goodwife Batsford, presumably Tristram's widow, held from 1590 to the end of the first quarter of 1595-6. She was immediately succeeded by George Redburne who held until at least 1616, when the gap in the series of rent accounts begins. Redburne was sexton of the parish in 1603-4, and was buried there on 2 December 1618. In 1620 the tenant was probably Robert Andrewes, buried at Woolchurch in 1626, when he was described as 'beadle of this parish'. At Christmas 1637, when the series of rent accounts resumes, **0D** was probably the tenement held by Widow Chamberlen at £1 p.a. In 1639-40 her rent of 'a house in the little alley' was remitted in lieu of a pension. She presumably held her house rent-free in 1638, since it is not mentioned in the tithe valuation of that year. She is listed (as 'Widow Chamberly') in the poll tax return of 1641 as the sole adult inhabitant of her house, but evidently paid nothing. Her name is not entered in the accounts after 1648-9, but she probably continued to hold the house until her death in January 1656. A vestry of February 1656 agreed that Mrs. Hill, widow, called 'Chamberlain's daughter' should have 'out of the house in the alley' a chest of drawers and another chest. According to the same entry in the vestry minutes, Mr. Phillipps, the parish clerk (already tenant of **0G**) was to enjoy 'that little house' at £1 10s. p.a. rent. He was to depart at a quarter's notice, to put a tenant into it, and keep it in repair. From this it appears that Mrs. Chamberlain's daughter was allowed her mother's possessions, while the parish clerk took over the house. In fact, Phillipps appears to have paid no more than £1 rent for the house, for in 1656-7 his rent for **0G**, previously £6, was raised to £7, a sum which in 1658-9 was said to be 'for two houses'. Phillipps continued to pay this rent until 1665-6. Between 1665 and 1669 a widow Chamberlen's name was again entered on the rent accounts, but with no record of rent paid. The reference may be to **0C** where another family called Chamberlin had been living rent-free since 1658. The Edward Chamberlin who had held **0C** in 1658 may have died and his widow's name may have strayed into the accounts.[31]

0E

This was the most substantial tenement in the alley and stood at its E. end, bounded by the wall of the chancel on the S., the walls of the N. aisle chapel and vestry on the W., and the alley and its gate on the N. To the E. was the street running S. from the Stocks under the E. wall of the chancel. From 1560

onwards **OE** gradually grew in size as the tenant bought up adjacent small houses and incorporated them. By 1587 the property comprised three tenements, defined here as **OEi-iii**. These were: the original house (**OEi**) and a small one in the alley next to it (**OEii**, being that part of the house built above the 15th-century vestry), held by a single tenant from 1560 onwards; and another small house (**OEiii**) described as 'a shed under the church wall', held by the same tenant from 1586 onwards. The site of **OEiii** is not certain, but may have been between **OEi-ii** and the chancel, since **OEi-ii** are known to have fronted on the alley.

Originally **OEi**, and **OEii** beside it, may have had separate tenants, but by 1560-1 they were both held by one Simon Lodforth, who paid £4 p.a. rent for **OEi** and 6s. 8d. p.a. for 'a house in the allye' or the 'little house' representing **OEii**. In 1564-5 both were taken over by William Sharley (Sherley, or Shirley) described elsewhere as a draper, the rent of **OEii** being increased to 13s. 4d. From 1568-9 onwards **OEi** and **OEii** appeared as one entry in the rent accounts, being held at £4. 13s. 4d. p.a. Although in 1570-1 they are described as 'his dwelling hous and one tenement thereunto adjoining', it is likely that the two houses had been made into one long before.

Between 1570 and 1574 Shirley's tenement was the subject of the test-case between the rector and churchwardens over the ownership of the tenements on church ground (see above). In 1577-8 a latrine at the tenement was emptied and repaired, and there was also a mention of the principal beam of the house. In 1586-7 Shirley began to pay the rent for **OEiii**, and from 1587-8 onwards the whole of **OE** was entered in the accounts for a single total rent of £5. 13s. 4d.

Between 1560 and 1563 **OEiii** was 'a shed under the church wall' held by Thomas Powle at 10s. p.a. Between 1563 and 1565 the tenant was named as William (*sic*) Powle. Between 1565 and 1570 Anthony Pavier held the shed at the same rent. He was succeeded by Joan Pavyour, widow, but between 1572 and 1574 the accounts name Agnes Pavier, widow, as paying the rent. The account for 1574-5 contains no entry for the shed, but Agnes Pavier remained in the parish, receiving 4d. per week alms in 1577-8: she may have occupied the shed rent-free from Christmas 1575 onwards. The reference in the account for 1586-7 to a payment by Mr. Sherle of £1 rent for 'the tenement that was mother Martines' probably concerns **OEiii**. Mother Martine had probably succeeded Agnes Pavier as a non rent-paying tenant. By 1587 the property had probably been absorbed by the large corner tenement, **OE**.

William Shirley continued to hold **OE** until his death in February 1593, when he was buried near the font in the S. aisle of St. Mary Woolchurch. In the previous year the rent had been raised to £6. 13s. 4d. p.a. William Shirley's son, James Shirley, continued to hold the house until the hiatus in the churchwardens' accounts begins at Christmas 1616. In 1611 James Shirley took a lease of the house for a term of 21 years from that summer at the increased annual rent of £10, and for a fine of £20. This was described as a 'new' lease, presumably indicating that, unlike the other, smaller houses in the row, **OE** had previously been held on lease, rather than from year to year. In 1620, when the churchyard tenements were committed to trustees, **OE** was described as 'a messuage ... nere the N. wall of the church of St. Mary Wolchurch hawe' then or late in tenure of James Sharley, draper. The messuage was said to have included shops. At Christmas 1637 when the series of rent accounts resumes, the tenant was Mr. George Haughton, paying £10 p.a. rent. He was clearly the Mr. Hawton, whose house was valued 'moderately' at £15 p.a. in 1638, and the George Hawghton, apothecary, the adult inhabitants of whose house in 1641 were only himself and his wife Susan. Haughton continued to hold the house, and in 1651-2 took a new lease for a term of 21 years at £24 p.a. rent and for a fine of £20. He paid £13. 4s. 0d. in part payment of his rent in 1652-3 and the same sum in 1653-4, but from the following year onwards regularly paid the £24 p.a. Between 1658 and 1664 the tenant was Mrs. Susan Houghton, presumably his widow. In 1664 the lease was assigned to Mr. John Dorney and Anne his wife, to whom it belonged at the time of the Fire of 1666. In 1670 **OE** was described as 'the house of Mr. Haughton on the N. side of the church by lease for time to come, at the time of the Fire in the possession of Mr. John Dorney' and valued at £26 p.a. rent and fine. Out of the £350 compensation paid to the parish in December 1669, Dorney and his wife received £24. The site of the house was laid into the new market place.[32]

OF

This tenement stood to the S.E. of the church, between the wall of the chancel on the N., the wall of the S. aisle chapel on the W. and the street on the E. In 1560-1 it was held by John Dod at £1 p.a. rent. In 1562-3 Thomas Wilkes (more usually called Walker) succeeded Dod. In 1573 **OF** was described as a 'shop or shed' of Thomas Walker, clothworker, built up against the E. end of the S. aisle. Between

1578 and 1581 Widow Walker accounted for the rent. In 1580-1 bricks and tiles were used to repair her chimney. In 1581-2 Robert Browne paid 15s. for 3/4 of a year's rent 'of the house Widow Walker dwelled in'. From 1582 to 1588 William Page paid the rent. In 1588-9 Mrs. Page probably William's widow, was tenant but paid no rent. From 1589 to 1591 Mrs. Hester Daniel was tenant, followed between 1591 and 1593 by Thomas Danyell. From 1593 onwards Charles Tollar was tenant. In 1606-7 he paid only 3/4 year's rent, and from 1607-8 onwards he accounted for a new rent of £2 p.a. In 1611-12 the rent was paid by Tollar and one William Moseley. In 1612-13 Moseley accounted alone and was still tenant in 1620 when he held the building or shed ... lying nere the ast wall of the said church'. At Christmas 1637 the tenement was held by Mrs. Moseley, probably William's widow. She continued to hold it until 1658-9, accounting in 1656-7 for a tenement described as 'her shop'. In 1658-9 she paid only 1/2 year's rent the other £1 forgiven her for delivering her house up to the parish. In the 1638 valuation of houses in the parish this was probably the house of Mr. (probably in error for Mrs.) Mosly, 'moderately' valued at £1 p.a. A vestry of 22 April 1659 agreed that Lieutenant Colonel Robert Thompson should have 'the little house at the E. end of the church' lately in the occupation of Widow Mosely, for a term of 31 years paying £36 fine and 1s. p.a. throughout the term. He covenanted to build no chimney, nor stop any lights at the church, and not to dig a cellar prejudicing the foundations of the church. Colonel Thompson paid the rent until 1662, when he was succeeded by Mr. Richard Thompson, who held the tenement until it was burnt down in the Great Fire. Richard Thompson received £65 compensation for the house out of the £350 paid for that purpose to the parish in December 1669.[33]

0G

This tenement was built in about 1601 at the S.W. corner of the church, partly on the churchyard and partly on a piece of ground belonging to the city. In a deposition of 1651 William Nichols, a citizen and clothworker 84 years old, and a former tenant of **0G**, stated that before the building of the tenement the W. wall of the churchyard ran along Walbrook until it 'did range itself towards the N. near unto the S. side of the church porch and then was returned home to the church wall'. This seems to mean that at a point opposite the S. wall of the porch the churchyard wall turned to run diagonally towards the S.W. corner of the church. North of this point the street outside the W. door of the church was rather wider than towards the S. The churchwardens seem to have determined to make use of this space. On 19 June 1601 the Court of Aldermen resolved to grant a lease of 'the void ground near the churchyard door of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch' to John Hayward, preacher, for 31 years at 2s. 6d. rent p.a., the building to be carried out there under the direction of the chamberlain of London. The 'churchyard' door in this case seems to have been a side door in the wall where it made its return to the church, as Nichols's later deposition makes clear. The view for which Nichols swore his affidavit found that the city's part of the ground lay 'next to the church door' (this time referring to the W. door of the church) at the N. end of **0G**, that it measured 9 ft. (2.74 m.) E.-W. by 4 ft. (1.22 m.) N.-S., and that the chimneys of the tenement were built on it. The remainder of the site occupied by **0G** was parish ground. The dimensions given in the view of 1651 imply that the city's ground was rectangular in shape, but it is more likely to have been triangular, the dimensions referring to the N. wall of **0G** and to the supposed extent of the W. side of the encroachment. A city rental of 1632-3 gives the dimensions of the ground as 8 ft. (2.44 m.) by 4 ft. (1.22 m.).

The churchwardens' accounts have nothing to say about any rent John Hayward may have paid to the parish. The city cash accounts show that William Nichols had succeeded him by 1632-3 and paid the 2s. 6d. p.a. rent due to the city, presumably under a lease which had been renewed, until 1649. Nichols's house can be identified neither in the list of tithepayers of 1638 nor in the poll tax assessment of 1641. Nichols was succeeded by Edward Philipps, cordwainer (the parish sexton and later parish clerk), who took a new lease from the city for 21 years from 1650 for the old rent and a fine of £8. Philipps began to pay rent to the parish at this time, paying £3 for half a year's rent in 1649-50, the same in 1650-1, £1. 10s. 6d. for a quarter in 1651-2, and £4. 10s. 0d. for three quarters in 1652-3. Uncertainty over the ownership of the site was the reason for the view commissioned by the parish in 1651 (see above), and in December 1652 the city ordered a view to be made of the same ground. On 20 May 1655 the parish agreed that Edward Phillips, the clerk, should have his lease renewed for 21 years always provided he build up his chimneys and cast up his old lease 'as well that he has from the city as the parson'. On 4 December 1655, a new lease was made, apparently at an annual rent of £6 payable to the parish, on consideration that Phillips paid out £80 on repairs. This lease was an addition of 13 years, making his existing term up to 21 years. It was clearly intended that

the two leases under which the tenement was held should run for the same term, ending at Lady Day 1671. Phillips was living in the house by 1651, and between 1654-5 and 1661-2 paid the £6 rent due to the parish (raised to £7 from 1656 on account of his tenure of **OD**). The city cash accounts record him as paying the 2s. 6d. rent under the city lease until the house was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The churchwardens' accounts record that £10 was paid out in compensation in 1670 for 'a part of a house at the west end which lately belonged to the parish wherein Mr. Edward Phillips late clerk dwelt, and at the time of the Fire was in the possession of Mr. Davies'.[34]

NOTES

1 For the Colchester evidence see *Colecestria Cart* i, 3, 6, 13, 15, 18, 50, 82; for Westminster see, Cartulary of Westminster, BL, MS Cott. Faust. A iii, ff. 57, 64r-v, 76, 165r-v; on the veracity of the charters cited, see J.H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), 424 ff; J.H. Round, 'The Early Charters of St. John's Abbey, Colchester', *EHR* xvi (1901), 721-30; *Regesta* ii, nos. 677, 1096, 1204; *Regesta* iii, no. 930.

2 *Colecestria Cart* i, 6, 15, 50, 82; Cartulary of Westminster, f. 64r-v; Round (1901), 726-7.

3 *Colecestria Cart* i, 43; Cartulary of Westminster, f. 57; T. Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (1711), 534 n.

4 For discussion of the name 'Woolchurch', see J.H. Round in *Athenaeum*, 17 August 1889; Stow ii, 317; Harben, 400. The first appearance of the name *Wollochirch* is in 1258-9, see *London Eyre 1276*, no. 92; *Wolcherchewawe* appears in *Cal Chart R* ii, 33 in 1260. For the custom of Woolchurch, see *Liber Albus*, 246. HR 53(122) notes the change in usage from Newchurch to Woolchurch. References to St. Mary *Wolmarchirche* almost certainly concern the church of St. Mary Woolnoth (*London Eyre 1276*, nos. 83, 112, 123, 149).

5 *Cal Pat R 1340-43*, 477; PRO SC12/32/31; HR 258(40); GL, Add. MS 1103.

6 See n. 1 above, and *Colecestria Cart* i, 67, 95; *The Valuation of Norwich*, ed. W.E. Lunt (1926), 329; GL, MS 25509, f. 50v; *Liber Custumarum*, 236; PRO SC6/Hen 8/2396; E315/279, f. 45.

7 *Cal Pat R 1348-50*, 485, 529, 535; *Cal Pat R 1361-64*, p. 316; *Rot Parl* ii, 274; *Cal Inq Misc* iii, 174; *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 43, 48, 49-50.

8 *Cal Close R 1389-92*, p. 524; *Cal Pat R 1399-1401*, pp. 407-8, 542; *Cal Pat R 1401-5*, pp. 306, 401, 460, 463; *Valor* i, 380; *Chant C*, no. 36; PRO, SC6/Hen 8/976, 2396; GL, MS 1012/1, p. 14; *Statute*, 22 Chas II, c.11. *VCH Essex* ii, 96-7.

9 HR 76(231), 96(186), 129(75), 160(15); *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 49-50.

10 CLRO: Bridge House Deeds, I 24; Bridge House Rentals, ii, f. 106; Journal 6, ff. 162, 229, 231v (we owe these references to Dr. Caroline Barron); HR 180(29).

11 Hugh Alley, 'A Caveat for the City of London', Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library V.a. 318, FF 145:2.

12 Stow i, 226-7.

13 GL: MS 1012/1, p. 17; MS 1013/1, ff. 3, 13r-v, 14v, 32v, 35v, 36v, 52r-v, 111v.

14 Stow i, 227; GL: MS 1012/1, p. 17; MS 1013/1, ff. 1v, 2, 3, 5, 32v, 35v, 38v, 61r, 63v, 68, 72v, 99v. Brooke and Hallen, 409. J.P. Malcolm, *London Redivium* (1802-7) iv, 432, citing BL, MS Harley 2252, ff. 22v-23 (we owe this reference to Dr. Carol Meale).

15 CLRO: Bridge House R, p. 740; HR 226(18). GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 5, 8v, 10, 32v, 50, 59v, 72v, 83v. BL, MS Harley 2252, f. 163r-v.

16 PRO, C78/45/11. GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 3, 7, 14v, 36v, 47v, 52r-v, 70, 73, 258.

17 Stow i, 226-7; GL: MS 1012/1, p. 25; MS 1013/1, ff. 2, 72v, 99v.

18 CLRO, Bridge House Deeds, I 24; GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 34v, 50.

19 Strype's Stow, Bk ii, 195.

20 Rep 74, ff. 88v-89. GL: MS 1012/1, p. 75; MS 1013/1, f. 259. CLRO, Comp. Deeds, 46/4.

21 CLRO: Bridge House L R, pp. 435-6; HR 94(20), 100(75), 129(75), 226(18). *Cal Pat R 1391-96*, p. 170; *Chant C*, nos. 23-4; BL, MS Harley 2252, f. 165; GL, MS 9168/9, ff. 180v, 195.

22 *Regesta* iii, no. 930; *Cal Ch R* i, 407-8; HR 17(21); *Aldgate Cart*, 205.

23 CLRO: Bridge House Deeds F 48, I 24; Letter Book F, f. 132. GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 1r-v, 2, 11v, 16v, 31, 34v.

24 *AN*, no. 64. GL: MS 1012/1, p. 25; MS 1013/1, ff. 1r-v, 4, 7, 8v, 13r-v, 14v, 29v, 34v, 113. Brooke and Hallen, 409.

25 PRO, C78/45/11; HR 298(25); GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 17, 20, 21, 22, 24v-25.

26 *Cal Inq Misc* iii, 174; *Cal Pat R 1361-64*, p. 316; *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 49-50; CLRO, Bridge House Deed I 24. GL: MS 1012/1, p. 19; MS 1013/1, f. 52v.

27 GL: MS 1012/1, pp. 3, 30, 33; MS 1013/1, f. 23v. CLRO, Comp. Deed 46/4.

28 GL, MS 1013/1, ff. 21v, 28, 34v, 261; CLRO, Comp. Deed 46/4.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 118/0

- 29 GL: MS 1012/1, pp. 16, 75; MS 1013/1, f. 1 and annually. CLRO: Comp. Deed 46/4; HR 298(25). PRO, C78/45/11, SP16/310/8; Brooke and Hallen, 377, 394.
- 30 GL: MS 1012/1, p. 37; MS 1013/1, f. 1 and annually, 38v, 96, 102v, 261. PRO: C78/45/11; SP12/82, f. 73v; E179/252/13. CLRO, Comp Deed 46/4; Brooke and Hallen, 381, 392.
- 31 GL: MS 1012/1, p. 34; MS 1013/1, f. 1 and annually, ff. 33, 10v, 261. PRO, C78/45/11, E179/252/13; CLRO, Comp. Deed 46/4; Brooke and Hallen, 388, 392, 402. *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121.
- 32 GL: MS 1012/1, p. 75; MS 1013/1, f. 1 and annually, ff. 17, 20, 21, 22, 31, 47v, 52v, 63v, 102v, 261. PRO, C78/45/11, E179/252/12; CLRO, Comp. Deed 46/4; *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121.
- 33 GL: MS 1012/1, pp. 46, 75; MS 1013/1, f. 1 and annually, ff. 29v, 35v, 261. CLRO: Comp. Deed 46/4; HR 298(25). PRO, C78/45/11. *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121.
- 34 GL: MS 1012/1, pp. 25, 33, 34; MS 1013/1, f. 102v and annually, f. 261. CLRO: Comp. Deed 46/4; Rep 25, f. 257v; C.L.G.B. i, f. 51v; C.L.G.B. ii, f. 120; C.L.G.B. iii, f. 29; C.A., 1633 and annually; C.A. 1/7, f. 40; C.L. Misc. MS 157.20; C.L. Rental 1660, f. 51v.

ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 12

This property occupied the N. corner of the streets now known as Bucklersbury and Walbrook. Its site is recorded in a drawn survey of 1669. Exactly the same site was identified in 1855 as no. 25 Bucklersbury. The property was removed between 1863 and 1871 when Queen Victoria Street was created. In the late 13th century this and other small houses on the two street frontages belonged to the owner of the large house behind. They then descended separately.

For the early history of this site, once part of a large block of land belonging to the Tolesan family, see **118/15** and **132/16**.

This was probably represented by one or more of the shops and houses, described as lying between the Walbrook stream on the W. and **118/16** on the N., which by his will enrolled in 1312 Michael de Tolosan left to his sons John and Robert and their legitimate heirs. At some time before his death Michael had leased the tenement on this corner site to John de Wynchestr', tailor, and his wife Alice for the term of their lives. In 1327 these tenants made over their interest to David de Tillebury, citizen and apothecary. The John de Wychestr' who was a resident of Walbrook ward in 1292 (but perhaps not in this property) and who had died by 1310 was perhaps a relative. In 1327 **12** was described as a tenement with houses built on it, and the record of its abutments indicates that it was bounded by **15** on the N. and W., by the land of Robert son of Michael Tolesan (i.e. **14**) on the N., by the highway leading from *Walebrokstret* to *Wolcherchhawe* on the E., and by the highway leading from Walbrook towards the Conduit on the S.[1]

Robert son of Michael de Tolosan borrowed money from David de Tillebury in order to sustain his wife Agnes and their daughter Joan. Under a statute merchant, tenements in St. Mary Woolchurch parish, probably representing or including **12**, were offered as security for the loan. By his will, dated 1337 and enrolled in 1338, David left his interest in these tenements, so long as it lasted under the statute merchant, to his executors. By 1365 **12**, or a part of it, appears to have been acquired by Walter de Bedyngton, citizen and mercer, who in that year, with his wife Juliana, leased to John Pyion (i.e. Pigeon), piebaker, a corner shop with solars over it in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, in which John then dwelled, for a term of 16 years after the end of his present lease at £2. 6s. 7d. rent, the tenant being responsible for repairs.[2]

In 1376 **12** was described as a former property of Michael which had comprised 3 shops on the corner of Bucklersbury. The site was now occupied by a vacant plot held by Adam de Bury, whose title was not known. In August 1377 de Bury granted the property to John Foxton, citizen and spicer, reserving a rent of £5 p.a. This grant concerned a 'tenement with appurtenances' lying within bounds which indicated that it occupied the same site as in 1327. The grantor was to have power to reenter if the rent fell one year into arrears, or if Foxton demolished any houses or buildings there other than to rebuild them. Foxton clearly was intending to rebuild and, on 17 September, stating that he had bought from Adam de Bury a site in Bucklersbury on which to build. The adjacent property (**14**) had been found to encroach by a few inches, and Foxton sought to have possession of the land in order to proceed with building. The work appears to have been largely complete by 18 October 1377, when John Lodelowe and Robert Wadyngham, chaplains, having been granted the property by Foxton, granted it back again to Foxton and his wife Joan and to Foxton's heirs and assigns. In this grant **12** was described as a new tenement. In June 1378 Foxton, now described as citizen and apothecary, and his wife Joan granted the new tenement with two shops and solars built above which he had caused to be built there to Adam de Carlell, citizen and grocer, and his heirs and assigns, who were to hold of the chief lords of the fee and pay the £5 rent to Adam de Bury and his heirs and assigns.[3]

John Pigeon, piebaker, had probably inhabited the property more or less continuously since 1365 or before. A plea of intrusion in 1381 concerning a tenement in St. Mary Woolchurch parish may relate to this property. In this case Thomas Pykot complained of intrusion by Stephen Godwyne, John Pigeon, Robert Bryan, taverner, Michael Truthenek, Thomas Noket, John Maynard, Robert Enefeld, Richard Vyncent, William Credel, and Ralph Fullere. In 1382 Adam de Carlell, as owner of **12**, granted the property to Pygeon and Thomas Makwilliam, grocer, both citizens, and to Thomas Broughton, clerk. Makwilliam later quitclaimed to Pygeon and Broughton, who on 23 April 1391 granted to John Bryan, junior, citizen, and his heirs and assigns an annual rent of £4. 6s. 8d. due from **12**, with warranty from Pigeon and his heirs. The purpose of this grant was to offer security for a grant

which Pygeon and his wife Maud had made to Bryan and his wife Joan of a property in St. Andrew Castle Baynard parish. The title to the latter holding was disputed by William Shrympulmerssh. If Bryan and his wife were not expelled by William, then the rent charged by Pygeon on **12** was not to be paid. If they were dispossessed the rent was to be paid, unless Pigeon paid Bryan £57 within 6 months.[4]

By his will, dated 1390 and proved on 25 October 1392 John Pygeon left his estate in the corner tenement where he lived in this parish, together with the tools of his trade, to his kinsman William Pygeon, piebaker, who was to pay a farm of £3. 6s. 8d. p.a. just as John had done. During her lifetime John's wife Maud was to have her dwelling in the tenement without charge. On 12 February 1393 Thomas Broughton, who was now the sole freeholder of **12**, granted it to John Pygeon's executors, to whom John Bryan quitclaimed on 24 February. In the same month John Pygeon's nephew, John Pygeon son of Richard Pygeon of Stortford quitclaimed to the executors in his late uncle's lands, tenements and chattels. John Pygeon's widow Maud died between 28 December 1392 and 15 February 1393, when her will was proved: she left to William Pygeon the brass mortar with the iron pestle and the table 'which used to be in the parlour', presumably of this tenement. William himself probably continued to live in the property until his death in August 1394, when he left the mortar and pestle to his daughter Juliana, and the tools of his trade in the shop to his apprentice John Toky. William presumably held **12** from John Pygeon's executors, and then from Thomas Boocok of Standon and Thomas Eton of Sawbridgeworth (both in Herts.), to whom the executors had granted it in October 1393. The Pygeon family probably had extensive interests in Hertfordshire, where John Pygeon himself had owned land.[5]

In 1395 Boocok and Eton granted the property, now described as a tenement with houses, shops, cellars, and solars, to Thomas Mallyng, citizen and mason, son of Robert Kake, to Thomas's wife Agnes, and to Thomas's heirs and assigns. Mallyng, also known as Cake, may have lived in the property, for in his will, dated 1412 and enrolled in 1412, he wished to be buried in the parish church of St. Mary Woolchurch under the marble slab where the body of his wife Joan lay. In the will Mallyng left the property itself to his wife Cristina for the term of her life, with remainders to his daughter Joan, to her legitimate heirs, and then to be sold.[6]

Adam de Bury, by his will dated and proved in 1386, left his £5 quit-rent from this property to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's as part of a much larger endowment intended to maintain 3 chaplains in the recently-erected chapel by the north door of the cathedral which was later known as Holmes College. By 1474, when he paid £8 arrears of this rent, the corner tenement representing **12** was in the possession of John Archer, esquire, of Tanworth (Warwickshire). Archer, or a predecessor, appears to have purchased the former London estate of Thomas Mallyng (cf. **132/13**). The arrears were paid by the hands of John Clerk, citizen and grocer, who was probably Archer's tenant and may have inhabited the tenement. In 1482 Archer leased the tenement to Thomas Shenton, citizen and grocer, for a term of 40 years at 20s. p.a. rent. The tenement thus appears to have been worth considerably less than it had been in the late 14th century, and its issues were probably insufficient to support the quit-rent due to St. Paul's. In June 1482, shortly before his lease to Shenton, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's acquitted Archer of all the arrears then due, and agreed that from then on for a period of 40 years Archer or his assigns should pay only 40s. a year rent.[7]

St. Paul's subsequently gained possession of the property, perhaps because the quit-rent had again fallen into default. In 1541 the dean and chapter and the chantry priests of Holmes's chantry leased **12** to Richard Venables, gentleman, for a term of 41 years from 1540 at a rent of £3. 6s. 8d. p.a., the tenant being responsible for repairs. The property was at this time described as 2 tenements called the Hand in Hand with shops, cellars, and solars, formerly in the tenure of Roger Smythe, citizen and grocer. In 1548 the Hand in Hand was described as one tenement then in the tenure of Alexander Beest. Alexander Beest, citizen and haberdasher, may have been living there in 1544, when his goods were valued at £20, and was certainly living there at the time of his death in 1571. On the suppression of the chantries in 1547 the Hand in Hand came into the possession of the Crown, which in 1550 granted it to Francis Goldesmythe of London, gentleman, and his heirs and assigns in free burgage, together with the issues of the property since Easter 1548.[8]

Soon after this a member of the Beest family probably acquired possession of the property, which in 1612 was described as belonging to Richard Beest and in the tenure of Dudley Hawkes. Hawkes had succeeded Richard Large as tenant and occupant of the property. In 1596 Hawkes and Large, both grocers, were in dispute over a sign of the Hand in Hand which had for a long time hung at the corner house at the end of Bucklersbury, where Large had formerly dwelled. Large had moved two houses away (probably into St. Stephen Walbrook parish, where he died in 1616) taking the sign with him.

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He had set up a sign of the White Lion at the other house, and for 2 3/4 years had used the two signs together, while at the corner house Hawkes had set up a new sign of the Hand in Hand, causing 'many controversies' between the two of them. In the Court of Aldermen Large was ordered to remove his sign of the Hand in Hand.[9]

In 1635 12 was probably represented by the houses inhabited by William Stokes and Leonard Buckner. These were evidently the houses of Mr. Stokes and Mr. Buckar, valued 'moderately' in 1638 at £10 p.a. and at £25 p.a., respectively. In 1637 'Mr. Stoakes' was said to have an inmate in his house likely to be chargeable to the parish. Stokes died in 1638, and in 1641 this was probably the house where Ellen Stock, widow, lived with 5 other adults, Ellen Postenn, George Cartire, Thomas Ranes, William Graye, and William Smith. The other house in 1641 was inhabited by Leonard Bucknell (i.e. Buckar or Buckner), apothecary, his wife Mary, John Danes, Nathaniel Potts, and Margaret Draughton.[10]

The property later belonged to the Turnbull family. In 1656 Richard Turnbull of Eye (Suffolk), gentleman, and son and heir of the late George Turnbull, clerk, of Eason (Suffolk) sold it to Humphrey Richardson, citizen and grocer. The houses were destroyed in the Great Fire, and in November 1668 Edward Hay of Tunstall (Suffolk) sold the site to Richardson, who was evidently in the process of securing his title. A foundation was set out for Richardson in January 1669, and the survey records the extent of the site. In March 1669 Richardson and his wife Elizabeth sold the site, described as two tofts where the messuages known as the Hand in Hand and as the Tun had stood, to Henry Avery and George Lulls of London, gentlemen, for £260. Lulls died, and in 1677 Avery and his wife Frances, in performance of a trust, sold the newly-erected brick messuage on the site to Sir Robert Clayton and John Morris, esquire. In 1682 Clayton and his wife Martha sold the new messuage, then or lately occupied by Joshua Bolt, citizen and cooper, to Thomas Monck of London, gentleman.[11]

NOTES

1 HR 41(31), 55(86); Ekwall *Subsidy Rolls*, 171.

2 HR 65(75), 93(142).

3 *Cal Inq PM* xiv, 282-3; HR 106(16, 51), 107(23); *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 245-6.

4 HPL 103, m. 38; *Cal PMR 1381-1412*, pp. 153-4; HR 111(17), 119(109); *St. Bartholomew's Cart*, no. 1094.

5 GL, MS 9171/1, ff. 260v-261v, 271r-v, 316v-317; HR 121(155-6, 187), 122(57).

6 HR 123(121), 142(3).

7 Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office, DR 37/Box 53/3143, 3145-6 (Archer Deeds); HR 114(114).R

8 GL, MSS: 25630/1, ff. 103-4; 25526, ff. 6-7; 9168/13, f. 19v. PRO, SC6/Edw 6/293, f. 103; E179/144/123, m. 56; *Cal Pat R 1550-3*, pp. 27-8.

9 Clothworkers' Company, Treswell Surveys; Repts 23, f. 558r-v; GL, MS 9050/5, f. 59.

10 GL, L 06/2, p. 169; PRO, SP16/310/18, E179/252/13; *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121. Brooke and Hallen, 396.

11 HR 340(88), 348(20), 350(6); *M & O* iv, f. 108.

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The site of this property is defined in a post-Fire foundation survey of 1669, when it was bounded by **118/15** on the N. and E., the 'City sewer' or Walbrook stream on the W., and the street known as Bucklersbury on the S. By this date there was also an alley or entry on the W. side of the property leading towards Poultry on the N. (see **132/16**). To the W. of the alley and stream was a property in St. Stephen Walbrook parish (**156/13**), which was sometimes said to be bounded by **118/13** on its E. side. In 1855 **118/13** was identical with no. 27 Bucklersbury. The property was entirely removed between 1863 and 1871, when Queen Victoria Street was created. In the late 13th and early 14th century the property appears to have had the same bounds as in 1669. At times in the 15th century it was said to be bounded on the north by **132/16**, which was then in the same ownership as **118/15**. In this period it is uncertain, therefore, whether **118/13** extended further N. than it did in 1669 (and so included an area which had been, and was later to be, part of **118/15**), or whether the common owner of **132/16** and **118/15** was using the part of **118/15** which adjoined the N. side of **118/13** as a part of **132/16**, which had the distinctive name of the Saracen's Head.

Before the later 13th century the site of **118/13** was part of a substantial block of property extending between the streets now known as Poultry and Bucklersbury and belonging to the Tolesan family. The block was then divided between two branches of the family. Early in the 14th century the southern part of the block, lying in St. Mary Woolchurch parish, was further divided, the smaller houses or shops on the street frontages (including **13**) being separated from the larger house behind (**15**). At this time **13** comprised two houses on the Bucklersbury frontage, identified here as **13A**, to the E., and **13B**, to the W. Later in the 14th century the two houses were united to form a single messuage, but by the 17th century there were again two houses on the site.

i. Late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

For the early history of the Tolesan property, see **132/16** and **118/15**.

The first specific reference to **118/13** is in the will of Odo the smith, enrolled in 1275, by which he left to Haliwell Priory, for the use of his daughter Maud de la Cornere, who was a nun there, an annual quit-rent of 6s. due from the rent (presumably in the sense of 'small houses') which had belonged to John Tolesan in St. Mary Woolchurch parish. Later this rent of 6s. is known to have been charged on **13A**. By his will enrolled in 1280 John de Tolesan left to his son John all his rent in St. Mary Woolchurch parish except for a house identifiable as **15**. This legacy concerned properties which included **13**. **13** itself is mentioned in 1291 as a tenement formerly belonging to John de Tulesan, senior, and now held by John de Tulesan, junior, which was one of those tenements bound to repair the bridge over Walbrook near the house known as Bucklersbury (**156/10**).[1]

13A

In 1293-4 John Tolosan, citizen, granted to William called Priour, of *Staumford*, his wife Cecilia, and their heirs and assigns all his claim in **13A**, reserving annual quit-rents of 4s. to himself and his heirs and 6s. to Haliwell Priory. The property was described as a messuage with appurtenances, lying between **15** to the N. and E., the highway to the S. and **13B** (a tenement of the grantor) to the W. William Priour, probably the horsemonger (*cossum*) of that name resident in Walbrook ward by 1281, was probably living in this house in 1292, when his name was entered in the tax roll next to that of the resident of **15**. Cecilia, wife of William Priour, presumably as a widow, left this messuage in her will to John de Writele, citizen and draper. In 1325 Maud, daughter of William Priour and Cecilia, and her husband, John de Upmanton of Faversham, quitclaimed in the property to John de Writele and his heirs and assigns. In 1339 de Writele granted the tenement to Henry de Shawe, *purpoynter* (a maker or seller of pourpoints, the quilted doublets sometimes worn with armour), who in 1347 granted it to Richard de Wynchecoumbe, citizen and armourer, his wife Agnes, and Richard's heirs and assigns. The former of these two grants reveals that the quit-rents of 6s. and 4s. were still charged on the property.[2]

Richard de Wynchecoumb died in 1361-2, leaving properties in this parish and elsewhere in London to his wife Agnes for the term of her life, with remainder to his children. Agnes probably then married Walter Forster, and in February 1376 one of the two shops in Bucklersbury representing **13**

was said to belong to Agnes widow of Walter Forster. In a record of 1386 **13A** was said formerly to have belonged to Walter Forster. After Forster's death Agnes presumably continued to hold **13A** as her former husband's widow. In 1377, describing herself as Richard de Wynchecoumb's widow, she granted the properties which Richard de Wynchecoumb had left her to Thomas Forster, parson of *Yvechurche* and Thomas de Goldyngton, parson of St. Christopher by the Stocks, for the term of her life. Later in the same year these feoffees granted these properties back to Agnes for the term of her life. The purpose of this transaction may have been to confirm Agnes's possession of **13A** in her identity as the widow of Richard de Wynchecoumb rather than that of Walter Forster. Later, Simon Wynchecombe, Richard's son, was in possession of **13A**, which he amalgamated with **13B** (see below).[3]

13B

In 1293-4 John Tolosan described this as his tenement. The descent of the property is then uncertain. John may have retained possession of the tenement until his death, the date of which is not known. If he died without heirs of his body the property may have reverted to his elder brother Michael Tolosan, who already held **15**. The reference to a tenement of Michael Tolosan on the E. side of **156/13** in 1304 may concern this property, and in 1325 the tenement on the W. side of **13A** was said to belong to Michael Tulosan, by then long dead. If Michael did indeed gain possession of **13B**, it would have been one of the shops and houses outside his capital tenement (**15**) between the Walbrook stream on the W. and **118/16** on the N., which by his will, enrolled in 1312, he left to his sons John and Robert.[4]

Robert Tolosan, presumably the son of Michael, was said to be in possession of **13B** in 1339 and 1347. At the former of these dates the 4s. quit-rent charged on **13A** was said to be due to him and his heirs, suggesting that he was by then recognized as the heir of the John Tolosan who had held **13B** in 1293-4.[5] The fate of Robert's brother John is not known. For the later descent of some of Robert's properties in this neighbourhood, see **15**.

In 1376 **13B** was listed as one of two shops in Bucklersbury which had once belonged to Michael Tolosan. The shop now belonged to Adam de Bury, whose title was not known. The other shop was **13A**, which had not in fact belonged to Michael Tolosan, although this confusion is understandable. In 1377 Adam de Bury granted **13B** to John Foxton, citizen and spicer, and his heirs and assigns, in return for a perpetual rent of 50s. p.a. to the grantor and his heirs and assigns. The property was described as a tenement lying between **153/13** to the W., **13A** to the E., and the tenement of Elizabeth Burlee (almost certainly **15**) to the N. By 1381 John Foxton, described as citizen and grocer, had granted **13B** to Simon Wynchecombe, citizen and armourer, and with his wife Joan had granted to Simon an annuity from a property in St. Peter Cornhill parish which was intended as security for Simon's title in **13B**. In 1381 Simon agreed that, if he was not ejected from any part of **13B** by reason of Joan's right of dower, then the annuity was to be suspended. Likewise, if Foxton outlived his wife, Simon was to surrender the document concerning the annuity to Foxton within a month of asking, on pain of £20. Simon Wynchecombe was living in **13B** by 1386, when Adam de Bury, by his will dated and enrolled in that year, left the 50s. quit-rent he had from the property to St. Paul's Cathedral as part of the endowment of the chantry later known as Holmes College.[6]

13A and 13B

Simon Wynchecombe was in possession of both parts of **13** by 1392. In 1386 he granted to John Langhorn, citizen and brazier, a rent of £3. 6s. 8d. p.a. out of his tenements in the street of Bucklersbury in this parish during the lifetime of Simon's wife Joan. This was to protect Langhorn against any claim from Joan to dower in a property in St. Denis Bakchurch parish which Simon had granted him. Should Joan make no claim, the rent from **13** was to be suspended. In 1392 Simon Wynchecombe granted both parts of **13** to John Lane, citizen and mercer, his wife Alice, and Lane's heirs and assigns. Simon's wife Joan presumably had died. The property was now described as a 'tenement newly rebuilt as a whole' (*tenementum integrum de novo insimul edificatum*), made up of two parcels represented by **13A** and **13B**. The new tenement, which had probably been built as Simon de Wynchecombe's residence, lay between a tenement of Robert Dane (probably **15**) to the N. and E., and **156/13** to the W.[7]

This new tenement was later in the possession of William Olyver, grocer (the owner and tenant of **15**), and John Sproxton and John West, clerks, who in 1419 jointly granted it to John Luttur, William Michell, and Thomas Catworth, citizens and grocers. At this time the property was bounded by **156/13** on the W., **118/15** on the E., and **132/16** on the N. Luttur died in or before 1448. In 1448

Catworth, as surviving feoffee, granted the tenement to Thomas Canynges, Richard Lee, John Yonge, Walter Hun, and Edward Warmyngton, citizens and grocers, and to Thomas Hethe, gentleman. The property now lay between **118/15** on the E., **132/16** on the N., and **156/13** and a lane leading to **132/16** on the W. These feoffees evidently held on behalf of John Luttur and his family. In 1438 **13** was described as Luttur's tenement, and in 1459 the surviving feoffees of 1448 (Hethe being dead), granted the property to Joan, formerly wife of John Luttur and now wife of Nicholas Drakes, citizen and fishmonger. After Joan's death the tenement was to pass to Thomas Luttur, son of John and Joan, and the heirs of his body or to the right heirs of John Luttur. In 1460 Drakes, his wife Joan, and Thomas Luttur granted their tenements in the street called Bucklersbury to Thomas Bryan, gentleman, John Lok, mercer, Thomas More, John Alburgh, and William Light.[8]

It seems likely that in the mid and later 15th century the income from **13** became increasingly inadequate to meet the quit-rent due to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's which Adam de Bury had charged upon the tenement. This was certainly the case with a neighbouring property (**12**) which de Bury had charged with a similar rent. It was perhaps in order to secure some portion of their falling income that the dean and chapter gained possession of **13**. This was done by means of a bequest. Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of King's Bench and presumably the sole survivor of the feoffees of 1460, granted the property to Geoffrey Meleman, citizen and mercer, who by his will, dated 1497 and proved in 1499, left it to the dean and chapter with the intent that its revenues would be used to maintain the chaplains in Holmes College. The property now consisted of 'lands, tenements, and rents' between **15A** on the E. and N., the lane or alley on the W., and **132/16** on the N.[9]

In 1543 St. Paul's let **13**, now a tenement called the 'Angel' with cellars, solars, chambers, and appurtenances, to Thomas Alsopp for a term of 40 years from Christmas 1542 at a rent of £3 p.a., the tenant being responsible for repairs. On the suppression of the chantries in 1547 the Angel passed to the Crown, which in 1548 granted it in free burgage with many other properties to William Gunter of London, gentleman, and William Hobson of London, haberdasher. These grantees probably then granted the freehold of the Angel to Thomas Alsopp, who in 1558 died seised of the tenement with its shops, cellars, and other appurtenances. By his will Alsopp left his London properties to his wife Anne for life, with remainder jointly to his nephews Richard Andleby and John Andleby, sons of his sister Margaret Andleby, to William Gyllyat, his wife's son, to Robert Alsopp and John Alsopp, sons of his brother Robert Alsopp, to Robert Alsopp and Thomas Alsopp, sons of his brother Reynold Alsopp, and to Lyne Taylor and John Taylor, sons of his sister Joan Taylor, and to their heirs. Thomas Alsopp was a citizen and grocer, who was sometimes also described as an apothecary. In 1544, when his goods were valued at £100, he had been taxed as a resident of Walbrook ward, almost certainly of this property, in which he probably continued to dwell until he died.[10]

Six of the nine shares in the reversion of **13** created under Thomas Alsopp's will are mentioned in later records. Alsopp's widow Anne did not die until September 1561. Robert Alsopp son of Reynold Alsopp died in May 1559, leaving his reversionary interest to his sister, Elizabeth Trapham, and to Joan Dodd, daughter of one Ambrose. Joan died in February 1561, and her interest passed to her brother and heir John Dodd. After Anne's death the following September, Elizabeth Trapham, her husband Thomas Trapham, and John Dodd were said to be seised of two-thirds of the ninth part of the property, the remaining third being said to be in the seisin of Robert Alsopp's brother Thomas Alsopp. Richard Andleby, citizen and grocer, at his death in 1563 left his ninth part of **13** to his brother and heir John Andlebye of Mersham (Kent), yeoman. Richard died in St. Mary Woolchurch parish, perhaps as a resident of **13**. Two of the nine shares in **13** passed to Christopher Curthopp of Canterbury, gentleman, who died in 1568, when his son and heir, John Curthopp, was under age. Christopher's widow Agnes then received the profits from the property. Another two of the nine shares passed to Robert Fryer, citizen and draper, and on his death in 1569 to his son Robert Fryer.[11]

ii. Late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The messuage known as the Angel was later in the possession of Robert Kennyngham, citizen and grocer, who paid brotherhood money to his company as a resident of Bucklersbury between 1567 and 1578. In 1595 Kennyngham and his wife Alice leased the messuage to Thomas Faldoe, citizen and grocer, for a term of 21 years in return for a down payment of £252 and an annual rent of £8. The house included wainscot and ceilings fastened in the hall and in one of the chambers. Kennyngham's widow Alice married Reuben Wright of Ivill (Sussex), with whom in 1598 she sold her right in the property for the term of her life to Faldoe and his heirs and assigns in return for sums of £22 paid and £40 to be paid on delivery of the deeds. After the death of his widow, Kennyngham's interest in the

property passed to his cousins and coheirs Sarah and Dorcas, the daughters of William Kenningham of London, yeoman. Faldoe purchased the property from Sarah and Dorcas, and their respective husbands, William Harryson, citizen and joiner, and Thomas White, citizen and draper. In 1601 Faldoe and his wife Susan sold the Angel to Edward Pilsworth, citizen and clothworker.[12]

In 1603 Pilsworth leased the property back to Faldoe for a term of 51 years at £4 p.a. rent. The freehold was later acquired by John Gawen the elder, citizen and clothworker, who in 1622 granted it for a term of 99 years at a peppercorn rent to John Barcrofte of Chard (Somerset), gentleman. Later owners were William Michelson, citizen and merchant tailor, and his wife Elizabeth, who in 1631 sold the messuage for £260 to Lancelot Bathurst of London, gentleman. The tenement had now been divided into two, one part being occupied by Ralph Collins and called the 'signe of the Angell', and the other part being occupied by John Graunt and called the 'signe of the Halfe Moone'. These two occupants were evidently identical with Mr. Collins and the Mr. Grant who occupied houses 'moderately' valued at £20 p.a. each in 1638. Grant was evidently the John Graunt, grocer, who in 1641 lived in this house with his wife Elizabeth, Preston Hudson, Thomas Dickenson, Henry Hinshaw, and Mary Fisher. By a process of elimination it seems likely that the other part of the property in 1641, corresponding to the house once occupied by Collins, was inhabited by John Ward, grocer, his wife Elizabeth, and Grace Smith.[13]

These houses were destroyed in the Great Fire. In 1669 one foundation, which appears to have occupied their site and was bounded by **15** to the N. and E., was surveyed for Samuel Lutton, whose interest in **13** cannot otherwise be traced.[14]

NOTES

- 1 HR 7(75), 11(3); *LBA*, pp. 178-9.
- 2 HR 23(68), 53(82), 66(52), 74(123); *Ekwall Subsidy Rolls*, 174.
- 3 HR 90(40), 106(22), 114(114); *Cal Inq PM* xiv, 282-3.
- 4 HR 23(68), 32(4), 41(31), 53(82).
- 5 HR 66(52, 56), 74(123).
- 6 *Cal Inq PM* xiv, 282-3; HR 106(52), 109(121), 114(114).
- 7 HR 114(163-4), 120(54).
- 8 HR 161(17), 177(2), 187(40), 188(32); GL, MS 9141/4, f. 56.
- 9 HR 225(17).
- 10 PRO: E179/144/123, m. 56; E318/29/1663; E315/68, f. 5v; SC6/Edw VI/293, ff. 102-3. GL, MS 25526, ff. 6-7. *Cal Pat R* 1547-8, pp. 514-6. *Abs Inq PM* i, 149-51.
- 11 *Abs Inq PM* ii. 74-5, 77-8, 91-2, 96-7, 134-5.
- 12 HR 279(40), 280(12). GL, MS 11571/6, *passim*.
- 13 HR 308(6); *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121; PRO, E179/252/13.
- 14 *M & O* iv, f. 188.

ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 14

This property lay on the W. side of the street now known as Walbrook between **118/12** on the S. and **118/15** on the N. and W. The site is first mentioned in an abutment clause of 1327 which indicates that at that time or earlier it was part of the same property as **118/15**. The bounds of **118/14** are recorded in a drawn survey of 1612. After the Great Fire a narrow strip of ground was taken out of the E. side of the property into the newly-created Stocks or Woolchurch market. In the late 18th century, following the building of Mansion House, a further part of the property was removed and added to the street on the W. side of Mansion House known as Charlotte Street or Charlotte Row (see **118/16**). In 1855 that part of **118/14** which remained corresponded to no. 3 and to part of no. 2 Charlotte Row. These properties were removed between 1863 and 1871 when Queen Victoria Street was created.

i. Fourteenth to early sixteenth century

For the early history of the property of which this site formed part, see **118/15**.

In the late 13th century **14** was part of the capital tenement, (**118/15**), or the shops adjoining it, which belonged to Michael Tolesan, who died in or before 1312 leaving the property to his daughter - Sabina. This property is next known to have been in the possession of John atte Pole, whose tenement formerly belonging to Michael Tolesan in 1327 probably adjoined **118/12** to both the W. and the N.

Soon after this **118/14** appears to have been separated from **118/15**, and by 1342 was in the possession of William de Pumfreyt. It seems likely that the owner of **118/15** (probably John atte Pole) retained a quit-rent from **118/14** when the latter property was disposed of, since in 1489-90 Clerkenwell Priory, which by then possessed a substantial part of **15**, had a rent of 20s. p.a. from **14**. In 1342 William de Pumfreyt complained that John atte Pole (presumably still in possession of **15**) had five windows, two doors, and two openings overlooking his tenement in this parish, that water from atte Pole's house fell on to his land along a length of 40 ft. (12.19 m.), and that a stone wall 14 ft. (4.27 m.) long belonging to atte Pole, overhung his land by 1 ft. (0.30 m.). Neither of these two dimensions corresponds in length to either of the two walls common to **14** and **15** in the early 17th century, but the total length of the two walls (57 ft.; 17.37 m.) is very close to that of the sum of the two 14th-century dimensions, suggesting that the common boundaries of the properties in 1342 may have been the same as in the 17th century.[1]

By his will, dated and proved in 1349, William de Pumfreyt left the 4 shops with solars above which represented this property to his granddaughter Agnes, at that time wife of Nicholas Gemeulx, the son of Bartholomew Thomasyn. Each of these shops would probably have measured about 12 ft. 6 in. (3.81 m.) against the street frontage, and there had probably been shops in this position when Michael Tolesan owned the property. They seem to have been about the same size as the shops in the property which lay immediately to the N. (**15Aii**, **15C**). Under William de Pumfreyt's will the shops were to be charged with an annual rent of £4 for the upkeep of a chantry chaplain at St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark. Nothing more is known about this rent. The shops were entailed on Agnes's legitimate heirs, with remainder to the testator's nearest heirs. Later, after Agnes had married Richard de Haveryng, knight, these arrangements were altered by means of a conveyance to Roger Belgraunt, parson of the church of *Magna Cotes* (perhaps Great Cotes in Lincs.), and John Welbourne, clerk. In 1367 Belgraunt, presumably as the survivor of these feoffees, granted to de Haveryng and Agnes the tenements in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street and St. Mary Woolchurch (the latter being **118/14**) which Agnes had had by inheritance on the death of her grandfather. This estate was to be held to de Haveryng, Agnes, and their male heirs, with remainder to de Haveryng's son (presumably by a former marriage) John de Haveryng, Agnes's daughter Eleanor, John's brother Nicholas de Haveryng, Eleanor's sister Elizabeth, and the heirs of the four of them, and finally to the right heirs of Richard de Haveryng. The precise details of the intended remainder are not clear in the deed, which seems to mean that in default of male heirs arising from the marriage of Richard de Haveryng and Agnes the estate was to be divided between John, Eleanor, Nicholas and Elizabeth, and their heirs. In the event the properties appear to have been divided between Eleanor and Elizabeth, who were presumably the only survivors.[2]

Elizabeth was probably identical with the Elizabeth who married first Thomas Chelrey and then Thomas de la Pole, knight, and who died in or shortly before 1412. At her death this Elizabeth was

possessed of the moiety of shops and rent in St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street parish (presumably the former property of William de Pumfreyt), the moiety of a tenement outside Bishopsgate (where de Pumfreyt had also held property), and the moiety of 3 shops in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch. These 3 shops presumably occupied the site of the 4 shops bequeathed by William de Pumfreyt in 1349. Elizabeth had had 3 daughters by Thomas Chelrey. These were: Elizabeth, who in 1412 was wife of John Kyngeston, knight; Joan, who died before 1412 leaving a daughter Elizabeth by her husband Thomas Calston (who is crucial to the identification of the later descent of this property); and Sibyl. In 1412 the joint heirs to this moiety of the estate were the daughter Elizabeth, the granddaughter Elizabeth, and the daughter Sibyl, of whom the last two were minors. The property was now to be divided into 3 parts, of which one was to be delivered to Elizabeth and her husband John Kyngeston, who since he was later described as a former holder of **118/14** may for a time have controlled the whole property. The other two parts of Elizabeth's moiety were to be retained in the king's hands for the time being. Sibyl later married Thomas Bekyngham, esquire, and in 1418, when she had presumably come of age, the mayor was ordered to deliver seisin to her and her husband of her share of the estate, including her share of the moiety of the 3 shops representing **118/14**.^[3] The granddaughter Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Calston, had come of age by 1419, and the right to the entire property later descended through her (see below).

The other moiety of the estate, which had descended via Eleanor, passed to John Yonge, her son by Giles Yonge. In 1416, his parents being dead, John Yonge granted this moiety of an estate described as lands, tenements and rents in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Mary Woolchurch, and St. Botolph outside Bishopsgate, to John Noreys of Stevenage (Herts) and John Blounham vicar of Luton (Beds). By this deed John Yonge also conveyed his own rights in the whole estate which, with the moiety, had come to him by reason of the deaths of the coheireses of Lady Agnes Haveryng, namely his mother Eleanor and her sister Elizabeth. This may mean that John Yonge laid claim to the whole estate, being unaware that Elizabeth had any surviving heirs, but it is more likely that this conveyance to feoffees was intended to eliminate Yonge's claim to the entire property (both his mother's moiety and any right he may be supposed to have inherited from her sister) in preparation for consolidating the various rights into one claim.^[4]

By 1426-7 the whole estate, comprising properties in Milk Street, St. Mary Woolchurch parish, and near Bishopsgate, was in the possession of William Darell, esquire, who also held properties in Clement Lane. In a rental of 1427 **118/14** is represented by a house for which John Astowe owed £1. 12s. p.a. rent, and another property (not described) for which Nicholas Ctote (*sic*), butcher, owed £1. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent. Darell had married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Calston and his wife Joan, by 1419 when they were jointly suing for the recovery of the manor of Littlecote near Ramsbury (Wilts.), which had belonged to her father and which was due to descend to her. Darell presumably gained control of the London properties in the right of his wife, who either ended up as the sole surviving heir of Lady Agnes Haveryng or who (presumably with the aid of her husband) acquired the interests of the other heirs to Lady Agnes's estate. During the 1420s Darell built up a large estate in the neighbourhood of Ramsbury. He died before 1453. His wife Elizabeth survived him, and at her death in 1464 was in possession of properties in London which are identifiable as those described in the 1427 rental. The Littlecote property, where Elizabeth resided as well as in London, was entailed on the male heirs of herself and William Darell. After Elizabeth's death her son, George Darell, esquire, came into possession of the London property. At this time **118/14** consisted of 4 messuages.^[5]

George Darell died in 1474, leaving as heir his son Edward, then a minor. In 1496 Edward Darell, then a knight, with his wife Joan quitclaimed to Henry Edyall and William Lynton, clerks, and to Richard Elyot and John Soper in their properties in Cheapside and Milk Street (i.e. in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street), and in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch (i.e. **118/14**). By this means Richard Elyot, a well-known lawyer and later a judge, gained control of the property.^[6]

By 1489-90 Clerkenwell Priory was receiving a quit-rent of £1 p.a. from the property. This may have originated in the 14th century, perhaps when **118/14** was divided from **118/15**. This rent was acquired by the Crown on the dissolution of the priory in 1539, and was still being paid by the owners of the property in 1670.^[7]

ii. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Richard Elyot died in 1524. His London estate was to descend to his heirs and to those of his son Thomas and of his daughters. Elyot ordained in his will that in default of these heirs the estate was to pass to his cousin Thomas Somer and other members of Elyot's mother's family. By 1540 the 4 tenements with shops, cellars, and solars representing **118/14** were in the possession of John Rogers,

citizen and clothworker, but it is not known how this came about. In 1540 Rogers leased the 4 tenements to Robert Hyatt, citizen and tallow chandler, for a term of 30 years at £5. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent, the landlord to repair and pay quit-rents. At this time the tenants of the houses were Michael de Grewndey the elder, Michael de Grewndey the younger (they appear to have been brothers), Lawrence Hykyn, and Galyn Foppyn, cobbler. None of these tenants appears in the subsidy list for 1544. By his will, dated March 1552, Rogers left the 4 houses to the Clothworkers' Company, which was to use the income for the relief of poor members of the company. The Clothworkers were in possession of the property by Michaelmas 1552, and remained in possession until 1670 and beyond.[8]

The lease of the property was due to expire in 1570. In 1552-3 it was held by Abel Kechen, who paid £8 for 1 1/2 years rent. In the same year the Clothworkers' Company paid for the removal of 20 tons from the 'jakes' there, and in 1553-4 spent £3. 3s. 1/2d. on tiling, paving, and other repairs. Kechen continued as leaseholder until 1557, when the houses, which were old, were reported by the wardmote inquest as being liable to fall down. Kechen agreed to accept £5 for the surrender of his lease, and the company made an agreement with its clerk, John Browne, who was to pay £48 for the purchase of the 4 old houses and to rebuild them within a certain time. Browne had paid £45 of this sum by Michaelmas 1558. The details of the agreement are not known, but the houses had not been rebuilt by February 1559, when Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hawes proposed an arrangement whereby the money could be found to cover the cost of building both these old houses and some other ones belonging to the company in Mark Lane. If Hayward and Hawes were allowed to make a collection and borrow £800 from the company, out of which they would lend £100 for 5 years, they would at the end of 5 years repay those who had contributed, and pay for rebuilding the houses. Something on these lines was agreed. By November 1559 Browne had rebuilt the houses in St. Mary Woolchurch parish, making them into 3 'fair tenements' at a cost to himself of £204. Hayward and Hawes were to pay £144 to Browne, who was to recoup the remaining £60 in fines for the leases of the houses. Any tenant who took a lease was to have one sealed by the Clothworkers' Company, but not for a term longer than 24 years. Hayward and Hawes were to have bonds for the repayment of the £144 within 4 years, and were to have a lease of the 3 houses for a term of 4 years at a peppercorn rent. It thus seems that the company obtained the rebuilding of the property at no charge to its corporate funds, although it forfeited the fines on leases and the rental income for 24 (or 28) years. In 1569 the company redeemed the property, paying £160 to Browne, who was to make a conveyance to the company with warranty against only himself and his heirs. Browne conveyed the property to William Lambe, citizen and clothworker, who by a testament, dated 1573 and enrolled in 1580 left to the company these 3 houses, together with messuages in the parish of All Hallows Staining (evidently the Mark Lane property).[9]

The 3 new houses had been let under 2 leases, for which the Clothworkers' Company received the rent from 1570 onwards. John Sharpe, salter, occupied one house which he held on lease for £4 p.a. rent. In 1579 he was granted a new lease at the old rent for a term of 26 years from that year and for a payment of £15. He was to be responsible for repairs and not to annoy the neighbours by melting tallow or otherwise. Thomas Senyor succeeded Sharpe as leaseholder in 1587, and was succeeded in 1591 by Richard Stevenson, who was succeeded by Richard Webbe in 1597. Webbe took a new lease at about this time in return for a £40 fine paid in instalments of £10 between 1598 and 1602, when he was succeeded as tenant by Thomas Platt. In 1608 Platt was succeeded by Garrard (or Garret) Warde, who already held the other part of the property under a different lease.[10]

In 1570 the other two houses, probably representing the N. part of the property, were held by John Ryche, grocer, for £8 p.a. rent. In 1580 Ryche was said to occupy one of the houses, while the other had been occupied by Robert Gunston, merchant tailor. Ryche had practised the trade of grocer in St. Mary Woolchurch parish or Walbrook since at least as early as 1567, and continued to do so until 1578 or later. Gunston was probably his undertenant. His house included a warehouse, on a post of which in 1578 the Clothworkers' arms were to be set up as a sign of the company's ownership. The property which Ryche held from the Clothworkers' Company represented only a part of his establishment, the greater part of which consisted of the capital messuage and shops which he held freehold on the N. and W. sides of this property (see **118/15A**). In 1580, when the lease of **118/14** was about to fall in, Ryche offered £50 as a fine for a new lease of the 2 houses for 31 years from that summer at the old rent, the tenant to repair. The company demanded more and Ryche agreed to pay £60. Ryche died in 1593 and was succeeded by Garret Warde. In the rentals from 1602 onwards the 2 houses were said to have been turned into one. In 1608 it was agreed that if Warde surrendered his

lease he could have a new one for a term of 24 years for the old rent and a fine of 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.).[11]

Warde, a member of the Clothworkers' Company, died in 1612 and was succeeded by his widow Joan, who held the whole of **118/14** under 2 leases. Ralph Treswell surveyed the property in 1612, describing it as 'two tenements sometimes three now used as one tenement'. It appears to have been occupied by Joan Warde, and her husband had presumably lived there earlier. Treswell provided a plan with dimensions of the ground floor and a description of the other storeys. The structure clearly reflected its origin as the three houses built c. 1559. Its basis was a cellar which adjoined the street and ran the full length of the property from S. to N. (51 ft. 3 in.; 15.62 m.). The cellar measured between 11 ft. (3.35 m.) and 12 ft. (3.66 m.) in width internally, and was divided into 3 compartments, each of almost equal size. Above this was a 3 1/2 storey building of 3 bays, corresponding to the compartments of the cellar, and apparently largely of timber-framed construction. The plot was wider at the N. end than the S., and there were two small yards at the rear of the two more northerly bays. The southernmost bay extended the full depth of the plot, and on its N. side on each storey was about 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m.) deeper than the other bays. It is not known whether this was the original arrangement of the structure, or whether the original building had been enlarged towards the rear. The southernmost bay was described as a shop, and included a small, closed-off compartment in its S.W. corner. The middle bay was divided into two approximately equal compartments by a N-S. wall. The rear compartment contained a substantial chimney at its N. end, next to which was a large oven projecting into the yard. Both chimney and oven appear to have been of brick. Next to the oven was a narrow door leading into the yard. The front compartment of the middle bay was described as a shop. It contained steps leading down into the cellar, and at its N. end seems not to have been divided from the room occupying the northernmost bay, which was also described as a shop. This arrangement suggests that the two northerly bays corresponded to the two messuages which had been let to John Ryche and then united into one. A door led out of the northernmost shop into the yard, where, partly built into the structure of the oven, was a stair leading to the first floor. The function of the ground floor room containing the hearth and oven is uncertain. It was presumably not a kitchen, since there was a kitchen upstairs, and may have been used as a workroom in connection with the occupant's trade. To judge from their dimensions, the rooms on the first floor (described as the 'second story') jettied over the street by about 1 ft. (0.30 m.). At the N. end was a hall or chamber measuring 14 ft. 6 in. (4.42 m.) E.-W. by 17 ft. (5.18 m.) N.-S. 'with the chimney'. This chimney presumably backed on to and was built into the chimney structure shown in the plan of the ground floor. Next to this room and occupying the middle bay, was another chamber measuring 16 ft. 6 in. (5.03 m.) N.-S. 'with the chimney' and 15 ft. (4.57 m.) E.-W. This chimney was presumably directly over the one on the ground floor. Excepted from the latter measurement was a buttery over the oven. The landing of the stair leading up from the yard must have adjoined this buttery. The southernmost bay was occupied by a parlour and a kitchen measuring 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m.) N.-S. by 16 ft. 6 in. (5.03 m.) E.-W. and containing two chimneys. One or both of these chimneys were probably at the S. end, where there was also a chimney at garret level. The rooms of the second floor were perhaps jettied a further 1 ft. (0.30 m.) over the street. They comprised a chamber at the N. end measuring 15 ft. (4.57 m.) E.-W. by 16 ft. 6 in. (5.03 m.) N.-S. 'with the chimney', an adjacent chamber measuring 15 ft. (4.57 m.) E.-W. by 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m.) 'with the chimney and closet', and a chamber over the parlour and kitchen measuring 18 ft. 6 in. (5.64 m.) E.-W., by 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m.) N.-S. Above all these rooms were 3 garrets with a chimney at the S. end, measuring 51 ft. 6 in. (15.70 m.) in length by 14 ft. 6 in. (4.42 m.) in breadth.[12]

In all this house contained 15 rooms (including garrets, but excluding cellars and closets), of which 8 were said to include chimneys and were presumably heated. For Treswell's plan, and a reconstruction based on it and on his description, see Figs. 000 and 000.

Joan Ward probably continued to occupy this house until her death in 1622, when she was succeeded as tenant by her son George Ward, citizen and clothworker. One of the two leases under which the house was held was due to expire in 1632. In 1624 George Ward surrendered this lease and took a new one of the whole property for a term of 21 years at £12 p.a. rent and for payments of a fat buck and a fine of £60 payable in 6-monthly instalments of £20. Ward paid for some repairs to the messuage, now known as the sign of the Pomegranate, in consideration for which early in 1625 3 more years were added to his term. He continued to dwell in the house until his death in 1646, having in 1642 surrendered his old lease and taken a new one for a further 31 years for a fine of £50 and the old rent. In the tithe valuation of 1638 the property was described as two houses occupied by Mr. Ward, and was valued 'moderately' at £25 p.a. According to the poll tax return of 1641 the property

was occupied by 9 adults, namely George Ward himself, his wife Elizabeth, Anthony Ward, 'marces', John Rigbie, grocer (perhaps a lodger or undertenant), Matthew Tante, William Fauley, Joseph Nicholls, Joan Hanston, and Elizabeth Parker. In 1642, since the level of the street had recently been raised, both Ward and his neighbour to the N. (see **118/15Aii**) suffered from flooding when it rained, being 'in some sense drowned both backward and forward'. The Court of Aldermen ordered that this be remedied by lowering the street surface by 1 ft. (0.30 m.).[13]

George Ward's widow Elizabeth occupied the house until her death in 1652, when the lease passed to John Jeakell, who still held it at the time of the Great Fire. Jeakell was a parishioner of St. Stephen Walbrook parish at this time, and so did not live in this property.[14]

The house was destroyed by the Great Fire and rebuilt again afterwards by Jeakell as 3 houses. A strip of ground 2 ft. (0.61 m.) wide along the full length of the property was taken for widening the street: half the compensation money for this was paid to Jeakell, and half to the Clothworkers' Company. In return for his expenditure on building Jeakell was granted a new lease for a term of 51 years from 1669 at the old rent of £12 p.a.[15]

NOTES

- 1 HR 55(86); AN, no. 379; PRO, SC6/Hen 7/396.
- 2 HR 76(192), 95(113).
- 3 *Cal Fine R 1405-13*, p. 236; *Cal Close R 1413-19*, pp. 470-1; PRO, SC6/Hen 8/2116.
- 4 HR 144(76).
- 5 BL, MS Harley 1623, f. 7v; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* v, pp. 548-9; *Feudal Aids* v, 233, 240, 250, 268; *VCH Wilts* xi, 121, xii, 28, 31-2; *Abstracts of Feet of Fines relating to Wiltshire, 1377-1509*, ed. J.L. Kirby (Wilts. Rec. Soc., 41, 1986), no. 429; *Cal Close R 1461-8*, p. 223; PRO, PROB11/5, f. 31v.
- 6 *VCH Wilts* xii, 28; *Cal Close R 1476-85*, p. 53; HR 223(16); *DNB*, s.n. Elyot.
- 7 PRO: SC6/Hen 7/396; SC6/Hen 8/2116, 2396, m. 102d; LR2/262, f. 16. Clothworkers' Company, Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*.
- 8 PRO, PROB11/20, f. 190. Clothworkers' Co: Book of Deeds and Wills, pp. 221-2; Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*.
- 9 Clothworkers' Co.: Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*; Orders of Courts 1536-58, ff. 275v, 281, 302; *ibid.* 1558-81, ff. 3, 9, 127v, 132v. HR 264(24).
- 10 Clothworkers' Co.: Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*; Orders of Court 1558-81, f. 226v. HR 264(24).
- 11 Clothworkers' Co.: Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*; Orders of Court 1558-81, ff. 228v, 242; *ibid.* 1605-23, f. 38v. HR 264(24).
- 12 Clothworkers' Co., Treswell's Survey; *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. J. Schofield (LTS, no. 135, 1987), no. 45, p. 131; PRO, PROB11/119(51).
- 13 Clothworkers' Co.: Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*; Orders of Courts 1623-36, ff. 13v, 14; *ibid.* 1639-49, ff. 69, 93v. PRO, PROB11/193(108), E179/252/13. *Transcript of the Registers of the United Parishes of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurchhaw*, ed. J.M.S. Brooke and A.W.C. Hallen (London, 1886), 399; *Inhabitants in 1638* p. 121; Repts 55, ff. 442-3.
- 14 Clothworkers' Co., Quarter and Renter Wardens' a/cs, *passim*; Brook and Hallen, *op. cit.*, 401; PRO, E179/252/13, E179/252/32.
- 15 Clothworkers' Co.: Orders of Court 1665-83, pp. 156, 174; 'Particulars of lands and leases in London and elsewhere' (1670), f. 30v, 31. CLRO: Repts 77, ff. 102-3; Comptroller's Deeds, N/28. *M & O* iv, f. 139v.

ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 15

In the 13th century this was part of a large block of property belonging to the Tolesan family and extending from the street now known as Poultry on the N. to that now known as Bucklersbury on the S. This block comprised **132/15-20** in St. Mildred Poultry parish, and **118/12-15** in St. Mary Woolchurch parish. In the second half of the 13th century the block was divided into three parts, two in St. Mildred parish and one in St. Mary parish, corresponding to the parish groupings. In the early 14th century the part in St. Mary Woolchurch parish was further subdivided, the smaller houses on the street frontages of Bucklersbury to the S. and Walbrook to the E. (**12-14**), being separated from **15**, the larger house which lay behind them. **15** included a gate on the Bucklersbury frontage between **13** on the W. and **12** on the E., with a passage leading to it. It appears also to have included a small area on the Walbrook frontage between **14** on the S. and **16** on the N. In 1855 the site of the gate and of the greater part of **15** to the rear was represented by no. 26 Bucklersbury. The whole property was removed between 1863 and 1871 when Queen Victoria Street was created.

i. Thirteenth to early fifteenth century

For the early history of the Tolesan property, see **132/16**.

In the later 13th century the part of the Tolesan property within St. Mary Woolchurch parish, represented by **118/12-15** was probably in the possession of John Tolesan, who died in or before 1280, and then in that of his son John. Thus, by his will, enrolled in 1275, Odo the smith (*faber*) left to the nuns of Haliwell, for the benefit of his daughter Maud de la Cornere who was one of their number, a quit-rent of 6s. from the 'rent' that had belonged to John Tolesan in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch. This quit-rent was probably due from one of the small houses or 'rents' on the street frontage next to **15**, and seems later to have been charged on **13** (q.v.) By his will enrolled in January 1280, John de Tolesan left to his son John his 'rent' in this parish except for a stone house and the entry to it by means of a gate.[1] This stone house and gate were probably equivalent to **15**, while the 'rent' probably corresponded to **12-14** and to that part of **15** which adjoined the street.

The elder son of the John de Tolesan whose will was enrolled in 1280 was named Michael. He was probably the Michael de Tolosan, citizen, whose will was enrolled in November 1312 and who in 1376 was said to have died in 6 Edward II (1312-13). This Michael probably inherited the stone house and the gate mentioned in John de Tolesan's will, and probably also came into possession of the 'rent' which had been left to his brother John.

Michael was certainly in possession of the property by February 1280 when his land adjoined the south side of **132/16**. In 1302 he was accused of having broken down the fence between **132/16** and **118/15** and, in 1304, having refused to rebuild the decayed boundary wall between them, was ordered to give up a strip of land 3 ft. (0.91 m.) wide on which the owner of **132/16** was prepared to build a stone wall 16 ft. (4.88 m.) high. In his will, enrolled in 1312, Michael Tolesan left to his daughter Sabina his capital tenement *super Walebrok infra magnam portam*, together with two shops with solars above, all of which lay in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch. Michael had let the tenement and shops to *Baudechimus (sic) le Hosiere*, who held them on the day the will was made. Sabina was not to alienate the property, which was to pass to her legitimate heirs and the heirs of Michael's blood. She was to pay a rent of 10s. from the capital tenement to Michael's son John and to his heirs. Michael clearly intended the former family residence and the income from it to be kept in his line. In 1292 he had been taxed as an inhabitant of Walbrook ward, probably of this house. When he made his will he no longer dwelled there, but may have been living at Hoxton in the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, where he held land. To his sons John and Robert, and their legitimate heirs, Michael left all his shops and houses in this parish lying outside (*extra*) the capital tenement between the Walbrook stream on the W. and **118/16** on the N. Specifically excepted from this legacy were the two shops left to Sabina.[2] It thus seems likely that these two shops occupied a part of that part of **15** which extended as far as the Walbrook frontage on the E., while the other shops and houses corresponded to **12-14** and a part of **15**, or the greater part of them.

The next recorded owner of **15** was John atte Pole, alias John de la Pole, who may have held it by marriage to Sabina. He was probably the apothecary of that name who lived in Cheap Ward in 1319 and 1332.[3] This property, lying to the W. of **12**, and to the E. and N. of **13**, was described in 1325

and 1339 as John's tenement, and in 1347 as his former tenement. It was also described as a brewhouse. Some details of the eastern boundary wall, adjoining **14**, were recorded in 1342: John atte Pole had five windows, two doors, and two openings overlooking his neighbour's property; for lack of a gutter along a length of 40 ft. (12.19 m.; presumably the minimum length of the common boundary between the two properties), water from John's house fell on to his neighbour's land; and a stone wall overhung **14** by 1 ft. (0.30 m.).[4] In 1349 John atte Pole's son John complained that William Tythynglomb, poulter, Roger atte Tour, John Nasard, and Roger Tidi disseised him of a messuage in this parish which probably represented a part of **15** (perhaps that part on the E. frontage). Tythynglomb was at this time tenant of the messuage, and admitted the disseisin. Judgement was that the plaintiff should recover possession, but that the other defendants had been wrongly accused. The property later passed from John atte Pole (presumably the younger) to his widow Katharine, who in 1362 made pleas of intrusion concerning tenements in this and other parishes against Felicia, widow of John de Romeseye, tailor, Simon de Chikkesond, and Richard de Knolles.[5]

The property is next recorded in an inquisition of 1376 concerning the former holdings of Michael Tolosan, of whom no heirs then survived. **15** can be identified among the properties listed in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch as a capital tenement on Walbrook with two shops annexed to it 'on the E. side of Bucklersbury', then held by one Elizabeth, whose title to the property was not known. The two shops almost certainly occupied the E. frontage next to the street known as Walbrook. Elizabeth was clearly the Elizabeth Burlee whose tenement lay to the N. of **13** in 1377. The nature of her interest at this stage is unknown, but by an indenture dated Christmas 1391 Clerkenwell Priory granted her a lease of this property for a term of 200 years at £4 p.a. rent, the tenant being responsible for repairs. From later references it is clear that the property was described in this lease as divers lands and tenements lying within a great gate on Walbrook (presumably in the sense that the lands and tenements lay on the Walbrook stream) together with the gate itself and two shops with a solar over them lying opposite the cemetery of St. Mary Woolchurch. A reference to this lease in 1539 described the property as a capital tenement with other tenements and houses built on it, and it is possible that this phrase was also used in the 1391 lease. The date at which Clerkenwell Priory acquired this property, defined here as **15A**, is not known. It was presumably after 1362, but may have been before 1376 when Elizabeth Burlee is first known to have held it. Elizabeth was married to Robert Burlee, citizen and mercer, and may herself have had a title to the property, which she may have conveyed to the priory. This latter possibility is suggested by the fact that she seems to have been in possession of a part of the property (defined here as **15B**) in 1382, when she complained that Stephen atte Halle, John Senesterre, brewer, and John's wife Alice had disseised her of a plot of land in St. Mary Woolchurch parish measuring 28 ft. by 24 ft. (8.53 m. by 7.32 m.). Elizabeth Burlee also held **132/16**, so that there may have been some adjustment of the boundary between these properties at this time. The case was found in Elizabeth's favour. The defendants may have been tenants of that part of the property where the brewhouse stood. Elizabeth was probably already a widow by 1377. She died between 1400 and 1404.[6]

Elizabeth left most of her properties to be sold by her executors, who in November 1404 sold to Philip Keys, rector of St. Martin Vintry, and to Thomas Mallyng her interest in the lands and tenements and the two shops held from Clerkenwell Priory under the lease of 1391 (**15A**), together with two shops containing 12 ft. (3.66 m.) in breadth by 20 ft. (6.10 m.) in length with a solar over them (defined here as **15C**), and a plot of land with a house partly built on it, all in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch. This plot of land may have been identical with the one of which Elizabeth Burlee had recovered possession in 1382 (**15B**). It had presumably not been acquired by Clerkenwell Priory, and was now said to lie between the two shops (**15C**) on the E., the tenement which Elizabeth held of the priory (**15A**) on the W. and S., and a tenement identifiable as **118/16** on the N. All these properties probably comprised **15** and their probable arrangement is shown on Fig. 00. A complicating factor is that the freehold of **132/16**, a property known as the 'Saracen's Head' which adjoined **118/15** to the N., was subject to the same conveyance, and to the others which followed it, so that it is difficult from later references to determine where the boundary between the two properties lay. In April 1405 Keys and Mallyng conveyed these properties to Richard Michell, grocer, and Robert Whytyngham, tailor, and William Cresewyk, all citizens, and to John Broughton. These feoffees appear to have conveyed them to another set of feoffees, and in 1418 William Olyver, citizen and grocer, John Sproxton, and John West, clerk, conveyed them to Robert Chichele, citizen and grocer, his wife Elizabeth, John Sayer of London, William Michell and Thomas Cattesworth, citizens and grocers, and William Huntynghdon, clerk. William Olyver probably had the use of the properties, and in 1421 his surviving cofeoffees, Elizabeth now being dead, conveyed their interest to him and his heirs and assigns.[7]

15C, the two shops containing 12 ft. by 20 ft. (3.66 m. by 6.10 m.), had formerly been among the shops and houses which Michael Tolesan had left to his sons John and Robert under his will proved in 1312 (see above). In 1342 this Robert, under the name of Robert Tulesan, granted to Walter le Bret, citizen (who had married Robert's father's widow Juliana), the wardship of his daughter Joan together with her tenements in St. Mary Woolchurch parish until she came of age. These tenements may have included the two shops. The two shops are first mentioned specifically in 1376 as being then held by courtesy by Thomas atte Barnet, citizen and mason, who had married Katharine daughter of Robert Tolosan. Atte Barnet had probably established his claim to the property in 1351, when he and his wife Katharine complained of intrusion by William Tythynglomb, apparently long-established as tenant of this part of **15** (see above), concerning a tenement in St. Mary Woolchurch parish. In 1377 atte Barnet granted his life interest in these properties to William Burdeyn and Thomas Panton, citizens and goldsmiths. In 1393 Thomas Barnet was said to have conveyed his estate in the two shops to Elizabeth Burlee, who in that year obtained a royal ratification of her estate in them in return for a future payment of £3. 6s. 8d. Since Katharine had died without heirs, the shops were due to escheat to the king, from whom Elizabeth on this occasion obtained a grant in fee simple of the shops after Thomas Barnet's death.[8]

ii. Early fifteenth to late seventeenth century

In this period the separate parts of **15** passed through different successions of owners.

15A

In this period the tenant of the Clerkenwell Priory property, the freeholder of the remaining part of **15**, and the freeholder of **132/16** seem frequently to have been the same person. This makes it difficult to identify references to these separate properties in the abutments which are recorded for the N. and E. sides of **118/13**. **118/13** was always bounded on the E. by **118/15A**, but on the N. it appears to have been bounded at times by **118/15A** and at times by **132/16**. Thus in 1392 the tenement of Robert Dane, mercer, adjoined the N. and E. sides of **118/13**. This may be a garbled reference to the former husband of Elizabeth Burlee (see above), but otherwise presumably refers to a man who held **15A** as a tenant or under-tenant of Elizabeth. A series of references between 1432 and 1499 indicate that at that time **15A** adjoined the E. side of **13** while **132/16** adjoined its N. side. In 1419 **15A** was a tenement of Robert Chichele, grocer, which had lately belonged to William Olyver, and in 1448 it was a tenement of Thomas Holme inhabited by John Sturgeon. By 1459 John Colvyle, citizen and grocer, had succeeded Holme. In 1499 **15A**, a former messuage of William Wykyng, citizen and alderman, lay on the N. and E. sides of **13**, which was also adjoined on the N. side by a tenement probably to be identified as **132/16**.[9]

A Clerkenwell Priory rental of 1489-90 described this as a messuage held formerly by Sir John Colvile and now by J. Joseph for the £4 rent. Between 1524 and 1535 Sir John Clerke, draper, was recorded as paying this rent to the priory for the property, and was said, presumably in error, formerly to have paid £6. 13s. 4d. rent for it. He was presumably the John Clerk, draper, assessed as a resident of St. Mary Woolchurch parish and Walbrook Ward with goods worth £200 in 1522 and with goods worth £900 in 1544. In 1539, when Clerkenwell Priory was dissolved, the property passed to the Crown. There is no record of the tenant between then and 1545, when this and many other properties were sold to John Gates, the king's servant, and Thomas Throgood. **15A** was one of the properties in this group for which the purchase price was calculated at 11 years' rent (i.e. £44 for **15A**). The existing lease of the property was presumably not due to terminate until 1591. In the particulars and in the grant **15A** was described as a capital tenement (presumably on the site of the former capital tenement of Michael Tolesan), and another tenement adjacent to it. The latter may have occupied the site of the two shops mentioned in the lease of 1391.[10]

The freehold of **15A** was probably acquired soon after 1545 by John Clerk, who probably continued to live there. He was perhaps the John Clerk the elder of St. Mary Woolchurch parish who died in or before 1549. The John Clarke of the same parish, who died in or before 1578, may have been a son. The property came into the possession of Clement Clarke, perhaps another son, who died in or before 1584, when he was a gentleman resident in Essex. In 1556 Clement leased this capital messuage to William Shakilton for a term of 21 years at £13. 13s. 4d. rent. Shakilton paid brotherhood money to the Grocers' Company as a resident of Bucklersbury between 1565 and 1567, when he perhaps ceased to dwell in **15A**. In 1575 Clement's son, Andrew Clarke of Bocking (Essex), gentleman, who had presumably been given the property by his father, sold the capital messuage with shops, cellars, solars, chambers, etc, to John Ryche, citizen and grocer, for the sum of £406. 13s. 4d.

Ryche may have lived there for a while, but in September 1593, when he died as an esquire dwelling at Deptford (Kent), **15A** consisted of two messuages then occupied by John Stokley, citizen and grocer. The property presumably passed to John Ryche's son and heir William Ritche, then aged 40 or more.[11] John Ryche had also had a leasehold interest in two small houses adjoining **15A** on the Walbrook frontage (see **14**).

At about this time the two messuages probably passed into separate ownership. They are identified here as **15Ai**, the larger part of the property with an entry towards Bucklersbury, and **15Aii**, the part of the property which adjoined the Walbrook frontage.

15Ai

In 1601 this tenement, on the E. side of **13**, then or lately belonged to Henry Beere and was then or lately held or occupied by John Stockley, merchant. In 1612 the property, or the part of it which adjoined **14**, belonged to Mrs. Becher, and in 1624 the messuage which adjoined **132/16** to the S., and which was among those adjoining the same property to the W., had belonged to John Newman, deceased. In 1635 Thomas Morrice, esquire, of Westminster and his wife Anne sold **15Ai** to John Fowler, citizen and clothworker, for £700. The property was described as a capital messuage with rooms, chambers, lights, easements, passages, cellars, and solars, formerly in the tenure or occupation of John Stockley, citizen and merchant tailor, then in that of William Walton, citizen and clothworker, and now in that of Fowler himself. Stockley was evidently the man of that name who had died in 1614, and may have been the son of the grocer who had occupied **15A** in 1593 (see above). Fowler was still living here in 1638, when his house was 'moderately' valued at £40 p.a. Fowler, a member of the Clothworkers' Company, inhabited the house in 1641 along with his wife Katharine and 6 other adults: Richard Fowler, Joseph Fowler, John Deane, Alice Hoode, Francis (or Frances) Wouldhawmoore, and Henry Reigner, stranger and servant. Fowler's widow Katharine subsequently married George Henley of London, merchant, with whom, in 1643, she quitclaimed her right in the capital messuage to Joshua Fowler, merchant, in return for a payment of £225.[12]

In 1669, after the Great Fire, a foundation was set out on this site for Henry Wagstaff. The accompanying survey is the basis for the reconstruction of the property adopted here. It shows a large, irregularly shaped site bounded on the E. by properties (including **15Aii**) fronting on Walbrook, on the W. by the Walbrook stream (now described as the 'city shoare') and on the S. by **12** and **13**, between which there was a passage (or site of a house) about 10 ft. (3.05 m.) wide and 30 ft. (9.14 m.) long leading to Bucklersbury. On the north the boundary common to **118/15A** and **132/16B** followed an indented line. The two separate surveys of these properties, both made in 1669, show this boundary as having approximately the same form, but disagree as to its position. In May 1670 Henry Wagstaffe, grocer, as holder of **118/15** allowed a small piece of ground to the holder of **132/16B** in compensation for having increased his lights overlooking a yard within the latter property (q.v.). The nature of Wagstaffe's interest in **15A** is not known. He probably succeeded Captain Giles Traveree who is named as the holder of this property in some slightly earlier surveys of adjoining sites.[13]

15Aii

In 1612 this was the property on the N. side of **118/14** held by Matthew Hilliarde, tenant of Mr. Clarke of Cambridgeshire. The landlord was presumably a descendant of the John Clerke, draper, who had owned **15** in the 1540s. At about this date one Elizabeth, mother of John Clarke, and now married to Richard Jennens, had a life interest in one or two messuages in St. Mary Woolchurch parish which evidently corresponded to **15Aii**, and which was (or were) due to remain to John Clarke on her death. Michael Alexander was in the process of acquiring the property. By an indenture on which the date no longer survives, but which was probably drawn up c. 1613, John Clarke and Richard Jennens sold to Michael Alexander for £66. 13s. 4d. a messuage with shops, cellars, solars, halls, chambers, rooms, and lights lying in St. Mary Woolchurch parish near the Stocks and known as the 'Flower de Luce'. In 1613, in a final concord, John Clarke, gentleman, and his wife Anne, quitclaimed to Michael Alexander in two messuages in this parish in return for a payment of £100. These two messuages probably corresponded to **15Aii**, although the possibility that one of them was part of another property cannot be excluded. In 1618 Richard Jennens and his wife Elizabeth, in return for a payment of £80, sold to Michael Alexander Elizabeth's life interest in a messuage (probably **15Aii**) in this parish, the reversion of which Alexander had already purchased from Elizabeth's son John.[14]

Alexander and his family retained possession of the property until 1670 or later. In April 1625 Michael Alexander, citizen and merchant tailor, out of affection for his then wife Katharine covenanted that he and his heirs and all who may have been seised of a tenement in this parish then in

the tenure or occupation of Matthew Hiller or his assigns, would remain so seised for the term of their lives. A few days later Alexander and his wife Katharine leased the tenement, with its shops, cellars, solars, chambers, rooms, lights, and easements, and its wainscot and implements to Matthew Hiller, citizen and grocer, for a term of 31 years at £24 p.a. rent. Hiller was presumably identical with the Matthew Hilliarde mentioned as tenant in 1612. The occupant of this tenement in 1638 was probably Mr. Worth, with a house 'moderately' valued at £35 p.a. He was probably the Zachary Worth, listed in a local assessment in 1635, who in 1641 with his neighbour to the south (**14**) complained that the paving in Walbrook had been so raised that their houses flooded when it rained. In 1641 Worth, a member of the Haberdashers' Company, inhabited the house along with his wife Joan, John Smith, Thomas Donall, Elizabeth Vyner, and Grace Bracegirdle. Zachary Worth probably continued to dwell here until his death in 1650. By his will, dated 1638, Michael Alexander left this messuage to his wife Sarah for the term of her life. The lease granted in 1625 was due to expire in March 1656. The following January (1657) Sarah Alexander, now a widow and living at Windsor (Berks), together with her daughter Sarah and her daughter's husband, Timothy Cruso the younger of London, merchant, granted a new lease of the messuage known as the 'Flower de Luce' to John Worth, citizen and salter, and presumably a relative of Zachary Worth, for a term of 11 years, should Sarah Alexander live so long, paying annual rents of £24 to Sarah Alexander and £20 to Cruso and his wife, a total annual value of £44.[15] John Worth ceased to occupy the messuage in or before 1666, and was succeeded by one Nicholls (see below).

The £20 rent payable to Cruso and his wife arose from a provision in Michael Alexander's will that his daughter Sarah should have £20 a year out of the messuage after the expiry of the lease granted in 1625. After his wife Sarah's death the residue of the rent was to remain to his eldest son William for life, and after the deaths of this William, of William's mother Sarah and of William's sister Sarah, the messuage was to remain to William's eldest son and his heirs for ever. The house was destroyed by the Great Fire, and in October 1669, the lease of 1657 having expired, Sarah widow of Michael Alexander leased the toft where the house had stood to John West, scrivener, at a peppercorn rent for a term of 99 years, should she live so long. By November 1670 Sarah the daughter, her husband Cruso having died, had granted the £20 rent to William Smith. William Alexander's eldest son William had died, leaving his next son Thomas as his heir apparent with some interest in the property. In March 1670 William Alexander, of Chipping Ongar (Essex), gentleman, granted to his son Thomas in return for a payment of 5s. his reversionary interest in the ground measuring 20 ft. by 24 ft. (6.10 m. by 7.32 m.) which represented the site of the messuage lately occupied by one Nicolls and before that by John Worth. Thomas was to hold the ground at a peppercorn rent for a term of 99 years after the death of William's mother Sarah, should William live so long. West was willing to rebuild with some encouragement, but in the Fire Court in November 1670 it was declared that Thomas Alexander was willing to rebuild if he had some contribution from West and Smith. West, however, had already rebuilt and sought a term of 40 years to be added to the term he already had for the life of Sarah Alexander. The court felt that West should be preferred. Thomas Alexander's representative argued that since the new house fronted on to the newly-created Stocks market place, it was worth at least £60 a year, by comparison with £44 before the fire, even though West had added a part of the site to an adjacent house and had left another part unbuilt. West denied this, saying that he had only left an area measuring 8 ft. by 4 ft. (2.44 m. by 1.22 m.) unbuilt, that he had built a storey higher than he was obliged to, and that he had lost more than £350 in building. Finally the court decreed that West should retain his interest and have a term of 60 years from 1670, paying rents of £13 to Sarah Cruso and £7 to Thomas Alexander.[16]

No survey of the site survives, but its bounds can be plotted from surveys of adjacent properties, which indicate a site of a size very close to that defined in William Alexander's deed of 1670. These other surveys name Mr. Worth as owner of the property, presumably because he had been the leaseholder until the eve of the Great Fire. The property immediately to the north (**15B** and **15C**) was surveyed for John West, who was presumably responsible for rebuilding these two adjacent sites.[17]

15B and 15C

In 1426 William Olyver granted this plot of land (**15B**) and two shops (**15C**) to Richard Ketrych, John Luttur, and Thomas Holme, citizens and grocers. Richard and John gave up their right to Thomas, who then leased the properties back to Olyver for the term of his life. In November 1432 Thomas Holme conveyed the reversion of these properties on Olyver's death to Thomas Catworth, John Bacoun, and the said Ketrych and Luttur, all citizens and grocers. This conveyance seems to have been security for a sum of 500 marks which Holme was to pay the others at Easter 1433. By an

agreement drawn up later in November 1432 Holmes was to recover the reversion of the properties once he had paid the 500 marks by instalments of 25 marks payable at Easter and Michaelmas from 1433 onwards. The debt was not paid, and in 1441, William Olyver and John Bacoun having died, Catworth, Keteryche and Luttur granted the properties to Richard Hakedy and Thomas Knolles, grocers, and to Henry Bray and Thomas Cook, junior, drapers. Immediately afterwards Thomas Holmes quitclaimed to these feoffees. In 1481 Thomas Babham, citizen and grocer, and his wife Margaret granted **15B** and **15C** to Thomas Oo, grocer, and John Parker, scrivener, both citizens, and to Thomas Ryngston of London, gentleman. Ryngston died, and in 1486 Babham and Margaret quitclaimed to the other two feoffees. In the grants of 1432 and 1441 **15B** and **15C** were described in much the same terms as in earlier records. The grant of 1486, and probably also that of 1481 described them more precisely, and in a way which suggests that the boundary between **118/15A** and **132/16** had been adjusted. The two shops (**15C**) were now said to lie between a tenement of Clerkenwell Priory (probably corresponding to the two shops in **15A** described in 1391) to the S. and **118/16** to the N. The plot of land (**15B**) was bounded by **15C** on the E., **15A** on the S., **118/16** on the N., and **132/16** on the W.[18] It thus appears that a piece of ground on the W. side of **15B** which had once been part of **15A** had now been transferred to **132/16**. This rearrangement may account for the indentation which was a distinctive feature at the E. end of the boundary between **118/15A** and **132/16** in the 17th century.

In 1635 the property may have been occupied by Robert Laynder, listed in a local assessment of that year. In 1638 it was probably the two houses 'moderately' valued at £35 p.a. together, for which Mr. Grove was listed as the tithepayer. In 1641 one of these houses was probably that inhabited by Robert Lander, a member of the Grocers' Company, with his wife Martha, Walter Vygers, and Elizabeth Lambing. The other was probably that inhabited by John Grove, a member of the Clothworkers' Company, along with Humphrey Blower, clothworker, Robert Pearson, John Birch, William Summerton, Dorothy Gibbes, and Thomas Leigh, gentleman: Blower and Leigh may have been lodgers. Later there were certainly two tenements on the site, both belonging to William Lawson, who in 1657 leased one of them to Roger Kempe, citizen and skinner, for a term of 21 years from Christmas 1658 at £40 rent, and in 1658 leased the other to Thomas Hawkins for a term of 21 years from Christmas that year at £12 rent and for a payment of £60. 10s. In about 1663 William Tibbs, citizen and stationer, purchased the title from Lawson. Kempe was living in one of the houses at the time of the Great Fire, but afterwards refused to rebuild it on the grounds that it was intermixed with the other one, then held by Judith Hawkins, widow of Thomas Hawkins, and that he did not know the dimensions of the property. In the Fire Court in 1667 Kempe claimed to have spent £200 in settling elsewhere. After discussion it emerged that Kempe had spent £100 on a fine and more on repairs. So far as the site was concerned, he had removed lead from his own cisterns melted by the fire, and apparently also some of his landlord's lead; he also owed some arrears of rent. Judith Hawkins was poor and could not rebuild, and wanted some compensation for the fine her husband had paid. The court ultimately decreed that Kempe should pay Tibbs £14. 16s., that Judith Hawkins should receive 36s., and that both leases should be surrendered. Rebuilding was eventually undertaken by John West, for whom the site was surveyed in 1669. He may have adjusted the boundary with **15Aii** (q.v.) to the S., which he also rebuilt. Kempe's interest had been in the northern part of the property since he was named as a neighbour in a survey of **118/16**. [19]

NOTES

- 1 HR 7(75), 11(3).
- 2 HR 12(27), 13(39), 41(31); AN, nos. 30, 66; Ekwall *Subsidy Rolls*, 174.
- 3 Ekwall *Subsidy Rolls*, 289.
- 4 HR 53(82), 55(86), 66(52), 74(123); AN, no. 379.
- 5 PA, no. 69; HPL 84, mm. 3, 4.
- 6 HR 114(114), 133(8, 32); *Cal Inq PM* xiv, pp. 282-3; PRO, SC6/Hen 8/2396, m. 96d; PA, no. 165.
- 7 HR 133(32, 68), 146 (34), 149(43).
- 8 *LBF*, pp. 73-4 (f. 60v); HPL 73, m. 1; *Cal Inq PM* xiv, pp. 282-3; HR 105(73); *Cal Pat R 1391-6*, p. 302.
- 9 HR 120(54), 161(17), 177(2), 187(40), 225(17).
- 10 PRO: SC6/Hen 7/396; SC6/Hen 8/2116; SC11/985; E318/11/471, mm. 11, 13; C66/767, mm. 4-7; E179/251/15B; E179/144/123, m. 56. *L & P Hen VIII* xix (i), p. 623.
- 11 PRO: PROB11/32(30); PROB 11/61(13), PROB11/67(14). HR 260(39); *Abs Inq PM* iii, 197-8; GL, MS 11571/6, *passim*.

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- 12 Clothworkers' Company, Treswell Surveys; HR 280(12), 301(4), 312(7), 319(45); PRO, E179/252/13, PROB11/123(7).
13 *M & O* iv, ff. 108, 109v, 139v, 187v.
14 HR 161(13, 14), 169(43, 45), 218(22). Clothworkers' Company, Deeds, Box 30, nos. 17-18.
15 Clothworkers' Company, Deeds, Box 30, nos. 19-21, 24; HR 302(9); Reps 55, ff. 335v, 442v, 443; *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121; PRO, SP16/310/18, E179/252/13; PROB6/25(177).
16 Clothworkers' Company, Deeds, Box 30, nos. 23-4; BL, Add. MS 5089, no. 24.
17 *M & O* iv, ff. 139v, 176.
18 HR 161(13, 14), 169(43,45), 218(22).
19 PRO, SP16/310/18, E179/252/13, *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121; *Fire Court* i, 144-5; *M & O* iv, ff. 103, 176.

ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH: 16

This property occupied the corner between the streets now known as Poultry and Walbrook, on the N. and E. respectively. It was bounded on the W. by properties in St. Mildred Poultry parish (**132/15-16**), and on the S. by a part of **118/15**. The site of the property can be identified from the plans of two foundations laid out there after the Great Fire. At this time a piece of ground was taken out of the property in order to enlarge Poultry on the N., and a narrow strip on the E. was taken as part of the newly-created Stocks or Woolchurch market laid out on the site of the former Stocks market house and of the church and cemetery of St. Mary Woolchurch. After the building of the Mansion House between 1739 and 1759 on the site of Woolchurch market, there was only a narrow space between **118/16** and the new building. Later, probably soon after 1775, this was widened by removing the greater part of **118/16** and smaller parts of the properties to the S., thus creating the street on the W. side of Mansion House known as Charlotte Street or Charlotte Row.[1] In the 1850s that part of **118/16** which remained was identical with no. 27 Poultry and no. 1 Charlotte Row. These properties were themselves removed between 1863 and 1871 when Queen Victoria Street was created.

i. Early history and quit-rents: late twelfth to sixteenth century

In the 13th century this property was bounded to the W. and S. by a block of land belonging to the Tolesan family (see **132/16**), but there is no indication that this property was ever part of that block. The earliest reference to **118/16**, dating from 1227, indicates that at that time it belonged to the Blunt family. The Blunts were an important aldermanic family, well established in this area of London during the late 12th and early 13th century. They owned a large block of land immediately opposite this site on the N. side of Poultry, where the family residence was situated (see **132/12**). The Blunts presumably acquired **118/16** as an outlier to that establishment.

In 1227 William de Blemonte granted to the priory of Holy Trinity by Aldgate an annual quit-rent of 20s. which Robert son of Bartholomew, alderman, had been accustomed to render from **118/16**, which was described as a certain land with houses in the parish of St. Mary *de Newchurch* (i.e. Woolchurch) between the land of Michael Tolesan (**132/16**) on the W. and a lane (*viculus*) next to the cemetery of *Newcherch* on the E. leading to *Bokerelesbury*. [2] William de Blemonte had been prominent as a property holder in London and its environs since the late 12th century, but it is not known how he acquired his interest in this property. Robert was the Robert Blunt (*Blundus*) who had been one of the sheriffs of London in 1197-8, and who died in or shortly before 1219. Most of his lands passed to his son Andrew, a knight and a member of the Staffordshire and Essex gentry who nevertheless continued to be active in London, where he used **132/12** as a residence. Andrew died in 1259. [3] By 1258-9 he or his father had disposed of **16**, retaining only a quit-rent from it. [4] A record of the rent due to Holy Trinity Priory names Simon Blund as holder of this property after Robert son of Bartholomew and before Andrew Blund. [5] Simon was another son of Robert but, since he was a cleric in Dublin, presumably resigned his interest in this property to his brother Andrew.

By a charter datable to 1258-9 Andrew Blund gave to his sons Hugh and Henry quit-rents totalling 9s. 3/4d. p.a. due from several properties including this one. Andrew seems to have made a slightly different disposition by his will, enrolled in 1259, by which he left to his wife Helen during her lifetime all his rents and tenements in London, with the provision that after her death this estate was to be divided equally between Hugh and Henry. By 1301 Hugh, as Sir Hugh Blunt, knight, was in sole possession of the London estate. [6] He seems to have had a larger interest in **16** than that implied by his father's grant of 1258-9, since by a deed of 1301 x 1304 Hugh granted to his younger son Robert le Blound quit-rents totalling £3. 2s. p.a. from **16**. In the last year of his life Andrew Blunt may have been confused over the exact nature of his interest there, but there can be little doubt that he was no longer seised of the property, since Serlo de la Bordhawe was in possession. [7]

In the early 14th century the Blunt family interest consisted of a quit-rent of £2 p.a. due from the main part of the property (**16B**, see below, section ii) and one of £1. 2s. p.a. from two shops at its N.W. corner (**16A**, see below). After 1304 only the £2 rent is mentioned. Robert le Blound died in or before 1318, before his father, and the rent descended to his eventual heir, Hugh III (son of a Hugh who had also predeceased his father: see **132/12**). As Sir Hugh le Blount, knight, Hugh III, by his will dated and enrolled in 1361, left the rent to his younger son Thomas. There then followed a complex,

and not fully explicable dispute between two branches of the Blunt family (see **132/12**), as a result of which the £2 rent due from **16** came into the possession of John Blunt II of Beversbrook (Wilts), great-grandson of Henry son of the Andrew Blunt who had died in 1259. This John Blunt leased his rents and tenements in London to Richard Sutton, a king's sergeant, for a term of 13 years from 1368. Sutton then bequeathed his interest to his wife Katharine and to his son. Katharine then married Robert Lucas of London, goldsmith, who by means of an intermediary had his wife's interest transferred to himself, and obtained Sutton's son's interest from the son's guardian. Lucas then conveyed his interest for the remainder of the term of 13 years to William Rikil, Stephen Wyvile of the Isle of Wight, and Thomas Foxcote of Gloucestershire. In 1374 John Blunt quitclaimed his interest in these properties, including the rent from **16**, to these grantees, with the proviso that if he paid them £52 at Easter 1378 the quitclaim would be nullified and he would regain possession of the properties at the end of the term of 13 years. In 1375 these grantees assigned their interest in the properties to John Ive, clerk, Robert Bristy, clerk, and John Waleys. Thomas Blount, son of Hugh III, had not given up his claim to the £2 rent from **16**, and later in 1375 granted a total of 48s. p.a. out of this and another rent in the same parish to William Batesford, Thomas Cook, chaplain, Stephen son of Thomas de Bettenham, and Henry Perot. Later the same year Thomas Blount quitclaimed his right in the remaining part of the same rent to William de Halden. Thomas Blount's elder brother, John Blount of Essex, also claimed the rent, which was listed as being among his possessions in London in 1376, when he was unable to repay a debt.[8]

John Blunt II of Beversbrook failed to pay his debt of £52, and his former interest in the £2 rent passed from Robert Lucas to his widow Margery, who then married Henry Bamme, citizen and goldsmith. In 1383 Bamme and Margery sold their interest in this and other properties to Thomas Erl, citizen and mercer, John Pays, Robert Iynggho, citizen and salter, and Stephen Spelman, citizen and mercer. Later that year John Blount of Beversbrook and his wife Cristina quitclaimed to these grantees. In 1395 Jocosa, daughter of the John Blount of Essex who had been in debt in 1376, and her husband John Mapes quitclaimed to Stephen Speleman, who thus ended up in sole and apparently undisputed possession of the £2 rent from **16**. This is the latest identifiable reference to the former Blunt family interest in the property.[9]

The 20s. p.a. quit-grant acquired by Holy Trinity Priory in 1227 appears to have been paid for most of the 13th and 14th centuries. It probably fell into arrears towards the end of the 14th century. The prior's complaint in 1392 of intrusion concerning a tenement in St. Mary Woolchurch parish was probably associated with this rent. In 1408 he complained that he had been disseised of the 20s. rent, which was found to have been in arrears for 1 1/2 years. On this occasion the prior remitted the arrears. There are no later references to the rent, which probably lapsed during the 15th century.[10]

By the mid 14th century St. Paul's cathedral owned a quit-rent of 13s. 4d. p.a. from the property, which probably by then, and certainly by c. 1400, was part of the endowment of the obit of John Romeyn, the archbishop of York who had died in 1296. The origin of this rent is uncertain. It may be associated with a transaction of 1258 by which Serlo de la Bordhawe sold to St. Paul's a rent of 13s. 4d. from his property in St. Mary Colechurch parish (**105/8**), making his property in St. Mary Woolchurch parish (i.e. this property, **118/16**) liable for distraint in case of arrears. St. Paul's is not known later to have been owed rent from the holding in St. Mary Colechurch parish, and so may have managed to transfer the liability for the rent to this property, and may then have assigned the rent to Romeyn's obit. The first explicit reference to the rent due from this property is in a rental of 1355-6, when it was listed with rents which were unpaid but could be levied with the support of the chapter of St. Paul's. Between 1391 and 1488 the 13s. 4d. rent was entered in St. Paul's rentals as being in default and unleviable without a plea. The rent was apparently 49 years in arrears in 1525-6, and in 1548 was said to be 70 years in arrears. On the suppression of the chantries, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's became obliged to pay this rent to the Crown, which in 1572 granted the right to the rent back to them. The rent seems not to have been levied at all in this period, and ceased to be mentioned in the St. Pauls' records in 1593.[11]

By his will enrolled in 1274 Geoffrey Godard, citizen, left a rent of 6s. 8d. from this tenement to the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, in order to pay for the celebration of a trental of masses. In an inquisition of 1369 this rent was recorded as still being due from the property along with the rents due to Holy Trinity Priory (20s.), the heirs of Hugh Blunt (£2), and the church of St. Paul (13s. 4d.). The inquisition records that a fifth rent, of 9s. p.a., was due from the property to the church of St. Mary Woolchurch. No other reference to this rent of 9s. has been found.[12]

ii. The freehold and occupants: thirteenth to early sixteenth century

In his grant of quit-rent to his sons Hugh and Henry in 1258-9 Andrew Blund mentioned two parts of this property. These were the larger part (**16B**), described as a tenement between the capital messuage of John Tolosan (**132/16**) on the W. and a tenement of John Tolosan (**118/15**) on the S., and the smaller part (**16A**) described as two shops belonging to the tenement. **16A** and **16B** were in separate ownership between then and c. 1320 when they were reunited.

16A

This part of the property occupied its N.W. corner. In 1258-9 it was two shops in the occupation of John de Wodeford. A later holder was Richard Cook, who paid 8s. of the 20s. rent due to Holy Trinity Priory. He was succeeded in this capacity by 'John de Ware or de Woodford' who paid the same rent. The compiler of the Holy Trinity Priory cartulary appears to have been confused here, for John de Ware later stated that he had acquired the property by a grant from Agnes, the daughter and heir of John de Woodford. Richard Cook had perhaps been tenant of one of these people or was married to Agnes. John de Ware was probably the John le Iernere, from whose tenement in the parishes of St. Mildred (Poultry) and St. Mary Woolchurch (this tenement may have included a part of **132/15**) Hugh le Blund between 1301 and 1304 granted a quit-rent of £1. 2s. p.a. to his son Robert le Blound. In 1304-5, as John de Ware, citizen and hafter (*maunchoerus*), he granted **16A** to Adam Broun, citizen and poulterer, his wife Lucy and their heirs and assigns, who were to pay rents of 12s. p.a. to Sir Hugh le Blount, 8s. to Holy Trinity Priory, and a rose to the grantor and his assigns. The naming of John le Blount as alderman in the list of witnesses to this transaction indicates that the property was considered to lie in Cheap ward. The deed was enrolled in 1316, and in the following year the will of John de Ware, *haftere*, was enrolled. In the grant of 1304-5 **16A** was described as two shops with a solar above, bounded by **132/16** on the W., **16B** on the S. and E., and the highway on the N.[13]

By his will enrolled in 1316 Adam Broun left these two shops to his wife Lucy, who so long as she remained unmarried was to be able to assign them freely to any of the blood relatives of Adam and herself. Once she remarried Adam's executors were to sell the property. The shops were later acquired by Richard de Hodesdon, fishmonger, who also acquired **16B**. By his will, enrolled in 1323, Richard left the two shops, described as lying in Poultry (*in poletria*), to his wife Agnes for life and then to his sons John and Richard and the legitimate heirs of their bodies, with successive remainders to the testator's son William and his heirs, and to the testator's right heirs.[14] From this date, or soon afterwards, **16A** appears to have descended in the same ownership as **16B**.

16B

In 1258 this was the tenement between **132/16** on the W. and the church of St. Mary *de Niwechirch* on the E. which Serlo de la Bordhawe held of Andrew Blund, knight, and which he bound for distraint in respect of a rent charged on his property in St. Mary Colechurch parish (see above, section i). Serlo's tenure of the property had ceased by 1274. A later owner was Thomas Box, who paid 12s. of the £1 rent due from **16** to Holy Trinity Priory. Box was probably a fishmonger, and this property was probably among the rents and tenements in London which by his will, enrolled in 1301, he left to his wife Cristina for life, and then to be sold. Richard Lymbrenere paid the 12s. rent to Holy Trinity Priory after Box. Richard de Hoddesdon had acquired the tenement by 1301 x 1304, and was paying the 12s. rent by 1307-8.[15]

Richard de Hodesdon, a fishmonger, rebuilt the property, and in 1319 was a resident of Cheap ward, probably in this tenement. By his will, enrolled in 1323, he left the newly-built tenement to his wife Agnes for the term of her life, with successive remainders to his son William and legitimate heirs, and then to his sons John and Richard and their heirs, and finally to be sold by his executors or their heirs. Richard de Hodesdon's widow paid the rent from **16B** to Holy Trinity Priory in 1325-6, and in 1356-7 his son Richard is recorded as paying the rent due from the whole of **16**. By this latter date the elder Richard's son William had presumably died without heirs, leaving the younger Richard in possession, probably jointly with his brother John. In 1361 the tenement was said formerly to have been John de Hodesdon's, and later in the 14th century the tenement was said to belong to the heirs of John de Hodesdon.[16]

It seems likely that John de Hodesdon and his brother Richard had the alternative surname of atte Halle. In 1376 John atte Halle was said to have died in 1361-2 seised of a moiety of the whole of **16**, which was described as a brewhouse (*tenementum braccineum*) with 7 shops annexed. Apart from a third share in the moiety held by his widow Marion as dower, John's interest in the property passed to his son Robert, who enjoyed the issues until his death 8 years later. Robert's interest then passed by

inheritance to John's brother Richard atte Halle, who presumably already held the other moiety. Richard (probably alias Richard de Hodesdon) died on or shortly before 28 February 1369, when the moiety which had belonged to Robert was taken into the hands of the city for the use of Richard's son Stephen, then an orphan 10 years old. In the record of an inquiry made that day Stephen atte Halle was said to own the brewhouse with 7 shops which represented the whole of **16**. Stephen had presumably inherited both the moiety which had once belonged to his uncle and the other moiety, which must once have belonged to his father. In this record the property was said to be let for £20. 9s. a year, out of which were paid the 5 quit-rents (totalling £4. 9s.) and a sum for repairs amounting to £4 p.a. This left a clear annual income of £12. Some of the 7 shops probably occupied the E. frontage of the property. One house in the tenement was said to be very broken down on account of the age of its timbers, and was likely to become ruinous unless repaired. Custody of Stephen atte Halle and his property was assigned in 1369 to Andrew de Ho, who after 2 years assigned it to John de Wiltshire, citizen and pepperer, who after 4 years assigned it to John de Thorp, clerk, who died in 1375. John Maryns, spicer, then had custody, and in 1375 paid the quit-rent due to Holy Trinity Priory. Stephen atte Halle had come of age and was in possession by May 1382, when he would have been about 23 years old, and when the owner of **118/15** complained that Stephen, John Senesterre, brewer, and John's wife Alice had disseised her of a piece of land in this parish measuring 28 ft. by 24 ft. (8.53 m. by 7.32 m.). Senesterre may have occupied the brewhouse at this time, and the plot of land was presumably a part of **118/15** which adjoined **118/16**. The case was found in the plaintiff's favour. Another tenant of **118/16** at this time, or possibly Senesterre's predecessor, was John Albon, alias John de Seynt Albon, who was said to hold the tenement in records relating to the Blunt family interest there dating from 1374, 1375, 1377, and 1383 was said to hold the tenement.[17]

Stephen atte Halle died before May 1390, and his interest in the property passed to his sister and heir Agnes, who granted it to Robert Martyn, rector of Munden, John Lodewyk, and John Danton. In May 1390 Martyn quitclaimed his right in these lands and tenements to Agnes, her husband John Durham, and their heirs and assigns. In October 1392 Durham, described as 'of Middlesex' and Agnes granted the property to Edmund Hoddesdon, citizen and mercer (and possibly a distant relative of Agnes), and his wife Margery, to hold to themselves and Edmund's heirs and assigns, paying an annual rent of £10 to the donors or their assigns during Agnes's lifetime. Earlier that year, in February 1392, the prior of Holy Trinity Priory complained of intrusion concerning a tenement in this parish, probably in connection with his rent due from this property. The defendants, who may have included occupants of **118/16** and other properties near by were Richard Waltham of Essex, Sewal Hodesdon, Robert Sewale, John Pygeon (cf. **118/12**), and John Stranston, chaplain.[18]

The grant to Hoddesdon and his wife was enrolled in Husting, but was not mentioned in a later Exchequer suit concerning **118/16** (see below). In this suit it was alleged that the property, had been in the possession for several years of one Katharine Thomas, who in 1398 granted the six messuages comprising **118/16** to Edmund Hoddesdon and his wife Margery for ever, in return for a rent of £10 p.a. payable to Katharine during her lifetime. This transaction, if it indeed took place, was presumably associated with the grant of 1392, and Katharine Thomas may have been related to John Durham's wife Agnes.[19]

Later, Edmund Hoddesdon was said before his death to have granted his lands, tenements, and rents in London, which probably included **118/16**, to Sir Thomas Preston, Henry Julyen, Robert Dever, John Caundysh, and William Crane, who were probably feoffees to Edmund's use. On Edmund's death, which probably took place on 24 November 1408, his elder brother, Thomas Barnet, otherwise known as Thomas Hoddesdon, claimed the property as his heir and attempted to disseise the feoffees. They allowed Barnet to enter certain parcels of the estate and kept the remainder, on condition that after 12 years they would convey it to the parson of St. Margaret Lothbury in order to maintain a chaplain to celebrate in perpetuity on Edmund's behalf, commencing 12 years after December 1409. These events, recounted in a later Chancery petition presumably took place before 1409. In May 1408 the prior of Holy Trinity Priory complained that six persons had disseised him of the rent due from **118/16**. These six appear to have had no connection with Edmund Hoddesdon's feoffees, and so were probably tenants of different parts of the property. They were William Hert, citizen and cutler, William Parker, John Whyteberd, William Thyrlwall, James Cok, cutler, and Cok's wife Joan.[20]

At some time between 1416 and 1421 Thomas Barnet, in a petition to the Chancellor, claimed that his brother Edmund had been seised of a messuage and six tenements in St. Mary Woolchurch parish and in the wards of Cheap and Walbrook (presumably equivalent to the former brewhouse and seven shops), and that on Edmund's death Thomas had taken possession as his heir. Thomas claimed

to have remained peacefully seised until 4 May after King Henry V's last crossing to Normandy (a later reference shows that this was 4 May 1418 and that the petition was therefore made before June 1421), when a certain Katharine Thomas dispossessed him, pretending that a £10 p.a. rent due to her for the term of her life had not been paid and was in arrears for two terms in the year 1415-16. Soon after this, according to a petition to the Chancellor made by the two survivors of Edmund Hoddesdon's feoffees, Thomas Barnet died. Barnet's executors attempted to hold the two survivors, John Caundysh and William Crane, to their obligation to found the chantry at St. Margaret Lothbury, but, in spite of Caundysh's frequent attempts, the feoffees were unable to obtain the necessary licence from King Henry V. Caundysh therefore availed himself of the liberty of the city, and ordained the foundation of the chantry in his testament, for which no licence was required.[21]

The outcome of these Chancery petitions is not known, but by 1426 a dispute over the property was being heard in the Exchequer. Henry Somer, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, together with Robert Cavendish, Thomas Chamberleyn, clerk, Robert Shirokes, Edmund Mays, and Robert Caterton brought a plea against John Shenyfeld, his wife Jocosa, and Thomas Barnet's widow Rose, alleging that one of them had forged muniments and along with Edmund Barnet (perhaps a relative of Edmund Hoddesdon) had conspired to destroy the title of the plaintiffs to certain lands and tenements in London. The defendants referred to Katharine Thomas's grant of 1398, and stated that, since Edmund Hoddesdon and his wife Margery had died without issue, Thomas Barnet had taken possession of the property as Edmund's brother. Barnet fell into £20 arrears of the rent due to Katharine, who re-entered the property on 4 May 1418 and granted it to six feoffees. These feoffees granted the property to Henry Somer and the other plaintiffs in the case, who remained seised of it from 18 October 1423 onwards. The defendants were accused of having early in 1426 had forged deeds made, which purported to show that Katharine had received and been satisfied with payment of the arrears. The defendants sought an interval in which to take advice, but in February 1427 a jury found them guilty of trespass, and they were committed to the Fleet Prison.[22]

From now on Henry Somer was regarded as freeholder of the property, and was named as such in 1433 and 1441. Members of the Hoddesdon or Barnet family did not give up their claim to the property, however, and in 1449 Robert Hoddesdon, alias Barnet, claimed in the Sheriffs' Court that Henry Somer and Thomas Somer had disseised him of the six messuages. Robert claimed possession by virtue of the grant of 1392 to Edmund Hoddesdon, from whom the property had descended to him. Henry Somer, as tenant of the property, claimed that he had been enfeoffed of it in 1418. He said further that Robert Hoddesdon wrongly claimed to hold it for the term of his life by a grant from the same feoffees who had enfeoffed Somer. One William Thomas had ejected Hoddesdon, and then Somer had regained possession. Thomas Somer asserted that he rather than Henry held the property. Thomas claimed to hold 5 of the messuages jointly with John Dunham, clerk, by the feoffment of Robert Mildenhale and Thomas Mayister, and to hold the sixth messuage likewise. Hoddesdon claimed to have been dispossessed by Henry Somer and Thomas, to the use of Henry, who afterwards enfeoffed persons unknown to Hoddesdon so that Hoddesdon would not be able to identify those against whom he should proceed. The Somers' tactic seems to have been to confuse the issue as much as possible. Henry asked that the assize be taken concerning a moiety of the property. This being agreed upon, he stated that Edmund Hoddesdon had granted the other moiety to the feoffees, including John Caundisshe, who had been named in the earlier Chancery petitions, whose estate had passed to the feoffees who themselves had enfeoffed Henry Somer. The assize found for Robert Hoddesdon, who was awarded £23. 6s. 8d. damages and costs. It is possible that in these and in the earlier Exchequer proceedings there was some collusion between the parties, perhaps with the intention of avoiding setting up the chantry which Edmund Hoddesdon seems to have wished his feoffees to do.[23]

Robert Hoddesdon was subsequently in possession of **118/16**, described as lands, tenements, and appurtenances in St. Mary Woolchurch parish, and in 1458 granted an annual rent of £6. 13s. 4d. out of the property to his son Thomas Hoddesdon, alias Barnet, and to Thomas's wife Jaquetta for the terms of their lives. The family was still in possession in the time of Henry VII or Henry VIII (1485-1547), when in a petition to the Chancellor Edward Culpepyr and his wife Jane, formerly wife of John Hoddesdon, claimed that John had been seised of certain lands and tenements 'lying at the Stokkys'. John Hoddesdon had conveyed the property to feoffees to his use, and then in his will declared that after his death it should remain to his widow for the term of her life. After John's death one Thomas Castell wrongfully took possession, and John's principal feoffee refused to act.[24]

The outcome of this suit is not known. In a record of 1525-6 the rent due to St. Paul's was said to be owed by the tenants of the land formerly belonging to Nicholas Scott. He was perhaps a successor to the Hoddesdon family, but between then and the late 16th century no certain record of the owners or tenants of **118/16** has been found. By a process of elimination it seems likely that the occupant of the property in 1544 was Roger Pynchester, whose goods were valued at £700.[25]

iii. The freehold and occupants: later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

In 1586 **118/16** was a 'greate howse' in Poultry occupied by Edward Holmedon, grocer, and belonging to Sir Thomas Ramsey, alderman, who in his will, dated that year and enrolled in 1590, left it to his sister's daughter, Elizabeth Holmedon, for the term of her life, with remainder to William Tayler and Giles Tayler.[26]

In 1597 **118/16**, or a part of it, was probably the corner tenement on the E. side of which Martin Smithe, haberdasher, was allowed to construct a window projecting into the street opposite St. Mary Woolchurch 2 ft. (0.61 m.) in breadth along a length of 18ft. (5.49 m.), in return for an annual rent of 4d. payable to the chamberlain of London.[27]

In 1638 the property probably included the house in St. Mary Woolchurch parish occupied by Mr. Seede valued 'moderately' at £30 p.a. The nature of Seede's interest in the property is not known. He may have been the freeholder and his interest may have been confined only to the E. part of the property, where his family had an interest after the Great Fire. The other part of the property may have been represented by houses of Mr. Watson and Mr. Stephens, valued 'moderately' at £25 and £40 p.a., respectively. There is no reference to Seede's, Watson's, or Stephens's households in the 1641 Poll Tax return for that part of St. Mary Woolchurch parish which lay in Walbrook ward. This may indicate that the property lay in Cheap Ward. Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 and later surveys clearly indicate that at that time **118/16** lay in Walbrook ward, but there are some indications (see above, section ii) that in the early 14th century both parts of the property were in Cheap ward, and they may have remained in that ward until after the Great Fire. Uncertainties over boundaries in this area may be indicated by the fact that in 1643 John Seede, Elias Watson, and Thomas Stevens contributed to a parish assessment for St. Mildred Poultry parish: their names appear together at the beginning of the list, a position which indicates that they occupied houses on the S. side of Poultry at the E. end of the street. In 1662-3 the E. part of **16** may have been the empty house of 7 hearths owned by Judith Seed and listed at the beginning of one of the two St. Mildred's precincts of Cheap ward. Judith may have been the executrix of the John Seed who died in 1659. Immediately after Judith Seed's house the Hearth Tax return lists a house of Sarah Binch with 5 hearths, and one of Richard Smyth with 9 hearths: these probably occupied the remaining part of **118/16**. Smyth probably still had an interest in the W. part of the site after the Great Fire.[28]

After the Great Fire two sets of foundations were laid out on the site, although there appear to have been two separate surveys of one of them. There is no problem of identification concerning the corner property. On 10 December 1668 three foundations were set out for Captain John Seede at the corner of Poultry: they probably fronted on to the new Stocks market place towards the E. On the E. side a strip of land 2 ft. (0.61 m.) wide along a length of 76 ft. 2 in. (23.22 m.) was laid into the market place. According to the drawn survey the length of the E. frontage was 70 ft. 9 in. (21.56 m.). The greater length is more likely to have been correct. The sources agree about the land taken to enlarge Poultry on the N. This measured 37 ft. 7 in. (11.46 m.) in length along the full frontage of the corner property, and was 4 ft. 5 in. (1.35 m.) wide at the E. end and 7 ft. 6 in. (2.29 m.) wide at the W. end. The drawn survey names 'Mr. Page' as the W. abutment of this property.[29] This enables us to identify the W. part of **118/16** with the foundation surveyed for Mr. Page and Mr. Smith in January 1669. This adjoined Mr. Seed on its E. side, and the breaks shown in the E. and W. walls on the two surveys show that they fitted exactly, as does the width at the E. end of the piece of ground taken for widening Poultry, shown on the Page and Smith survey. The reference to 'Captain Trever' as adjoining the foundation to the S. shows that it adjoined part of **118/15**. [30] The interest of Page in this part of **16** is not known, but Smith had probably lived in a house there in 1662-3 (see above).

There is a second group of records, including a foundation survey, concerning the western part of the property. The survey was made in March 1668 for John Farrington. The measurements agree within a few inches with those on the survey made for Page and Smith, although the break in the E. wall is shown as projecting in the opposite direction. The land taken for widening Poultry, however, is shown as measuring 9 ft. (2.74 m.) in width at its E. end and 7 ft. 6 in. (2.29 m.) at its W. end. To the E. this property adjoined 'Mr. Seeds and Steed and Stone', presumably a reference to the 3 foundations within the corner property. To the S. it adjoined 'Steed' or 'Mr. Need', presumably references to the

same person, erroneously identified as holding **118/15**. Farrington, a citizen and haberdasher, held this property on lease from Geoffrey Howland of 'Sheffam', Surrey, esquire, and was said to have rebuilt the house there. In 1671, when Farrington probably had 5 years to come on his lease, both he and Howland gave up to the Corporation their interests in the piece of ground taken for widening the street.[31] Page and Smith may have been Farrington's undertenants.

NOTES

- 1 S. Perks, *The History of the Mansion House* (Cambridge, 1922) *passim*, esp. plan 30.
- 2 *Aldgate Cart*, no. 1014; the reading follows the MS (from the microfilm in GL, MS 8477) rather than the printed calendar.
- 3 See **104/14**, J.H. Round, *The Commune of London* (1899), 107-8.
- 4 See **132/12**, and below.
- 5 *Aldgate Cart* no. 482.
- 6 *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 285-6; HR 2(58). For further details of the disposition, see **132/12**.
- 7 HR 32(33); cf. below, section ii.
- 8 HR 89(204), 102(189), 103(132, 268, 277); PRO, C131/25/13.
- 9 HR 111(114, 162), 124 (69).
- 10 *Aldgate Cart*, no. 482; HPL 114, m. 3; *PA*, no. 225; PRO, E164/18, f. 22v.
- 11 GL, MSS: 25121/1233; 25125/13, 27-64; 25128; 19563; 19930; 25204; 25634, ff. 1, 5v; 25637/1, 2; 25636; 25638; 25498; 25507. PRO, SC6/Edw 6/293, E318/46/2469. *Cal Pat R 1569-72*, no. 2449. For early references associating the rent with Romeyn's obit, see CUL, MS Ee. 5. 21, f. 79v; GL MS 25134; GL, MS 25502 ('Liber C'), f. 102.
- 12 HR 6(47); *LBG*, 239 (f. 222).
- 13 *Cal PMR 1364-81*, pp. 285-6; HR 32(33), 45(55), 46(63).
- 14 HR 45(32), 52(20).
- 15 GL, MS 25121/1233; HR 6(47), 30(1).
- 16 HR 52(20), 89(204); *Aldgate Cart*, no. 482; GL, MS 25125/27; *Ekwall Subsidy Rolls*, 296.
- 17 *Cal Inq PM* xiv, pp. 239-40; *LBG*, p. 239 (f. 222), *Aldgate Cart*, no. 482; *PA*, no. 165; HR 102(189), 103(132), 111(114); PRO, C131/25/13.
- 18 HR 120(146), 121(60); HPL 114, m. 3.
- 19 PRO, E13/137, m.10.
- 20 PRO, C1/5/69; *PA*, no. 225. For the date of Edmund Hoddesdon's death, see PRO, C1/5/33, where it is said to have taken place on the eve of St. Katharine 10 Henry V; since the regnal year (the last of this king) did not include the eve of this feast, 10 Henry IV is probably intended.
- 21 PRO, C1/5/33.
- 22 PRO, E13/137, m. 10, E13/138, m. 8.
- 23 *PA*, no. 266; HR 161(44), 169(30).
- 24 PRO, C1/1496/5; HR 186(23).
- 25 GL, MS 25204; PRO, E179/144/123, m. 56.
- 26 HR 270(44).
- 27 CLRO, City Lands Grant Book 1, f. 173v.
- 28 *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 121; PRO, E179/252/27; GL, MS 62/1, f. 7. For the Seed family, see **118/11**.
- 29 *M & O* i, p. 62, iv, f. 103; CLRO, Comp Deeds K/5/31.
- 30 *M & O* i, p. 62, iv, f. 109v.
- 31 *M & O* i, p. 62, iv, f. 27; CLRO, Comp Deeds K/F/35, K/F/43, K/H/91.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 15

This property lay between **118/16** on the E., an entry leading from Poultry to **132/16** on the W., **132/16** on the S., and the highway now known as Poultry on the N. For much of the 13th century it was part of a block of properties, comprising **118/12-15** and **132/15-20**, which belonged to the Tolesan family. In the second half of the 13th century it was part of a row of 4 shops which lay between a capital messuage (**132/16**) and the street. At this time the capital messuage and the row of 4 shops were each held by a different branch of the Tolesan family. **15** corresponded to the more easterly pair of shops, while the more westerly pair is identified as **17**: these two properties descended separately from the early 14th century onwards. The site of **15** can be reconstructed from dimensions given in 1364, and from post-Fire surveys. In 1858 the site corresponded to no. 26 Poultry, a property which was removed between 1863 and 1871 to make way for Queen Victoria Street.

i. Thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: 15 and 17

For the early history of the Tolesan property, see **132/16**.

The shops comprising **15** and **17** are probably first mentioned in a deed enrolled in 1265 concerning a rent from 9 shops which had formerly belonged to John Tolosan (see **16**). These 9 shops probably included those in **15**, **17**, **18**, and **19**. A deed enrolled in 1280 concerning the capital tenement **132/16** (q.v.) mentions the four stone shops (i.e. **15** and **17**) which adjoined the N. side of the capital tenement. In a deed enrolled in 1282 these 4 shops were said to belong to Michael Tolosan, who seems to have let out one or more of them to the occupant of the capital messuage. A deed of 1312 concerning the capital messuage describes its entry as lying beneath the joists of the solar of Michael Tolosan (see **132/16**). This solar was presumably one of several rooms above the shops which formed part of the same property.

By his will, enrolled in 1312, Michael de Tolosan left to his wife Juliana and her assigns for the term of her life all the rent which he had in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry. The rent probably included **15**, **17**, and **20**, and after Juliana's death was to be divided between Michael's sons. Juliana later married Walter le Bret, citizen. In 1328 a complaint was made that the house of Walter le Bret and his wife Juliana in St. Mary Woolchurch parish was a roofless ruin with rotten timbers, and so dangerous that horsemen and pedestrians feared to pass by. Walter and Juliana failed to appear, and an order was made to demolish the house. There was probably some confusion over the parish in which this property lay, but the reference is almost certainly to some part of **15** and **17**, which adjoined St. Mary Woolchurch parish, since there is no indication that Walter and Juliana held any part of the Tolesan property in that parish before 1342 (cf. **118/15C**). This incident may have been followed by a rebuilding of **15**, which shortly afterwards Walter and Juliana leased to William Tithinglomb, citizen and poulterer, for a term of 70 years from Christmas 1329 (i.e. terminating at Christmas 1399), paying annual rents of £3. 6s. 8d. to the grantors and their heirs and assigns, and 6s. 8d. to the chief lords of the fee. In this lease **15** was described as two shops with solar(s) built above them between **118/16** on the E. and a tenement of the lessors (probably **132/17**) on the W. On Juliana's death these two shops were due to revert to Michael de Tolesan's son Robert Tholosan, who in 1333 ratified the lease and agreed that after Juliana's death William Tithinglomb and his heirs and assigns should hold the shops for the remainder of the term of 70 years from Robert and his heirs. Later Robert agreed that the 4 shops with solars (i.e. **15** and **17**) lying between **118/16** on the E., **132/18** on the E., **132/16** on the S., and the highway on the N., and 12s. rent from **132/18**, which his mother Juliana held as her dower and were due to remain to Robert on her death, should instead remain to William Tithinglomb. In October 1340 Robert ratified both these agreements and quitclaimed in the properties to William Tithinglomb.[1]

ii. Mid fourteenth to fifteenth century: 15

Tithinglomb appears to have had full possession of **15**, and possibly also of **17**, by 1349, when he went through what appears to have been a legal process designed to strengthen his title to the property before disposing of it. In October 1349 Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel, citizens and merchants, granted to Tythynglomb and his wife Joan a shop with a solar built over it in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry which they had bought from Tythynglomb under the name of two shops. This shop, evidently

corresponding to **15**, lay between the tenement once of William Fournes (**16**) on the S., the highway on the N., **118/15** on the E., and the tenement once of William Fournes (probably the passage leading to **16**) on the W. William and Joan were to hold this shop for the term of their lives, paying 4 capons annually. On 16 November 1349 Fraunceys and Pyel complained of intrusion by Tythynglomb, Reginald atte Tour, John Nasard, and Roger Tydy concerning tenements in this parish and those of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street. This suit seems also to have been concerned with **20**, where it is more fully discussed. Finally, on 24 November 1349, Tythynglomb granted **15** and the 12s. quit-rent from **18** to Fraunceys and Pyel, and quitclaimed to them in the same property. In this grant **15** was described as a shop which Tythynglomb had acquired as two shops from Robert Tolosan son of Michael Toloson.[2]

Adam Fraunceys then leased his moiety of the shop and the two solars over it to William Tythynglomb for the term of William's life. William conveyed his life estate in this moiety to John de Haukendenne, poulterer, who had died without heirs by October 1363. William himself died, and the moiety was taken into the king's hands, to be returned to Adam Fraunceys in July 1364. In August Fraunceys and Pyel granted the whole shop, with solars over it, to John Clerc, citizen and poulterer, and his heirs and assigns. In this grant the shop was said to measure 8 1/2 ells (25 ft. 6 in.; 7.77 m.) next to the street, 8 1/2 ells less 1 1/4 in. (25 ft. 4 3/4 in.; 7.73 m.) at the rear, and 6 1/4 ells less 1 in. (18 ft. 9 in.; 5.72 m.) from N. to S. The grantee, under the name of John Clerc, junior, was dwelling in Poultry in 1373 when he admitted to buying birds from a 'foreign' poulterer outside the market. There was presumably some problem over his title in 1383, when Elizabeth Burlee, holder of **132/16**, complained of intrusion against him and Adam Fraunceys, knight (presumably the holder of **17**). In 1394 John Clerc, now also known as John Scot, granted the two shops which now occupied the site of **15**, together with the solars above and the cellars below, to Katharine widow of William Wasshyngburn, formerly citizen and shearman, John Wryng, Richard Tyknore, draper, and Thomas Bath of Reading, and to their heirs and assigns. Shortly afterwards Clerc granted to Katharine a rent of £6 p.a from lands in Walthamstow (Essex) should his widow Agnes claim dower in the two shops. Katharine remained in possession of the two shops until 1402, when she granted them to William Pountfreit, junior, citizen and skinner, and Thomas atte Hoo, chaplain.[3]

The two shops then passed to William Pountfreit's son and heir, William Pountfreit, citizen and mercer, who in 1433 granted them to Thomas Belgrave, citizen and cutler, John Gedney, citizen and draper, Alexander Anne, gentleman, John Carpenter, junior, citizen, and John Ely of London. Alexander Anne died, and in 1440 the remaining feoffees granted the property to William Estfeld, knight, Henry Frowyk, John Olney, Hugh Dyke, Richard Ryche, and John Middleton, citizens and mercers, to Robert Mirfyn, esquire, and to Thomas Dale, John Leget, and John Kyrkeby, chaplains. Of these feoffees, Dyke and Dale died, and in 1446 the others granted the 2 shops with cellars below and solars above to John Cressy son of Robert Cressy.[4]

iii. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: **15**

Nothing certain is then known of **15** until about the time of the Great Fire. It is possible that it remained in the possession of the Cressy family until c. 1572, and was represented by the 2 messuages in Cheap ward and St. Mildred Poultry parish of which in 1572-3 Matthew Laurens and George Bullock, citizens and fishmongers, recovered possession against Robert Younge, citizen and fishmonger. The aim of the recovery was clearly to break an entail on the Cressy line, since before the common vouchee defaulted the following were vouched to warranty: James Cressey, esquire, son and heir of the late William Cressey, of Waltham Cross (Essex), gentleman; and Christopher Cressye and Edmund Cressye, both gentlemen.[5]

If there were two houses on this site in 1638 they were probably occupied by William Sadler and William 'Phottie', each with a house 'moderately' valued at £30 p.a. Their names were entered in the valuation list in a place appropriate for the inhabitants of **15**. 'Phottie' is probably identical with the William Pretty who lived in the parish in 1643. Sadler also lived there in that year, but may have moved house by then. He may have been the parishioner of that name who died in 1662, when he appears to have resided in another part of the parish. The Hearth Tax return for 1662-3 suggests that **15** (or **15** and **17**) was at that time a house with 5 hearths occupied by John Symonds and his partner.[6]

After the Great Fire the site of **15** belonged to Joseph Smart, citizen and merchant tailor, for whom a foundation was surveyed in March 1670. The survey shows an L-shaped property bounded by **132/16B** on the S. and W. and by **118/16** on the E. A piece of ground 8 ft. (2.44 m.) wide and extending the full width of the property was taken for enlarging Poultry, for which the City paid £51.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 15

Before this, the part of the property which adjoined the street would have been almost exactly the same size as the property described in 1364 (see above). To the rear was a narrower wing, extending an additional 27 ft. (8.23 m.) to the S., the site of which had presumably once been part of **132/16**.^[7]

NOTES

1 HR 41(31), 68(46); *LBE*, 285 (f. 238v); *AN*, no. 300.

2 HR 77(252, 260, 264); HPL 71, m. 15.

3 HR 92 (192), 122(75), 130(45); HPL 115, m. 7d; *Cal PMR 1364-81*, p. 164; *Cal Inq PM* xi, 426; *Cal Close R 1364-8*, p. 24; *Cal Close R 1392-6*, p. 258.

4 HR 161(44), 169(30), 175(21).

5 HPL 186, mm. 65d-66d.

6 *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 62/1, ff. 7-8. PRO: E179/252/27, m. 60d; PROB11/308(90).

7 *M & O v.*, ff. 20v, 51; CLRO, Comptroller's Deeds, K/S/30, M/104.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 16

In the early 13th century this was part of a large block of property belonging to the Tolesan family and extending between the street now known as Poultry on the N. and that now known as Bucklersbury on the S. The block comprised **132/15-20** in St. Mildred Poultry parish, and **118/12-15** in St. Mary Woolchurch parish. In the course of the 13th century this block was divided into smaller units, which were themselves subdivided. By the end of the century the pattern of ownership which persisted into the 19th century had been established. **16** was set back from the street behind two smaller properties, **15** and **17**, which occupied the Poultry frontage. There was a narrow passage giving access to **16** between these two properties. **16** was bounded on the E. by **118/16**, and on the S. by **118/15**. Its extent towards the W. appears to have varied from time to time. In the late 13th century it was bounded by the Walbrook stream on the W., but soon afterwards included towards the rear an area which appears to have been to the W. of the stream and was bounded by **132/18** and **19** on the N. and by the property known as Servat's Tower (**156/12**) on the S. This area to the W. of Walbrook seems at other times to have been counted as part of Servat's Tower. It is possible that the complexity of the boundary in this area caused the property to be described in different ways on different occasions, rather than that a piece of ground was periodically transferred from one property to the other. By the late 15th century **16** included a narrow strip of ground over the Walbrook stream, or on its W. side, which extended as far as the street known as Bucklersbury on the S. This served as a rear access to the property. The details of this arrangement and of some of the other boundaries of the property can be reconstructed from surveys drawn up after the Great Fire.

In 1858 **16** was represented by no. 25 Poultry, a narrow entry leading to a larger property behind which is not shown in detail on the ward map for Cheap ward surveyed that year. Soon after this the entire property was removed in order to make way for Queen Victoria Street.

i. Late twelfth to mid sixteenth century

In 1227 this property was part of the land of Michael *Tolesanus* which adjoined **118/16** on its W. side. This land probably extended W. up to and including **132/20**, and straddled the Walbrook stream. At a date between 1192 and 1211, the land on the E. side of **132/21**, and therefore including **132/20**, was described as that of Thomas *magnus*.^[1] Thomas was probably not a member of the Tolesan family, at least in its male line, since his forename was not one that was used to denote sons of the family during the 13th century. The Tolesan family, therefore, probably did not acquire its interest in this block of property until after the early 13th century.

Michael *Tolesanus*, or an ancestor of his, presumably had migrated to London from Toulouse. He was probably identical with the Michael de Walebroc, a leading London merchant of the 1220s. He was almost certainly the ancestor, and perhaps the father, of the John de Tulesano whose land lay on the W. side of **118/16** in 1258. This John was sheriff in 1237-8 and 1249-50, mayor in 1252-3, and one of the aldermen deposed in 1258. He died in about November 1259. He was also known as John de Walebroc and probably lived in this property.^[2] The Sir John Tolosan who was mayor in 1260-1^[3] was probably his son. This John inherited at least a part of this block of Tolesan property, and died in or before 1280, when his will was enrolled (cf. **118/15**).

A rent of 6d. p.a. from a part of the Tolesan property is mentioned in a royal inspeximus of 1260. This confirmed a grant by the masters of the Domus Conversorum to Roger le Convers, a king's serjeant, of rents including one of 6d. from the houses and lands formerly of John Tulesan in the parish of St. Mildred in the street of *La Lorimerie*. There is no later record of this rent.^[4]

A rent of 8s. p.a. from part of the Tolesan property appears to have descended from Maud la Blund to her grandson, Alan son of Peter. In a deed enrolled in 1265 Maud was described as Alan's *avia*, and Alan as her *nepos*. By this deed Alan granted this and other properties to Philip called le Tayllur, citizen, Philip's wife Sabina, and their heirs. According to the deed the rent was due from the 9 shops which had formerly belonged to John Tolosan and lay in the parish of St. Mildred between the capital messuage formerly of John Tolosan and the stone house of the same fee (*domus lapidem eiusdem feodi*). The capital messuage was probably **132/16** and the stone house may have been **132/19-20** or **132/20**. The 9 shops probably occupied the frontage later known to have been occupied by **15**, **17**, **18**, and **19** (or part of **19**), where in the 14th century there seem to have been 10 shops or

small houses. Alternatively, the 9 shops may have been confined to the frontage by **18** and **19** alone. It is not certain whether the John Tolosan referred to is the one who died in 1259 or his successor. By his will enrolled in 1292 Philip le Taylur left the 8s. rent to his wife Sabina for life, with remainder to his son John.[5]

132/16 came into the possession of Richard Tolesan, son of Stephen Tolesan, citizen. The relationship between Richard and the other members of the Tolesan family so far mentioned is not known, although it seems that by 1312 Michael Tolesan had acquired Richard's former estate (see below). By a deed enrolled in 1280 Richard granted to Iterus of Angouleme (*de Enngolisna*), clerk, his capital messuage in the parish of St. Mildred extending in length along (*super*) Walbrook towards the W. and bounded on the E. by **118/16**, on the S. by the land of Michael Tolesan (**118/15**), and on the N. by 4 stone shops which adjoined the messuage and were specifically excepted from this grant. Michael Tolesan had probably inherited his land (**118/15**) from his father, who was the junior of the two John Tolesans so far mentioned. In later sources the 4 stone shops on the N. side of **16** (i.e. **15** and **17**) were also said to be Michael's. This probably means that the division of this part of the Tolesan property between two branches of the family took place on or before the death of John Tolesan in 1259. Iterus of Angouleme, a royal clerk who was appointed constable of Bordeaux in 1289, was to hold the messuage to himself and his heirs or assigns, paying annual rents of a clove to the grantor and his heirs, and of 1d. to the king as socage (*ad socagium*). By a deed enrolled in 1282 Iterus granted the property to Salomon de Laufar of London, cutler, in return for a payment of £100 and rents of a clove to the grantor and 1d. to the king. The property was now described as a capital messuage with a garden, and lay between Walbrook on the W., **118/16** on the E., **118/15** on the S., and 4 shops of Michael Tolesan (**132/15** and **17**) on the N.[6]

In 1302 Solomon le Coteler, as owner of the property, was in dispute with his neighbours in **118/15** (probably) and **156/12**. On account of a defective boundary wall against **118/15** dogs and other animals entered Solomon's herb- or vegetable-garden (*herbarium*), and in 1304 it was judged that Solomon should build a stone wall 16 ft. (4.88 m.) high and 3 ft. (0.91 m.) wide on a strip of ground assigned to him by Michael Tolesan as owner of the other property. Since Tolesan's property was said to be in St. Mildred parish it is possible that this boundary lay between **132/19** and **132/18** or between **132/19** and a part of **132/16**, rather than between **132/16** and **118/15**. Solomon was also in dispute with William Servat, the owner of **156/12**, concerning an alleged nuisance in William's tenement in St. Mildred parish, but since William's property did not lie in St. Mildred parish the suit was dropped. The latter case may imply an adjustment of boundaries between **132/16** and **156/12**. Both cases may have arisen in connection with Solomon's rebuilding of his properties in this neighbourhood (see **132/19**).[7]

At some date before 1306-7 Solomon le Cotiller probably leased this property to Roger de Euere, citizen and ironmonger (*ferronus*), and his wife Cristina for the term of their lives. In that year Roger and Cristina quitclaimed to Solomon in the property, returning to him the indenture they had had from him together with seisin of the tenement. The property returned was described as a tenement in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry with 4 shops, vessels, and utensils (*shopis vasis et utensilibus*). The shops were probably those in front of **16** (i.e. **15** and **17**). These were not Solomon's freehold, but he may have held them from Michael Tolesan and sub-let them to Roger de Euere and his wife. At the time of his death Solomon certainly held one of these shops from Tolesan (see below). Solomon's resumption of this property probably marked the beginning of the period towards the end of his life when he resided in **132/16**. By his will, enrolled in March 1312, Solomon left the house in which he lived and which he had purchased from Iterius of Angouleme to his wife Isabel for life, and then to be sold by his executors. Immediately after Solomon's death his executors were to sell his right in the shop belonging to Michael Tolesan (part of **15** or **17**) which was part of the same structure (*coedificata*) as Solomon's dwelling. Isabel had died by the following October, when there was enrolled a deed of 1311-12 by which John de Laufare, citizen and cutler, as Solomon's executor sold the capital messuage Solomon had held on the day he died to John de Wengrave. This messuage was bounded by **118/16** on the E., Solomon's 'new rent' (probably **132/19**) on the W., the highway on the N., and **118/15** and **156/12** on the S. This property appears to have been larger than that which Solomon had bought from Iterus of Angouleme, and probably included land on the W. side of the Walbrook stream adjoining **156/12** to the S., and possibly also adjoining **132/18** to the N. The apparent lack of reference to **132/18** in the abutments may simply reflect the small size of that property. The lack of reference to the 4 shops on the N. (**132/15**, **17**) was probably an oversight: if there was a passage leading from **132/16** to the street, the property could certainly be described as adjoining the highway without necessarily implying that it included the shops.[8]

John de Wengrave held the property only briefly, and in September 1312 granted it to William de Fourneis, citizen and pepperer, and his heirs and assigns, who were to pay the 1d. socage rent to the king and the rent of a clove to Michael Tolesan. This presumably means that Michael Tolesan had acquired the estate which had once belonged to Richard Tholesan (see above). The property was described more precisely than in the deed by which de Wengrave had acquired it. It was now a capital messuage with houses built on it, entry and exit, and appurtenances, lying between **118/16** on the E., **156/12** and Solomon le Cotiller's 'new buildings' (probably **132/19**) on the W., 4 shops of Michael Tolosan (**132/15, 17**) on the N., and **118/15** and **156/12** on the S. In the middle of the 4 shops was an entry or gate measuring 2 1/8 ells (6 ft. 4 1/2 in.; 1.94 m.) in breadth, 5 3/4 ells (17 ft. 3 in.; 5.26 m.) in length from the highway called *la Poletria* to the messuage, and 3 1/2 ells (10 ft. 6 in.; 3.20 m.) in height beneath the joists of Michael Tolesan's solar. William de Fourneis was probably occupying this property in 1314, when he was ordered to remove a privy built over the Walbrook stream. In 1315 he granted the property, described as in 1312, to John de Grantham, pepperer, who immediately granted it back again to William de Fourneis and his wife Cecilia for the term of their lives, with successive remainders to John son of William le Venour, John's wife Juliana, and the legitimate heirs of their bodies, and then, in default of such heirs, to the right heirs of William de Fourneis.[9]

According to abutments from adjacent properties William de Fourneys still held the property in 1341, but had ceased to do so by 1349. By a recognizance made in Chancery William, under the name of William Fourneaux, had made over his tenements in Poultry in order to assure the repayment of a debt of £150 to Henry Buscre of Malines (*Malyns*), who died in 1322-3. By his will Henry left his goods and chattels to his son Edmund, and in 1342, when William Fourneaux was also dead, Henry's executor delivered the Poultry tenements to Edmund as part of this legacy. The debt had presumably been repaid out of the issues of the property by 1345-6, since by that time John le Venour (presumably the John son of William le Venour mentioned in the conveyance of 1312) and John Forneys (presumably the heir of William de Fourneys) had conveyed the property to John de Enefeld, chandler. John de Enefeld was living in Cheap ward in 1332, possibly in this property as a tenant of William de Fourneys. John presumably expected the property to descend to his children by his wife Margaret, and by his will, dated February 1345 or 1346 and enrolled in March 1346, provided that if the children died before Margaret the tenement was to be sold, half the money received going to Margaret and the other half to be distributed by her for pious purposes.[10]

In 1347 Edward de Lauuare sought to recover the property against Margaret widow of John de Enefeld and her son Thomas, then a minor, claiming (wrongly) that John de Tolesane had granted it to Solomon le Cotiller and his wife and their heirs, with remainder to Edward's father William de Lauuare. In response, Margaret stated that she was sole tenant of the messuage which she held for the term of her life, after which it would descend to her son. A jury found in Margaret's favour, but this or a related case was still in progress in 1349. The property was evidently in the possession of Thomas son of John de Enefeld in 1367, when he complained of intrusion against John Torold, taverner, Edmund de Malyns, and Reginald Malyns, knight, over his free tenement in St. Mildred Poultry parish. Torold may have occupied the property which therefore perhaps included a tavern. The other two presumably derived their claim to the property from the recognizance concerning the debt formerly due to Henry Buscre (see above). The property had come into the possession of Elizabeth Burle, widow of Robert Burle, citizen and mercer, by 1383, when she complained of intrusion by the neighbouring landlords Adam Fraunceys (cf. **132/17, 19, 20**) and John Clerk (cf. **132/15**). By this date Elizabeth, whose title to this holding is not known, also held the greater part of the property adjacent to the S. (**118/15**). and there may have been some adjustment of boundaries between the two sites.[11]

Elizabeth Burlee held **132/16** until her death, which took place between 1400 and 1404. In abutments from adjoining properties she was sometimes named as Lady Isabel Burlee. In 1402 her tenement, known as *le Sarazineshed*, adjoined **132/15**. In 1405 her tenement was said to adjoin the S. side of **132/19**, indicating that at that date the property extended well to the W. of the Walbrook stream. By her will Elizabeth Burlee left 6s. 8d. p.a. rent from *le Sarazineshed* to the parish church of St. Pancras to celebrate her anniversary and an office of the dead on the eve of the feast of St. Alban. In 1404 her executors, in fulfillment of her will, sold the Saracen's Head with the houses built on it, alleys, shops, cellars, solars, entry, and exit, to Philip Keys, rector of St. Martin Vintry, and Thomas Mallyng. In the following year these grantees conveyed the property to Richard Michell, grocer, Robert Whytyngham, tailor, and William Cresewyk, all citizens, and to John Broughton. The property then passed through the hands of successive groups of feoffees acting on behalf of William Olyver. In 1418 William Olyver, citizen and grocer, John Sproxton, and John West, clerk, granted it to Robert Chichele, citizen and grocer, his wife Elizabeth, John Sayer of London, William Huntynndon, clerk,

and William Michell and Thomas Cattesworth citizens and grocers, who in 1421 granted it back to William Olyver and his heirs and assigns. In 1426 Olyver granted the property to Thomas Holme, citizen and grocer, and to Richard Ketrych, and John Luttur. Ketrych and Luttur gave up their interest to Holme, who then leased the property to Olyver for the term of his life, and in 1432 granted the reversion after Olyver's death to Thomas Catworth and John Bacoun, and to Ketrych and Luttur. Later in 1432 Holme granted the property to Catworth, Bacoun, Ketrych, and Luttur, who agreed that if Holme paid them 500 marks in the following year they would return to him the reversion of the property. Holme probably paid this sum, and in March 1441, William Olyver having died, Catworth, Ketrych, and Luttur, as surviving feoffees, granted the Saracen's Head to Thomas Holme, grocer, John Bracy, chandler, Thomas Cook, junior, Henry Bray, draper, and John Humbre, brewer, all citizens, to hold to themselves and to the heirs and assigns of Thomas Holme.[12]

In 1448, when the Saracen's Head still belonged to Thomas Holme, there occurs the first reference to a little lane leading from Bucklersbury to the rear of the property along the W. side of **118/13**. Holme's feoffees continued to hold the property after his death, and in 1457 his widow Katharine and his daughter and heir Maud quitclaimed to Thomas Cook and John Bracy, the surviving feoffees, in the lands rents and tenement which had once belonged to Thomas Holme in St. Mildred Poultry parish. This was probably in preparation for settling the property on John Colvile, citizen and grocer, who was said to own the Saracen's Head in 1459. Cook and Bracy granted the property to Colvile, Thomas Rygby, gentleman, John Parker, scrivener, Thomas Tyuieot, draper, and John Thurby, chaplain, who in 1460 granted it to Thomas Muschamp, citizen and mercer, Walter Muschamp, clerk, Thomas Fermery, citizen, Richard Hayman, clerk, Thomas Kyrton, gentleman, and Edmund Kervile, citizen and grocer. The intent of the latter grant was probably to assure the use of the property to Thomas Muschamp, whose former tenement was among those which in 1499 was said to adjoin the N. side of **118/13**. In 1499 also, the lane leading into this property was described as a lane or alley leading from Poultry to Bucklersbury. This was clearly the alley allegedly used as a common way 'through the Sarsyn's Head to Bokelersbury' which in about 1489 Robert Dronton was accused of having stopped up, to the annoyance of people in general and of the tenants dwelling in the alley.[13]

In 1522 the house on this site was probably inhabited by William Brothers, merchant of the Staple, who, with goods valued at £1000, was one of the wealthiest inhabitants of the part of Cheap ward which lay in St. Mildred Poultry parish. He or a relative was probably the Mr. Brothers who according to a report of 1538 had a 'drawght' or privy emptying into the Walbrook stream near Poultry. William Brothers probably still occupied the property in 1544 when his goods were valued at £800. Throughout this period the freehold of the property remained in the possession of the Muschamp family, and in 1525 the tenement of William Muschamp, gentleman, was said to adjoin the S. side of **132/18**. [14]

In 1548 the parish church of St. Pancras was still in possession of the 6s. 8d. rent from the Saracen's Head which it had acquired under the will of Elizabeth Burlee. As a chantry endowment the rent passed to the Crown, and continued to be paid until 1651, when the trustees for the sale of fee farm rents sold it with other properties to Brian Blomeley of Barnard's Inn, gentleman.[15]

ii. Seventeenth century

In the early 17th century the whole property was still in the possession of the Muschamp family. The main part of it, lying to the E. of the Walbrook stream and identified here as **132/16B** was known as the Three Cranes Tavern. The name of the Saracen's Head appears to have been transferred to a nearby messuage in Bucklersbury (**156/13B**). **132/16A**, to the W. of the stream, included the alley leading to Bucklersbury, and was held or occupied by the tenant of **132/18**, which lay immediately to the N. In 1624-5 the Ironmongers' Company, landlord of **132/18**, acquired possession of **132/16A**, the history of which from that date on is continued under **132/18**.

16A

In 1613, in consideration of the surrender of a lease in being and the payment of a sum of money, Francis Muschampe the elder of Peckham (Surrey), esquire, leased to Daniel Winche, citizen and grocer, the property represented by **16A** for a term of 21 years at £4 rent. Winche already held the property, which was described as a messuage or tenement with rooms, cellars, solars, yards, and appurtenances, lying 'backward on the southe side' of another messuage 'on the streete side' also in the tenure of Winche or his assigns and belonging to the Ironmongers' Company (i.e. **132/18**). The lease also concerned a little alley or way on the S. side of the messuage and leading to Bucklersbury. In

November 1622, when the lease of their property was shortly due for renewal, the Ironmongers' Company was interested in buying the freehold of **16A**, but since there was some uncertainty about a passage through the property to the N. the matter was put off. The matter was raised again in January 1624, when the vendors would not accept less than £150, although £120 was offered.[16]

The purchase price eventually agreed upon seems to have been £140, and the vendor was Francis Muschampe of Camberwell (Surrey; Peckham lay within Camberwell parish), esquire, son and heir of another Francis Muschampe of the same (probably the lessor of 1613), who was son and heir of a third Francis Muschampe of the same, who was son and heir of Ralph Muschampe, esquire, of the same, who was son and heir of William Muschampe, of Camberwell, deceased (probably the owner of **16A** in 1525). These members of the Muschampe family had probably been the successive owners of **16**, but this succession does not tally with that given in an inquisition of 1617, when it was stated that the heir of Francis Muschampe, son and heir of Francis Muschampe, was his nephew Francis Muschampe. In 1619 Francis the nephew was granted a special livery of his uncle's lands, but the record of this appears to be confused over their exact relationship. Under the quadripartite indenture of sale of November 1624 Muschampe sold the property to Ralph Handson and Edmund Ballard, citizens and ironmongers, in return for payments of £140 made by them and 5s. made by the Ironmongers' Company. By Candlemas 1625 Richard Scott and Samuel Gott, citizens and ironmongers, as the remaining party to the indenture, or any other persons nominated by Handson and Ballard, were at the cost of the Ironmongers' Company by means of a common recovery in Husting to obtain the premises from Handson and Ballard, Francis Muschampe having entered into warranty, leaving the property to the only use of the company. In addition, Muschampe and his wife Jane were to levy a fine at the cost of the company. By these means the Ironmongers' Company would obtain possession free of any entail or claims for dower. In the records of the recovery and fine which followed the property was described as a messuage in St. Mildred Poultry parish, and 170 ft. (51.82 m.) of land in St. Stephen Walbrook parish. The latter was probably the alley. Later records indicate that the alley was about 70 ft. (21.34 m.) long: it thus seems to have been about 2 ft. 6 in. (0.76 m.) wide.[17]

For the later history of this part of **16**, see **132/18**, with which it was incorporated.

16B

This part of the property was known as the Three Cranes by 1588-9, when the parish of St. Mildred Poultry had to replace two buckets destroyed in a fire there.[18]

In 1624 the part of **16B** which adjoined the E. side of **16A** was described as a messuage belonging to Francis Muschampe in the tenure or occupation of John Graunte. In 1633 a tavern was said to have been made at the Three Cranes in Poultry within the previous 7 years, before which time Mr. Daves, a merchant, dwelled there. It is not known when the Muschampe family sold its interest in the property. In 1638 Edward Lusher occupied the property, which was valued 'moderately' at £45 p.a. He still kept the Three Cranes tavern in 1641, but by 1643 had probably been succeeded by Richard Symonds.[19]

Thomas Bullock, vintner, occupied the tavern in 1651 when he obtained from the City a lease of a piece of waste ground which was part of the passage adjoining the back part of his dwelling house and lying over the common sewer running from Poultry into Bucklersbury. This ground measured 110 ft. by 4 ft. (33.53 m. by 1.22 m.). The lease was for 21 years at a rent of £2 p.a. and a fine of £10. This ground, lying above the now culverted Walbrook stream lay between the Three Cranes tavern (**16B**) on the E. and the tenements of the Ironmongers' Company (**16A**, **18**) on the W. A few years later the tenant of the Ironmongers' Company brought an action for trespass against Bullock and Leonard Machell, carpenter, for 'making a way and comeing upon the said ground', which was successfully claimed as part of the Ironmongers' property. In May 1655 Bullock surrendered his lease to the City and was recompensed by the City Chamberlain.[20]

A part of the Three Cranes belonged to Thomas Holker and Martha Holker in 1653, when they granted it to George Tench, citizen and girdler, and his wife Bridget. In 1655 Tench and his wife sold this part of the property to Caesar Saunderson of Lincolns Inn, Theophilus Biddolph of London, gentleman, Paul Methwin of Bradford (Somerset), gentleman, John Smart of London, merchants, and Roland Jewkes the younger of the Inner Temple. The property sold on this occasion was described as formerly part of the messuage or tavern now known by the name of the Three Cranes, lately in the occupation of Richard Symonds (cf. above) and now in that of William Bullock, vintner. This part of the Three Cranes comprised a room or lower warehouse adjoining the south end of the shop of Tench's dwelling house, with one chamber over the warehouse or a part of it, and a little entry or

small chamber adjoining the kitchen of the dwelling house.[21] Tench presumably owned and occupied the remainder of the Three Cranes. The reference to a shop suggests that his property included a structure on the Poultry frontage. The post-Fire surveys, however, show that in the 1660s the Poultry frontage was occupied by two properties, corresponding to **15** and **17**, in separate ownership from the Three Cranes (**16B**) behind.

Members of the Bullock family probably continued to occupy the Three Cranes tavern (**16B**) until the time of the Great Fire. In 1662-3 Thomas Bullocke occupied a house assessed at 11 hearths in this part of St. Mildred's precinct in Cheap ward.[22]

After the Fire the site of the Three Cranes was in the possession of Thomas Lambe, for whom a foundation was surveyed in January 1669. This records the plan and dimensions of the property, including the passage leading between **15** and **17** to Poultry on the N. To the S. the property surveyed adjoined **118/15A**, although a survey of the latter in September 1669 gives a different and more complex version of the eastern part of the boundary between the two properties. Neither of these versions corresponds exactly with the apparently by then simplified boundary shown on the Walbrook ward plan of 1855. The earlier of the two post-Fire surveys appears to be the more consistent with evidence for adjoining properties, and has been followed in the reconstruction plans. Abutments on plans of properties adjoining **16B** dating from September 1669 and from 1670 name the holder of **16B** as Mr. Davie. He had presumably succeeded Thomas Lambe, and was evidently the Robert Davy, vintner, who in May 1670 came to an agreement with Henry Wagstaffe, grocer and holder of **118/15A**, about the windows of the latter's house which looked into a yard forming part of Davy's house. Before the Fire Wagstaffe's house had been higher than Davy's. It was now thought that Wagstaffe could have windows into the yard from the E., S. and W. sides of his new building, provided that each was fitted with a blind of 2 ft. (0.61 m.). Wagstaffe allowed to Davy a small area of ground in compensation for having more windows than before the fire. This adjustment presumably accounts for the differences between the surveys of the two properties.[23]

NOTES

- 1 *Aldgate Cart*, no. 1014; GL, MS 25121/198.
- 2 GL, MS 25121/1233; *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, 7, 18, 43, 223; cf. Williams, 209-10. For Michael de Walebroc, see *Pat R 1216-25*, p. 383; *Close R 1227-31*, p. 364.
- 3 PRO, E40/2631.
- 4 *Cal Chart R 1257-1300*, p. 33.
- 5 HR 3(18), 21(66).
- 6 HR 12(27), 13(39); T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* ii (repr. 1937), 117, 150, and vi (1933), 66.
- 7 *AN*, nos. 29, 30, 66.
- 8 HR 40(77), 41(18, 20).
- 9 HR 41(44), 44(37, 54); *AN*, no. 200.
- 10 HR 51(147), 68(46), 73(25), 77(252); Oxford, Magdalen College muniments, Macray Calendar Oxon. III, no. 129; Curtis, 'Subsidy 1332', 74.
- 11 HPL 70, m. 13; HPL 71, m. 8; HPL 89, m. 14d; HPL 115, m. 7d.
- 12 HR 130(45), 133(8, 32, 36, 68), 146(34), 149(43), 161(13, 14), 169(43-5).
- 13 HR 177(2), 186(18), 187(40), 191(1), 225(17); CLRO, Journals 9, f. 315v.
- 14 PRO: E179/251/15B, f. 3v; E179/144/123, m. 21. CLRO, Repts 10, f. 131; GL, MS 17003 (unfoliated, at back of volume).
- 15 *Chant C*, no. 28; PRO: SC6/Edw VI/293, and subsequent a/cs; E307/B/2/11; E308/3/20/29, no. 49.
- 16 GL, MSS: 17003 (unfoliated, at back), 16967/3, ff. 256-7, 287-8.
- 17 HR 301(40); HPL 205, m. 1; GL, MSS 17168, 17003 (unfoliated, at back).
- 18 GL, MS 1013/1, f. 53v.
- 19 HR 301(40). PRO: E179/251/22; SP16/247, no. 35, ix. *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 62/1, f. 7.
- 20 CLRO: City Lands Grant Books II, f. 129v, III, ff. 1v, 54; Cash Accounts 1650-1, f. 129v; Surrenders of City Lands Leases, book 1.
- 21 HR 330(14).
- 22 PRO, E179/252/27.
- 23 *M & O* iv, ff. 109v, 187v, v, f. 20v, 61; Repts 75, ff. 188v-189v.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 17

This property lay between an entry leading from Poultry to **132/16** on the E., **132/18** on the W., **132/16** on the S., and the highway now known as Poultry on the N. For much of the 13th century it formed part of a block of property, comprising **118/12-15** and **132/15-20**, which belonged to the Tolesan family. In the second half of the 13th century it formed the western part of a row of 4 shops which lay between a capital message (**132/16**) and the street. At this time the capital message and the row of 4 shops were each held by a different branch of the Tolesan family. The eastern half of the row of shops is identified as **132/15**. The boundary of **17** is recorded in a post-Fire survey. In 1858 its site was occupied by no. 23 and no. 24 Poultry, properties which were removed between 1863 and 1871 to make way for Queen Victoria Street.

1. Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

For the row of shops of which **17** formed part during the 13th and early 14th centuries, see **15**. They came into the possession of Michael de Tolosan, who in his will, enrolled in 1312, left them to his wife Juliana for life. She then married Walter le Bret, and in about 1329 the property on the W. side of **15** and corresponding to **17** was described as the tenement of Walter and Juliana. Soon after this Juliana's son, Robert Tholosan, made over his reversionary interest in the 4 shops which appear to have represented **15** and **17**, together with his right to a rent from **18**, to William Tithinglomb, who already held **15** on lease. In 1349 Tithinglomb made over his interest in **15** and in the rent to Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel. The records of this transfer make no mention of a property identifiable as **17**, but it seems that this property came into the possession of this Adam Fraunceys, who died in 1374-5, or into that of his son of the same name, who died in 1417. The property may have come into the possession of the elder Adam Fraunceys by a series of transactions which seem to concern **19** (q.v.).

The younger Adam Fraunceys, a knight, was also in possession of **132/19**, and in 1399 granted **17** and **19** to William Cresewyk of London, John Dinham of Hertfordshire, Solomon Fresthop of Hertfordshire, Thomas Charleton of Middlesex, Robert Newport of Essex, Richard Forster of London, John Holme, vicar of Brokesborne, and William Parker of London. In this grant **17** was described as two tenements joined together and lying in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry between **18** on the W., **15** on the E., **16** on the S., and the highway on the N. In 1405 Fraunceys ratified this grant, except in respect of William Parker, who had died.[1] **17** may be covered by a series of 15th-century transactions which concern **19** (q.v.).

ii. Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cf. **19**).

17 and **19** descended, along with other former properties of Adam Fraunceys, to Richard Charleton, knight, who was attainted for treason in 1485. **17** appears still to have been part of this estate in 1527, when Charleton's former tenements lay on the E. and W. sides of **18**,[2] and may have continued in the same ownership as **19** throughout the 16th century. There are numerous references to the separate parts of this estate, and their occupants, in this period, but it is not possible to associate them with specific houses within the area covered by **17** and **19**. These references, and the descent of the estate, are discussed under **19**.

In 1522 the house may have been occupied by John Asceu, whose goods were valued at £20.[3]

iii. Seventeenth century

In 1638 the occupant of the house on this site was almost certainly Richard Alporte, whose house was valued 'moderately' at £40 10s. p.a. He probably still lived there in 1643. The high value of Alporte's house suggests that it may have included part of the property behind (**132/16**). In 1662-3 the site may have been occupied by a house of Henry Prymate with 4 hearths and one of John Chaplyn with 5 hearths.[4]

Soon after the Great Fire the site of **17** was in the possession of Richard Clay, for whom a foundation was surveyed in September 1670. This measured 30 ft. 6 in. (9.30 m.) from E. to W., including the entry leading to **132/16**, 19 ft. 9 in. (6.02 m.) from N. to S. on the W. side, and 11 ft. 9 in. (3.58 m.) from N. to S. on the E. side. A piece of ground 7 ft. 1 in. (2.16 m.) wide at the E. end, 6

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 17

ft. (1.83 m.) wide at the W. end, and extending the full width of the property had been cut off in order to enlarge Poultry.[5] The pre-Fire property could have corresponded exactly to that of the 2 shops or tenements which occupied 17 in the 13th and 14th centuries.

NOTES

1 HR 133(36).

2 HR 240(2).

3 PRO, SP1/25, no. 2486.

4 *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 62/1, ff. 7-8; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 60d.

5 *M & O v.*, f. 61.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 18

This property lay on the S. side of Poultry, and in the Middle Ages appears to have been bounded by **16** and **17** on the E., **19** on the W., and **16** on the S. The Walbrook stream adjoined the eastern boundary of **18**. In the later 13th century it was part of a block of property, comprising **118/12-15** and **132/15-20**, which belonged to the Tolesan family. This may also have been the case in the early 13th century, although it is possible that at that time the property was in separate ownership from those which adjoined it and are known later to have belonged to the Tolesan family. In the 1620s a property lying to the S., and identified as **132/16A** was added to **132/18**. This enlarged property belonged to the Ironmonger's Company. There is a post-Fire survey of the southern part of it (presumably corresponding approximately to **132/16A**), the exact site of which can be established. There is no post-Fire survey of the northern part of the property, although in 1779 the Ironmongers' Company identified its holding as two houses corresponding to nos. 1 and 2 Poultry. This numbering system had been altered by 1799, the date of the earliest map showing house numbers. A later record shows that the property was then represented by nos. 21 and 22 Poultry. By 1858, the date of the large-scale ward plan, no. 21 and no. 20 Poultry, which adjoined it to the W., were represented by a single building, but it is possible to identify the position of the W. boundary of the property near the frontage from a measurement given in 1621. Between 1863 and 1871 almost the whole of no. 21 and no. 22 Poultry was removed in order to make way for Queen Victoria Street.

i. Thirteenth to fourteenth century, and quit-rents

The earliest reference to the property is in an early 13th-century deed which probably dates from c. 1215. None of the witnesses were given official titles, but they include men who held the office of sheriff in 1207, 1213, 1214, and 1232-3. The deed records a grant by Richard son of Michael to St. Bartholomew's Hospital of 2s. 6d. p.a. quit-rent out of the 5s. p.a. rent which Robert son of Alice (*filius Aliz*) held in fee and inheritance *super Walebroc*. The grant was made for the benefit of the souls of the grantor, of his parents and ancestors, and of Robert son of Ralph.[1] The grantor's father Michael may have been the Michael *Tolosanus* (probably also known as Michael de Walebroc), the first known member of the Tolesan family to have an interest in this block (see **132/16**). The 5s. rent may have been due from a holding greater in extent than **18**. From later records it is clear that the freeholders of **18** continued to pay the 2s. 6d. rent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital more or less regularly up to the time of the Great Fire.[2]

Later in the 13th century the 2s. 6d. rent was due from the tenement of John de Toluse.[3] This tenement probably included some (perhaps two) of the 9 shops formerly belonging to John Tolosan from which a quit-rent was granted to Philip le Tayllur by a deed enrolled in 1265 (see **132/16**). The tenement, or a rent reserved from it, was probably included with the house and rent in the parish of St. Mildred *super Walebroc* which John de Tolesan, by his will enrolled in 1280, left to his wife Joan and to his elder son Michael. Michael de Tolesan, son of John, was later almost certainly in possession of a quit-rent of 12s. p.a. due from **18** (see below). This rent was presumably created as a result of an alienation of **18** made by Michael or by his father. By his will, enrolled in 1312, Michael left all his annual rent in St. Mildred Poultry parish to his wife Juliana as dower for the term of her life, with remainder to his children. This probably included the rent from **18**. Later Juliana married Walter Bret, and Michael's son Robert Tholosan alienated his reversionary interest in the 12s. rent from **18** which she held as dower.[4]

In the early 14th century **18** was in the possession of Adam Broun, poulturer. An endorsement on the early 13th-century deed concerning the rent due to St. Bartholomew's Hospital describes the property as belonging to Adam Broun 'between the houses of S. le Cotelour': these adjacent houses were probably **16** and **19**. By his will, enrolled in 1316, Adam Broun left this property to be sold, stipulating that if Ralph de Braghnyng of London, girdler (*zonarius*), wished to buy it, he was to pay £13. 6s. 8d. less than anyone else. Adam described **18** as two shops in the parish of St. Mildred between the former tenement of Michael Tholosan (probably **17**, but perhaps **19**) on one side and the former tenement of Solomon le Cotiller (probably **19**, but perhaps **16**) on the other. Ralph de Braghnyng does appear to have purchased the 2 shops, and in 1340 the 12s. rent due to the widow of Michael de Tolesan, with remainder to his son, was due from Ralph's former tenement, which lay on

the W. side of **17**. Some early fourteenth-century rentals of St. Bartholomew's Hospital record that its rent from **18** was due from Ralph de Braghyng for a tenement of Thomas Broun. Other rentals indicated that Thomas Broun preceded Ralph in the property. Thomas's relationship to Adam Broun is not known. By his will, dated 1328 and enrolled in 1332, Ralph de Braughing left **18** to his daughter Katharine and her legitimate heirs, with remainder equally to his son Elias and to his daughter Joan and their heirs. Ralph described the property as a tenement lying between **16** on the E. and S., **19** on the W., and the highway on the N.[5]

The property was described in similar terms in 1349, when William Tythynglomb, who in 1340 had acquired Robert Tolesan's reversionary interest in the 12s. rent from **18**, granted this rent to Adam Fraunceis and John Pyel, citizens and merchants. The rent then descended to the heirs of Adam Fraunceys. In 1375-6 it was due to his son of the same name, and in 1425 was listed as part of the estate of which Margaret, widow of the younger Adam, and her then husband Conan Ask attempted to recover a third share as Margaret's dower against William Porter, knight, and his wife Agnes.[6] There are no later references specifically to the 12s. rent, although in the 15th century it may still have been received by the heirs of Adam Fraunceys (cf. **19**). There is no evidence that it was paid during the 16th century.

The messuage representing **18** came into the possession of Elias de Braghing, son of Ralph, who granted it to John Russel, citizen and girdler, and to John's wife Agnes. By his will, enrolled in 1349, Russell left the messuage to be sold by Agnes as and when seemed best to her. Agnes then married William de Wircestre, citizen and fellmonger. By some arrangement with Russell's executors de Wircestre then acquired the property on her behalf. By his will, dated 1358 and enrolled in 1359, de Wircestre, now also described as 'senior', left the property, described as two shops with solars over, to Agnes for the term of her life, with successive remainders to his son William and heirs, and to his daughter Joan. By 1374-5 the property had come into the possession of William Eynesham and was described as a former possession of Agnes Worcestre. Eynesham had been one of William de Wircestre's executors, and may have married Agnes after de Wircestre's death. He seems to have acquired full possession of the property, and in 1375-6 **18** was described as two shops in Poultry worth £5. 6s. 8d. p.a., out of which the rents due to Adam Fraunceys and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital were paid, leaving a balance of £4. 12s. 2d. p.a.[7]

ii. Late fourteenth to early sixteenth century

For much of this period the property can be traced only through the records of the quit-rent due to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. William Eynesham's name is last entered in the rental for 1389-90, and by 1399 the tenement here was in the possession of John Eynesham, grocer, probably William's son. John's name was last entered in the rental for 1423-4. By 1449 the tenement was in the possession of John's daughter and her husband Ralph Blakelowe. At about this time it was described as a tenement with an alley opposite the church of St. Mildred, and was said to lie between **17** on the E., **19** on the W., and **16** on the S.[8] The alley had perhaps been laid out over the by now entirely culverted Walbrook stream, and with the alley to the rear which was associated with **132/16** (q.v.) may have constituted a way through the property from Poultry to Bucklersbury.

By 1527 the property was known as the Ship, but had previously been known as 'le Pewter Dyshe'. In 1522 it was inhabited by Thomas Lewes, citizen and haberdasher, whose goods were valued at £50. At this time the freehold belonged to Thomas Mychell, citizen and ironmonger, who in 1525 leased **18** to Lewes for a term of 30 years from Christmas 1524 at £3. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent, the landlord being responsible for repairs (except those made necessary by the tenant's negligence), paving, and cleansing. The property, worth less than it had been in 1375-6, was described as a messuage with a shop, cellar, solars, and appurtenances, and was bounded by **17** and **19** to the E. and W., and by **16** to the S. By his will, dated 1527 and proved the following year, Mychell left his tenement, shop, solars, and appurtenances called the Ship together with the sum of £140 to the Ironmongers' Company as the perpetual endowment for a chantry priest celebrating in the church of St. Olave Old Jewry and receiving an annual payment of £6. 13s. 4d. Under the terms of Mychell's will, the company took the advice of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer and of the Recorder of the city to use the £140 to acquire further lands to the value of £6 p.a. in order to assure the priest's wages.[9]

iii. 18 in the possession of the Ironmongers' Company: includes 16A from 1624

By one means or another the Ironmongers' Company retained control over the property into the 19th century. As a chantry endowment the property should have come into the possession of the Crown in 1547-8. Mychell's endowment was mentioned only in general terms in the section of the chantry

certificate concerning the company, which, perhaps partly for that reason, was able to retain possession of the property. It was presumably to avoid seizure by the Crown that in March 1550 the company sold **18** and a holding in St. Sepulchre parish to one of their number, Robert Downe, for £160 (calculated at 16 years' purchase) and entered into a bond for £200 in order to allow Downe and his heirs and assigns to occupy the property. While he was in possession of **18** Downe paid the quit-rent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. By his will, dated 1556 and proved in 1557, Downe left these two properties, worth £10 a year clear, to the Ironmonger's Company, which was to pay out of that income £3. 6s. 8d. a year to keep Downe's obit at the church of St. Mary Colechurch. In July 1550, after the sale to Downe, the Crown had granted to Augustine Hinde, Richard Turke, and William Blackwell the rent from **18** and other properties, which had formerly been paid for keeping Thomas Mychell's chantry. This rent then formed part of the presumed royal estate in the city known as the 'concealed lands', and during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign the Ironmongers' Company was involved in various suits concerning the lands given them by Mychell and Downe. A settlement appears to have been reached in 1567-8, when the company was said to owe the Crown 10 years' arrears of an annual rent of £1. 8s. 10d. due from the two properties bequeathed by Downe. This rent seems then to have been received by the Crown until it was sold in about 1650, although it was not charged on the company renter's account. In 1587 the company's title to **18** seems to have been in question. In 1617-18 it was challenged by those who had a claim to the 'concealed lands' under a royal patent of 1614-15, but the company's possession was not interrupted on either of these occasions.[10]

Under the lease of 1525 the Ironmongers' Company, as landlords of the Ship, carried out some repairs at the property. In 1535-6 6s. were spent on stone, gravel, and labour for paving the street there. In the following year a total of 27s. 4d. was spent on repairing the roof, and in 1540-1 £2. 13s. 1d. were spent on carpentry repairs and plastering. Thomas Lewes, who had inhabited the Ship in 1522-5, continued to pay the rent due under his lease until his death in 1538, when he was succeeded by John Wylkocke (or Wilcox). Wylkocke paid the rent until his death in 1540, and in 1541 the company sold for 6d. a mortar left behind at his house. Mr. Warengton paid the rent due under the lease for the year 1541-2 and Mr. Marttynne for 1542-3. From 1543-4 onwards Richard Wadyngton paid the rent: he lived in the house and 1544 was taxed as a wealthy inhabitant of the parish, with goods valued at 1000 marks. The 'William Wadyngton' entered in the company's rent account for 1546-7 may be a clerical error, or may be a relative of Richard who held the property on his behalf during that year. It may have been in anticipation of a possible disturbance arising from the suppression of the chantries that in January 1548 the company granted a new lease of the Ship to Richard Wadyngton, citizen and merchant tailor, in return for the old rent of £3. 6s. 8d. and a fine of £20. The new term of 30 years was to begin at Christmas 1554, when the existing term expired, and from then on the tenant was to be responsible for repairs. Wadyngton entered into a bond for £40 to observe the covenant to repair. He was still living at the Ship when the Ironmongers' Company regained possession in 1556, and was recorded as paying the rent until 1569, although he died in 1565.[11]

William Lewis paid the rent for the Ship between 1569 and 1576. The tenant in 1576-7 is not named, but between 1577 and 1582 John Wolde (or Wilde) was recorded as paying the rent. The next tenant was Tronyon Shortus, a brother of the Ironmongers' Company, who in 1573 had been promised that he would have a lease in reversion of the Ship. The term of the existing lease was due to end in 1584, but Shortus paid the rent from 1582-3 onwards, apparently without being granted a new lease. Shortus was living at the Ship in 1591, when the company determined to discover what he would offer for a lease. At this time a common way or alley was claimed to pass through Shortus's shop in Poultry into Bucklersbury. Shortus offered a fine of £100 for a lease of 31 years at the old rent. His proposal was accepted and the term granted to him was to begin at Lady Day 1592. In addition he promised to give £6. 13s. 4d. towards buying hangings for the company hall. By June 1594 Shortus had died. The lease of the Ship then passed into the hands of Shortus's executors, Daniel Winche, grocer, and Winche's wife Sybyl, who may have occupied the property by some arrangement with the surviving members of the Shortus family. Thus in 1607 Daniel Winche was executor of Mrs. Anne Shortus, presumably the widow of Tronyon Shortus, and in 1618, Tronyon's son Thomas Shortus having died in Germany earlier that year, paid the arrears of an annuity due to Thomas's son Trinnian.[12]

In 1617, and again in 1620, Daniel Winche petitioned the Ironmongers' Company for a renewal of his lease, which was due to terminate in 1623. At this time Winche held a house and shop (**132/18**) from the company, and also held another tenement (presumably **132/16A**) adjoining them to the south under a lease from Francis Muschampe, for which he paid £4 p.a. rent. The two properties appear to have been occupied as a single house. Another prospective tenant petitioned for a lease in November

1621, as did Winche himself, stating that he and his wife had dwelled there for 42 years (i.e. since 1579). Later, in 1625, Winche's widow affirmed that her father (perhaps Tronyon Shortus) had built the back part of the house. Since the company did not possess the whole of the ground, a view was ordered. This found that the company's property comprised a house 3 storeys high, with a cellar and garret in addition. The structure was found to measure 15 1/2 ft. (4.72 m.) from N. to S. and 19 ft. (5.79 m.) from E. to W., but it seemed that the former measurement should have been greater, and that the builders of the house to the rear had encroached upon the company's land. In 1622 the company was negotiating with the owner of **132/16A** about buying the back part of Winche's house, a transaction which was not completed until 1624-5 (see **132/16A**). Further petitions for the company lease were made in 1622. No agreement could be reached concerning the bounds between the company's property and **132/16A**, and in April 1623 the city's viewers were called in. They found that the company's tenement measured 18 ft. 11 in. (5.77 m.) in width next to Poultry, and that the length from the street southwards on the W. side to the end of the first frame was 14 ft. 11 in. (4.55 m.). Adjoining this frame to the S. was 'an addition of building of very ancient continuance' measuring 29 ft. 9 in. (9.07 m.) in length on the W. side. The lengths on the E. side and the width at the S. end roughly corresponded to those on the W. side and the N. end, respectively. The viewers thought that the addition belonged to the company for the following reasons: the cellar under the first frame had no ancient entry other than through the second cellar, which lay under the addition; the walls of the two cellars were of the same construction, having the same kind of stone and the same manner of building; the summer (i.e. cross-beam) over the ground floor at the back of the first frame had not had any substantial partition beneath it, since there were no mortices in its underside, and, moreover, the underside of this beam was ornamented with 'bowed work' (presumably mouldings or brackets) in a way which indicated that from the first construction there was a passage underneath it to the rooms at the rear, as there now was.[13] From this careful, even archaeological, analysis of the building undertaken by the viewers, it seems that **18** had originally measured about 19 ft. (5.79 m.) next to Poultry and about 45 ft. (13.72 m.) from the front to the back, where it presumably adjoined land which was part of **132/16A**. A property of this size would be consistent with the abutment references of the 14th century.

Daniel Winche continued to petition for a lease throughout 1623. His wife took over on his behalf in April 1624, when he was sick, and he died soon afterwards. At the same time the Ironmongers' Company continued to negotiate with the owner of **132/16A** over the purchase of the back part of the property. In January 1624 Winche offered £100 fine for a 31-year lease at the old rent, but was refused. A former offer from another of a £200 fine for a 21-year term at £20 rent was reported, but it was not known whether that would stand in the present circumstances. In March Winche improved his offer to a fine of £150, but was again rejected, other offers of £30 or £40 rent without fines and of £10 rent with a £200 fine for a 21-year term being reported or received. In April one of the petitioners offered £30 rent and a £40 fine for a lease as long as Winche's term in **16A** (now about 11 years). Consideration of the offer was postponed. Winche's lease from another landlord of the rear part of the house was an important bargaining counter, as seems also to have been his potential influence with the owner of **16A** in obtaining favourable terms for the company's purchase of that property. In January 1625, the terms of the purchase of **16A** having been agreed, Sybyl Winche, now a widow, petitioned the company for a lease, for a term of 31 years, of the whole house (**16A** and **18**) where she dwelled. She was told that her husband had offered £10. 13s. 4d. p.a. rent and a fine of as much as the company had to pay for the purchase of **16A**. Her age and long residence in the house told in her favour, and in April the company, desiring 'to have noe difference with discontented women' accepted her offer of a fine of £50 and £10. 13s. 4d. rent for a term as long as the remainder of that under which she held **16A**. The lease was sealed the following November and was due to expire at Christmas 1634.[14]

Mrs. Winche continued to occupy the house until her death in 1631. In 1627-8 the company spent £5. 10s. on making a brick party wall at the house, approximately 30 ft. (9.14 m.) in length. Between 1631 and 1633 there were several petitioners for a new lease, including Mrs. Winche's son Robert Winche, who as tenant in being offered £100 fine and £40 p.a. rent for a 21-year lease, and Philip Christian who was living in a part of the house and offered £120 fine and £20 p.a. rent for 21-year lease of that part. Early in 1633 the company's viewers described Winche's house as containing two parts, one occupied by David Marshall, and the other by Philip Christian. Christian's house was next to the street, where it contained a shop with a little cellar beneath it. On the first floor, over the shop and entry, was a wainscoted hall towards the street. On the second floor were two chambers, one containing a closet, and above them two garrets. These rooms appeared to have occupied the 'first

frame' as described in 1623. Behind them on the ground floor was a void warehouse or entry behind the shop, a little yard behind that, a long alley 'of no use', and behind the yard a kitchen with a boarded floor lying beneath Marshall's counting house. Marshall's house contained a little cellar under the entry (i.e. under Christian's void warehouse); on the first floor, a little hall at the stair head, a kitchen paved with freestone, a little room adjoining, and a parlour next to it with painted wainscot; on the second floor, three little lodging chambers, a small counting house therein, and two other chambers on the right hand; above these chambers were two garrets. At the back were a small warehouse with a room adjoining for wood and coals (probably next to the void warehouse in Christian's part), a little yard behind it with a pump, a little wash-house paved with freestone behind the yard, and over the wash-house and Christian's kitchen, a large counting house with a little chamber adjoining. The arrangement of these rooms is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 000.[15]

Following this survey the company decided to grant a lease for 21 years at £40 p.a. rent. Christian offered a fine of £210, Marshall one of £150, and Nicholas Homewood and Robert Winche each offered fines of £200. Homewood was a brother of the Ironmongers' Company and expressed his intention of living in the house: he was therefore offered, and accepted, a lease for a fine of £210. Homewood died soon after this, leaving the lease to his son Nicholas, then 3 years under age. The son's guardian was Thomas Carter, who promised to pay the fine in return for a longer term since the lease as granted was a 'deere penyworth'. In 1635 Carter obtained a lease of the Ship in his own name for a term of 26 years from Christmas 1634. Throughout this period Philip Christian, a citizen and clothworker who practised the trade of crewelman, seems to have continued to live at the Ship. In 1640 Nicholas Homewood, the son, on whose behalf the lease had been granted to Carter, obtained licence to alienate the lease to Christian, who then himself obtained a new lease from the company for a term of 20 years from Christmas 1640. At this time the house was still divided, part of it being occupied by William Banks, citizen and clothworker, who was Christian's tenant. In April 1641 Christian obtained the company's permission to alienate that part of the property to Banks. Christian and Banks had occupied the property in 1638, when their houses had been valued 'moderately' at £33. 15s. p.a. and £27 p.a., respectively. They were still living there in 1643.[16]

Philip Christian may have continued to occupy the Ship until his death, which took place between December 1653 and March 1654. In 1643 he complained of the 'stricking out' towards his yard of a new window by a householder in Bucklersbury. It is not known when Banks ceased to live there. By April 1653 a part of the lease of the Ship was in the hands of Richard Cauthorne, citizen and merchant tailor and apparently following the trade of stationer. Cauthorne was probably an assign of Philip Christian and, intending to rebuild part of the property, petitioned for a new lease. At a view it was found that the part he intended to rebuild measured 19 ft. (5.79 m.) from E. to W., and 24 ft. (7.32 m.) from N. to S. At this time the other part of the lease was in the possession of Alexander Wilks, who was willing for Cauthorne to have a new lease of the whole. In April 1654 Cauthorne was granted a new lease of the whole property for 41 years after the expiry of the old one in 1660, paying £40 p.a. rent, a fine of £65, and agreeing to lay out £300 on new building. Workmen had estimated the cost of rebuilding at £339. Cauthorne paid the fine in 1654-5 and seems to have embarked on rebuilding a few years later, for in 1660 he sought the company's aid against his neighbour, Mr. Bullocke (occupant of **132/16B**) who intended to obstruct him in his new building.[17]

In 1661 Cauthorne leased one of the two messuages he held at this property to William Pococke, gentleman, at £30 p.a. rent and £100 fine for a term of 21 years. This was the rear part of the property, approximately equivalent to **132/16A**. Pococke may have occupied this house at 1662-3, when he was rated for a house with 8 hearths in this part of the parish, although the arrangement of the names in the list suggests that he lived elsewhere in Poultry. Pococke continued to hold the rear part of **18** after the Fire, and in October 1670 a foundation was surveyed for him. The bounds of this part of **18** can be reconstructed from this plan, which shows an irregular rectangle with a piece cut out at the N.E. corner which was probably part of the other messuage in the property. The plan seems to indicate that the E. edge of the property included a passage which formed part of the alley beside and above the Walbrook stream leading into Bucklersbury. Money for the rebuilding may have been put up by Robert Brabourne, to whom Pococke had assigned his lease by February 1671. By this date, too, Cauthorne had made up the term of Brabourne's lease to 51 years from Michaelmas 1670 at a beneficial rent of £10 p.a. so that he would be able to rebuild. In the Fire Court Brabourne was discharged of arrears of rent from the time of the Fire to Michaelmas 1671. By this date Cauthorne had presumably renegotiated his own lease from the Ironmongers' Company, obtaining a term of 71 years from 1668 at the beneficial rent of £20 for both messuages, although the new lease containing

these terms was not in fact sealed until August 1671. In 1679 this new lease was assigned to Robert and Samuel Brabourne.[18]

In 1662-3 the other one of the two messuages, lying towards the street and probably recently rebuilt, may have been occupied by Richard Cauthorne himself, whose house was rated at 9 hearths. As with Pococke, however, it seems more likely that Cauthorne lived elsewhere in Poultry. No survey of the site after the Great Fire has been identified, but by March 1668 Cauthorne had rebuilt the house at his own cost and was negotiating more favourable terms for his lease from the Ironmongers' Company. On this occasion he accepted a 61-year lease from 1668 at half the former rent, but later (see above) 10 years were added to this term. Cauthorne cannot have completed his building at this time, since in January and April 1669 he was seeking to be exonerated the rent he owed for the time being on the ground that he had been unable to proceed with rebuilding. This was because the 'common shoare' (i.e. the Walbrook stream) was due to be removed, but this work had not yet been undertaken. In the meantime, Cauthorne had begun to lay foundations, and the timbers were being framed in the country ready to be erected when there was no obstruction. Cauthorne's building was presumably well under way by November 1669 when he complained that a new building against his eastern boundary was obstructing his windows.[19]

If Pococke and Cauthorne did not inhabit **18** in 1662-3, it seems likely that the occupants of the property at that time were Edward Greene, with a house of 6 hearths, and Henry Stead, with one of 7 hearths, although there are grounds for identifying them as occupants of **132/19** (q.v.).[20]

In 1987 the disused, stone-line culvert of the Walbrook stream, running from N. to S., was found during trenching works on the S. side of Poultry. It was about 3 ft. (0.91 m.) wide and appeared to lie against and on the outside of the E. boundary of **18**, so that after 1669 its site would have been incorporated within **16** and **17**, the former of which in the Middle Ages probably included structures overhanging the stream. To the S. of **16**, however, the land over the Walbrook stream extending as far as Bucklersbury was counted as part of the Ironmongers' property, although there had been some uncertainty over this in the 1650s (see **132/16A**). The trenching in 1987 also revealed that the Poultry frontage wall of the property on the E. side of Walbrook (**17**) before the Fire stood well forward of the post-Fire line. There was no trace of this wall immediately to the W. of Walbrook, where it seemed likely that the pre-Fire and the post-Fire frontages were identical. This arrangement would be consistent with the depth of the house which represented the original extent of **18** as it was recorded in the view of 1623 (see above).

NOTES

- 1 GL, MSS 17154, 17163 (bundle 3).
- 2 *St. Bartholomew's Cart*, p. 91, no. 892; SBH Hb1/1-7, *passim*; GL, MS 16988/2-6, *passim*.
- 3 SBH, Hc2/2 ('Little Cartulary'), ff. 195-6.
- 4 HR 11(3), 41(31), 68(46).
- 5 *St. Bartholomew's Cart*, p. 91, no. 892; SBH, Hc2/2 ('Little Cartulary'), ff. 195-6; HR 45(32), 60(11), 68(46).
- 6 HR 77(260); HCP 150, m. 1; PRO, C12/1/21.
- 7 HR 77(223), 87(39); PRO C12/1/21; *St. Bartholomew's Cart*, p. 168, no. 224; SBH, Hc2/2 ('Little Cartulary'), ff. 195-6.
- 8 HR 133(36); *St. Bartholomew's Cart*, p. 168, no. 224; SBH, Hc2/2 ('Little Cartulary'), ff. 195-6.
- 9 SBH, Hc3/1, m. 10; PRO, SP1/25, no. 2486, f. 231; HR 240(2); GL, MS 17003 (not foliated; at back of volume); GL, MS 17244.
- 10 HR 248(136); SBH, Hb1/1, *passim*; *Abs Inq PM* i, 58-60. GL, MSS: 16967/1, ff. 22v, 24v, 43v, 51, 64r-v, 65v, 80v, 172v; 16967/3, ff. 75v, 144; 16988/2, f. 40; 17003, ff. 36v, 62-3; 17160; 17163, bundle 3. PRO: E308/3/20/42, no. 190; SC6/Eliz/1379 et seq.
- 11 GL, MSS: 16988/1-2, *passim*; 17003 (unfoliated, at back); 17153. PRO: PROB11/26(12), PROB11/28(16); PROB11/48(30).
- 12 GL, MSS: 16988/2-3, *passim*; 16967/1, ff. 91v, 207, 208v, 209, 2020, 2034, 2036; 16967/2, f. 35; 16967/3, f. 141v.
- 13 GL, MS 16967/3, ff. 96v, 212v, 235, 237-8, 240, 243-4, 252-3, 256-7, 261v, 267v, 269-70, 279r-v, 321v, 322.
- 14 GL, MSS: 16967/3, ff. 276, 281-2, 287-8, 290v-291v, 294v, 296v, 297, 317v, 319r-v, 321v, 322, 325, 328, 330v; 17003 (unfoliated, at end).
- 15 PRO, PROB11/160(117). GL, MSS: 16967/4, pp. 91, 125-7; 16988/4, p. 341 and *passim*.
- 16 GL, MSS: 16967/4, pp. 130, 166, 171, 174, 337-8, 340; 17003 (unfoliated, at end); 62/1, ff. 7-8. Skinners' Company, Court Book 3, f. 143.
- 17 PRO, PROB11/236(174). GL, MSS: 16967/4, pp. 388; 16967/5, pp. 158, 160-1, 187, 202, 320; 16988/6, f. 77; 11588/4, p. 442.
- 18 BL, Add MS 5093, no. 21*; *M & O* v, f. 65; PRO, E179/252/27; GL, MS 17003 (unfoliated, at end).
- 19 PRO, E179/252/27; GL, MS 16967/6, pp. 48, 75, 85; Repts 75, ff. 4v-5.
- 20 PRO, E179/252/27.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 19

This property lay between **132/18** on the E., **132/20** on the W., and **132/16** on the S. In the 13th century it appears to have been part of the same property as **132/20**, which formed part of a larger block belonging to the Tolesan family (see **132/16**). In the later 13th century **19** and **20** appear to have been a single holding belonging to Michael Tolesan, who divided it into two parts. In the mid 14th century these two parts were acquired by Adam Fraunceys, who disposed of one part of his holding here, and passed on the remainder to his heirs. It is only after Fraunceys acquired the property that the bounds of **19** and **20** can be defined. These bounds may not have corresponded to those of the two parts into which Michael Tolesan had divided **19-20**, but for the purposes of this discussion they have been assumed to be the same. In the 13th century Westminster Abbey had a rent which was probably charged on the whole of **19-20**. In the 14th century it appears to have been charged on **20** alone, but later was charged on **19**: there was evidently some confusion between the two properties.

It seems most likely that in the 19th century **19** corresponded on the Poultry frontage to nos. 17, 18, 19, and 20 Poultry. The S.E. corner of this block of properties was cut away when Queen Victoria Street was constructed. The bounds of the property corresponding to nos. 17 and 18 Poultry are recorded in a drawn survey of 1668, and the bounds of the remaining part of **19** are defined by contemporary surveys of adjoining properties.

i. Twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the Westminster Abbey quit-rent: 19-20

The earliest reference to this property is probably in a charter of between 1182 and 1213 concerning a piece of land (probably **132/21-3**) which belonged to the priory of St. Augustine outside Canterbury. This piece of land was bounded, probably on the E. side, by land which John Piper corn then held of Westminster Abbey.[1] In 1291 Westminster Abbey owned an annual quit-rent of 6s. from **19** or **20**, or from both properties. According to a rental of 1344-5 this rent was due from **20**, but by 1418-19 it was being collected from **19**. [2]

The next reference to **19-20** is probably in a charter of between 1192 and 1211 concerning the St. Paul's property, **21**, which was bounded on the E. by the land belonging to Thomas *magnus*. In a charter of 1222-3 the St. Augustine's property (probably **21-3**) was said to be bounded on the E. by land which had belonged to Richard son of the priest: this is probably a reference to **19-20**, but could just be a reference to the St. Paul's property, **21**. [3]

In 1269 the St. Paul's property (**21**) was bounded on the E. by a house which had once belonged to John de Tolusano, deceased. This is the first certain record that **19-20** was in the possession of the Tolesan family, which also owned an extensive block of property to the E. The John de Tolusano mentioned was probably the one who died in about November 1259 (see **132/16**), and **19-20** probably descended to the John Tolesan (probably the son of the earlier one) whose will was enrolled in 1280. There is almost certainly a reference to **19-20** in a deed enrolled in 1265 concerning a rent of 8s. due from 9 shops formerly belonging to John Tolosano and lying between the capital messuage which had belonged to John and the 'stone house of the same fee' (for details, see **132/16**). The stone house was perhaps **19-20** or perhaps **20** alone. By his will enrolled in 1280 John de Tolesan left to his wife Joan and to his elder son Michael his house and rent(s) in the parish of St. Mildred *super Walebroc*. As a result of this legacy Michael Tolesan appears to have come into possession of **19-20**, together with other properties in this parish represented by **15**, **17**, and **18**. [4]

ii. Fourteenth to sixteenth century: 19 only

Michael Tolesan retained the W. part of **19-20**, which descended to his heirs (see **20**). The E. part (approximately **19**) was a tenement which Michael granted to Solomon de Lanuare, citizen and cutler, apparently reserving an annual rent of 10 marks (£6. 13s. 4d.). This grant had probably been made by 1291 when a property lying to the S. in St. Stephen Walbrook parish (**156/12**, later known as Servat's Tower) included among its northern abutments a tenement of Michael Tolesan (probably **20**) and among its eastern ones a tenement of Solomon de Lanfar (probably **19**). By his will enrolled in March 1312, Solomon left this tenement to his son John de Lanfare, who was to render the services due to the capital lords of the fee and to maintain two chaplains in the parish church of St. Mildred. Solomon stipulated that after John's death the parishioners were to have £7 p.a. rent from the tenement, with the

right to distrain there, in order to maintain the chaplains, except that Solomon's widow Isabel was to have half that rent during her lifetime and that only one chaplain was to be maintained while she lived. Solomon rebuilt the property. Thus, **132/16** was described in deeds of 1311-12 as being bounded on its W. side by the 'new buildings of Solomon le Cotiller' or by the 'new rent' which Solomon had left in his will to John de Lanfare. The new structure presumably contained several houses let out to tenants. Michael de Tolesan's will was enrolled in November 1312. In it he stipulated that for a period of 40 years after his death a chaplain celebrating in the church of St. Leonard Shoreditch was to receive an annual income of 6 marks out of the 10 marks which Solomon le Cotiller had been accustomed to pay him from the 'new tenement' in Poultry (*poletria*) in the parish of St. Mildred which had belonged to Solomon. After the end of the term, the 6 marks rent was to remain to Michael's nearest heirs. The remainder of the 10 marks rent was presumably counted in the unspecified total of rent from the parish which Michael left to his wife Juliana for the term of her life, and then to be divided among his children.[5]

John de Lanfare, cutler of London, was now in possession of **19**, and in 1316 granted it to Hugh de Wircestre, citizen and skinner. In this grant the property was described as tenements with appurtenances lying between **18** on the E., **20** on the W., **156/12** (Servat's Tower) on the S., and the highway on the N. This holding was later taken into the king's possession on the grounds that Solomon le Lanuare had not obtained a royal licence to endow the two chaplains, but in April 1321 the king confirmed John de Lanfare's grant to Hugh de Wirestre, and in the following May pardoned Solomon's trespass. It seems likely that the rent of £7 which Solomon had charged on the property for the upkeep of 2 chaplains continued to be received, or at least claimed, by the parish church until 1548, since it was noted in the chantry certificate of that year. By his will, enrolled in 1326, Hugh de Wircestre left the property to be sold by his executors.[6]

The purchaser on this occasion was presumably Thomas le Fourbour, who held the property in 1328. As Thomas de Norwyco, furbisher (*forbour*), by his will dated 1329 and enrolled in 1330, he left the property, described as a tenement in the parish of St. Mildred *in poletria*, to be sold by his executors, the money to be used for the maintenance of the 3 chaplains, one in the parish church of St. Mildred, one in that of St. Mary Colechurch, and one in the church of St. Thomas of Acre, all in the immediate neighbourhood. The property is next known to have been in the possession of John atte Welle, ironmonger (*ferrous*), and his wife Agnes, who granted it to John le Hore, cornmonger (*bladarius*). By his will, dated 1336 and enrolled in 1337, le Hore left to his brother Robert le Hore, salter, the tenements in this parish which he had acquired from atte Welle and his wife. In 1349 **19** was described as a former property of John le Hore.[7]

In 1340 John Lanfare's widow Agnes appears to have been attempting to establish a claim to the property, or a part of it, when she brought a plea of intrusion against William de Bray, skinner (*pelet'*; possibly *polet'*, i.e. 'poulterer' is intended) and John de Thurston, poulterer (*pulter'*), concerning her tenement in the parish. John Scot, poulterer (*poletarius*), was in possession of at least a part of the property in 1342, when he refused the ward beadle's request for a payment of 4d. towards the cost of cleaning up the street of Poultry. The incident became a violent one. Scot called the beadle a rascal (*ribaldus*), and in a rage withheld the distress which the mayor's sergeant was sent to collect. He then came laughing and sneering before the mayor at Guildhall, and then returned home again, breaking the mayor's attachment. Scot was then seized, brought back into the presence of the mayor and sheriffs, and committed to prison. Later Scot made fine for 100s. In 1349 Edward de Lanuare (presumably a relative of John Lanfare) was pursuing a plea of land against John Scot and others in the neighbourhood, probably in connection with this property. By 1362 John Scot's former property in Poultry was in the possession of Adam Fraunceys, and in 1363 Raymond Scot, John's son and heir, quitclaimed to Fraunceys in it. In the quitclaim **19** was described as a tenement with appurtenances lying between a tenement belonging to Fraunceys and John Piel (probably **20**) on the W., **18** on the E., Poultry on the N., and **16** on the S.[8]

In 1370 **19**, or that part of it which adjoined **20**, was described as a tenement of Adam Fraunceys which John atte Noke, poulterer, had once held and inhabited. On Adam's death in 1374-5 **19** passed to his widow Agnes, from whose tenement in 1376 the 10 marks rent due to the heirs of Michael Tolesan was said to be payable. The property then passed to Adam's son of the same name, who in 1399 granted it with **17** and other holdings to William Cresewyk, John Dinham, Solomon Fresthop, Thomas Charleton, Robert Newport, Richard Forster, John Holme, and William Parker. In this grant **19** was described as 4 tenements adjacent and joined to each other (*contigua et annexa*), with shops, solars, and appurtenances, bounded by **20** on the W., **18** on the E., and **16** on the S. In 1405 Fraunceys ratified this grant, except in respect of William Parker, who had died.[9]

The grantees in 1399 clearly held the property on behalf of Adam Fraunceys, knight, who after 1405 granted this and other properties for the term of her life to one Elizabeth (evidently not his daughter Elizabeth), who afterwards married John Hende. In 1410 **19**, or the part of it adjoining **20**, was described as a tenement of Agnes Fraunceys. This may be a conservative reference to the widow of the Adam Fraunceys who had died in 1374-5, or it may mean that in 1410 the younger Adam Fraunceys's daughter Agnes also had an interest in the property (although there is no other indication that this was the case). Adam Fraunceys, knight, died in 1417. John Hende, a tenant in chief of the Crown, died in or shortly before August 1418, and his lands were taken into the possession of the king. A jury stated that he held certain lands in London only by the right of his wife Elizabeth who had received them by the grant of Adam Fraunceys, knight. Elizabeth was then given seisin of the estate, which included 5 tenements with shops, solars, and cellars in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry worth £20 a year. These 5 tenements corresponded either to **19** or to **17** and **19**. By July 1419 Elizabeth widow of John Hende had married Ralph Botiller, esquire, who as Ralph Botiller, knight, and then as Ralph Botiller, Lord of Sudeley, was later described as the owner of **19**. Elizabeth died in 1462, at which point the property apparently reverted to the heir of Adam Fraunceys, knight, who was Sir Thomas Charleton, knight, son of Adam's daughter Elizabeth. Charleton died in 1465, having assigned an extensive estate in London, including property in St. Mildred Poultry parish, to feoffees. Ultimately, Charleton's son, Richard Charleton, who had been born in 1449, succeeded to this estate, and in 1527 **17** and **19** were described as Charleton's former property.[10]

Richard Charleton was attainted for his support of Richard III, and his estate passed to the Crown. The Westminster Abbey chamberlains' accounts described the 6s. quit-rent from **19** as being due from a tenement of Humphrey Savage in 1492-3, and from a tenement of Humphrey Stanley from 1495 onwards. Savage and Stanley may have been tenants of the Crown. By 1529 the rent was no longer leviable. In 1509 the king granted the 4 tenements representing **19** to his servants John Escroke and John Sigewyke to hold rent free during the king's pleasure. In 1512, when Escroke and Sigewyke obtained a grant for the terms of their lives the 4 tenements were said lately to have been held severally by Richard Birt, poulterer, Thomas Wilby, poulterer, John Hasilwode, draper, and Thomas Warner, poulterer. In 1526 Escroke and Sigewyke surrendered their interest to the king, who granted the 4 tenements, described as in 1512, to Ralph Worsley, a page of the king's wardrobe, rent-free for life. Gilbert Egleston perhaps held part of the property in 1532-3, when the tenement from which the rent was due to Westminster Abbey was said to be in his hands. In 1544, in consideration of his service and a payment of £63, the king granted the 4 messuages to Worsley and his heirs and assigns for ever. On this occasion the property was reckoned to be worth £9 a year clear and was described as being quit of all rents, except one of £7. 6s. 8d. for the maintenance of 2 chaplains in the parish church of St. Mildred Poultry. On the dissolution of the chantries in 1547 this rent became payable to the Crown, which continued to receive it until it was sold in 1651.[11]

iii. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: 19 only

The property appears to have remained in the possession of Ralph Worsley and his descendants until 1580, when it passed into that of Thomas Gill of London, gentleman. In June 1580 in fulfilment of an agreement made between them in May Hugh Worley of 'Paringdon magna' (Parndon), Essex, gentleman, son of the late Otvel Worsleye and his wife Alice, quitclaimed to Gill in 5 messuages with shops, cellars, solars, chambers, garrets, and yards, lying in Poultry in the parish of St. Mildred. These 5 messuages presumably corresponded to **19** or to **17** and **19**, and were in the tenure or occupation of George Hawes, salter, Lawrence Thwaites, John Wilde, haberdasher, Thomas Ekins, skinner. Later in June 1580 Henry Richardson and Robert Denham gained possession of the property, now described as 6 messuages in the parish of St. Mildred, by means of a common recovery before the justices of Common Bench. They brought their suit against Gill, who called Hugh Worsley to warrant, who in turn called the common vouchee who defaulted. Richardson and Denham appear to have been acting on Gill's behalf, presumably in order to extinguish any entail on members of the Worsley family.[12]

In 1596 the messuage formerly inhabited by George Hayes (presumably identical with George Hawes), citizen and salter was known as the Red Lyon, and Thomas Gill and his wife Elizabeth leased it, together with all the goods, implements, glass, and glass windows therein, to William Smyth and Roger Powell, citizens and salters, for a term of 7 years at £6 p.a. rent plus a yearly fine or income of £30 which was to be paid at the shop door of the premises. By his will, dated 1601 and proved in 1602, Thomas Gill of Mucking (Essex), esquire, left the reversion of his messuage called the Red Lion in Poultry to his eldest son Ralph on condition that he make certain money payments to Thomas's daughters Elizabeth and Sarah. The money payments seem not to have been made, and

under the terms of Gill's will the Red Lion remained to the daughters. Sarah married John Vernon, citizen and haberdasher, with whom in 1608 she granted her moiety of the Red Lion, then in the occupation of William Smith, citizen and salter, to Ralph Gill, esquire, (presumably her brother) of the liberty of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower.[13]

Another one of the Gill tenements in Poultry was known as 'le George'. In 1607 Thomas Gill, citizen and haberdasher (probably a younger brother of Ralph Gill), and his wife Sibilla quitclaimed to Francis Neve, citizen and merchant tailor, in this tenement, providing that if Thomas paid Francis £200 in June 1610 the quitclaim was to be void.[14]

Ralph Gill's property in Poultry appears to have been included in the 5 messuages in the parishes of St. Mildred Poultry and All Hallows Barking which in 1610 he conveyed to Robert Honeywood, esquire, and Thomas Heneage, esquire, by means of a fine and quitclaim, for which he was paid £200.[15]

In 1624 the rear part of **132/18** (formerly **132/16A**) was described as being partially bounded on the W. by a messuage late of Ralph Gill and then in the tenure or occupation of Matthew Collins and Ralph Grinder. This is clearly a reference to a part of **132/19**. Collins and Grinder still occupied houses on the site in 1638, when the occupants of the houses comprising **19** (with their 'moderate' annual values) were probably as follows: Matthew Collins (£37. 10s.), Joseph Linge (£37. 10s.), John Godfrey (£36), Ralph Grinder (£40), and John Shurbon (£10). These 5 householders probably occupied houses on sites which corresponded approximately to those of the 5 houses erected on the property after the Great Fire. By 1643 Collins and Shurbon appear to have been succeeded as residents by William Hough and William Johnson, respectively. The Anne Hough who occupied a house with 5 hearths in this vicinity in 1662 probably succeeded William Hough.[16]

To judge from the records which seem to be associated with the site after the Great Fire, it seems that the Gill family, then represented by Robert Gill, esquire, retained possession of the eastern and western parts of **19**, and that the central portion of the property had been acquired by the Heneage family, then represented by Sir Michael Heneage.

The western part of **19**, corresponding to nos. 17 and 18 Poultry, was in March 1668 occupied by 3 foundations surveyed for Thomas Lambe. The exact site of this property can be established from the drawn survey, which indicates that a strip of ground 33 ft. 4 in. (10.16 m.) long and about 2 ft. (0.61 m.) wide was cut off in order to widen the street. This strip of ground appears to correspond to a piece of ground cut off a property on the S. side of Poultry in order to enlarge the street and described in a certificate of May 1668. This ground measured 33 ft. 8 in. (10.26 m.) in length, 5 ft. (1.52 m.) in width at the E. end and 1 ft. 4 in. (0.41 m.) at the W. end, and adjoined the more westerly of two properties belonging to Robert Gill. This more westerly house was being built by a Mr. Grene. A survey of the next property to the W. made in March 1668 describes this one as belonging to Mr. Steeds. The tenurial relationship between Lambe, Steeds, Grene, and Gill is not known. Some of them may have occupied houses on this site before the Great Fire. Thus, in the Hearth Tax return of 1662-3 Edward Greene and Henry Stead (?alias Steedes) were listed next to each other in this part of the parish for houses with 6 and 7 hearths, respectively (but cf. **132/18**).[17]

The certificate of May 1668 described the more easterly of Robert Gill's properties as a house then being built by him from which a piece of ground for widening the street had been cut off. This strip of ground measured 16 ft. 5 in. (5.00 m.) in length, 5 ft. 9 in. (1.75 m.) in width at the E., and 5 ft. 3 in. (1.60 m.) at the W. end. In length it corresponded approximately to the frontage of the 19th-century property, no. 20 Poultry. A survey of October 1670 concerning the property immediately to the S. of no. 20 Poultry names Mr. Fitzgerald as lying to the N. Fitzgerald may have been Gill's tenant.[18]

The central portion of **19** may be mentioned in a certificate of May 1668 concerning a strip of ground taken for enlarging Poultry on the S. side. This adjoined the foundation of Sir Michael Heneage then being built, and measured 21 ft. 6 in. (6.55 m.) in length, 5 ft. (1.52 m.) in width at the E. end, and 5 ft. 3 in. (1.60 m.) at the E. end. A piece of ground this length would exactly fit the remaining portion of the frontage of **19** (i.e. approximately no. 19 Poultry) if we assume that Gill's two properties occupied the eastern and western parts of that frontage. At this time a house occupying the S. or S.W. part of the site of no. 19 Poultry belonged to a Mr. Mew, the funnel of whose 'house of office' projected into the yard at the back of Lambe's property (see above). Towards the street Lambe's property was bounded on the E. side by a house of one Lewin. Mew and Lewin were perhaps tenants of Sir Michael Heneage. Lewin may have been the Felix Lewin who in 1662 had a house with 5 hearths somewhere in this neighbourhood.[19]

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 19

NOTES

1 *Black Book of St. Augustine's* ii, 522. In a previous interpretation of this record it was concluded that Pipercorn's land lay on the W. side of the St. Augustine's property, and was therefore in St. Mary Colechurch parish: see **105/26**. It now seems more likely that the reverse was the case: see **132/21-3**.

2 *Tax Eccl*, 10; WAM 9306, 28391, 18736; Bodl. MS Top. Lond e. 6.

3 *Black Book of St. Augustine's* ii, 520-2.

4 GL, MS 25121/135; HR 3(18), 11(3).

5 HR 20(52), 40(77), 41(31).

6 HR 44(155), 54(58); *Cal Pat R 1317-21*, pp. 581, 591; BL, Harley Ch. 43 D 37; *Chant C*, no. 100.

7 HR 58(17), 60(11), 64(40), 77(260).

8 HPL 62, m. 19; HPL 64, m. 16d; HPL 71, m. 8; HR 91(114); GL, MS 25121/1572.

9 HR 98(67), 133(36); *Cal Inq PM* xiv, 282-3.

10 PRO, C138/34/38; C140/17/31; *Cal Close R 1413-19*, p. 478; *Cal Close R 1419-22*, pp. 15-16; HR 137(75), 163(15), 205(1); *Complete Peerage* xii, pt 1, 419-21; see also **11/1** and **132/17**.

11 PRO: C82/341, no. 1/521; C82/384; C82/569; E318/23/1252; SC6/Edw VI/293 et seq.; E307/H/4/20. WAM 18736-18826.

12 HR 264(18); GL, Add MS 688.

13 GL, Add MS 696; PRO, C146/9323, HR 285(1, 2).

14 HR 284(39).

15 GLRO, H1/ST/E65, 27/1061.

16 HR 301(40); *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 62/1, ff. 7-8; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 60d.

17 *M & O* iv, ff. 17v, 20v, 21; CLRO, Comptroller's Deeds, K/G/1; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 60d.

18 CLRO, Comptroller's Deeds, K/G/1, *M & O* v, f. 65.

19 CLRO, Comptroller's Deeds, K/H/5; *M & O* iv, ff. 20v, 21, v, f. 65; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 60d.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 20

In the 13th century this property was in the same ownership as **19**, although earlier the two properties may have been in separate hands. **20** is first clearly identifiable as a separate property in the 14th century, when it lay between **132/19** on the E., **132/21** on the W., and **156/12** on the S. The bounds of the property can probably be established from surveys drawn up soon after the Great Fire. In the 19th century **20** probably corresponded to nos. 14, 15, and 16 Poultry. Measurements given in a deed of 1370 show that at that time the property occupied the same frontage, but did not extend so far to the S., as at a later date.

i. Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

For possible references to the property in the 12th and 13th centuries, see **132/19**.

At his death, in or shortly before 1312, **20** was in the possession of Michael Tolesan, and was probably counted as part of the 'rent' (also including **15** and **19**) in St. Mildred Poultry parish which he left to his wife Juliana for the term of her life and on her death to be divided between his children. In 1315 **20** was described as a tenement of the heirs of Michael Tolesan. Michael's widow Juliana married Walter le Bret, who in a 15th-century rental of Westminster Abbey concerning the rent of 6s. due to the abbey from **19-20** was named as a former holder of the tenement (probably **20**, although the rent was later charged on **19**, q.v.) from which the rent was due. The same rental names William Lorymer as le Bret's predecessor in the tenement: William may have been Michael Tolesan's tenant. Le Bret and Juliana were still in possession of the property in 1336, when Michael Tolesan's son and heir Robert granted to Thomas de Lodelawe, kt., all the rents and tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish held by Walter le Bret and Juliana, and which were due to remain to Robert on Juliana's death. By this date Robert's reversionary interest in the other properties in the parish held by le Bret and Juliana appears to have been assigned elsewhere (see **15**), so that under this transaction Thomas de Lodelawe probably would have acquired an interest only in **20**, although there is likely to have been some uncertainty on this matter. By a charter dated 3 March 1340, but not enrolled until the following June, Walter le Bret granted to John Anketil, citizen, the rents and tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish which he had had by the grant of Robert Tolesan. Juliana had perhaps died by this date and the grant was probably intended to convey **20** to Anketil. There seems to have been a possibility, however, that the grant might also have covered **15** and **17**, and on the occasion of the enrolment of the deed William Tithynglomb, who already had an interest in **15** and **17**, came and laid his claim on the charter. By a charter dated 26 March 1340 and enrolled the next day Thomas de Lodelawe quitclaimed to Anketil in the rents and tenements in this parish which he had had by the grant of Walter le Bret and Juliana. In October 1340 Robert Tulson, son of Michael Tolesan, quitclaimed to Anketil in the same property.[1]

The descent of the property in the immediately subsequent period is difficult to disentangle, and seems to have been determined in part by exactions for the repayments of debts owed by holders of the property. Thus in March 1336 Robert Tolesan had borrowed £60 from William Tithynglomb, to be repaid by the following Michaelmas. When the debt was not paid William obtained possession of a messuage, 6 shops, and 6s. rent belonging to Robert. As a result of a further recognizance and default by Robert in 1337, William obtained possession of 3 more messuages belonging to Robert. This whole estate lay in the parishes of St. Mildred Poultry, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, and All Hallows Bread Street, and probably included **20** (a messuage) as well as **15** and **17** (shops) in St. Mildred parish. Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel acquired a right to this estate, and in November 1349 claimed that Tithynglomb, Roger atte Tour, John Nasard, and Roger Tydy had dispossessed them of it. Tithynglomb claimed to hold the property by two writs under the statute of merchants, as related above. Roger atte Tour, perhaps a tenant of one of the properties, claimed that at one time they had been in the possession of John Anketil and were now held by his kinsman Nicholas. An assize found that Nicholas Anketil was not in fact tenant of these properties, but that Fraunceys and Pyel had been dispossessed. Some months previously, in February 1349, Tithynglomb was involved in a plea of land against John Anketil which probably concerned this group of properties or **20**. Later that year, in July, Tithynglomb sued out a writ of right concerning 2 shops which he claimed to hold of the king by service of 1d. a year and of which Nicholas Anketil had deforced him. These 2 shops could represent

20, which in the 16th century was described as 2 shops and was charged with 1d. rent to the king (see below). John Anketil, a citizen and woolmonger (*lanarius*), had himself contracted a debt of 100 marks to John Oweyn which he did not repay. In May 1349, both Oweyn and Anketil having died, Oweyn's executors claimed the debt from Anketil's heirs and tenants. Execution of the debt was granted, and it was found that in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry Anketil had been possessed of a quit-rent, a messuage, a brewhouse, and shops. This holding, which probably represented **20**, was said now to be in the possession of Anketil's kinsman and heir John (*sic*, probably in error for Nicholas) Anketil.[2]

It seems likely that Fraunceys and Pyel established a claim to the income from **20** by purchasing one or more of these unpaid debts. They certainly had a claim to other properties of John Anketil by virtue of a recognizance between Anketil, Hugh de Lemynstre, and themselves. By his will, enrolled in 1350, Anketil directed that his tenements in London were to be sold in order to pay his debts, and it was in pursuit of this that in 1351 Nicholas Anketil, as John's heir and executor, sold John's rents and tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish, together with John's other former properties, to Fraunceys and Pyel. In 1363 **20** was described as a tenement belonging to Fraunceys and Pyel.[3]

In 1370 Adam Fraunceys granted **20** to Stephen atte Mersh, smith and citizen, his wife Margery, and Stephen's heirs and assigns. The property was described as a tenement with appurtenances lying on the S. side of the highway between **21** on the W., **19** on the E., and **156/12** on the S. It measured, E.-W. along the highway 11 ells, 2 ft., and 1 3/4 in. (35 ft. 1 3/4 in.; 10.71 m.), E.-W. on the S. side 11 ells, 2 ft., and 1/4 in. (35 ft. 1/4 in.; 10.67 m.), N-S. on the E. side 6 ells, 1/2 ft., and 2 1/2 in. (18 ft. 8 1/2 in.; 5.70 m.), and N.-S. on the W. side 6 ells 1 1/2 ft. (19 ft. 6 in.; 5.94 m.). John Pyel then quitclaimed in the property to Stephen and Margery. Later Stephen and Margery conveyed all their lands and tenements to feoffees who granted them back to the donors for the terms of their lives with remainder to Stephen's son William and William's wife Joan. Stephen was dead by 1399, when **20** was described as the tenement of Margery Mersh. Stephen's son William atte Mershe, smith and citizen, was in possession by 1410 when he charged the property with an annual quit-rent of £7. 6s. 8d. to be paid to John Lever, citizen and saddler, and his heirs and assigns. This transaction was to be void if William repaid a debt of £50 to John later that year. The debt was repaid, and in 1412 William and his wife Margaret granted the tenement to Roger Goddisfast, citizen and smith, and his wife Alice, who were then dwelling in the property and were to hold it to themselves and their assigns for the term of their lives keeping it in good repair.[4]

The property later descended to William atte Mershe's son, John atte Mershe, citizen and goldsmith, who in 1434 granted his lands and tenements representing **20** to Thomas Belgrave and Walter Norwold, citizens and cutlers, and to Thomas Ely of London. Should John atte Mershe pay Thomas Belgrave £46. 13s. 4d. at Midsummer 1439, this grant was to be void, but if not the grantees were to remain in possession and pay atte Mershe £20. The outcome of this agreement is not known. Later the property was in the possession of Robert Mildenhale, who granted it to William Baron, his wife Joan, and Joan Bedham. In 1475 Baron, described as esquire, and his wife Joan granted the property and quitclaimed in it to Robert Scot, barber, Henry Colet, mercer, William Atkinson, tailor, and Stephen Russell, founder, all citizens, and John Bolt, chaplain.[5]

The property then descended to Robert Scot's daughter Joan and her husband Richard Toft, citizen and merchant tailor. In a Chancery petition dating from 1486 x 1493 or 1504 x 1515 Richard Toft and Joan claimed that William Baron and his wife, being seised of 2 tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish, enfeoffed of them Joan's father John (*sic*) Scotte, Henry Colet, knight, and Stephen Russell to the use of John Scotte and his heirs. After John Scotte died Russell was said to have made an estate of the premises to Joan and her husband Richard, but Colet refused to do so. The petitioners appear to have been confused in their account of the descent, and this probably explains Colet's refusal. In a deed of 1513 Toft and Joan stated that Colet and Russell had conveyed the premises to Robert Scot and Joan and her heirs and assigns, and now on the strength of that conveyance, Toft and Joan themselves granted the property to Richard Maylard, saddler, and John Grene, merchant tailor, both citizens.[6]

ii. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The next known holder of the messuage representing **20** was Richard Gresham, who in October 1538, when he held it for the term of his life with remainder to George Townesend, gentleman, his wife Alice, and their legitimate heirs, surrendered his interest in it to Townesend and Alice. The purpose of this transaction was to enable Gresham to break the entail by means of a common recovery against Townesend and his wife, executed in November 1538. In the record of the recovery the property was

described as 2 messuages. Immediately after the recovery Townesend and his wife sold the 2 messuages to Gresham and his heirs and assigns for £100, and then quitclaimed in them. At this time the messuages were said to be worth £5 a year clear, and were occupied by Joan Tego, widow, and Richard Brograve. Brograve appears to have inhabited this messuage in 1522, when his goods were valued at £20.[7]

The abutment clauses of deeds relating to **21** contain several later references to Gresham's property and its tenants. They probably concern only the most westerly of the tenements on the site. In 1550 they mention a tenement of Richard Gresham in the tenure of Thomas Stycheforde, and in 1596 the tenement formerly of Richard Gresham and now in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Carter, citizen and ironmonger. The latter description is repeated in deeds up to 1625, but in 1649 the tenement was said to be the dwelling house of Mr. Ball.[8] There may have been 3 houses on the site in 1638, occupied by William Robotham (cf. **22**), Samuel Cambey, and Thomas Carter, whose houses were 'moderately' valued at £37. 10s. p.a., £30 p.a., and £30 p.a., respectively. Robotham and Cambay still occupied their houses in 1643, but Carter, who seems to have been the goldsmith of that name (and of St. Stephen Walbrook parish) who died in 1640, had been succeeded by Edward Ball. The latter was presumably the Mr. Ball mentioned in 1649 and the Edward Ball who had a house with 6 hearths in this neighbourhood in 1662.[9]

After the Great Fire **20** consisted of 2 properties, both of which appear to have been held by John London, citizen and skinner. By this date **20** extended much further to the S. than it had done in 1370, but since none of the deeds later than 1370 include measurements it is impossible to be certain when this enlargement took place. It was presumably made at the expense of the property known as 'Servat's Tower' (**156/12**) which lay to the S. on the Bucklersbury frontage. This area to the S. had presumably at some time been counted as part of St. Stephen Walbrook parish, and this may explain why the Thomas Carter who seems to have occupied a part of **20** in 1638 was associated with that parish (see above). In the reconstruction plans it has been assumed that **20** was enlarged towards the S. between 1500 and 1550. The bounds of **20** are recorded in two post-Fire foundation surveys. One was made in April 1668 for John London and concerned an almost square site at the N.W. corner of the property, where a strip of ground 1 ft. (0.30 m.) wide at the W. end, and 2 ft. 6 in. (0.79 m.) wide at the E. end was cut off for widening the street. To the S. and E. of this was a site surveyed in March 1668 for William Boyer, although abutments from other surveys and a later deed (see below) indicate that John London had a leasehold interest there. The nature of London's interest in the other part of the property is not known. He had probably occupied a house on the site in 1662, when he had a house with 12 hearths in this neighbourhood. On the Poultry frontage Boyer's property corresponded to no. 16 Poultry as shown on the 19th century ward map, while the site surveyed for London corresponded to no. 14 and the narrow entry leading to no. 15 at the rear. The greater part of no. 15 lay within the site surveyed for Boyer.[10]

The site surveyed for Boyer included a messuage situated 'backwards of the street' lately erected by John London which in 1669 London and his wife Mary leased to Jerome Rawsthorne, citizen and mercer, for a term of 21 years in return for a fine of £150 and an annual rent of £60. London held the messuage from William Bowyer, citizen and tallowchandler, for a longer term than the one now granted. The lease described the building and its fixtures in great detail. There was a passage 4 ft. 6 in. wide leading from Poultry into the yard belonging to the house: this contained a large street door with a lock and key and another large door at the S. end. The yard was paved and measured 38 ft. by 12 ft. (11.58 m. by 3.66 m.). The house lay on the S. side of the yard and contained a pair of doors facing the entry. The building contained a cellar, in which was a 'stoole vault or house of office', with five storeys (including garrets) above it. The cellar had its own door, probably leading directly off the yard. The ground floor was occupied by 2 rooms or warehouses. These contained 2 pairs of double doors and one other door at the W. end of one of the warehouses where there was a wash-house. On the first floor were a kitchen, a parlour containing one closet, and a dining room containing 2 closets. The dining room contained one door with a latch and 2 doors for the closets, and seems to have opened directly off the stairs. The parlour contained 2 doors with latches as well as one closet door, and so perhaps opened on both the stairs and the kitchen, where no door was listed. Each of the rooms on this floor, except for one of the dining room closets, contained an iron casement window. The kitchen also contained a lead sink and an iron bar in the chimney. The second and third floors each contained 3 chambers. Those over the dining room, also described as the rooms 'on the right hand' each contained 2 iron casements and 2 closets, in one of which was an iron casement. Each of the 'middle' rooms contained 2 casements and a closet with a casement. Each of the 'inner' rooms contained one casement; the 'inner' room on the second floor contained one closet, apparently without

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 20

a window; and the 'inner' room on the third floor contained 2 closets, neither with a window. On the fourth floor were 2 garrets on the right and one on the left, each with an iron casement. At the stair head was a window to throw light on the stairs, and a privy or 'house of office' with a lead-lined funnel leading from the garret down into the cellar.[11]

NOTES

- 1 HR 63(184), 67(25, 50), 68(104); Bodl, MS Top. Lond e. 6.
- 2 PA, no. 70; HPL 71 mm. 3, 13, 15; *Cal PMR 1323-64*, pp. 224-5.
- 3 HR 78(79), 80(7), 91(114).
- 4 HR 98(67), 133(36), 137(75-6), 138(41), 140(7).
- 5 HR 163(15, 16), 205(1, 2).
- 6 HR 236(15); PRO, C1/171/48.
- 7 HR 242(32, 42, 43); HPL 179, m. 6d.
- 8 GL, MSS: 25630/1, ff. 217v-218v; 25630/4, f. 129; 11816A, ff. 301-2.
- 9 *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 62/1, ff. 7-8; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 61.
- 10 *M & O* iv, ff. 17v, 21, 38v; PRO, E179/252/27, m. 61.
- 11 HR 340(141).

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In the late 12th century this was part of a large block of property, probably comprising **132/21-3** and **105/34-5** with land behind, which belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The abbey granted the E. part of this block (**132/21-3**) to Geoffrey Blund, who conveyed rent from the easternmost part of it (**132/21**) to St. Paul's cathedral. St. Paul's then acquired full possession of the land from which it had received rent. By 1269 St. Paul's had lost the greater part of this land, which was absorbed by the property to the S. (**156/12**). From then on the St. Paul's property extended no more than about 20 ft. (6.10 m.) back from the street frontage, and corresponded to nos. 12 and 13 Poultry on the ward map of 1858. There are only slight variations in the dimensions recorded for this site between 1269 and 1671. It contained 3 shops in 1269, 2 houses or shops in the later 14th and in the 15th century, and one house in the 16th and 17th centuries.

i. Twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: including 22-3 and 105/34-5

In the 12th century St. Augustine's Abbey outside Canterbury held a block of land here which on the Poultry frontage appears to have corresponded to the properties later identifiable as **22-3** in St. Mildred Poultry parish and as **26-35** in St. Mary Colechurch parish. By a charter dated A.D. 1182 (i.e. 1182-3) the abbot and convent granted to Walter the marshal (*marescallus*) of London the moiety of the land which *Wlwardus de Cuninghop'* held of their house. This moiety measured 31 ft. (9.45 m.) *iuxta viam west'* (probably a reference to Westcheap) and 70 ft. (21.34 m.) in depth within (*intra*) the house. The house occupying the site was apparently the same size as the plot of land. Geoffrey Blund (*blundus*) was said to hold the other moiety. The moiety which Wlward had held Walter and his heirs were now to hold for ever, paying to the abbey 6s. p.a., in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas, and a pound of pepper at the feast of St. Augustine. Walter and his heirs were to owe suit at the abbey's court when there was a need in London (*sequentur curiam nostram cum opus fuerit in Lunden*), and were not to sell or mortgage the land without the grantors' permission. By a later charter, enacted before 1213, St. Augustine's Abbey granted the other moiety of their land here to Geoffrey Blund and his heirs in perpetuity. In return Geoffrey paid 5 marks, pledged his faith in the abbey chapter house and was to pay an annual rent of 16s. 6d. to the abbey. The grantees could sell the property neither to another church nor to Jews without the permission of the grantors. In this charter Geoffrey's moiety was described as land in London at the east end of Westcheap (*ad orientem de Westchep*) lying between the land which Walter the smith (*faber*) held of St. Augustine's (i.e. the other moiety) and the land which John Pipercorn held of Westminster Abbey. The land measured 76 ft. (23.16 m.) in length next to the street (*iuxta plateam*), and in breadth 60 ft. (18.29 m.) at the E. end and 18 ft. (5.49 m.) at the W. end.[1]

In a previous interpretation of these two charters (see **105/26**) it was assumed that the land of Geoffrey Blund was the western moiety of the property which had belonged to St. Augustine's Canterbury. Certainly, in the early 13th century Geoffrey and his son Matthew held a large block of property in St. Mary Colechurch parish at the western end of Poultry (i.e. **105/25-35**), on the W. side of which was a small property (**105/25A**) from which a rent to Westminster Abbey was due. Equally, however, Geoffrey held a block of property in St. Mildred Poultry parish in which St. Augustine's Abbey had an interest (see below), and on the E. side of which was a property where Westminster Abbey had a rent (**132/19** and **20**). If we assume that Geoffrey's land lay towards the W., no precise correlation can be established between the measurements in the charters and known topographical features, but if we make the opposite assumption some close correlations emerge, so that it now seems likely that Geoffrey's moiety lay towards the E. Thus, the frontage measurement of Geoffrey's land corresponds to the frontage length of **132/21-3**, its depth at the east end corresponds to that of **132/20** and other properties there in the 17th century and later, and its depth at the W. end corresponds with that of **132/23**. Likewise, the width of Walter the marshal's land matches the frontage length of **105/34-5** against Poultry, and its recorded depth is within a foot or two of the later known distance between Poultry and Bucklersbury at that point. But an alternative, and perhaps more convincing, interpretation of the dimensions of Walter the marshal's land is possible. In this the depth of 70 ft. (21.34 m.) represents an E.-W. dimension which would correspond on the Poultry frontage to the distance between **105/29** and **132/23**. The 31 ft. (9.45 m.) *iuxta viam West'* can thus be interpreted as

the width of the property against Cheapside (Westcheap) towards the W. This dimension is about 5 ft. (1.52 m.) less the distance at this point between the streets later known as Poultry and Bucklersbury; the increase could be accounted for by encroachment on to those streets. [*DK postscript: The property could back onto 105/25 where the N/S dimension is 31 ft. Such a degree of encroachment now seems unlikely as private land in 10th-11th centuries.*] If this interpretation is correct it would appear that between 1182 and c. 1280 the property lying between Poultry and Bucklersbury encroached some 35 ft. (10.67 m.) in a westerly direction on to Cheapside. The later stages of this encroachment are well documented (see **105/25, 26**). On this interpretation, too, St. Augustine's Abbey would have owned the whole of the western end of the triangular block of land between Poultry and Bucklersbury in the late 12th century (see Fig. 4).

In an early 13th-century rental of St. Augustine's Abbey Geoffrey Blund was said to hold 3 messuages in London, for which he owed the abbey rents of 22s. 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper.[2] This means that Geoffrey then held the whole of the former property of the abbey, including the moiety which had been granted to Walter the smith. After Geoffrey's death this block of property appears to have passed to his son Thomas, who died in or before 1220x1222, and then to his other son Matthew.

By a charter which dates from between 1192 and 1211 Thomas Blund, son of Geoffrey Blund, with the assent of his mother Ida de Hunfranvill', granted to the church and chapter of St. Paul's, London, for the maintenance of a priest there celebrating for the souls of his uncle Richard de Hunfranvill', his father Geoffrey Blund, himself, his ancestors, and his successors, a quit-rent of 30s. and a 1 lb. of pepper from the land which Richard Kael held of him in the parish of St. Mildred. Richard de Hunfranville was probably the lord of Redesdale (Northumberland) of that name who succeeded to his brother's lands during the 1190s and died in 1226. The land granted by Thomas, which corresponded to the property identifiable as **21**, seems to have represented the eastern part of the land which Geoffrey Blund had acquired from St. Augustine's Abbey, and perhaps represented the site of the easternmost of Geoffrey's 3 messuages listed in the early 13th-century rental. [*DK postscript: I now think it lay immediately east of the St Augustine's property.*] In the charter it was described as lying between the land of Thomas *magnus* (probably **132/19-20**) on the E. and the land of the donor's capital messuage on the W. The property measured 20 3/4 ells (62 ft. 3 in.; 18.97 m.) from N. to S., 9 3/8 ells (28 ft. 1 1/2 in.; 8.57 m.) E.-W. along the highway, and 9 1/4 ells (27 ft. 9 in.; 8.46 m.) E.-W. at the rear. The grantees were to render an annual payment of 1 lb. of pepper to the grantor and his heirs, and were to have the power of appointing the priest. Thomas Blund acquitted the dean and chapter of St. Paul's against all charges on the land, and especially against the monks of St. Augustine, Canterbury. He also granted the dean and chapter the power to take naam for the rents of 30s. and 1 lb. of pepper from his nearby lands and rents of the fee of St. Augustine's Abbey. At about the same time Ida de Hunfranvill' confirmed her son's grant.[3]

Presumably as a result of arrangements made by Thomas Blund, the western part of the St. Augustine's Abbey land came to be charged with the entire rent of 22s. 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper due to the abbey. This part of the property was subsequently in the possession of Matthew Blund, son of Geoffrey Blund, who by a charter datable to 1222-3 rendered and quitclaimed to the abbey a fee in the parish of St. Mildred *super Walebrok* from which these rents were due. This fee was said to lie in the *vicus ferronum* (i.e. towards the western end of the street now known as Poultry) between the land which was of Richard son of the priest on the E., and the land of the nuns of Clerkenwell on the W. In return the abbey gave up its claim to arrears totalling £18. 6s. 9d., a sum representing 16 1/4 years arrears of the money rent. St. Augustine's Abbey thus regained possession of this piece of land. Its exact position is uncertain. 'Richard son of the priest' may be identical with the Richard Kael who held **21** at this time (see above). 'The land of the nuns of Clerkenwell' is a clear reference to the 8 shops, later known to be in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, which Matthew Blund gave to the nuns between 1220 and 1223. These 8 shops (**105/31-5**) were bounded on the E. by a ninth shop belonging to Matthew Blund which probably lay in St. Mildred parish within the site of **132/23** and was probably part of the land of which St. Augustine's Abbey regained possession in 1222-3. The land thus probably occupied the site of **132/22-3**, and probably corresponded to the middle one of the 3 messuages which had formerly belonged to Geoffrey Blund. The westernmost of those 3 messuages probably corresponded on the Poultry frontage to **105/31-5**.[4]

ii. **21** in the possession of St. Paul's: thirteenth century

The land which Richard Kael (or Chauel) had held from Thomas Blund, and which Thomas had charged with rent to St. Paul's was sold by Richard to William the cook (*cocus*). At some date before Thomas Blund's death (i.e. between 1212 and 1220 x 1222) William granted this land to the church of

St. Paul. The land was described in almost exactly the same terms as in the earlier grant by Thomas Blund to St. Paul's, and was said to be bounded by the land of Thomas's capital messuage on the W. In a qualification to this grant William stated that he gave all that he had there in houses and buildings of wood and stone, with appurtenances, namely 6s. 8d. which William was accustomed to pay from the land, in support of a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of St. John the evangelist. By this means St. Paul's acquired full possession of the land, which was later regarded as part of the endowment of the chantry for the souls of John Brenynford and Richard d'Umfreville.[5]

The St. Paul's property is next recorded in a lease of 1269 by which the dean and chapter granted to Ralph de Essex, smith, for the term of his life at £2 p.a. rent 3 shops in the parish of St. Mildred *super Walebrok*. The shops lay opposite the chapel of St. Mary Coneyhope between the houses of John le Ferrur towards *Westchepe* (i.e. **132/22-3**) and the house formerly of John de Tolusano (**132/20**) on the E. They measured 30 ft. (9.14 m.) in length and 17 ft. (5.18 m.) in breadth and depth.[6] This property was considerably smaller than the one which William the cook had granted to St. Paul's: it had about the same frontage width (30 ft.; 9.14 m.), but had lost a large area to the rear. This lost ground had almost certainly been taken into **156/12**, as is explicitly stated in a 14th-century endorsement on William the cook's charter.

iii. **21** in the possession of St. Paul's: fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries

In this period St. Paul's had two houses on the property, known towards the end of the 14th century as the 'first house towards the Stocks' (i.e. the E. house) and as the 'second house towards the Stocks' (i.e. the W. house). They are identified here as **21A** and **21B**, respectively. The two houses were let to separate tenants between 1362 and 1422 and there are some earlier references to the whole property and to **21A**.

An account of 1336 describes some repairs to the houses in Poultry belonging to St. Paul's. Nails were bought, timber repaired, a chimney pulled down and daubed again, and the roof repaired with 500 tiles and with lead purchased for the gutter. In the same account the sum of 2s. was allowed to Thomas Canon in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry: he may have been the tenant of all or part of the property.[7]

21A

In a rental of 1336 the more easterly house was described as a 'tenement formerly of Campes and now of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's' from which 60s. rent was due. The cathedral had presumably lost and then regained possession of the property. Former holders were presumably members of the Caumpes family, several of whom were ironmongers, known to have had other interests in the property. One later rental stated that the tenement had once belonged to Henry de Campis (alive c. 1290, see **81/D**), and another that it had belonged to T. Caumpes (probably the Thomas Caumpes alive before 1328: see **105/28**).[8]

In 1362 the dean and chapter granted the *mansio* representing **21A** to Henry Lorchoun, citizen and armourer, and his wife Joan for a term of 10 years at £2. 13s. 4d. rent, the tenants being responsible for repairs. This lease was presumably surrendered, and in 1365 the dean and chapter leased the same property to Benedict Hardelee, citizen and smith, and his wife Joan (possibly Lorchoun's widow) for a term of 10 years at £3 rent, the tenants again being responsible for repairs. By 1391 Margaret widow of Michael Dundalke was paying the same rent for the same tenement under an indenture then in its fourth year. Margaret's husband was probably the Michael the armourer recorded in another rental. She continued to be entered as paying the rent for this tenement until 1408, although in 1397 it was held by William Wyttihay and in 1399 it was held by John Wittilsay, who was said to live there in 1402 and 1408 and paid the rent between 1408 and 1416. John Goman probably held the property from 1414 onwards, and is recorded as paying the rent between 1417 and the early part of 1422.[9]

Several repairs to the house in this period are recorded. In 1397 a carpenter was paid 12s. for repairing the doors, windows, pentices, and stalls, using soft wood (*estrichbord'*), sawn boards, quarter boards, and other timber, including 2 great quarters for the corners of the stalls. Two pews were also made, and the total cost, including ironwork, was £1. 12s. 2d. In 1399 this house was repaired along with one in St. Benet Sherehog parish: here a timber-framed and daubed gable wall was made along with a pentice and a window, and the floor was repaired with elm boards. In 1402 a new lead cistern was made for the house, with a lead pipe running from the kitchen to the highway, and 1 1/2 fathoms (*teys*) of paving was done in front of the house. Minor roofing repairs were undertaken in 1407-8, and in the following year a timber-framed and daubed chimney was made in the

shop, and 2 gables and 2 chambers were also daubed. In 1410-11 a timber plate costing 2s. 6d. was fitted, and the masonry underpinning beneath it was repaired, while in the same year daubing and tiling repairs were undertaken. The pentices of the two shops here and in **21B** were repaired in 1414-15, when the window in this shop was also repaired with a timber ledge. In 1415-16 minor tiling repairs were carried out, and in the following year a dauber and his mate were paid 3s. 9d. for working on a *berell'* and a *reredos*.^[10]

21B

In 1362 the dean and chapter let the *mansio* representing the more westerly house to Philip Herlawe, citizen and armourer, and his wife Agnes for a term of 10 years at £2. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent, the tenants being responsible for repairs. In 1391 Richard Pecok held this house by an assignment from Philip Herlawe, who in 1381 had had it on lease from the dean and chapter for a term of 20 years. Richard Pecok was paying £2. 8s. rent and an increment of 1s. 4d., but it is not clear whether he or Herlawe had first incurred the increment, which Pecok was recorded as owing in 1383. Under the lease of 1381 the tenant probably continued to be responsible for repairs, since very few of them were paid for by the dean and chapter in this period. Pecok was recorded as paying the rent until 1407, and probably still held the house in 1405, when the pavement at *le Pekok* in Poultry was repaired at the landlord's expense. By 1408 Pecok had been succeeded by John Donton and then by John Fawkenere, who paid the rent between then and 1411. John Flechch' or Flecherche held the house in 1411-12, and Thomas the tailor (*cissor*), also known as Thomas Witteneye, tailor, was entered in the rentals as paying the rent between then and 1420. During Thomas's time the rent seems to have been paid irregularly and may have fallen. In 1419-20 he paid £2. 13s. 4d. for a tenement which Richard Pecok and his wife Margery had once held, and in the following year paid £2 for the same house.^[11]

After the expiry of the lease granted in 1381 the landlord appears to have assumed responsibility for repairs. The pavement was repaired in 1405 (see above). In 1412-13 a carpenter made two small doors for the house and a *wyndbord* for a window there. A hall door and the lock on a chamber door either at this house or the one next door (**21A**) were repaired in the same year. A lock and key were purchased for a chamber door at the house in 1416-17.^[12]

iv. **21**, fifteenth to seventeenth century

During this period the property, which usually consisted of two houses, was generally let to a single tenant. The landlord continued to be responsible for repairs during the 15th century. In 1539-40 the dean and chapter of St. Paul's paid to the Crown a quit-rent of 12s. 4d. p.a. formerly due to the priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, from a tenement in St. Mildred's parish.^[13] This reference seems to concern this property but since there is no earlier reference to the rent in connection with **132/21** a mistake may have been made.

In the early 15th century the rent nominally due from the two tenements which comprised **21** totalled £5. 9s. 4d. A good deal less seems actually to have been received, but the rentals do not present a clear picture. Thomas Wytteneye held both tenements for the first 3 terms of 1422-3, paying a rent equivalent to £2. 3s. 4d. p.a.^[14] He then took a lease of both tenements for a term of 20 years from Easter 1423 at an annual rent of £5. It was probably a condition of the lease that the landlord maintain the property, and bring it up to a good state of repair at the outset. Surviving repair accounts for 1422-3 and 1423-4 show exceptional activity in these years. In the former year £3. 7s. 4d. were spent, and in the latter £2. 9s. 6d., totalling £5. 16s. 10d. In 1424-5, according to the next surviving account, 7s. 3d. were spent, a sum more in line with those recorded for routine repairs on the house in the broken series of accounts which survives from 1430-1 onwards. In 1422-3, extensive carpentry repairs were undertaken, including dismantling a timber-framed wall in a chamber, renewing floor boards in a solar and a latrine, and making or repairing benches. Daubers worked on the houses, including at the back 'on the side of the garden belonging to Westminster' (i.e. **156/12**): the houses thus appear directly to have overlooked the garden of the large property to the rear. A mason made and erected the quoins (*bordure*) of a chimney in the kitchen, using 4 ft. (1.22 m.) of freestone, and the tiled roof was repaired. Much of the work in 1423-4 arose from damage caused by a storm to 3 chimneys, which were taken down and removed. 'Flanders tile' (i.e. bricks), freestone, a *mantelschid*, and 2 corbels were used on a new chimney. Damage to the tiled roof was also repaired, and a carpenter made *pewes* at the windows and mended the windows and a damaged wall. Boards were bought for 3 pentices, also mentioned in the account for 1424-5, when a carpenter worked on them and more boards were purchased both for them and the floor of a solar.

The rentals continued to name Thomas Wytteneye as tenant until 1453, although in a repair account of 1448-9 the house was said to be Richard Witteneye's. Between 1454 and 1456-7 one of the houses was inhabited by Thomas Brewer. In 1455-6 the other house was held by John Lambe. John Brewer held one house in 1458-9 and 1460-1, and Katharine Purser the other in 1459-60 and 1465-6. Thomas Brewer was named in the repair accounts as tenant of one of the houses between 1465 and 1473. He was probably identical with the Thomas Russell, patten-maker, named in the rental as tenant of the whole property in 1469, with the Thomas Brewer who paid the £5 rent between 1469 and 1475, and with the Thomas Brewer, patten-maker, who paid the reduced rent of £3 p.a. between 1478 and 1488. The tenants of the property, and occupants of one of the houses, may thus have been, in succession, two members of Wytteney family, Thomas and Richard, and 3 members of the Brewer (or Russell) family, Thomas, John, and Thomas.

During this period the repairs were mostly small-scale in character, concerning woodwork, tiling, daubing, and the purchase of locks and keys. An extensive reroofing, using 2000 plain tiles, was undertaken in 1448-9, perhaps the first such repair for 25 years. Twelve tons of ordure were removed from Thomas Brewer's house in 1455-6 at a cost of 34s., and in the same year a lead pipe weighing 82 lb. was replaced. A thousand bricks (*brikestones*) were used in John Brewer's house in 1458-9, 1000 roof tiles on both houses in 1465-6, when a mason spent a day making a hearth in Thomas Brewer's house. A latrine was cleared at Brewer's house in 1469-70 at a cost of 5s., and the joists and boards over it were replaced. The latrine in the same house was repaired in 1472-3, when a mason made a pipe for it out of 100 bricks.

In 1521, according to a later recital of the lease, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's leased the property to Cuthbert Becher, citizen and draper, for a term of 40 years at £5 rent, the tenant probably now being responsible for repairs. The property was described as a tenement with shops, cellars, and solars between **20** on the E. and **22** on the W. and S., and measured 28 ft. 2 in. (8.59 m.) along the Poultry frontage. Becher was probably living in the property in 1522, when his goods were valued at £8. William Creke, citizen and poulterer, probably succeeded Cuthbert Becher as resident. Creke was dwelling in this part of the parish, as a near neighbour of Becher, in 1522, when his goods were valued at £20. Creke died in 1531, and a rental of 1531-2 notes that he had paid £5. 6s. 8d. rent for 2 tenements, and that Michael Becher had been granted a lease for a term of years from Michaelmas 1531 at £5 rent, under which the tenant was responsible for repairs. Creke was perhaps the undertenant of Cuthbert Becher, who did not die until 1541 or shortly before, and whose interest in the property had perhaps been assigned to Michael Becher. By 1548 Richard Dobbes, alderman, held the property under a lease which he had acquired by marrying Alice, the widow of Cuthbert Becher. Dobbes assigned the lease to Francis Barnam, citizen and draper, who in 1550 was granted a new lease by St. Paul's at £5 rent and for a term of 40 years from Michaelmas 1571, when the lease granted to Cuthbert Becher was said to be due to expire.[15]

In the St. Paul's rent accounts William Temmes was recorded as tenant between 1570 and 1581, and Benedict Barneham between 1581 and 1594. William Singleton, citizen and skinner occupied the property in 1596 when Stephen Barnham of Mitcham (Surrey), gentleman, surrendered the lease granted in 1550, and took a new one for a term of 40 years from 1596 at the old rent of £5. Benedict Barnam, alderman, entered into a bond for the performance of the covenants in this lease in 1597, and Stephen Barneham and his son Bradbridge Barneham of Hollingbourne (Kent), gentleman, entered into a similar bond in 1598. The lease was presumably in the hands of Francis Barnham, citizen and draper, in 1602 when he entered into a similar bond.[16]

William Singleton probably continued to live in the property, and the lease was eventually assigned to him. In 1608 he surrendered it and took a new lease for a term of 40 years at a rent of £5, plus 2 capons or 5s. The messuage or tenement was now said to measure 26 ft. 9 in. (8.15 m.) from E. to W., and its breadth 'in the shop' from N. to S. was 19 ft. 6 in. (5.94 m.). William Singleton, skinner, died in or before 1617. He was the brother of Thomas Singleton, one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's between 1597 and 1614, and had a son Isaac, who was also a prebendary, and another son Thomas (see **22**). This last was probably the Thomas Singleton of London, gentleman, who in 1614 surrendered the lease of 1608 and took a new one on the same terms. Thomas Singleton, gentleman, surrendered and renewed the lease again in 1625 and in 1637. He was perhaps the father of the Thomas Singleton, citizen and skinner, who purchased the freehold in 1649 and who died in 1653-4.[17]

Members of the Singleton family may have continued to inhabit the property throughout this period. In 1638 Thomas Singleton inhabited a house which was perhaps identical with this one (but cf. **22**) and was 'moderately' valued at £30 p.a. He still lived there in 1643. In 1649 the St. Paul's

property was said to be worth £25 p.a., in addition to the reserved rent, that is £30. 5s. p.a. in all. According to the parliamentary survey of 1649 the house was known as the Windmill and contained 2 shops on the ground floor, a cellar beneath them, a kitchen and hall on the first floor, 2 rooms on the second floor, 2 chambers on the third floor, and 2 garrets at the top.[18]

The trustees for the sale of dean and chapter lands in 1649 conveyed the property to William Benson, gentleman, acting in trust for Thomas Singleton, citizen and skinner, who put up the money for the purchase. By his will, dated 1653 and proved in 1654, Singleton left the message to the corporation of London as governors of Christ's Hospital, and in 1656 Benson conveyed his interest to a group of trustees acting for the city of London. After the restoration of Charles II the dean and chapter of St. Paul's recovered the freehold of the property and were paid the rent due under the lease of 1637 by the treasurer of Christ's Hospital. From 1662-3 onwards this rent was paid for 'one tenement now divided into two tenements'. The buildings were destroyed in the Great Fire and in 1668 the governors of Christ's Hospital obtained an order in the fire court that they were to have 40 years added to the term of the lease of 1637 (due to expire in 1677) at no extra cost other than the payment of arrears and the usual fees, so that they would be able to rebuild the property. A new house had been built on the site by June 1671, when the dean and chapter granted to the corporation as governor of Christ's Hospital a new lease for a term of 46 years from then at £5. 5s. p.a. rent. The site of this new house measured 26 ft. 6 in. (8.08 m.) next to Poultry, 26 ft. (7.92 m.) E.-W. on the S. side, 19 ft. 6 in. (5.94 m.) N.-S. on the W. side, and 20 ft. 6 in. (6.25 m.) N.-S. on the E. side.[19] These measurements, and the abutments given, enable the property to be identified as nos. 12 and 13 Poultry on the ward map of 1858.

NOTES

- 1 G.J. Turner and H.E. Salter (ed.), *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book* ii (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, 1924), 521-2; BL, MS Cotton Claud D. x, f. 238v.
- 2 Turner and Salter, op. cit., i (1915), 313-14; BL, MS Add 46352, f. 143.
- 3 GL, MS 25121/198; *Early Charters of St. Paul's*, nos. 295-6; I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (Oxford, 1960), 73.
- 4 Turner and Salter, op. cit., ii (1924), 520-1; BL, MS Cotton Claud. D. x, f. 238v; *Clerkenwell Cart*, no. 222.
- 5 GL, MS 25121/1567.
- 6 GL, MS 25121/135.
- 7 GL, MS 25125/3.
- 8 GL, MSS: 25127-8; 25502 (Liber C), f. 104v.
- 9 GL, MSS: 19563; 19930; 25121/1571-2; 25125/18, 27-60.
- 10 GL, MSS: 25125/36, 39, 42, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56-7.
- 11 GL, MSS 19563, 19930, 25121/1573, 25125/27-60, 25128.
- 12 GL, MSS 25125/54, 58.
- 13 PRO, SC6/Hen 8/3464-8: the rent is also mentioned in 1544-5, and was probably contributed to the total recorded for other years.
- 14 Except where otherwise stated, the following account is based on GL, MSS 25125/61-98.
- 15 Bodl, MS Ashmole 801, f. 28v. GL, MSS: 25630/1, ff. 217v-218v; 25636-7; 9171/10, f. 176. PRO: SP1/25/2486/1, f. 231; E179/251/15B/1, f. 14v.
- 16 GL, MSS: 25630/4, ff. 129, 113v, 159v, 243; 25529.
- 17 GL, MSS: 25630/5, ff. 143-4; 25630/6, ff. 372-3; 25630/7, ff. 211-12; 25630/8, ff. 412-13; 25633/2, pp. 524-5. PRO: PROB11/130(68), PROB11/239(239).
- 18 *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; GL, MS 11816A, ff. 301-2.
- 19 GL, MSS: 25633/2, pp. 524-5; 25640; 25630/12, ff. 109-10. HR 331(21); *Fire Court* ii, 237-8.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 22

In the late 12th century this was part of a large block of property belonging to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and then acquired by Geoffrey Blund. The E. part of this block, corresponding to **22-3** on the street frontage was reacquired by St. Augustine's Abbey and disposed of in return for a quit-rent. Later in the thirteenth century the rear part of this property was absorbed by the large tenement in Bucklersbury later known as Servat's Tower (**156/12**). Early in the 14th century **22** consisted of 5 small shops on the Poultry frontage, extending back about 18 ft. (5.49 m.) from the street, and bounded by **21** on the E., **23** on the W. and Servat's Tower on the S. Later the most westerly of these shops seems to have been absorbed by **23** and the other 4 were replaced by 3 messuages or shops. At least one of these 3 was acquired by the owners of Servat's Tower who granted it on a long lease, together with 2 messuages already part of the Servat's Tower property, to the freeholder of the remaining part of **22**. In the mid 16th century these holdings, freehold and leasehold, were held by one person, and from then on **22** denotes this enlarged property, which underwent a very complex and only partially recorded subdivision of interests. In this period **22** seems initially to have consisted of one substantial house and one other smaller tenement which was let out. In the 17th century there were 3 or 4 separate houses on the site. Several names are recorded for these houses: some of these names seem not consistently to have identified the same house. In 1858 the property was represented by nos. 9-11 Poultry.

i. Twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including the estate of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury

In the late 12th century **22** was part of a block of land comprising **132/21-3**, **105/34-5**, and the land behind those properties, all of which belonged to the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury. *Wlwardus de Cuninghop'* held the land from the abbey. The abbey granted the eastern part of this block, corresponding to **105/34-5** and **132/22-3** on the street frontage, to Geoffrey Blund, who by the early 13th century had also acquired the western part of the block. On this site Geoffrey had 3 messuages from which he owed annual rents of 22s. 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper to St. Augustine's Abbey. The messuages probably corresponded approximately to **132/22**, to **132/23**, and to **105/27-33**, respectively. Geoffrey's property here passed to his son Thomas Blund, who died between 1211 and 1220 x **22**, and then to his other son Matthew. In a charter which dates from between 1192 and 1211 the property on the E. side of **132/21** was described as the land of the capital message of Thomas Blund. The capital message probably corresponded approximately to **105/26**, later described as the capital message of Matthew Blund, and presumably included land on the E. side of it occupying the approximate site of **132/22-3**. Between 1220 and 1223 Matthew Blund gave to the nuns of Clerkenwell 8 of his shops lying between his capital message and the street on the N. The 'ninth shop' belonging to Matthew which adjoined the E. end of this row probably corresponded to a part of **132/23**. In 1222-3 Matthew quitclaimed to St. Augustine's Abbey in a fee lying in St. Mildred Poultry parish from which rents of 22s. 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper were due to the abbey. This fee corresponded on the street frontage to **132/22-3**, which thus again came into the possession of St. Augustine's Abbey. This sequence of transactions is discussed more fully under **132/21** (q.v.).

After 1222-3 St. Augustine's Abbey probably granted **132/22-3** in perpetuity at the former rents. Thus, in 1291 the abbey had 22s. 6d. p.a. rent in the parish of St. Mildred Walbrook. Later the abbey seems to have increased its rent income from the property. According to an undated 14th-century rental, it had annual rents of 26s. 6d. and 1 lb. of pepper from shops in *Sporiereslane* in Poultry, and another rental mentions 5s. p.a. due from shops which had belonged to Richard de Kompes and were now held by Richard de Toppesfelde, and which lay in the parish of St. Mildred opposite the chapel of *Queninghope* in Poultry.[1] Both entries seem to refer to **132/22-3** or to parts of these properties (see below, section ii). In 1408 St. Augustine's Abbey was claiming 22s. 6d. p.a. rent from 3 shops corresponding to **132/22**, and at some subsequent date recovered possession of a part of that property (see below, sections ii and iii).

ii. Late thirteenth to fifteenth century

Between the early 13th century and 1269 the adjacent property to the E. (**132/20**) lost its S. part to the large property, later known as Servat's Tower which fronted towards the S. on to the street now

known as Bucklersbury. **132/22** was also bounded by Servat's Tower on the S. and may likewise have lost some land to that property. During the 15th century, and probably also during the 14th, **22** seems to have extended no more than about 18 ft. (5.49 m.) S. from the Poultry frontage, as was also the case with **21** to the E. and with **23** to the W. In the early 14th century **22** consisted of 4 shops ranged along the Poultry frontage in the possession of a single landlord. These shops were charged with a quit-rent of 11s. p.a. to another landlord, who also had a quit-rent of 10s. from another shop immediately to the W. and representing a part of **23**. These two rents descended together, and eventually the total of 21s. p.a. rent came to be charged on **22** alone. In the 15th century the site of the 4 shops representing **22** was occupied by 3 shops or small houses.

In 1269 **21** was bounded on its W. side by the houses of John le Ferrur: these evidently represented some or all of the shops within **22**. In 1305-6 the 4 shops representing **22** were held by Richard de Caumpes, citizen and ironmonger, by the demise of Roger le Broune. Before that date they had belonged to John le Whyte. By his will, enrolled in 1310, Richard left these shops in St. Mildred Poultry parish to his wife Maud for the term of her life, performing the accustomed services to the lords of the fee, with remainder to Richard's next heir. This legacy to Maud also included a garden formerly of John de Kaumpes, 3 shops 'in front next to the highway', and the houses built there within the gate. It is not clear whether these properties adjoined the 4 shops in St. Mildred Poultry parish, although it seems likely that they lay elsewhere in the city, possibly in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw where Richard de Caumpes had lived. In 1325 the 4 shops representing **22** belonged to Thomas de Caumpes, who was presumably the heir of Richard. By 1328 Thomas had ceased to hold the property.[2] The Richard de Toppesfelde who was named as the successor of Richard de Caumpes in the St. Augustine's Abbey rental (see above, section ii), probably held the shops c. 1340.[3]

Members of the de Caumpes family appear to have retained possession of the 4 shops until the 1350s, when they were acquired by Matthew Broun, citizen and woolmonger, who may have been a descendant of Roger le Broune. The mode of acquisition via trustees suggests that this transfer may have been the outcome of a lawsuit brought by the heirs of Roger le Broune against those of Richard de Caumpes. In October 1351 John de Borham, parson of Plumpton St. John (diocese of Lincoln) and William de Buckeby, parson of St. Mary Aldermary (London), granted to John de Caumpes, son of Iter de Caumpes (formerly citizen and ironmonger), and to John's wife Agnes, all their lands rents and tenements in the parishes of St. Michael Bassishaw and St. Mildred Poultry, to hold to themselves and their heirs, and with remainder to the heirs and assigns of John. This grant presumably concerned the estate which Richard de Caumpes had left to his wife Maud. In January 1352 John de Caumpes granted the 4 shops in St. Mildred Poultry parish to Dom. Henry de Bradele, clerk, and to Matthew Broun of *Bradele* to hold to them and to Matthew's heirs and assigns. The shops were said to lie between **21** on the E., a tenement identifiable as part of **23** on the W. and *Servettestour* (**156/12**) on the S. Matthew Broun then had the title to the 4 shops transferred to himself, his wife Joan, and his heirs and assigns, by means of a grant from Thomas de Gradeleye, clerk, and John Gerlander, chaplain, made in January 1355. Matthew Broun still held the property in 1358, but by 1361 both it and the property in St. Michael Bassishaw parish was in the possession of Hugh de Sadelyngstanes, the recorder of London. Walter de Weston quitclaimed in this estate to Hugh in March 1361. Hugh died, and on 12 February 1364 his son John de Sadelyngstanes brought a plea of intrusion concerning the properties against John Ine, rector of St. Michael Wood Street and Henry Petlyng, chaplain. On the same day Hugh's widow Isabel and her husband William de Quenton, knight, quitclaimed in the properties to Ine and Petelyng. John de Sadelyngstanes's suit was to no avail, and in March 1364 Ine and Petelyng granted the properties to Roger de Daventre, clerk, and Robert Cressewyk, who in the following July granted them to John Briklesworth, citizen.[4]

By his will, dated and proved in 1368, John de Briklesworth left his tenements in Poultry to his wife Lettice, to his son Richard and to Richard's heirs. In 1380 the 21s. p.a. quit-rent formerly due from the 5 shops was said to be due from the tenements of Richard de Briklesworth in Poultry, and at about this time **23** was bounded on its E. side by a tenement which had belonged to John de Briklesworth. In or shortly before 1389 Richard died, leaving as heir his daughter Joan, then aged 9. He left properties in the parishes of St. Michael Bassishaw and St. Mildred Poultry which were probably equivalent to those which at the beginning of the century Richard de Caumpes had left to his wife Maud. The tenement in Poultry was valued at £8 p.a., out of which £1 was paid for repairs. In addition, the property in the two parishes was charged with several quit-rents, of which rents of 25s. 6d. p.a. to St. Augustine's Abbey and 21s. p.a. to Simon Wynchecombe were probably due from the Poultry property. A third share in this property was assigned to Richard de Brikelesworth's widow

Katharine as dower, and the residue to his orphan Joan, whose guardianship was committed to Henry Vannere.[5]

22 was later held by Robert Domenyk, citizen and mercer, by the right of his wife Joan, who was probably the daughter and heir of Richard de Brikelesworth. In 1407, when Domenyk had failed to pay a debt which he owed to John Shadworth, citizen and mercer, and Henry Somer, the property was described as 3 tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish worth £3. 14s. 11d. p.a. In 1408 the 3 tenements or shops were probably held and occupied by John Waltham, brazier (*brasyer*), Alice Lynne, and Thomas Douver, smith. In that year the abbot of St. Augustine's complained that these three persons, together with Robert Domenyk, his wife Joan, and Henry Somer, had disseised him of 22s. 6d. p.a. rent from 3 shops in St. Mildred Poultry parish. A jury found that this was the case, and that the rent had been in arrears for 16 years. These 3 tenements later came into the possession of Alice, daughter of Robert Domenyk and his wife Joan. John Shadworth granted the tenements and other properties to William Estfeld, John Whatele, John Carpenter, and Richard Osborn. Hertwell quitclaimed to Estfeld, who in 1427 with the other feoffees granted the property to Alice, who was at that time the wife of William Markeby of Lincoln's Inn, gentleman. Alice was to hold to her and her issue in tail. If she died within 10 years of this grant in such circumstances that Markeby could not hold the property by the law of England, the property was to remain to him and his heirs and assigns until they had received £100 clear profit from it, or until the grantors paid him £100, after which the grantors were to be able to reenter the property. In 1437, when the term defined in the grant of 1427 had expired, Estfeld, Carpenter, and Osborn granted the properties to William Markeby and his wife Alice to hold to them and their legitimate heirs, with successive remainders to the heirs of Alice's body and then to Alice's sister Helen, wife of John Hertwell, and the heirs of her body. The grantors on this occasion stated that they had received the property from a group of 6 feoffees. The records of 21s. quit-rent due from **22** provide a clue as to the further descent of the property, which in 1448 was said to belong to Alice the former wife of Richard Shipley and by 1451 had ceased to belong to Alice. This Alice was probably the widow of William Markeby and daughter of Robert Domenyk.[6]

The 21s. p.a. quit-rent from **22** and **23** is first recorded in the will of Walter de Reylegh, citizen and tawyer (*allutarius*), enrolled in 1306. It took the form of 11s. rent from the 4 shops representing **22**, and 10s. rent from the shop to the W. of them (part of **23**). Walter left these and other rents to his wife Agatha for life, the 11s. rent then to remain to his daughter Isabal, the 10s. rent to remain to his son Simon, and both to be sold if the children did not survive Agatha. The children presumably did not outlive their mother, since in 1325 Alan de Redyngge, tawyer, sold the two rents and other properties to Thomas de Chigewell, citizen and tawyer, who by his will, dated and proved in 1328, left them to be sold. De Chigewell's executors sold the rents to William de Mymmes, citizen and tawyer, whose widow and executrix Alice in 1358 sold them to Richard de Kelyngworth, son of John de Kelyngworth, citizen and draper. In his will, dated and proved in 1380, Richard left the reversion of the 21s. rent to be sold, half the money to be given to his widow Katharine and the other half to be used for masses. Katharine then married William Lambourne, with whom, by October 1380, she sold the rent to Simon de Wynchecombe, citizen and armourer. In 1395 de Wynchecombe sold this and other properties to William Eliot, draper, John Seymour, John Clee, draper, William Horston, Matthew Rede, and Richard Person, all citizens. Richard Person, armourer, was apparently the beneficiary of this group of feoffees, and in 1430 granted the rent and other properties to Master William Lycchefeld, clerk, Robert fitzRobert, Richard Osborn, John Carpenter, junior, William Pope, shearman, and Thomas Godyng, brewer, all citizens, and to Richard Rogeron of Hunden' (Suffolk), woolman, and William Harry, tailor. The feoffees held on behalf of Richard Person, who by his will, dated in 1446 and proved in 1448, left the 21s. rent and other properties to his wife Joan for life with successive remainders to the testator's daughter Alice and her husband Robert Nyk of Westminster, to their son Richard Nyk, and then to Alice's heirs and assigns. Alice survived her husband and then married Richard Hayward, citizen and mercer. Richard Nyk had a life interest in a moiety of the estate, and in 1451 Alice and Hayward granted her moiety and the reversion of Richard Nyk's moiety to William Clover, Thomas Rikes, Richard Everley, John Dey, William Haxey, and John Upton. The entail on Alice's heirs was presumably broken in 1452, when these feoffees conveyed their estate to Hayward and Alice and the heirs and assigns of both of them. This is the last record of the 21s. rent from **22**. [7]

iii. Late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

In this period the 3 messuages which had occupied the site of **22** in the early 15th century were divided into at least two separate freehold units. The two more easterly messuages formed one unit,

identified as **22A**. The third messuage, **22B**, came into the possession of the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, who already owned the large property known as Servat's Tower (**156/12**) to the S. This messuage (**22B**) then came to include a strip of ground extending as far as Bucklersbury to the rear, and came to be associated with two tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish which had been part of the Servat's Tower property and probably adjoined the rear of **21** and **22A**. These two tenements are identified here as **22C**. At some time before its dissolution in 1538 St. Augustine's Abbey gained possession of a part of **22**, where it had previously had only a quit-rent. This part was let at farm for less than the value of the quit-rent and probably represented only a small portion of **22**: the site of this portion, identified here as **22D**, cannot be located. In spite of this complex pattern of freeholds the whole property now represented by **22** seems to have been held by one leaseholder, under whom there were probably several occupants.

22A

It seems likely that about 1480 the whole of **22** was claimed by the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel. At about this time David Hopton, clerk, granted the two messuages representing **22A** to Edmund Chaderton and John Gourll, clerks, who in 1483 granted them to John Erike, citizen and upholder, his wife Elizabeth and their heirs and assigns. A condition of this latter grant was that the grantees were to make 6 annual payments of £10 to the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel, beginning at Christmas 1483. This sum of £60 was perhaps the purchase price for the interest which the dean and canons had acquired in this part of **22**. In the grant of 1483 the two messuages were described as lying in St. Mildred Poultry parish in Cheap ward and as measuring 25 1/2 ft. (7.77 m.) in length (probably along the Poultry frontage) and 18 1/2 ft. (5.64 m.) in breadth. In 1486 Erike and his wife granted these two messuages, together with a leasehold interest in **22B** and **22C**, to Richard Elryngton, William Sybson, and Richard Batte, citizens and drapers, under certain conditions described below under **22B**. On this occasion the messuages were said to be bounded by **21** on the E., **22B** on the W., and the tenement of St. Stephen's chapel (**156/12** or **22C**) on the S.[8]

22B

In the deed of 1486 concerning **22A** (see above) the property (**22B**) which adjoined it to the W. was described as a messuage of Edmund Chaderton and John Gourll, clerks, who in 1483 had disposed of **22A**. This was probably the messuage in the parish of St. Mildred in Poultry which had once belonged to Alice Porthaleyn, also known as Alice Shipley, and was therefore identifiable as part of **22** (see above, section ii) and which in 1484 the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel leased with **22C** to John Erike and his wife Elizabeth (at that time owners of **22A**) and to John's heirs and assigns for a term of 99 years at £3. 6s. 8d. rent. In 1486 Erike and his wife conveyed their interest in this lease, together with their freehold interest in **22A**, to Richard Elryngton, William Sybson and Richard Batte on condition that if the grantors paid Elryngton £100 in annual instalments of £20, beginning at Christmas 1487, they would be able to regain possession of the property. In this conveyance **22B** was said to contain 12 1/2 ft. (3.81 m.) along the street (presumably Poultry) between the tenement of Erike and his wife (**22A**) on the E. and the tenement (probably **23**) of Thomas Perkyngs, barber, on the W. It was also said to measure 18 1/2 ft. (5.64 m.) 'on the street side' (*a latere regie strate*) towards the S., presumably a reference to the Bucklersbury frontage.[9] For the later descent of this lease, see **22C**.

22C

The lease of 1484 from the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel to John Erike and his wife included, as well as **22B**, two other tenements in St. Mildred Poultry parish (**22C**) then lately in the tenure of Thomas Harrison and Thomas Brewer and lying at the rear (*in dorso latere*) of the great place or plot (*magna placea*) belonging to the dean and canons called *le Tour* in Bucklersbury. Under the lease the tenants were to keep the messuages in repair and cause no harm to the great warehouse beneath them.[10] Thomas Brewer was probably identical with the man of that name who shortly before this date had been tenant and occupant of **21** (q.v.), so that his messuage probably adjoined and was occupied with that property. Both messuages presumably occupied the first and higher floors of a building in which the ground floor consisted of a warehouse used as part of the property to the S. (see **156/12**) which fronted on to Bucklersbury. This arrangement seems to have persisted into the 17th century (see below, section iv).

The lease under which **22B** and **22C** was held from the college of St. Stephen's chapel was still in force in 1547 when the college was dissolved. At that time William Merie (also rendered as Merryell)

held the 3 messuages with shops, cellars, solars, chambers, halls, warehouses, wells, and entries for £3. 6s. 8d. p.a. rent under a lease for a term of years said (possibly mistakenly) to have been granted to Edward Woode. In 1549 the king sold the property at 12 years purchase to John Perient, knight, and Thomas Reve, gentleman. The lease under which Merie held the property was probably not due to expire until 1583.[11]

22D

When St. Augustine's Abbey was dissolved in 1538 it owned a tenement bearing the sign of 'le Harrowe' in St. Mildred Poultry parish which William Mery held at farm for an annual rent of 14s. 6d. The tenement was clearly a part of **22** of which the abbey had gained possession since the early 15th century. The Crown was in possession of this tenement between 1538 and 1575, when it was granted to John Dudley and John Ayscough. In 1574 it was held by Henry Milles of London, grocer, still for 14s. 6d. rent.[12]

iv. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

In the early 16th century there were perhaps 3 messuages on the Poultry frontage of **22**. The most westerly of these (**22B**) may have extended back as far as Bucklersbury to the rear. The other two (**22A** and **22C**, possibly also including **22D**) probably extended about 60 ft. (18.29 m.) back from Poultry: they extended E. behind **21**, probably so as to adjoin **20** on the E; at the rear, one of them probably extended at first-floor level over a part of **156/12**. These properties contained several separate freeholds but may have been held by a single person. In 1521 this leaseholder was William Mery, grocer, who held and occupied a tenement on the S. and W. sides of **21**. Mery probably held the leases of **22B** and **C** and may have held the freehold of **22A**. In 1522 there were probably three other occupants of the property in addition to Mery, whose tenants or undertenants they may have been. They were Nicholas Styrrell, grocer, Henry Mylles, grocer, and Henry Luddington, grocer. Luddington probably occupied **22B** since his tenement adjoined the E. side of **105/26** in 1529. His goods were valued at £80 in 1522, and he died in 1531. Mery may still have been living in the property in 1544, when, with goods valued at £1000, he was one of the wealthiest residents of the parish; he died in or shortly before 1547. Styrrell had died by June 1545, when a tenement here that he had held was said to have been let to Henry Mylles. Mylles himself was resident in 1544, when his goods were valued at £150, and was probably the alderman of that name who died in 1574.[13]

In June 1545 Thomas Smythe of the Inner Temple, gentleman, sold to John Blackman, grocer, for £46. 13s. 4d. a fourth part of two messuages with cellars, shops, solars, yards, and entries lying in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry. One of the messuages was occupied by Margaret Styrrel, widow, perhaps the widow of Nicholas Styrrell, and perhaps the 'Skyner wido' whose goods were valued at 40 marks in 1544. The other had been occupied by Nicholas Styrrell and had lately been let to Henry Mylles. These two messuages were certainly part of **22** and perhaps represented **22A**. In 1572, in part fulfilment of an agreement of 1569, Blackman and his wife Elizabeth granted to Henry Mylles, alderman, a fourth part of a messuage in St. Mildred Poultry which was then occupied by Mylles or his assigns and which John had acquired by Smythe's grant of 1545. It is not certain whether this was one of the two messuages granted in 1545, or whether they had been united to make a single residence. The latter seems more likely. In his will, drawn up shortly before his death in 1574, Mylles left to his son William and to William's heirs the fourth part of the little messuage he had bought from John Blackman. In addition he left to his wife Elizabeth the house in which he dwelled. Both these houses were in St. Mildred Poultry parish and according to an inquisition held after Mylles's death were worth £4. 10s. a year clear. They were held of the queen, but by what services was not known. The service may have been the 14s. 6d. rent which Mylles had paid in respect of **22D**. [14] Mylles's residence probably occupied the greater part, if not all, of **22**.

William Mylles, citizen and grocer and son of Henry Mylles, died in February 1590 seised of a capital messuage, formerly 3 messuages in St. Mildred Poultry parish, which had descended to him by inheritance from his mother, and a fourth part of another messuage in the same parish called 'le Harrowe' which he also occupied. The capital messuage was clearly identical with the house in which his father had lived, and it had probably been Henry Mylles who had rebuilt the 3 messuages as a single residence. William Mylles left all his lands and tenements in England to his wife Elizabeth and her heirs, and in 1590 his son and next heir was John Mylles, then aged 14. Soon after this **22** passed from the occupation of the Mylles family to that of Robert Tudnam, citizen and grocer, whose tenement adjoined the S. and W. sides of **21** in 1596. Tudnam probably lived in **22** at this time, and in October 1596 he acquired a freehold interest in a part of the property by a grant from Robert Brett,

esquire, and his wife Alice. Brett's interest derived from the earlier creation of four shares in a part of **22**, of which only one had been acquired by the Mylles family, but the former ownership of Brett's share is not known. On this occasion Brett and his wife granted to Tudnam and his heirs and assigns a fourth part and a half of another fourth part of two messuages in St. Mildred Poultry parish. Both messuages were probably part of **22**. One had been in the occupation of William Mylles and was now in that of John Tudnam. The other messuage was called 'le Flowre de Luce' and had been in the tenure or occupation of William Cook, then in that of Robert Tudnam, and was now in that of John Kettlewood. 'Le Flowre de Luce' occupied the western part of **22** and adjoined **23**. Thus in 1599 John Kettlewood lived in the messuage which adjoined **23** on its E. side. Robert Tudnam appears to have acquired another share in this messuage under a deed of 1579, by which John Blackman and his wife Elizabeth granted him a fourth part of a messuage with shops, cellars, solars, chambers, etc., lying in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry. In 1579 this messuage was in the tenure or occupation of Tudnam or his assigns, had formerly been in the tenure of William Coeke, and before that of Blase White. Blase White had been the tenant and then the freeholder of **23**, and so may have occupied **23** and the adjacent part of **22** as a single house.[15]

Successive members of the Tudnam family continued to own **22**, or a substantial part of it, well into the 17th century. They appear to have occupied a substantial messuage known as the Harrow which previously had been inhabited by the Mylles family. At this date the Harrow seems to have occupied the central part of the Poultry frontage, but its extent to the rear is not known. In 1608, and probably also in 1604, the tenement in the E. part of **22**, lying on the S. and W. sides of **21**, was occupied by Hugh Goddard, citizen and draper, who may also have had a freehold interest there. In 1604 John Tudnam, citizen and grocer, who was then living in the Harrow, leased to Hugh Goddard, for a term of 21 years at a peppercorn rent, a part of a shop belonging to the Harrow. At its N. end this part measured 2 ft. 7 in. (0.79 m.) E.-W. from the middle of the post of the shop in the entry leading into Goddard's tenement, and 1 ft. 2 in. (0.36 m.) E.-W. at the S. end of the entry. In 1606 John Tudnam leased the Harrow to Leonard Clark, citizen and grocer, for a term of 8 years at £13. 6s. 8d. rent. Clark probably inhabited the house, and by 1613 had been succeeded by George Richards, grocer. In 1613 Tudnam sold the Harrow, with its void grounds, cellars, solars, chamber, curtilages, etc., to Thomas Singleton D.D., executor of Robert Singleton, citizen and skinner, for £650, of which £250 was paid by Robert and £400 was paid by Thomas. Thomas's brother, William Singleton, skinner, lived in the adjacent house (**21**). Robert Singleton, who died in or before 1612 as a resident of this parish, may have been another brother. The Harrow was subject to the two leases already mentioned, to such dower as Katharine Trundle, widow of William Trundle, citizen and goldsmith, might claim there, and to a decree made in Chancery in 1606 upon a suit between James Hall as plaintiff and John Tudnam and others as defendants. On Thomas Singleton's death the title to the Harrow was vested in William Singleton of the city of Chester, gentleman, and Isaac Singleton (presumably Thomas's nephew of that name, see **21**), a clerk and in 1627 chancellor of the bishop of Carlisle. John Tudnam died, and in 1627 his son and heir, Robert Tudnam of Exeter, upholder, bargained and sold to William Singleton and Isaac Singleton the part of the shop which in 1604 had been leased to Goddard.[16]

In 1611-12 Hugh Goddard acquired a messuage in St. Mildred Poultry parish known as the Three Pigeons. This was part of **22**, but it is not known whether it was identical with the messuage which Goddard occupied in 1604. The property representing or including the Three Pigeons had at one time belonged to Sir Christopher Bonde of London, knight, and his wife Winifred, and passed from them to their daughters and co-heirs, one of whom, Rose, married William Hale of King's Walden (Herts), esquire. In 1611 Hale and Rose sold the messuage known as the Three White Pigeons to Hugh Goddard for £440. In 1612 Thomas Freene and Henry Denham gained possession of this messuage by means of a common recovery executed against Goddard. This was presumably a stage in assuring Goddard's title, with the intent of eliminating an entail.[17]

The Three Pigeons is next recorded in a Chancery decree of 1620 under the description of a messuage called the 'sign of the Sugar Loafe now called the Three Pigeons' which had been in the seisin of Thomas Singleton D.D. This seems to indicate that Singleton acquired possession of Goddard's former tenement as well as of the Harrow, or that the two properties had become confused. Having no children of his own Thomas estated the Three Pigeons on his nephews William and Isaac Singleton, sons of his brother William Singleton, skinner (cf. **21**). The two nephews and their father managed the messuage as if it were their own, and in 1614 let it for a term of years 'at a dear rate' to Richard Rudd, haberdasher. Dr. Singleton died without sealing this lease as he should have done. William Singleton and his sons took a fine of £440 and a rent of £6. 13s. 4d. from Rudd, who in

addition claimed to have spent £250 on repairs and new building. The Singletons then denied the validity of Rudd's lease, claiming that Dr. Singleton had made no estate to them, and either that the messuage had descended to William the father by inheritance, or that William, with another of his sons, Thomas, held the messuage by lease for a term of 21 years from John Kirby, a former owner of the messuage who had sold it to Dr. Singleton. Rudd accused the Singletons of deliberately confusing his title by various means, including making it known that the messuage was charged with £9 p.a. to Katharine Martin, widow of William Trundle, and now married to Edmund Martin. In addition, William Singleton, the son, who lived in Chester, had received various sums of money due to Rudd in that part of the world, and then denied having had the money. As a result of the suit, leases of 1614 and 1615 to Rudd, and an earlier lease from John Kirby to Thomas Singleton were examined in Chancery, and it was determined that the Singletons should confirm Rudd's lease and save the property harmless for the payment of a debt to one Alport (cf. **132/17**) with which it was charged.[18]

It is not known how long Rudd held the Three Pigeons. In 1637 the property was probably the tenement on the S. and W. sides of **21** occupied by Joseph Sanders, a citizen and vintner who practised the trade of silkman. In 1638 Sanders's house was 'moderately' valued at £40 p.a. and it seems likely that the remainder of **22** consisted of a house inhabited by William Gunson valued at £37. 10s. p.a., and a house occupied by Henry Dixson worth £40 p.a. Dixson's house was in the W. part of **22**, next to **23**, and he was still living there in 1651. By 1643 William Gunson had been succeeded by Anne Gunson, probably his widow, and Joseph Sanders had been succeeded by Thomas Brasier.[19]

By 1649 the E. part of **22**, adjoining **21**, had been divided into two. On the W. side of **21**, presumably occupying the Poultry frontage, was a tenement called the Ball occupied by Mr. Chandler. On the S. side of **21** was the back part of the dwelling of Mr. Rowbottom. Rowbottom (cf. **20**) seems to have been the William Rowbotham, citizen and draper, who in 1648 leased the tenement in Poultry known as the Three Crowns for a term of 21 years at £50 p.a. rent and for a fine of £120 to John Johnson, who then occupied the tenement. By 1668, when the house had been destroyed in the Great Fire, the freehold of the Three Crowns had been settled on John Thurlby, gentleman, and his wife Elizabeth for the term of their lives, and on their heirs, while the lease had come into the possession of Christopher Dodsworth, baker. It was agreed in the Fire Court that Dodsworth would rebuild, paying the arrears of rent due up to the time of the Fire and taking a new lease from 1667 at £62 p.a. rent, and that Thurlby and his wife would contribute £400 towards the cost of rebuilding in 4 equal instalments as each of the 3 storeys was finished and on completion. Dodsworth had probably occupied a house on this site in 1662-3 when he was rated for a house of 6 hearths in this parish. In 1671 he occupied a messuage of John Thurlby on the W. side of **21**, and tenements of Mr. London on the S. side of **21**. The latter appears to be a confused reference to the freeholder of **20**, a survey of which at this time names Dodsworth as Thurlby's tenant on its W. boundary towards the rear.[20] The probable extent of the property held by Dodsworth is shown on Fig. 000. It corresponded to no. 11 Poultry on the ward map of 1858.

A substantial part of **22** continued to be known as the Three Pigeons. This seems to have occupied the middle part of the Poultry frontage and a part of the rear which adjoined **156/12**. It probably included that part of **22** which had once belonged to the college of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and probably corresponded approximately to the property once known as the Harrow rather than to that known in the early 17th century as the Three Pigeons. In 1660 Henry Dixon (who seems to have occupied the property in 1638) held the Three Pigeons in common with Edward Martin. In that year Dixon leased his moiety to Anne Gunson, widow, then the occupier, for a term of 24 years, a fine of £80, and a rent of £25 p.a. Martin also leased his part to Gunson for a term now unknown. Gunson assigned her interest to Robert Levins and Richard Boyes, citizens and drapers. In 1662-3 Levins probably occupied a house with 10 hearths on the site. Early in 1668 his land adjoined the N. side of a property in Bucklersbury representing part of **156/12**. In the Fire Court it was agreed that Levins and Boyes would rebuild at their own cost and have a new lease for a term of 51 years from 1667, for which they would pay £25 p.a. rent. Each moiety was the subject of a separate lease. The one concerning Edward Martin's moiety, dated 1668, is on record and describes the property in some detail. It was a toft where several rooms and the messuage formerly known as the Three Pigeons and since then as the Sun and Moon had stood. The ground for the shop measured E.-W. 14 ft. 5 in. (4.39 m.) in front at the N. end, 14 ft. 11 in. (4.55 m.) at the S. end, and 24 ft. (7.32 m.) N.-S. The ground for the yard was 16 ft. 6 in. (5.03 m.) E.-W. on both sides, and 12 ft. (3.66 m.) N.-S. The ground for the back shop behind the yard was 21 ft. 6 in. (6.55 m.) E.-W. and 20 ft. (6.10 m.) N.-S. Cellars under these three parts of the property measured 56 ft. N.-S. On the E. side of the yard was

ground for a staircase leading up to the top of the building, measuring 5 ft. 10 in (1.78 m.) N.-S. and 4 ft. 7 in. (1.40 m.) E.-W. The building at the back of the yard appears at first floor level and above to have extended over Mr. Thurlby's property (the E. part of **22**) to the E. and over a part of **156/12** to the S. Thus, 'the floor for the second storey over Mr. Thurlby backwards with all the rooms over it' was 17 ft. 7 in. (5.36 m.) E.-W. and 20 ft. 7 in. (6.27 m.) N.-S., while the 'floor for the great hall the second storey over Mr. Hunter near Bucklersbury with all the rooms over it' was 17 ft. 8 in. (5.38 m.) E.-W. and 25 ft. 11 in. (7.90 m.) N.-S. The tenants were to hold the buildings about to be erected on this site with their easements, except that the watercourse which had belonged to the messuage of Henry Dixon lately adjoining was to flow freely through as before, and that they were not to erect any new light or building which would obstruct the windows of Dixon's messuage which was to be built next door.[21] Dixon's messuage was probably the other moiety of the Three Pigeons. This suggests that the measurements given in the lease concern only one moiety of the property. On the other hand, the constraints of the site and the known size of one other part of **22** at this time (see below) indicate that they probably defined the entire property let by Dixon and Martin to Levins and Boyes. The extent of the property is shown in Fig. 000. It corresponded to no. 10 Poultry on the ward map of 1858.

The third and most westerly part of **22** was probably the house of 7 hearths inhabited by Thomas Say in 1662-3, and is recorded in a detailed verbal description of a foundation set out in 1667 after the Great Fire.[22] This belonged to James Trevers, and the dimensions given show that it corresponded exactly with no. 9 Poultry on the ward map of 1858. It was bounded by **23** on the W. and by property of Mr. Dixon on the E. The latter abutment suggests that Trevers's property was not the other moiety of the Three Pigeons site discussed above, although this is not certain. Otherwise the ownership of this part of **22** earlier in the 17th century is not known. In 1638 it may have been the house 'moderately' valued at £40 p.a. which was occupied by Henry Dixon.

NOTES

1 G.J. Turner and H.E. Salter (ed.), *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book* i (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, 1915), 328, 346; *Tax Eccl*, 12.

2 HR 34(30, 61), 39(58), 53(83), 56(41).

3 He is probably identical with the Richard son of William de Topefeld, active in this area of the city in 1342: **145/1A**.

4 HR 79(106), 80(19), 83(3), 87(7), 89(70), 92(14, 62, 144); HPL 86, m. 3d.

5 HR 96(10), 109(24); *LBH*, p. 350 (f. 247v).

6 PRO, C131/56/2; BL, MS Cotton Claud. D x, f. 318v; *PA*, no. 197; HR 156(4), 165(48), 176(21), 180(19).

7 HR 34(30), 53(83), 56(41), 87(7), 109(24), 124(55), 158(35), 162(28), 176(21), 180(19), 181(19).

8 *Cal Close R 1485-1500*, p. 71; HR 215(9).

9 HR 215(19).

10 *Cal Close R 1485-1500*, p. 71; HR 215(9).

11 PRO: SC6/Edw 6/293-4; E318/33/1866, m. 3; *Cal Pat R 1549-51*, p. 16.

12 PRO: SC6/Hen 8/1755, m. 10; SC6/Edw 6/298-302; LR2/262, f. 21; E318/43/2310, m. 23; *Cal Pat R 1572-5*, pp. 448-51.

13 PRO: SP1/25, no. 2486, f. 231; E179/144/123, m. 21; E179/251/15B; PROB11/24(11); PROB11/31(40); PROB11/56(15). HR 244(83); GL, MS 25630/1, f. 217v; Northants R.O., BH(K) 894.

14 HR 244(83), 258(3); *Abs Inq PM* ii, 182-3.

15 *Abs Inq PM* iii, 148-9; HR 263(9), 283(9); Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 8/1.

16 HR 290(20), 304(6); PRO, PROB11/120(78); GL, MS 25630/5, ff. 143-4.

17 BL, Add Ch 36421; HPL 199, m. 5.

18 PRO, C78/242/11.

19 GL, MSS: 62/1, ff. 7-8; 25630/8, ff. 412-13. *Inhabitants in 1638*, p. 158; Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 5.

20 GL, MS 25630/12, ff. 109-110v; *Fire Court* ii, 20-1; *M & O* iv, f. 17v; PRO, E179/252/27.

21 *Fire Court* i, 180-1; HR 339(71); *M & O* v, f. 6v.

22 *M & O* ii, f. 44v; PRO, E179/252/27, mm. 60d-61.

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 23

This property was bounded by **22** on the E., **105/35** on the W., and **105/26** on the S. In the late 14th century there was a single shop or tenement on the site, which previously had been occupied by two shops. One of these shops had previously been closely associated with the row of 4 shops immediately to the E. (**22**). The site, which can be identified from 17th-century and later surveys, corresponded to no. 8 Poultry on the ward plan of 1858.

i. Twelfth to fifteenth century

In this period there appear to have been two shops on the site of **22**. In the late 12th and early 13th century they would have formed part of a larger block of property belonging to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and to successive members of the Blund family (see **20** and **21**). The dimension of 18 ft. (5.49 m.) given for the W. end of Geoffrey Blund's land at some time between 1182 and 1213 suggests that the boundary corresponded to the W. side of **23** (see **21**). [*DK postscript: I now think that would be 105/34.*] The 'ninth shop' belonging to Geoffrey's son Matthew Blund which is mentioned in a charter of between 1220 and 1223 probably corresponded to the W. shop within **23**, (see **22** and **105/35**).

By the early 14th century the E. shop within **23** was charged with a quit-rent of 10s. p.a. to a landlord who also had a quit-rent of 11s. p.a. from the 4 shops comprising **22** which lay immediately to the E. The two rents descended together, and by 1380 the total of 21s. rent was considered to be due from **22** alone (q.v.). At the beginning of the 14th century the E. shop within **23** belonged to John de Finchesle, junior, an ironmonger. By his will, enrolled in May 1305, he left his shop in Ironmongers' Row (*la ferronerye de Loundres*) to his wife Joan for the term of her life and then to be sold. Joan then married John of Peterborough (*de burgo sancti Petri*) of London, and by June 1306 with her new husband granted the shop with the solar belonging to it to Richard de Caumpes. This property was described as lying in St. Mildred Walbrook parish between properties identifiable as **22** on the E., the W. part of **23** on the W., **156/12** on the S., and the highway on the N. The records of the 10s. rent due from this shop, and abutments from **22**, show that by 1325 it belonged to Thomas de Caumpes and by 1352 had been acquired by John Deynes, who was said still to hold it in 1358.[1]

In the late 13th or early 14th century the W. shop within **23** belonged to John le White, who granted it to John Dode. Le White is also recorded as a holder of **22** (q.v.). In a deed enrolled in 1305 this property is described as a shop of John Dode then held by Adam of St. Albans. This was probably the shop with the solar above lying in Ironmongers' Row (*ferronia*) in the parish of St. Mildred which by his will, enrolled in 1318, John Dode left to his son William and his heirs, with remainder to the testator's nearest heirs. In a will enrolled in 1316 shops representing the E. part of **105/35** (q.v.) and lying 'among the ironmongers' opposite the chapel of St. Mary Coneyhope were bounded on the E. by a shop formerly of Richard de Caumpes. This description may mean that de Caumpes, an ironmonger whose will had been enrolled in 1310, had held the W. part of **23** as well as the shops represented by **22** and the E. part of **23**. Alternatively, the abutment description could be a mistaken reference to the latter property. In 1345 the W. part of **23** was described as a shop of John Gubbe. By this date or soon after the property had probably been acquired by John Deynes, whose former tenement adjoined the E. side of **105/35** in 1390.[2]

The John Deynes who acquired both parts of **23** was the citizen and ironmonger of that name who lived in St. Olave Old Jewry parish and died in 1368. His son Henry Deynes, a mercer, died later the same year, and left to be sold the rents and tenements which he had in London either by inheritance or by reversion from his stepmother Alice Deynes, who held them for the term of her life. In 1370 Henry's executors sold the two adjacent shops representing **23** to William de Halden. The shops had a solar over them and were bounded by **132/22** on the E., **105/35** on the W., **105/26** on the S., and the highway of Poultry on the N. There had presumably been some change in the boundaries of the properties to the S. of **23** since 1306, for the Servat's Tower property (**156/12**) was not said to adjoin any part of it. In 1376 William de Halden conveyed this property to William Newport, citizen and fishmonger, Stephen son of Thomas de Bettenham, Henry Perot, and Robert atte Beche, parson of Ightham. Atte Beche died, and in 1385 the remaining feoffees sold **23** to Robert Forster, citizen and

saddler. On this occasion **23** was described as 2 shops which William de Halden had lately constructed into one shop. In 1390 this was a tenement inhabited by Peter Pope.[3]

The shop representing **23** passed from Robert Forster to Robert Scalton, citizen and skinner, then to Scalton's brother John Scalton, also a citizen and skinner, and then to John's daughter Joan. Joan married John Andrewe, citizen and saddler, also known as John Andrew of Kingston upon Thames (Surrey), saddler, with whom in 1445 she granted the shop to William Gregory, senior, alderman, Richard Alley, William Gregory 'the middle' (*medius*), and Thomas Goldwyn, all citizens and skinners. William Gregory 'the middle' and Thomas Goldwyn died then, in 1462, Richard Alley quitclaimed in the property to William Gregory, alderman. By his will, dated 1465 and proved in 1472, Gregory left this shop and a tenement in Thames Street, to the master, wardens, and commonalty of the fraternity of Corpus Christi of the craft of Skinners in the parish church of St. John Walbrook, to the parson of the church, and to their successors, as the endowment for an obit to be celebrated in the parish church of St. Antonin for the souls of Gregory, his 3 wives, Robert Scalton and his wife.[4]

ii. **23** in the possession of the Skinners' Company, 1472-1550

23 was in the possession of the Skinners' Company from 1472 to 1550 when, probably as a consequence of the suppression of the chantries in 1547, the property was disposed of. There are detailed records of the company's management of the property from 1491 onwards.

While it was in the possession of the Skinners' Company **23** was charged with an annual quit-rent of 13s. 4d., payable to the nuns of Clerkenwell. This rent had probably originally been reserved by the nuns in the 13th century from one of the 8 shops on the Poultry frontage which they had acquired from Matthew Blund between 1220 and 1222 (cf. **105/31-4** and **105/35**). So far as it is possible to tell, however, none of these 8 shops occupied any part of the site of **23**. The rent may thus have been charged on **23** as a result of a confusion. Its payment is first recorded in 1489-90. Between 1539, when the priory was dissolved, and 1550, when Gregory's obit was suppressed, the Skinners' Company paid the rent to the Crown.[5]

Between 1491 and 1497 Charles Hutton held this tenement by the year from the Skinners' Company, paying £2. 13s. 4d. p.a. rent.[6] Hutton inhabited the tenement. The company paid for minor repairs, spending 5s. 10d. in 1491-2, when a carpenter made 2 pentices, and 2s. 11 1/2d. in 1493-4. John Barlowe succeeded Hutton at the same rent in the course of the year 1497-8, and held the tenement until 1501. In 1499-1500 6s. 7 1/2d. were spent on paving and repairs, which included mending the door leading from the street into the cellar beneath the house. £1. 17s. 7 1/2d. were spent on repairs, probably in preparation for a new tenant, in 1500-1501, when 5 *tonne* were removed from the privy (*sege*) at a cost of 10s., extensive repairs to floorboards (probably over the privy) were undertaken, and 212 lb. of lead were cast for 2 pipes in the kitchen.

Between 1501 and 1503 John Bandy and Thomas Stratton paid £2. 13s. 4d. rent for the tenement, which was probably inhabited by Bandy, who paid this rent alone for the year 1503-4. A pentice was made there in 1501-2, at a cost of 3s. In 1503-4 £4. 11s. 1d. were spent on major repairs. These included extensive repairs to the roof, using 2000 tiles and 428 lb. of old lead and 64 lb. of new for the gutters. The chamber wall and floor were repaired, as was the garret floor. A carpenter repaired the kitchen window, the kitchen pentice and the cellar door, and took down the kitchen chimney. A new brick chimney, replacing the old timber-framed one and incorporating 1000 bricks, was erected by a mason and a labourer in 4 days. It incorporated a *mantyll* and 2 *tassyllys* of timber. The mason also repaired the funnel (*tewell*) of the privy.

John Croft or Croftys, grocer, held the tenement for the same rent between 1504 and 1508. 2s. 1d. were spent on repairs in 1504-5, and 2s. in 1505-6, when a new lead grate was supplied for the cistern in the kitchen and a load of gravel was spread in the street in preparation for the passage of the king of England and the king of Castile. More paving was done in 1506-7, at a cost of 3s. 5 1/2d. In 1508-9 John Creke held the tenement for £2. 13s. 4d. rent, and 1s. 8d. were spent on mending a stair there. John Wylly paid the same rent between 1509 and 1521. 2s. 11 1/2d. were spent on daubing in 1510-11, 2s. on mending the floor of the shop and for a lead grate in 1511-12, 1s. 5d. on making a cellar door in 1512-13, 6d. on repairing a gutter in 1513-14, 10d. on the same in 1514-15, 4s. on repairs to the shop window and paving in 1515-16, 2s. 4 1/2d. on repairs to the stair in 1516-17, 2s. 1d. on daubing in 1517-18, and 2s. 7 1/2d. on a lead pipe in 1519-21.

Thomas Lynton held the house for the same rent between 1521 and 1524. As Thomas Lenton, grocer, he was taxed in 1522, probably as a resident of this house, with goods valued at £5.[7] In the first year of his tenancy, 1521-2, £1. 2s. 8 1/2d. were spent on repairs, which included a tiler working

on the funnel of the privy ('tewell of the drawte'), the hearth in the kitchen and the jambs of the same, using 500 bricks. A mason repaired the kitchen paving, and a wooden lattice and door were made for the buttery. In 1522-3, when £1. 6s. 2d. were spent, the kitchen floor was repaired by a mason using 22 ft. of hard stone, another part of the kitchen had a boarded floor repaired by a carpenter, a new lead cistern was cast, and a carpenter made a base for the 'stairefote' in the kitchen. In 1523-4 4s. 5d. were spent on mending the stair, buying a new lead grate for the gutter on to the street, and repairing the lead gutter of the counting house.

Thomas Barley held the house for the same rent between 1524 and 1535, making an additional payment of £1. 6s. 8d. in the first year 'for the yn comyng to his house'. In 1523-4 5s. 11 1/2d. were spent on repairs, including paving, and mending the stall and shop windows. £1. 15s. 5d. were spent in 1527-8, principally on removing 7 tons of 'mire' from the privy at night. This quantity of night soil had presumably accumulated since 1500-1 at a rate of just over 1/4 ton a year. In the same year a great joist was fixed up in the cellar with boards nailed to it to make a partition so that the tenant could lay his wares there. 3s. 6d. were spent on paving in 1530-1. The final repair undertaken by the company was the removal of 5 tons of mire in 1532-3 at a cost of 7s. 6d.

The house revealed by these repair accounts contained a cellar with at least two storeys and a garret above it. On the ground floor were a shop and a kitchen, each of which had a pentice over its window. There was also a stall by the shop window. The stair to the upper floors rose out of the kitchen. The latrine pit may have been beneath the kitchen floor. There was a lead water cistern in the kitchen, which also included a hearth and chimney. There is no evidence that any room other than the kitchen had a hearth. Other rooms mentioned were a buttery and a chamber. The frequency of repairs to the cellar door is notable: presumably it suffered damage through being adjacent to the street. This house may have survived largely intact until it was rebuilt in 1609 or soon after (see below, section iv.)

In 1535, at the request of Sir John Alleyn, the Skinners' Company granted a lease of the tenement with shop, cellar, and solars which Thomas Barley, grocer, had lately inhabited to Blase Whight, citizen and grocer, for a term of 18 years at the old rent of £2. 13s. 4d. p.a. The tenant was to make good any damage caused by his negligence or that of his tenants. The Skinners' Company was to keep the tenement weatherproof, but in the years which followed seems not to have paid for any repairs to the property. In addition to his rent Blase Whight made a payment of £7 'for the good will of the company'. Whight was recorded as paying the rent under this lease until 1550, and appears from the subsidy list of 1544, when his goods were valued at £40, to have been living in the house at that time. His residence may have included the W. part of **22** (q.v.).[8]

Whight's lease was due to expire in 1553. In June 1547 the Skinners' Company granted to Henry Herdson, citizen and skinner, a new lease of the tenement at the old rent of £2. 13s. 4d. p.a. for a term of 40 years from the expiry of the old lease. This cannot have been a move to render difficult the enquiry into chantry endowments ordered under the Act of 1546 since that Act had lapsed with the death of Henry VIII in January 1547, nor can it have been a step towards evading the Act suppressing chantries and obits which came into force at the end of 1547.[9] The latter Act, however, does appear to have influenced the company's actions in relation to this property. In 1549 Herdson assigned his lease to Blase Whight in return for a payment of £30, then in May 1550 the Skinners' Company made a feoffment of the property to Whight. The Crown had not seized **23** under the Act of 1547 as it was presumably entitled to do, and this transaction in 1550 was perhaps an attempt by the company to avoid any loss arising from such a seizure in the future. The company's accounts contain no record of any payment received from Whight for the property. The Crown, however, did claim the 13s. 4d. quit-rent formerly due from **23** to the nuns of Clerkenwell and an annual sum of 6s. 8d. representing the contribution from this property towards William Gregory's obit. In 1550 the Crown granted these and other rents due from city companies to Augustine Hinde and Richard Turke, aldermen, and William Blackwell, the city's common clerk. In 1553 these grantees quitclaimed in these two rents to the Skinners' Company. The tenement from which this 20s. p.a. rent was deemed to be due was one of the 'concealed lands' granted by the Crown to Theophilus Adams and James Woodshawe in 1582 and then passed through successive groups of feoffees until 1600. Between 1603 and 1631 the property was entered in the Crown rentals of concealed lands as one of those from which the rent was in arrears. By this time the 20s. rent appears to have been regarded as a fee farm payment for tenements in several parishes, including St. Mildred Poultry, which had been the endowment of several obits.[10]

iii. **23** in private possession, 1550-1605

In 1550 Blase Whight (or White) obtained full possession of the property. In 1552 he leased it to Rose Trott for a term of 25 years at a rent of £2. 6s. 8d. p.a., less than the rent charged under the lease of 1547. By 1566 the property had passed to Blase White's brother and heir, Richard White of Holme Hale (Norfolk), a tanner, who in that year leased it to Robert Tidenham (or Tudnam), grocer, for a term of 21 years from 1570 at £3 p.a. rent. This lease was renewed in 1572, and in 1575 Robert Tudnam assigned it to Richard Nixon, tailor. In 1580 Richard White and his wife Agnes, in return for a payment of £50, sold the property to Tudnam, describing it as a messuage called 'le Rose' now occupied by William Singleton, citizen and skinner. Later occupants of the messuage were Thomas Richardson, clothworker, Randal Jones, and, in 1599 Randall Hampton, haberdasher. In 1599 Robert Tudnam leased this messuage to Hampton for a term of 20 years at £5 rent. A fine of £300 was to be paid for this lease, but by a separate agreement dated the same day as the lease an annual payment of £15 for the term of 20 years was substituted for it. In 1603 Hampton assigned this lease to Basil Nicoll, scrivener.[11]

By his will, proved in 1600, Robert Tudnam left this messuage to his cousin Thomas Tidenam (Tudnam) of Holme Hale, yeoman, providing that for 3 years the annual payment of £20 due under the lease should go to Agnes Smith. Thomas Tudnam was indebted to William Tidenham (possibly an error in the abstract of title for William Trundell) and agreed that if he did not pay the debt by 24 June 1603, William should have the property in fee. The debt was apparently paid, and on 4 June 1603 William Trundell (perhaps the son of the William Trundell who had lent the money to Tudnam) and his wife Anne released their right to Thomas Tudnam. On 8 June, the payments to Agnes Smith having been made, John Tudnam, cousin and heir of Robert Tudnam, released his right to Thomas Tudnam. On 9 June Katharine Trundell, widow (probably of the William Trundell whose will had been proved in 1600), released her right to Thomas Tudnam, who on the same day sold the messuage called the Rose with its shops, cellars, solars, hall, and kitchen, to the Haberdashers' Company for £150. The purchase money had been left to the company by Peter Blundell by his will dated 1599 and proved in 1601, so as to buy lands or houses, out of the income of which the company was to pay £2 a year to the poor prisoners in Newgate. The company's acquisition was confirmed by means of a quitclaim from Thomas Tudnam and his wife Margaret, drawn up and enrolled in Husting in 1605.[12]

iv. **23** in the possession of the Haberdashers' Company: 1603 onwards

During the early 17th century the company's title to the property, claimed as a 'concealed land', was called into question, but in 1619, in return for a payment, the king confirmed the company in its possession of this and other holdings.[13]

Randall Hampton was still living in the house in January 1604, when the company granted him a new lease for 31 years from Christmas 1603 at £18 p.a. rent. This was less than the existing annual payment of £20, but Hampton was to spend at least £40 within 3 years on rebuilding. There was probably competition for the property, since in 1609 Hampton offered to surrender his lease, increase the rent to £20, and rebuild from the ground upwards. The house was presumably in a state of disrepair, and may have been essentially the same building as was described in the 15th-century building accounts (see above, section ii). Hampton's offer was accepted, and he was granted a new lease for a term of 60 years from 1609 at £20 p.a. rent on condition that he 'new build' the messuage 4 1/2 storeys high within 3 years.[14]

Anne Benson, widow, later purchased the lease granted to Hampton, and in 1632 was granted a new lease in her own name for the 37 years yet to come. In return she was to give the company's wardens a fat doe for the election dinner or £2. Widow Benson continued to live here until 1639, and in 1638 her house was 'moderately' valued at £30 p.a. On her surrender of the lease in 1639 a new one for the 30 years then to come was granted to John Fletcher, citizen and whitebaker. In 1651, in response to the company's need to raise cash, Fletcher surrendered his lease and took a new one for a term of 99 years from Christmas 1650, at the reduced rent of £14 and for a fine of £200. This fine was not paid in full until 1652, when Fletcher also paid £2. 10s. as interest on the arrears. The house, presumably that built by Randall Hampton soon after 1609, was described in the lease of 1651. It occupied a site measuring 17 ft. 7 in. (5.36 m.) N.-S. by 13 ft. 6 in. (4.11 m.) E.-W., and contained a cellar, a shop over the cellar, a hall over the shop with a study adjoining, a kitchen and a chamber over the hall and study, two chambers on the third floor, and two garrets over these chambers, making 4 1/2 storeys above ground in all.[15]

In 1661 John Fletcher's executors, who included his widow Alice, sold the remaining term of the lease to his son, John Fletcher, citizen and apothecary, for the sum of £450. The messuage was now

ST. MILDRED POULTRY: 23

known as the White Horse, and in 1660 had been leased to Thomas Gardiner, 'cruellseller', for a term of 10 years at £44 p.a. rent. Gardiner inhabited the house, which contained 6 hearths in 1662-3 and was the scene of a conspiracy in 1664.[16]

After the Great Fire a strip of ground was taken from the property in order to widen Poultry. This meant that the new house to be erected on the remaining part of the site could not be a 'double' one as its predecessor before the Fire had been. The company therefore agreed that John Fletcher, who still held the lease, was to have a new one for 99 years from Christmas 1668 at the reduced rent of £10 p.a., in return for rebuilding. A foundation survey drawn up for Fletcher in August 1668 shows the extent of the site and the land cut off. When the new lease was sealed in February 1669 Fletcher covenanted to finish quickly the house then being built. From these records and from later plans this house can be identified as no. 8 Poultry on the ward map of 1858.[17]

NOTES

- 1 HR 33(43), 34(30, 61), 53(83), 87(7).
- 2 HR 33(43), 45(23), 47(58), 73(8), 118(75).
- 3 HR 96(120, 146), 98(137), 114(55), 118(75).
- 4 HR 202(2).
- 5 PRO, SC6/Hen 7/396, SC6/Hen 8/2396, SC6/Edw 6/293, SC11/452; Skinners' Company, 3A/3 (Receipts and Payments Bk 3), *passim*.
- 6 Unless otherwise stated, the following account is based on Skinners' Company, 3A/1-3 (Receipts and Payments Bks 1-3).
- 7 PRO, E179/251/15B.
- 8 Skinners' Company, 3A/2-3; Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 8; PRO, E179/144/123, m. 21.
- 9 *Chant C*, ix-x.
- 10 Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 1; GL, MS 15874, pp. 117-19; *Cal Pat R 1549-51*, p. 397; Skinners' Company, 5/193; HR 279(32); PRO, SC6/Edw 6/293 et seqq; *Chant C*, no. 82; Northamptonshire R.O., BH(K) 897.
- 11 GL, MS 15874, pp. 117-19; HR 264(16); Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 2, 8/1-3.
- 12 GL, MSS 15874, pp. 117-19; 15873, ff. 86-7. Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 4; HR 283(27).
- 13 GL, MSS: 15897; 15874, p. 146.
- 14 GL, MS 15842/1, ff. 136v, 166v.
- 15 GL, MSS: 15842/1, ff. 271, 300; 15866/1, *passim*. Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 5.
- 16 Haberdashers' Company, Blundell 6; PRO, E179/252/27; *Cal SP Dom 1663-4*, no. 100.
- 17 Haberdashers' Company: Blundell 7, 9, 15; Plan Book I (1761), xxvi, no. 18, plan 9; GL, MS 15842/2, f. 143v; *M & O* iv, f. 81v; CLRO, Comp Deeds K/F/36.

University of London
Institute of Historical Research
Centre for Metropolitan History

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LONDON

APPENDIX TO THE SUMMARY REPORT
ON THE WALBROOK STUDY

Part 2: Indexes

Derek Keene

1987

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THE WALBROOK STUDY

PART 2

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INDEX OF PERSONS

MARGINAL SIGNS

1	person occurs in Cheapside index
2	person occurs in St Botolph Aldgate index

ABBREVIATIONS IN TEXT

<	before
>	after
x	between dates given
?	perhaps
*	perhaps identical with
acc.	acceded
aldrm.	alderman
b.	born
br.	brother
bt.	baronet
C (as in 12C)	Century
cit.	citizen
Co.	Company
cr.	created
d.	died
da.	daughter
diss.	dissolved
esq.	esquire
excl.	excluding
exec(s)	executor(s)/-trix
f.	father
fd.	founded
feof	feoffee
fl.	<i>floruit</i>
gda.	grandaughter
gdf.	grandfather
gdm.	grandmother
gds.	grandson
gent.	gentleman
godf.	godfather
gods.	godson
gt.	great
h.	husband
illegit	illegitimate
incl.	including
jun.	junior
k.	kin
kt.	knight
m.	mother
mar.	married
n.	note to a gazetteer entry
poss	possessor
prob.	probably
pt	par
quit	quit-rent, receives quit-rent
quitcl.	quitclaims right in
ref	reference

INDEX OF PERSONS

res	resident
rev	reversionary interest
s.	son
sen.	senior
sis.	sister
ten	tenant
unspec.	unspecified
w.	wife
wd	will dated
wid.	widow
wp	will proved

A

ADAM (1 under ST. ALBANS)

- 1 Adam of St. Albans (d. by 1291), of St. Albans, ironmonger, h. of Alianora. **39/6** (ref to), see his wid.
Alianora
- 1 ~, Alianora wid. of (fl. 1291-1300). **39/6** (poss or ten 1291-1300)
Adam, of St. Albans (fl. 1305). **132/23** (ten shop 1305)

ADAMS

- 1 Adams, Theophilus (fl. 1582). **132/23** (poss 'concealed land' gtd by king, 1582)

ADRIAN

Pope Adrian IV (fl. 1154-9). **118/0** (ref to: confirmed ch to Westminster Abbey 1157)

AILWARD (*Alwardus, Eluardus*)

Ailward (*Eluardus Grossus, Alwardus de London'*) (fl. <1100), chaplain of Hubert de RYES. **118/0**
(rector of ch <1110; ?gtd ch to Westminster Abbey)

ALBON (de Seynt Albon)

Albon (alias de Seynt Albon), John (fl. 1374-83). **118/16** (ten/res 1374-83)

ALBURGH

- 1? Alburgh, John (fl. 1460). **118/13** (feof 1460)

ALEXANDER

Alexander, Michael (fl. 1613; 1638 wd; d. by 1657), merchant tailor, h. of Katharine & Sarah, f. of Sarah
& William. **118/15Aii** (bought rev interest from John Clarke and Richard Jennens 1613; poss 1618-
1637)

~, ~, Katharine w. of (fl. 1625-<1638). **118/15Aii** (poss by 1625)

~, ~, Sarah w & wid. of (fl. 1638-69), of Windsor (Berks), m. of William (fl. 1638-70) & Sarah.
118/15Aii (life interest 1638-69)

~, ~, Sarah da. of (fl. 1638-70), also da. of Sarah, w. of Timothy CRUSO. **118/15Aii** (annuity from, 1657;
gtd annuity to William Smith 1670)

Alexander, Sarah; see Sarah w. & wid. of Michael ALEXANDER

Alexander, Thoas (fl. 1670), s. of William (fl. 1638-70), br. of William. **118/15Aii** (rev 1670)

Alexander, William (fl. 1638-7), Chipping Ongar (Essex), gent., s. of Michael & Sarah, f. of William &
Thomas. **118/15Aii** (rev 1638)

~, ~, William eldest s. of (fl. 1638?; d. by 1670), br. of Thomas. **118/15Aii** (rev 1638)

ALFORDE

Alforde, Hugh (d. 1416). **156/12** (ten by 1416)

ALICE

Alice (fl. <c.1215), m. of Robert. **132/18** (ref to), see her s. Robert

~, Robert s. of (filius Aliz) (fl. c.1215). **132/18** (poss <1215)

Alice (fl. 1367), butler of William HOLBECH. **156/12** (left money by William Holbech 1367; ?res 1367)

ALLEY

Alley, Richard (fl. 1445-62), cit. & skinner. **132/23** (poss 1445-62; qtcl. to William Gregory 1462)

ALLEYN

Alleyn, John (Sir) (fl. 1535). **132/23** (ref to: 1535 requested grant of lease to Blase Whight)

ALPORT (Alporte)

Alport, - (fl. c.1614). **132/22** (charged with payment to Alport from 'Three Pigeons' c.1614)

Alporte, Richard (fl. 1638-43). **132/17** (res 1638-43)

INDEX OF PERSONS: A

Alporte; see ALPORT

ALSOPP

Alsopp, John (fl. 1558), s. of Robert (fl. .1558), br. of Robert (fl. 1558), nephew of Thomas (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558)

Alsopp, Reynold (fl. <1558), br. of Thomas (d. 1558), Robert (fl. <1558), Margaret ANDLEBY, & Joan TAYLOR, f. of Robert (d. 1559), Thomas (fl. 1558-61), & Elizabeth TRAPHAM. **118/13** (ref to), see his sons Robert & Thomas ALSOPP

Alsopp, Robert (fl. <1558), br. of Thomas (d. 1558), Reynold, Margaret ANDLEBY, & Joan TAYLOR, f. of Robert (fl. 1558) & John. **118/13** (ref to), see his sons Robert & John ALSOPP

Alsopp, Robert (fl. 1558), s. of Robert (fl. <1588), br. of John, nephew of Thomas (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558)

Alsopp, Robert (fl. 1558; d. 1559), s. of Reynold, br. of Thomas (fl. 1558-61) & Elizabeth TRAPHAM, nephew of Thomas (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558; beq rev to Elizabeth Trapham & Joan Dodd 1559)

Alsopp, Thomas (fl. 1542-3; d. 1558), cit. & grocer, apothecary, br. of Margaret ANDLEBY, Robert (fl. <1558) & Reynold ALSOPP, & Joan TAYLOR, h. of Anne, stepf. of William GYLLYAT, uncle of Richard & John ANDLEBY, Robert (fl. 1558) & John ALSOPP, Robert (d. 1559) & Thomas (fl. 1558-61) ALSOPP, Lyne & John TAYLOR. **118/13** (ten/?res 1542; poss acq from ?William Gunter & William Hobson by 1558; shop 1558)

~, ~, Anne w. & wid. of (fl. 558; d. 1561), m. of William GYLLYAT. **118/13** (poss for life 1558)

Alsopp, Thomas (fl. 1558-61), s. of Reynold, br. of Robert (d. 1559), nephew of Thomas (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558; poss pt 1561)

Alwardus de London'; see AILWARD

ANDLEBY (Andlebye)

Andleby (Andlebye), John (fl. 1558-63), of Mersham (Kent), yeoman, s. of Margaret, br. & heir of Richard, nephew of Thomas ALSOPP (d.1558). **118/13** (rev 1558; poss pt beq by Richard Andleby 1563)

Andleby, Margaret (fl. 1558?), sis. of Thomas Alsopp (d. 1558), w. of - ANDLEBY, m. of Richard & John. **118/13** (ref to), see her sons Richard & John ANDLEBY

Andleby, Richard (fl. 1558; d. 1563), cit. & grocer, s. of Margaret, nephew of Thomas ALSOPP (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558; poss/?res pt 1561-3; beq to John Andleby 1563)

Andlebye; see ANDLEBY

ANDREW (Andrewe; Andrewes)

Andrew (Andrewe), John (fl. 1445), of Kingston upon Thames (Sur), cit. & saddler, h. of Joan da. of John SCALTON. **132/23** (poss by 1445)

Andrewes, Robert(fl 1620; d. 1626), beadle of St. Mary Woolchurch parish. **118/0D** (ten 1620)

Andrewe; Andrewes; see ANDREW

ANKETIL

Anketil, John (fl. 1340; d. 1349), cit. & woolmonger (*lanarius*), k. of Nicholas, exec: Nicholas ANKETIL. **132/20** (poss gtd by Walter le Bret 1340)

Aketil, Nicholas (fl. 1349-51), k., heir, & exec of John. **132/20?** (poss brewhouse & shops 1349)

ANNE

1 Anne, Alexander (fl. 1433; . <1440), gent. **132/15** (feof 1433)

ARCHER

Archer, John (fl. 1474), of Tanworth (War.), esq. **118/12** (poss 1474)

ASCEU (1 ASKEW)

1? Asceu, John (fl. 1522). **132/17?** (res 1522)

INDEX OF PERSONS: A

ASHE

Ashe, Thomas (fl. 1522-48), grocer, h. of Letice. **156/13A** (ten 1522-48; res 1522x7-48; poss 1548)
~,~, Letice w. & wid. of (fl. 1548-<1565). **156/13A** (poss 1548-<1565)

ASK

Ask, Conan (fl. 1425), h. of Margaret wid. of Adam FRAUNCEYS. **132/18** (claimed quit as w.'s dower
1425)

de ASSENDON

de Assendon, Robert (fl. 1274-1304), exec of Geoffrey GODARD. **156/13** (quit 1274; sold to Richard
Constantyn 1304)

ASTOWE

Astowe, John (fl. 1427). **118/14** (ten 1427)

ATKINSON

Atkinson, William (fl. 1475), cit. & tailor. **132/20** (feof of Robert Scot 1475)

AUDLEY

Audley, Nicholas (fl. 1548), curate of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (curate 1548)

de AUNGRE (1 AUNGER)

1 de Augre, Philip (d. <1349), h. of Alice wid. of William Broune (BROWN). **39/6** (ref to), see his w. Alice
wid. of William Broune (BROWN)

AVERY

Avery, Henry (fl. 1669-77), of London, gent., h. of Frances. **118/12** (poss bought from Humphrey &
Elizabeth Richardson 1669; sold to Sir Robert Clayton & John Morris 1677)
~,~, Frances w. of (fl. 1677). **118/12** (sold to Sir Robert Clayton & John Morris 1677)

AYSCOUGHE

Ayscoughe, John (fl. 1575). **132/22D** (poss bought from Crown 1575)

B

BABHAM

Babham, Thomas (fl. 1481-86), cit. & grocer, h. of Margaret. **118/15B & C** (gtd to feofs 1481; qtcl. 1486)

~, ~, Margaret w. of (fl. 1481-86). **118/15B & C** (gtd to feofs 1481; qtcl. 1486)

BACOUN (1 BACON)

- 1 Bacoun, John (fl. 1432; d. by 1441), cit. & grocer. **118/15B & C** (rev 1432); 132/16 (feof of Thomas Holme 1432)

BAKER

- 1 Baker, John (fl. 1623). **39/6** (res 1623)

BALL

Ball, Edward (Mr.) (fl. 1640-62). **132/20** (res 1640-62)

BALLARD

Ballard, Edmund (fl. 1624-5), cit. & ironmonger. **132/16A** (bought 1624 from Francis Muschampe (III))

BAMME

- 1 Bamme, Henry (fl. 1383), cit. & goldsmith, h. of Margery wid. of Robert LUCAS. **118/16** (quit by 1383)
~, ~, Margery w. of; see Margery wid. of Robert LUCAS

BANDY

Bandy, John (fl. 1501-4). **132/23** (ten/?res 1501-4)

BANISTER

Banister, Benjamin (fl. 1642; d. 1666), cit. & apothecary. **156/13B** (ten 1651-66: res by 1662-6)

BANKS

Banks, William (fl. 1640), cit. & clothworker. **132/18** (underten/res 1638-40; ten/res of pt 1641)

BARCROFTE

Barcrofte, John (fl. 1622), of Chard (Somerset), gent. **118/13** (ten 1622)

BARDOIL

Bardoil, Landus (fl. 1355), merchant of Lucca. **156/12** (ten 1355)

BARLEY

Barley, Thomas (fl. 1524-35), grocer. **132/23** (ten/res 1524-55)

BARLOW (Barlowe)

Barlowe, John (fl. 1497-1501). **132/23** (ten 1497-1501)

Barlow, Roger (1493 wd; 1500 wp), tailor. **118/0** (left beq to fraternity of St. Mary; wished to be bur. in ch)

Barlowe; see BARLOW

Barnam; see BARNHAM

de Barnat; see (atte) BARNET

Barneham; see BARNHAM

Barnet; see also HODDESDON

INDEX OF PERSONS: B

- (atte) BARNET (de Barnat, del Bernet)
Barnet, Edmund (fl. 1426), ?k. of Edmund HODDESDON. **118/16** (accused of conspiring to destroy title of others to property 1426)
- 1 de Barnat (del Bernet), Geoffrey (fl. c.1303/4-1320), girdler (zonarius), h. of Maud. **39/6** (ten/res c.1303-20)
- 1 ~, ~, Maud w. of (fl. 1320). **39/6** (ten 1320)
- atte Barnet, Thomas (fl. 1351-77), cit. & mason, w. of Katharine da. of Robert TOLESAN. **118/15C** (complained of intrusion by William Tythynglomb 1351; life interest shops by 1376; gtd to William Burdeyn & Thomas Panton 1377)
- Barnet, Thomas; see Thomas HODDESDON

- BARNHAM (Barnam, Barneham)
Barneham (Barnam), Benedict (fl. 1581-97), aldm. **132/21** (ten 1581-94; 1597)
Barneham, Bradbridge (fl. 1598), of Hollingbourne (Kent), gent., s. of Stephen. **132/21** (ten 1598)
- 1? Barnam, Francis (fl. 1548-50) cit. & draper. **132/21** (ten 1548-50)
- Barnham, Francis (fl. 1602) cit. & draper. **132/21** (ten 1602)
- 1? Barnham (Barneham), Stephen (fl. 1596-8), of Mitcham (Surr), gent., f. of Bradbridge. **132/21** (ten 1596-8)

BARON

- Baron, William (fl. 1475), esq., h. of Joan. **132/20** (poss by 1475; gtd by Robert Mildenhale)
- ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1475-1513). **132/20** (poss by 1475; gtd by Robert Mildenhale)

BARTHOLOMEW

- Bartholomew (fl. <1227), f. of Robert. **118/16** (ref to), see his s. Robert
- ~, Robert s. of (fl. 1197/8; d. c.1219), aldm., sheriff 1197-8, f. of Andrew & Simon BLUND. **118/16** (poss <1227)

Basford; see BATSFORD

Batesford; see BATSFORD

BATH

- Bath, Thomas (fl. 1394), of Reading. **132/15** (feof of Katharine Wasshvngburn 1594)

BATHURST

- Bathurst, Lancelot (fl. 1631), gent. **118/13** (poss bought from William & Elizabeth Michelson 1631)

BATSFORD (Basford, Batesford)

- Batsford, Goodwife - (fl. 1590-5), wid. of Tristram. **118/OD** (ten 1590-5)
- Basford, Tristram (fl. 1586-7). **118/OD** (ten 1586-7)
- Batesford, William (fl. 1375). **118/16** (quit 1375)

BATTE

- 1 Batte, Richard (fl. 1486), cit. & draper. **132/22A** (poss 1486). **132/22B-C** (ten 1486)

BATTY

- Batty, John (fl. 1638), cit. & mercer. **156/12** (sold to William Underwood 1638)

atte BECHE

- atte Beche, Robert (fl. 1376; d. <1385), parson of Ightham. **123/23** (feof 1376)

BECHER

- Becher, Mrs. - (fl. 1612). **118/15Ai** (poss 1612)
- Becher, Cuthbert (fl. 1521-2; d. c.1541), cit. & draper, h. of Agnes. **132/21** (ten/res 1521-2)
- ~, ~, Agnes wid. of (fl. 1541), later mar. Richard DOBBES. **132/21** (ten by 1541-8)
- Becher, Michael (fl. 1531-2). **132/21** (ten 1531)

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BECKET

Becket, Henry (fl. 1560-1). **118/OC** (ten 1560-1)

BEDHAM

Bedham, Joan (fl. 1475). **132/20** (poss by 1475; gtd by Robert Mildenhale)

de BEDYNGTON

de Bedyngton, Walter (fl. 1365), cit. & mercer, h. of Juliana. **118/12** (poss shop by 1365; leased to John Pigeon 1365)

~, ~, Juliana w. of (fl. 1365). **118/12** (leased shop to John Pigeon 1365)

BEEST

Beest, Alexander (fl. 1544?; d. 1571), cit. & haberdasher. **118/12** (ten/res 1544?-71)

Beest, Richard (fl. 1612). **118/12** (poss by 1612)

BEKYNGHAM

Bekyngham, Thomas (fl. 1418), esq., h. of Sibyl da. of Thomas & Elizabeth CALSTON. **118/14** (poss pt shops 1418)

Beleurge; see BELUERGE

BELGRAUNT

Belgraunt, Roger (fl. c.1367), of *Magna Cotes* (Great Cotes; Lincs.?), parson. **118/14** (feof for Agnes & Richard de Haveryng by 1367)

BELGRAVE

Belgrave, Thomas (fl. 1433-40), cit. & cutler. **132/15** (feof 1433). **132/20** (poss gtd by John atte Mershe 1434)

BELUERGE (Beleurge)

Belurge (Beleurge), Ralph (fl. 1320-5), cit. & ironmonger, h. of Boneioya da. of Maud w. of Geoffrey de Barnat (BARNET). **39/6** (poss by 1320; qtcl. to John & Agnes Edmund 1325)

BENEDICT

Benedict (fl. <1231x7), f. of William. **39/6** (ref to); **156/12** (ref to), see his s. William

- 1 ~, William s. of (d. c.1231x7), master of the exchange of London & Canterbury, aldm., f. of LAWRENCE of St. Michael. **39/6** (ref to 1231x7: as former holder of **156/12** adj. on E.); **156/12** (poss/?res c.1231x7)

BENSON

Benson, Widow -; see Anne BENSON

- 1? Benson, Anne (Widow) (fl. 1632-9), widow. **132/23** (ten/res by 1632-9)
Benson, William (fl. 1649), gent. **132/21** (trustee for Thomas Singleton 1649)

BERE (Beere)

Beere, Henry (fl. c.1601). **118/15Ai** (poss c.1601)

Bere (Beere), Lawrence (fl. 1493-8; d. 1504), grocer. **156/12** (ref to)

*Lawrence BERE (fl. <1540)

Bere, Lawrence (fl. <1540), apothecary. **156/12** (res Servat's Tower <1540)

*Lawrence BERE (d. 1504)

del Bernet; see (atte) BARNAT

de BETTENHAM

de Bettenham, Thomas (fl. <1375), f. of Stephen. **118/16** (ref to); **132/23** (ref to), see his s. Stephen
~, ~, Stephen s. of (fl. 1375-6). **118/16** (quit 1375); **132/23** (feof 1376)

BEVERLEY

Beverley, John (fl. 1422), cit. & skinner. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

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- BIDDOLPH
 1? Biddolph, Theophilus (fl. 1655), of London, merchant, gent. **132/16B** (bought pt of Three Cranes 1655)
- BINCH
 Binch, Sarah (fl. 1662/3). **118/16** (res 1662/3)
- BIRCH
 Birch, John (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)
- BIRT
 Birt, Richard (fl. <1512), poulterer. **132/19** (ten <1512)
- Blackewell; see BLACKWELL
- BLACKMAN
 1 Blackman, John (fl. 1545-79), grocer, h. of Elizabeth. **132/22A** (poss bought from Thomas Smythe 1545; gtd pt to Henry Mylles 1472; pt to Robert Tudnam 1579)
 1 ~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1572-9). **132/22** (poss by 1572; gtd pt to Henry Mylles 1572: pt to Robert Tudnam 1579)
- BLACKWELL (Blackewell)
 Blackewell, Richard (fl. 1550). **132/18** (gtd quit rent by Crown 1550)
- 1, 2 Blackwell, William (fl. 1550), common clerk of city. **132/23** (quit 1550; qtcl. to Skinners' Co 1553)
- BLAKELOWE
 Blakelowe, Ralph (fl. 1449), h. of da. of John EYNESHAM. **132/18** (poss by 1449)
- de BLEMONTÉ (1 DE BLEMUNT)
 1 de Blemonte, William (fl. late 12C-1227). **118/16** (quit by 1227)
- BLOMELEY (1 BLOMLEY)
 1 Blomeley, Brian (fl. 1651), of Barnard's Inn, gent. **132/16** (bought quit 1651)
- Blound (le); see BLUNT
- BLOUNHAM
 Blounham, John (fl. 1416), vicar of Luton (Beds.). **118/14** (feof of John Yonge 1416)
- Blount; see BLUNT
- BLOWER
 Blower, Humphrey (fl. 1641), clothworker. **118/15B & C** (res 1641; lodger?)
- (le) Blund; see BLUNT
- BLUNDELL
 1 Blundell, Peter (1599 wd; 1600 wp). **132/23** (tenement bought by Haberdashers' Co. with money left by Peter Blundell 1599x60)
- blundus*; see BLUNT
- BLUNT (Blound, (le) Blount, (le) Blund, blundus) (1 BLOUNTE)
 Blunt (Blund), Andrew (fl. 1219; d. 1259), kt., s. of Robert s. of BARTHOLOMEW, h. of Helen, f. of Hugh & Henry. **118/16** (poss <1258-9; quit)
 ~, ~, Helen w. of (fl. 1259; d. by 1301). **118/16** (quit 1259)
 ~, ~, Henry s. of (fl. 1258-9), br. of Hugh, gt-gdf. of John (II). **118/16** (quit 1258/9)

INDEX OF PERSONS: B

- ~, ~, Hugh s. of; see Sir Hugh BLUNT (I)
- 1 Blund (*blundus*), Geoffrey (fl. 1182-<1213), f. of Thomas & Matthew. **39/6** (ref to: as former holder of land adj. on W. 1231x7); **105/34-5** (poss from St. Augustine's Abbey late 12C); **132/21-3** (poss acq from St. Augustine's Abbey late 12C); **132/21?** (ten moiety 1182-3; poss moiety <1213 gtd by St. Augustine's abbey; poss whole early 13C); **132/23** (poss 1182x1213)
- Blunt (le Blund), Hugh (Sir) (I) (fl.1258-1301; d. >1318), kt., s. of Andrew, br. of Henry, f. of Robert. **118/16** (quit 1258/9; 1304-5)
- ~, ~, Hugh (II) s. of (d. <1361), f. of Hugh III. **118/16** (ref to), see his s. Hugh
- le Blount, Hugh (Sir) (III) (d. 1361), kt., s. of Hugh II, f. of John (fl.1361-76) & Thomas. **118/16** (quit)
- ~, ~, Thomas s. of; see Thomas Blount (BLUNT)
- le Blount, John (fl. 1304-5), aldm. **118/16A** (ref to: witness to grant 1304-5)
- Blount, John (fl. 1361-76), of Essex, elder s. of Sir Hugh (III), br. of Thomas, f. of Jocosa. **118/16** (claimed quit 1376)
- ~, ~, Jocosa da. of (fl.1395), w. of John MAPES. **118/16** (qtcl 1395)
- Blunt (Blount), John (II) (fl. >1361-1383), of Beversbrook (Wilts), gt-gds. of Henry s. of Andrew, h. of Cristina. **118/16** (quit <1368; qtcl 1383)
- ~, ~, Cristina w. of (fl.1383). **118/16** (qtcl. 1383)
- 1 Blund, Matthew (fl. 1211-23), s. of Geoffrey, br. of Thomas (fl. 1192). **132/21** (ref to poss 23? c.1222; gtd poss of **23?** to St. Augustine's Abbey 1222-3); **132/22-3** (poss incl shops by 1220; qtcl. to St. Augustine's abbey 1222); **132/23** (poss 1220x3 shop)
- la Blund, Maud (fl. <1265), gdm. (avia) of Alan s. of PETER. **132/16** (quit <1265)
- le Blound, Robert (fl.1301x4; d. c.1318), younger s. of Sir Hugh (I). **118/16** (quit 1301x4)
- Blunt (*Blundus*), Robert; see Robert s. of BARTHOLOMEW
- Blund, Simon (fl. <1259), of Dublin, cleric, s. of Robert s. of BARTHOLOMEW. **118/16** (poss?: resigned his interest in **16** to br. Andrew?)
- 1 Blund, Thomas (fl. 1192; d. 1220x2), s. of Geoffrey Blund & Ida de HUNFRANVILLE, br. of Matthew, nephew of Richard de HUNFRANVILLE. **132/21** (poss c.1213-c.1220x2); **132/22** (poss acq from f. 1211x1220/2)
- Blount, Thomas (fl. 1361), younger s. of Sir Hugh III; br. of John. **118/16** (quit 1361; qtcl 1375)
- BODNAM (Bodman)
- Bodnam (Bodman), John (fl. 1522-36; d. 1541), grocer. **156/12** (ten 1536; res? 1522)
- 2 Bodnam, Ralph (fl. 1541; d. 1552), cit. & grocer. **156/12** (ten 1541-8; res 1544; poss 1548; res 1552); **156/13B** (poss bought from Crown 1548)
- 2 Bodnam, William (fl. 1541; d. 1580), cit. & grocer. **156/12** (ten 1541-8; res 1544; poss 1548-80; res 1552-80); **156/13B** (poss bought from Crown 1548)
- BOLT
- Bolt, John (fl. 1475), chaplain. **132/20** (feof of Robert Scot 1475)
- Bolt, Joshua (fl. 1682), cit. & cooper. **118/12** (ten/res c.1682)
- BONACOURS
- Bonacours, Gregory (fl. 1338-53), cit. & apothecary. **39/6** (ten 1338-52; res 1338-?<1352; qtcl. to Richard Peticru 1353)
- BOND (Bonde)
- Bond, Alderman; see William BOND
- Bonde, Christopher (Sir) (fl. <1611), kt., h. of Winifred, f. of Rose. **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' <1611)
- ~, ~, da.s of (incl. Rose) (fl. c.1611), also da.s of Winifred. **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' by c.1611)
- ~, ~, Rose da. of (fl. 1611), also da. of Winifred, w. of William HALE. **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' by 1611; sold to Hugh Goddard 1611)
- ~, ~, Winifred w. of (fl. <1611), m. of Rose. **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' < 1611)
- Bond (Bonde), William (alderman) (fl. 1649; d. 1671), aldm. **156/13A** (poss or ten? 1669)
- Bonde; see BOND
- BOOCOK
- Boocok, Thomas (fl. 1393-5), of Standon (Herts). **118/12** (poss gtd by execs of John Pigeon 1393; gtd to Thomas & Agnes Mallyng 1595)

INDEX OF PERSONS: B

- de la BORDHAWE
1 de la Bordhawe, Serlo (fl. 1258-<1274). **118/16B** (ten 1258; poss 1259-<74; sold to St. Paul's a rent from **105/8** with **118/16** as security, 1258)
- de BORHAM
de Borham, John (fl. 1351), parson of Plumpton St. John. **132/22** (gtd to John de Caumpes & Agnes 1351)
- Boteler (le); see BOTILLER
- BOTHE
Bothe, William (fl. 1438-51), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof 1438-51)
- BOTILLER (le Boteler)
le Boteler, James (fl. 1303/4), cit. **39/6** (quit 1303-4)
Botiller, Ralph (fl. 1419), esq., kt., lord of Sudeley. **132/19** (poss >1419-62)
- le BOTONER
le Botoner, Lawrence (1335 wd; 1337 wp), f. of Richard. **156/13** (quit by 1335)
~, ~, Richard s. of (fl. 1337). **156/13** (quit 1337)
- BOWYER (Boyer)
Bowyer (Boyer), William (fl. 1668), cit. & tallowchandler. **132/20** (poss 1668)
- BOX
Box, Thomas (fl. >1274; 1301 wp), fishmonger?, h. of Cristina. **118/16B** (poss >1274-?1301)
~, ~, Cristina w. of (fl. >1274). **118/16B?** (poss for life 1301)
- Boyer; see BOWYER
- BOYES
Boyes, Richard (fl. c.1660-7), cit. & draper. **132/22** (ten Three Pigeons c.1660-7)
- BRABOURNE
Brabourne, Robert (fl. 1670-9). **132/18** (underten 1670-8; ten 1679)
Brabourne, Samuel (fl. 1679). **132/18** (ten 1679)
- BRACEGIRDLE
Bracegirdle, Grace (fl. 1641). **118/15Aii** (res 1641)
- BRACY
2? Bracy, John (fl. 1441-57), cit. & Chandler. **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1441)
- de BRADELE
de Bradele, Henry (Dom) (fl. 1352), clerk. **132/22** (feof of Matthew Broun 1552)
- de Bragging; de BRAUGHING
- BRASIER
Brasier, Thomas (fl. 1643). **132/22** (res 1643)
- de BRAUGHING (de Bragging)
1 de Bragging, Elias (fl. 1328-32), s. of Ralph. **132/18** (rev 1328x32; poss <1349)
1 de Braughing (Bragging), Ralph (fl. 1316; 1328 wd; 1332 wp), of London, girdler (*zonarius*), f. of Katharine, Elias, & Joan. **132/18** (poss shops c.1316-c.1332)
~, ~, Elias s. of; see Elias de Bragging (de BRAUGHING)
~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. 1328-32). **132/18** (rev 1328x32)
~, ~, Katharine da. of (fl. 1328-32). **132/18** (poss inherited from f. 1328x32)

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BRAUNCHE

Braunche, Alice (fl. 1568-70; d. 1590), widow. **156/13B** (poss gtd by John Hudson 1569-90)
Braunche, Robert (fl. 1590-4), of Parkepale, Tolpuddle (Dorset), gent., h. of Mary. **156/13B** (poss 1590-4; sold to John Newman 1594)
~, ~, Mary w. of (fl. 1594). **156/13B** (poss by 1594; sold to John Newman 1594)

(de) BRAY

1? Bray, Henry (fl. 1441), cit. & draper. 118/15B & C (feof 1441). **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1441)
de Bray, William (fl. 1340), skinner (*pelet'* or poulterer *?polet'*). **132/19** (plea of intrusion brought against him by Agnes wid. of John Lanfare 1340)

BRENYNFORD

Brenynford, John (fl. 1212?). **132/21** (ref to: chantry endowed for soul of)

(le) BRET (Brett)

1 Brett, Robert (fl. 1596), esq., h. of Alice. **132/22** (poss pt; gtd to Robert Tudnam 1596)
1 ~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1596). **132/22** (poss pt; gtd to Robert Tudnam 1596)
(le) Bret, Walter (fl. c.1312; 1342), cit., h. of Juliana wid. of Michael de TOLESAN, guardian of Joan da. of Robert TOLESAN. **118/15C** (guardian of Joan & tenements until she came of age 1342); **132/15** (poss shops by 1328); **132/17** (poss shops 1329); **132/18** (ref to: see his w.); **132/20** (poss >1312-40)

Brett; see (le) BRET

BREWER

Brewer, John (fl. 1458-61). **132/21** (ten/?res 1458-61)
Brewer, Thomas (fl. 1454-56/7). **132/21** (ten/res 1454-56/7)
Brewer, Thomas (fl. 1465-88), patten-maker. **132/21** (ten/?res 1465-73; paid rent 1469-75; paid rent 1478-88)
*Thomas BREWER (fl. <1484)
*Thomas RUSSELL
Brewer, Thomas (fl. <1484). **132/22C** (ten/?res <1484; also ?ten/res **21**)
*Thomas BREWER (1469-88)

Brikelesworth; see de BRIKLESWORTH

BRIKLES

Brikles, William (d. by 1449), cit. & wool merchant (lanarius), f. of Isabel. **39/6** (ref to), see his da. Isabel
~, ~, Isabel da. of (d. by 1449). **39/6** (Ralph Holand bought **39/6** with money provided from her goods)
Brikles, family of (d. by 1449). **39/6** (chantry endowed in priory of St. Leonard Stratford for Brikles family)

(de) BRIKLESWORTH (Brikelesworth)

(de) Briklesworth, John (fl. 1364; 1368 wd/wp), cit., h. of Lettice, f. of Richard. **132/22** (poss gtd by Roger de Daventre & Robert Cressewyk 1364)
~, ~, Lettice w. of (fl. 1368). **132/22** (beq to by h. 1368)
de Briklesworth (Brikelesworth), Richard (fl. 1368-80; d. c.1389), s. of John, h. of Katharine, f. of Joan. **132/22** (poss 1368-80)
~, ~, Joan da. & heir of (b. c.1380; fl. 1389 (aged 9)). **132/22** (poss part 1389)
*Joan w. of Robert DOMENYK
~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl. 1389). **132/22** (poss 1/3 as dower 1389)

BRISCOE

Briscoe, John (fl. 1662-6), druggist. **156/13A** (res 1662-6)

BRISTY

Bristy, Robert (fl. 1375), clerk. **118/16** (quit 1375)

BROGRAVE

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Brograve, Richard (fl. 1538). **132/20** (res 1522-38)

BROTHERS

Brothers, William (fl. 1522-44), merchant of the Staple. **132/16** (ten/res 1522-?44)

BROUGHTON

- 1? Broughton, John (fl. 1405). 118/15 (feof 1405); **132/16** (feof 1405)
 Broughton, Thomas (fl. 1382)w clerk. **118/12** (poss gtd by Adam de Carlell 1382: rtd to John Pigeon's execs 1595)

Broun(e); see BROWN

BROWN (Broun(e), Browne, de Brunne)

- Broun, Adam (fl. 1304-5; 1316 wp), cit. & poulterer, h. of Lucy. **118/16A** (poss shops gtd by John de Ware 1304-5); **132/18** (poss by 1316)
 ~, ~, Lucy w. of (fl. 1304-16). **118/16A** (poss shops gtd by John de Ware 1304-16)
 Browne (Broune), John (fl. 1557-9), clerk of Clothworkers' Co. **118/14** (bought property from Clothworkers' Co 1557; paid for rebuilding houses 1559; conveyed to William Lambe 1569)
 Broun, Matthew (fl. 1352), ?descendant of Roger Broune. **132/22** (poss 1352)
 Broun, Matthew (fl. 1352-8), of *Bradele*, h. of Joan. **132/22** (poss 1352-8)
 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1355). **132/22** (poss shops 1355)
 Browne, Robert (fl. 1581-2). **118/OF** (ten 1581-2)
 1? le Broune, Roger (fl. 1305-6), ?ancestor of Matthew. **132/22** (poss < 1305-6)
 Broun, Thomas (fl. c.1316). **132/18** (poss or ten 1316x1340)
 1 Broune (called de Brunne, de Horzede), William (fl. 1329-33; 1338 wd; 1339 wp), cit. & ironmonger, h. of Alice, f. of William, exec: Richard PETICRU. **39/6** (poss of pt gtd by Margery da. of Adam de Walsokne 1329; poss of pt gtd by John & Agnes Edmund 1333)
 1 ~, ~, Alice w. & wid. of (fl. 1338; 1349 wp), m. of William, later mar. Philip de AUNGRE. **39/6** (rev 1338x9)
 ~, ~, William s. of; see William de Broune (fl. 1338-9)
 1 de Broune (Browne), William (fl. 1338-9, s. of William & Alice, ?h. of Juliana, f. of Gregory. **39/6** (poss inherited from f. 1338x9)
 1 ~, ~, Gregory s. of (?d. by 1350). **39/6** (ref to 1350), see his f. William
 1 ~, ~, Juliana ?former w. of (fl. 1357), mar. Richard GODCHILD. **39/6** (qtcl. to Richard Peticru 1357)

Browne; de Brunne; see BROWN

BRYAN

- Bryan, John jun. (fl. 1391), cit., h. of Joan. **118/12** (gtd annual rent by John Pigeon & Thomas Broughton as security for property in St. Andrew Castle Baynard 1391; qtcl. to execs of John Pigeon 1393)
 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1391). **118/12** (ref to: gtd property in St. Andrew Castle Baynard by John & Maud Pigeon c.1391)
 Bryan, Robert (fl. 1381), taverner. **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)
 Bryan, Thomas (fl. 1460-<1497), Chief Justice of King's Bench, gent. **118/13** (feof 1460; gtd to Geoffrey Meleman <1497)

Buckar; see BUCKNER

de BUCKEBY

- de Buckeby, William (fl. 1351), parson of St. Mary Aldermary. **132/22** (gtd to John de Caumpes & Agnes
 15

BUCKLE

- Buckle, - (fl. c.1550), grocer. **156/12** (removed tower? c.1550)

Bucknell: see BUCKNER

BUCKNER (Buckar, Bucknell)

INDEX OF PERSONS: B

Buckner (Buckar; Bucknell), Leonard (Mr.) (fl. 1635-41), apothecary, h. of Mary. **118/12** (ten/res 1635-41)
~, ~, Mary w. of (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

BUKERELL

Bukerell, Andrew (fl. 1231x7), warden of hospital of St. Giles Holborn, mayor. **39/6** (gave assent as warden to grant poss to John s. of Walcher the mazeliner 1251x7)

BULLOCK (Bullocke)

Bullocke, Mr. - (fl. 1660). 132/18 (ref to as occupant of **132/16B** 1660)
Bullock, George (fl. 1572-3), cit. & fishmonger. **132/15?** (recovered poss against Robert Younge 1572-3)
Bullock, Thomas (fl. 1651-5), vintner. **132/16B** (occupied the tavern 1651)
Bullocke, Thomas (fl. 1662-3). **132/16B** (ten/res 1662-3)
Bullock, William (fl. 1655), vintner. **132/16B** (ten/res 1655)

Bullocke; see BULLOCK

BURDEYN

1

Burdeyn, William (fl. 1377), cit. & goldsmith. **118/15C** (acq Thomas Barnet's life interest in shops 1377-<1393)

Burle; see BURLEE

BURLEE (Burle)

Burlee (Burle), Elizabeth (Lady Isabel) (fl. 1376-83; d. 1401x4), wid. of Richard. **118/13B** (ref to: as holder of **118/15** 1377); **118/15A** (poss or ten? 1376; ten 1391); **15B** (poss 1382: complained of disseisin); **15C** (poss shops 1393); **132/15** (complained of intrusion against John Clerk & Adam Fraunceys 1383 regarding **132/15 & 17**); **132/16** (poss by 1383-1401x4)
~, ~, execs of (fl. 1404). **118/15** (sold Elizabeth's interests in **15** to Philip Keys & Thomas Mallyng 1404); **132/16** (sold as execs to Philip Keys & Thomas Mallyng 1404)
Burlee, Isabel (Lady); see Elizabeth BURLEE
Burlee, Robert (fl. 1376 c.; d. by ?1377), cit. & mercer, h. of Elizabeth. **118/15** (ref to); **132/16** (ref to), see his wid. Elizabeth)
*Robert DANE

de BURY

1? de Bury, Adam (fl. 1362; d. 1386). **118/12** (poss 1376; gtd to John Foxton 1377; quit 1377-86); **118/13B** (poss shop by 1376; gtd to John Foxton 1377; quit 1377); **156/13** (acqd interest of Stephen Reynham by 1362-<1387)

BUSCRE

Buscre, Henry (d. 1322/3), of Malines (*Malyns*), f. of Edmund. **132/16** (**16** made over to assure repayment of debt by William de Fourneis <1322)
~, ~, Edmund s. of (fl. 1322-42). **132/16** (poss 1342)
~, ~, exec of (fl. 1342). **132/16** (delivered to Edmund Buscre as part of legacy 1342)

C

Cake, Thomas; see Thomas MALLYNG

CALSTON

Calston, Thomas (fl. 1412?), h. of Joan da. of Thomas & Elizabeth CHELRAY, f. of Elizabeth. **118/14** (ref to), see his da. Elizabeth

~, ~, Elizabeth da. of (fl. 1412 (minor); d. 1464), also da. of Joan, w. & wid. of William DARELL, m. of George DARELL. **118/14** (inherited shops 1412; poss 1419-64)

~, ~, Joan w. of; see Joan da. of Thomas & Elizabeth CHELRAY

CAMBEY

Cambey, Samuel (fl. 1638-43). **132/20?** (res 1638-43)

Campes, de Campis; see de CAUMPES

CANON

Canon, Thomas (fl. 1336). **132/21?** (ten? 1336)

CANYNGES

Canynges, Thomas (fl. 1448-59), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448)

de CARLELL (1 DE CARLEL)

- 1? de Carlell, Adam (fl. 1378), cit. & grocer. **118/12** (poss (incl. shops) acq from John & Joan Foxton 1378; gtd to John Pigeon, Thomas Makwilliam, & Thomas Broughton 1382)

CARPENTER

- 1 Carpenter, John (fl. 1426; d. by 1449), cit. **39/6** (feof of John Gedney 1426); **132/22** (feof by 1427)
1? Carpenter, John jun (fl. 1430-40), cit. **132/15** (feof 1433); **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

CARTER

Carter, Thomas (fl. 1596-1625), cit. & ironmonger. **132/20** (ten/res 1596-1625)

Carter, Thomas (fl. 1633-5), guardian of Nicholas Homewood (HONYWOOD). **132/18** (held for Nicholas Homewood 1633; ten 1634-5)

Carter, Thomas (fl. 1638; d. 1640), goldsmith. **132/20?** (res 1638-<40)

CARTIRE

Cartire, George (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

CASEY

Casey, Richard (fl. 1422), clerk. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

CASTELL

Castell, Thomas (fl. <1547). **118/16** (?wrongfully took possession after d. of John Hoddesdon)

CATERTON

Caterton, Robert (fl. 1426). **118/16** (brought plea against John Shenyfeld et al 1426)

Cattsworth; see CATWORTH

CATWORTH (Cattsworth)

Cattsworth, Thomas (fl. 1418-21), cit. & grocer. **118/15** (feof 1418; conveyed to William Olyver 1421); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418-21)

Catworth, Thomas (fl. 1419-48), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof 1419-48); **118/15B & C** (rev 1432); **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1432-41)

INDEX OF PERSONS: C

- de CAUMPES (Campes, de Campis, de Kaumpes)
 Campes, - (fl. <1336). **132/21A** (poss <1336)
- 1? de Campis, Henry (fl. c.1290). **132/21A** (poss c.1290)
- de Caumpes, Iter (fl. 1351), cit. & ironmonger, f. of John (fl. 1351-2). **132/22** (ref to), see his s. John de Kaumpes, John (fl. <1310). **132/22** (ref to: ?owner of garden in St. Mildred Poultry)
- de Caumpes, John (fl.1351-2), s. of Iter, h. of Agnes. **132/22** (poss gtd by John de Borham & William de Buckeby 1351; 1352 gtd shops to Henry de Bradele & Matthew Broun)
- ~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl.1351). **132/22** (poss 1351)
- 1? de Caumpes (de Kompes), Richard (fl. 1305-6; 1310 wp), cit. & ironmonger, h. of Maud. **132/22** (poss shops 1305-6 acqd from Roger le Broune); **132/23** (poss gtd by Joan wid. of John de Finchesle & John of Peterborough 1306)
- ~, ~, Maud w. of (fl.1310). **132/22** (poss shops 1310)
- 1? de Caumpes, Thomas (fl.1325-<1328), ?heir of Richard. **132/21A** (poss <1328); **132/22** (rev? 1310; poss 1325-<1328 4 shops); **132/23** (poss by 1325)

Caundysh; see CAVENDISH

CAUTHORNE

Cauthorne, Richard (fl. 1653-?79), cit. & merchant tailor, ?stationer. **132/18** (ten pt by 1653-60; whole from 1660-71x?9; res? **132/18?** 1662-3)

CAVENDISH (Caundysh)

Caundysh, John (fl. c.1408-21). **118/16?** (feof of Edmund Hoddesdon c.1408; tried to found chantry 1421)

Cavendish, Robert (fl. 1426). **118/16** (brought plea against John Shenfeld et al 1426)

CHADERTON

Chaderton, Edmund (fl. 1480-3), clerk. **132/22A** (poss 1480-3; gtd to John & Elizabeth Erike 1483); **132/22B** (poss 1486)

CHAMBERLAIN (Chamberlen, Chamberleyn, Chamberlin, Chamberly)

Chamberlain (Chamberlen, Chamberly), Widow - (fl. 1637-41; d. 1656), m. of Mrs. Hill. **118/OD** (ten/res 1637-56)

Chamberlen, Widow - (fl. 1665-9), ?wid. of Edward. **118/OD?** (ten 1665-9)

*w. of Edward Chamberlin (CHAMBERLAIN)

Chamberlin, Edward (fl. 1657-8). **118/OC** (ten/res 1657-8)

~, ~, child of (fl. 1657). **118/OC** (res 1657)

~, ~, w. of (fl. 1657). **118/OC** (res 1657)

*Widow Chamberlen (CHAMBERLAIN)

le Chamberleyn, Gilbert (fl. 1339-41), h. of Anneyse. **156/13** (ten shop 1339)

~, ~, Anneyse w. of (fl.1339-41). **156/13** (ten shop 1339)

le Chamberleyn, John (fl. >1265), br. of Jordan & Hugh le Chaundeler (CHANDLER), f. of Thomas (fl. 1291). **156/12** (poss >1265)

le Chamberleyn, Thomas (fl. 1291), s. of John. **156/12** (qtcl. 1291)

Chamberleyn, Thomas (fl. 1426), clerk. **118/16** (brought plea against John Shenfeld et al 1426)

Chamberlen, le Chamberleyn, Chamberlin, Chamberly; see CHAMBERLAIN

CHANDLER (le Chaundeler)

Chandler, Mr. - (fl.1649). **132/22** (res 1649)

le Chaundeler, Hugh (fl. 1265), of Pontefract, br. of Jordan le Chaundeler & John le Chamberleyn (CHAMBERLAIN). **156/12** (poss 1265)

le Chaundeler, Jordan (fl. 1265), of Pontefract, sergeant of Edward s. of Henry III, br. of Hugh & John le Chamberleyn (CHAMBERLAIN). **156/12** (poss 1265)

CHAPLYN

Chaplyn, John (fl. 1662-3). **132/17?** (res 1662-3)

INDEX OF PERSONS: C

CHARLES

- 2 Charles II (b. 1630; acc. 1660; d. 1685), king of England. **132/21** (ref to), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

CHARLETON

- 1 Charleton, Richard (b. 1449; fl. 1485), kt., s. of Sir Thomas. **132/17** (poss by 1485); **132/19** (poss <1485)
 1? Charleton, Thomas (fl. 1399-1405), of Mddx, **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)
 1 Charleton, Thomas (Sir) (fl. 1462; d. 1465), kt., s. of Elizabeth da. of Adam FRAUNCEYS (d. 1417), f. of Richard. **132/19** (poss 1462-5)

Chauel; see KAUEL

le Chaundeler; see CHANDLER

CHEKE

Cheke, John (fl. 1548), king's servant, esq. **156/12** (feof of Nicholas Lane bought from Crown 1548)

CHELRAY

- Chelray, Thomas (fl. <1412), h. of Elizabeth, f. of Elizabeth, Joan, & Sibyl. **118/14** (ref to), see his w. Elizabeth
 ~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1367?; d. c.1412), later mar. Thomas de la POLE, m. of Elizabeth, Joan, & Sibyl. **118/14** (poss shops by 1412)
 *Elizabeth sis. of Eleanor da. of Agnes gdda. of William de Pumfreyt (POUNTFREIT)
 ~, ~, Elizabeth da. of (fl.1412), also da. of Elizabeth, w. of John KYNGESTON. **118/14** (poss shops pt 1412)
 ~, ~, Joan da. of (d. <1412), w. of Thomas CALSTON, m. of Elizabeth CALSTON. **118/14** (ref to), see her da. Elizabeth da. of Thomas CALSTON
 ~, ~, Sibyl da. of (fl. 1412 (minor); fl. 1418), also da. of Elizabeth, mar. Thomas BEKYNGHAM. **118/14** (inherited 1412; poss shops pt 1418)

CHICHELE

- 1 Chichele, Robert (fl.1418), cit. & grocer, h. of Elizabeth. **118/15** (feof 1418; conveyed to William Olyver 1421); **118/15A** (ten 1419); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418-21)
 ~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1418; d. by 1421). **118/15** (feof 1418); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418-21)

de CHIGEWELL

- 1 de Chigewell, Thomas (fl. 1328 wd/wp), cit. & tawyer. **132/22-3** (quit 1325-8)
 1 ~, ~, execs of (fl. 1328). **132/22-3** (sold quit to William de Mymmes 1328)

de CHIKKESOND

de Chikkesond, Simon (fl. 1362). **118/15?** (plea of intrusion brought against him by Katharine wid. of John atte Pole concerning tenements in par. 1362)

CHRISTIAN

Christian, Philip (fl. 1631; d. 1653x4), cit. & clothworker, crewelman. **132/18** (res 1631-?53x4/ten 1640-53x4; shop 1633)

Clark, Clarke; see CLERK

CLAY

- 1? Clay, Richard (fl. 1666-70). **132/17** (poss >1666-70)

CLAYTON

- 1? Clayton, Robert (Sir) (fl. 1677-82), h. of Martha. **118/12** (poss bought from Henry & Frances Avery 1677; sold to Thomas Monck 1682)
 ~, ~, Martha w. of (fl.1682). **118/12** (poss by 1682; sold to Thomas Monck 1682)

INDEX OF PERSONS: C

CLEE

- 1? Clee, John (fl. 1367-95), cit. & draper, h. of Senicla. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1395); **156/12** (ten 1393-?5)
 ~, ~, Senicla w. of (fl. 1392-?5). **156/12** (ten 1393-?5)

CLENEHAND (2 CLENHOND)

- 2? Clenehand, Thomas (fl.1418-19). **39/6** (feof 1418; gtd back to Thomas Grey 1419)
 Clenehand, William (fl. 1418-19). **39/6** (feof 1418; gtd back to Thomas Grey 1419)

CLERK (Clark, Clarke, Clerc, Clerke)

- Clarke, Mr. - (fl. 1612), of Cambridgeshire, ?descendant of Sir John Clarke, draper (fl. ?1522). **118/15Aii** (poss by 1612)
 Clarke, Andrew (fl. 1575), of Bocking (Essex), gent., s. of Clement. **118/15A** (poss by 1575; sold to John Ryche 1575)
 Clarke, Clement (fl. 1556; d. c.1584), of Essex, gent., ?s. of John (fl. >1545), f. of Andrew. **118/15A** (poss by 1556-<75)
 Clerk (Clerc, alias Scot), John (jun) (fl. 1364-94), cit. & poulterer, h. of Agnes. **132/15** (poss (incl. shop) 1364-94; gtd to Katharine wid. of William Wasshyngburn & feofs 1394); **132/16** (ref to: owner of 132/15: plea of intrusion brought against him 1383)
 ~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl.1394). **132/15** (possibility of her claiming dower interest 1394)
 1? Clerk, John (fl. 1474) cit. & grocer. **118/12** (ten/?res 1474)
 Clerke, John (Sir) (fl. 1522?; 1524-35; 1544?), draper, ?ancestor of Mr. Clarke (fl. 1612). **118/15A** (ten 1524-35)
 *John CLERK (fl. >1545)
 Clerk, John (fl. >1545), ?f. of John (d. c.1578) & Clement. **118/15A** (poss/res soon >1545)
 *Sir John Clerke (CLERK) (fl.1522?)
 Clerk, John the elder (d. c.1549). **118/15** (ref to)
 *John CLERK (fl. >1545)
 Clarke, John (d. c.1578), ?s. of John (fl. >1545). **118/15A** (ref to)
 Clarke, John (fl. 1612-13), gent., s. of Elizabeth, h. of Anne. **118/15Aii** (rev 1612-13; sold rev to Michael Alexander 1613; qtcl. 1615)
 ~, ~, Anne w. of (fl.1613). **118/15Aii** (qtcl. to Michael Alexander 1613)
 ~, ~, Elizabeth m. of (fl. 1612-18), w. of Richard JENNENS. **118/15Aii** (life interest; sold interest to Michael Alexander 1618)
 Clark, Leonard (fl. 1606-<1613), cit. & grocer. **132/22** (ten/?res 'the Harrow' 1606-<1613)
 Clerk, Thomas (fl.1449-50), scrivener, exec of John GEDNEY. **39/6** (sold to Ralph Holand 1450)

Clerke; see CLERK

CLOPTON

Clopton, John (fl.1449-50), esq., exec of John GEDNEY. **39/6** (sold to Ralph Holand 1450)

CLOVER

- 1 Clover, William (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof of Alice Hayward 1451-2)

COBILSTONE

Cobilstone, John (fl. 1418). **39/6** (feof by 1418)

Coeke, Cok; see COOK

COLET (1 COLLET)

- 1 Colet, Henry (fl. 1475), cit. & mercer, kt. **132/20** (feof of Robert Scot 1475)

COLLINS

- Collins, Edward (fl. <1638). **156/12** (poss <1638)
 1? Collins, Matthew (fl. 1624-38). **132/19** (ten/res 1624-38)
 1? Collins, Ralph (Mr.) (fl. 1631-8). **118/13** (ten/?res at the Angel 1631-8)

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- COLVILE (Colvyle) (1 COLVILLE)
- 1? Colvile (Colvyle), John (Sir) (fl. 1459), cit. & grocer. **118/15A** (ten by 1459); **132/16** (poss 1459)
- Colvyle; see COLVILE
- Constantyn; see CONSTANTYNE
- CONSTANTYNE (Constantyn) (1 CONSTANTINE)
- 1 Constantyn, John (fl. 1394-1416; d. by 1417), f. of William & John (fl. 1417). **156/13** (quit 1394-1416)
 ~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl. 1416-8). **156/13** (sought dower interest in quit-rent 1418)
 ~, ~, feoffees of (fl. 1406). **156/13** (quit 1406; 1416-17)
- 1 Constantyn, John (fl. 1417), s. of John, br. of William. **156/13** (quit 1417)
- Constantyne, John (fl. 1505), s. & heir of Ralph. **156/13** (quit <1505)
- Constantyn, Ralph (fl. <1505), f. of John (fl. 1505). **156/13** (quit? <1505)
- Constantyn, Robert (fl. 1304; d. 1332), draper, h. of Alice former w. of Simon Godard (GODDARD).
156/13 (quit 1304)
- ~, ~, Alice w. of; see Alice former w. of Simon Godard (GODDARD)
- ~, ~, heirs of (fl. 1332). **156/13** (rev quit 1332)
- 1 Constantyn (alias Pecche), William (fl. 1417), br. of John (fl. 1417). **156/13** (qtcl.1417)
- Constantyn, family of (fl. 1304-1505). **156/13** (quit 1304-1505)
- le CONVERS
- le Convers, Roger (fl. <1260), king's sergeant. **132/16** (quit <1260)
- COOK (Cok, Coeke)
- Cok, James (fl. 1408), h. of Joan. **118/16** (ten 1408)
- ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1408). **118/16** (ten 1408)
- Cook, Richard (fl. >1258-9), ?h. of Agnes. **118/16A** (ten? >1258-9)
- 1? Cook, Thomas (fl. 1375), chaplain. **118/16** (quit 1375)
- Cook, Thomas jun. (fl. 1441 -57), cit. & draper. **118/15B & C** (feof 1441); **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1441)
- Cook (Coeke), William (fl. <1579). **132/22** (ten/?res 'le Flowre de Luce' <1579)
- de la Cornere, Maud: see Maud da. of ODO the smith
- CORP
- Corp, Simon (fl. <1320), f. of John. **156/12** (ref to), see his s. John
- 1? ~, ~, John s. of (fl.1320), pepperer. **156/12** (attacked servants of the Queen there 1320)
- COSYN
- Cosyn, Gilbert (called; *dictus*) (fl. 1271; d. by 1276), vintner. **39/6** (ten 1271-6)
- le Coteler, Cotelour, Cotiller; see de LANFARE
- COURSY
- Coursy, John (fl. 1365). chaplain. **118/OA** (res 1365)
- CRANE
- Crane, William (fl. c.1408-21). **118/16?** (feof of Edmund Hoddesdon c.1408; tried to found chantry 1421)
- CREDEL
- Credel, William (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)
- CREKE
- Creke, John (fl. 1508-9). **132/23** (ten 1508-9)
- Creke, William (fl. 1522; d. 1531), cit. & poulturer. **132/21** (underten? of Cuthbert Becher <1531; res >1522)
- Cresewyk; see CRESSEWYK

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CRESSEWYK (Cresewyk)

Cressewyk, Robert (fl. 1364). **132/22** (poss gtd by John Ine & Henry Petelyng 1364)

1?, 2 Cresewyk, William (fl. 1399-1405), of London, cit. **118/15** (feof 1405); 132/16 (feof 1405); **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt. 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

Cressey; see CRESSY

CRESSY (Cressey, Cressye)

Cressye, Christopher (fl. 1572-3), gent. **132/15** (vouched to warranty 1572-3)

Cressye, Edmund (fl. 1572-3), gent. **132/15** (vouched to warranty 1572-3)

Cressey, James (fl. 1572-3), esq., s. & heir of William. **132/15** (vouched to warranty 1572-3)

Cressy, John (fl. 1446), s. of Robert. **132/15** (poss (incl. shops) 1446)

Cressy, Robert (fl. <1446), f. of John. **132/15** (ref to), see his s. John

Cressey, William (d. by 1572-3), of Waltham Cross (Essex), gent., f. of James. **132/15** (ref to), see his s. James

Cressye; see CRESSY

CROFT (Croftys)

Croft (Croftys), John (fl. 1504-8), grocer. **132/23** (ten 1504-8)

Croftys; see CROFT

CRUSO

Cruso, Sarah; see Sarah da. of Michael ALEXANDER

Cruso, Timothy the younger (fl. 1657; d. by 1670), h. of Sarah da. of Michael ALEXANDER. **118/15Aii** (annuity from 1657)

CTOTE

Ctote, Nicholas (fl. 1427), butcher. **118/14** (ten 1427)

CULPEPYR

Culpepyr, Edward (fl. c.1547), h. of Jane former w. of John HODDESDON. **118/16** (petitioned chancellor c. 1547)

de CUNINGHOP'

de Cuninghop, Wlwardus (fl. 1182-3). **132/21** (ten 1182-3): 132/22 ten late 12C)

CURTEYS

Curteys, John (fl. 1404), *dominus*. **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

Curteys, Thomas (fl. 1404). **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

CURTHOPP

Curthopp, Christopher (fl. 1561?; d. 1568), of Canterbury, gent., h. of Agnes, f. of John. **118/13** (poss pt 1561?-8)

~, ~, Agnes wid. of (fl. 1568). **118/13** (received profits from 13 1568)

Curthopp, John (fl. 1568) (minor), s. & heir of Christopher. **118/13** (inherited pt 1568)

D

DAGGE

Dagge, Robert (1296 wp), f. of Isabel & Alice. **156/13** (quit by 1296)

~, ~, Alice da. of (fl. 1296), sis. of Isabel. **156/13** (quit 1296)

~, ~, Isabel da. of (fl. 1296), sis. of Alice. **156/13** (quit 1296)

DALE

Dale, Thomas (fl. 1440; d. <1446), chaplain. **132/15** (feof 1440)

DANE

Dane, Robert (fl. 1392), mercer. **118/13** (ref to: prob holder of **118/15** 1392); **118/15A** (ten or unten? 1392)

?*Robert BURLEE

DANES

Danes, John (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

DANIEL (Danyell)

Daniel, Hester (Mrs.) (fl. 1589-91). **118/OF** (ten 1589-91)

Danyell, Thomas (fl. 1591 -3). **118/OF** (ten 1591 -3)

DANKOSTER

Dankoster, Margaret (fl. 1562-3). **118/OC** (ten 1562-3)

DANTON

Danton, John (fl. 1590). **118/16** (feof of Agnes atte Halle 1590)

Danyell; see DANIEL

DAPIFER

Dapifer, Eudo (fl. 1072; d. 1120), steward of king's household, founder of Colchester Abbey, s. of Hubert de RYES. **118/0** (poss 1072; gtd to Colchester Abbey c. 1086)

DARELL

Darell, Edward (fl. 1474 (minor), 1496), kt., s. & heir of George, h. of Joan. **118/14** (inherited 1474; 1496 qtcl)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1496). **118/14** (qtcl. 1496)

Darell, George (fl. 1453-64; d. 1474), esq., s. of William & Elizabeth, f. of Edward. **118/14** (poss 1464)

Darell, William (fl. 1426-7; d. <1453), esq., h. of Elizabeth da. of Thomas & Joan CALSTON, f. of George. **118/14** (poss ?by right of w. by 1426/7-<1453)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of; see Elizabeth da. of Thomas CALSTON

de DAVENTRE

de Daventre, Roger (fl. 1364), clerk. **132/22** (poss gtd by John Ine & Henry Petelyng 1364)

DAVES

Daves, Mr. - (fl. c.1626), merchant. **132/16B** (res c.1626)

Davie; see DAVY

DAVIES

Davies, Mr. - (fl. 1666). **118/OG** (?ten 1666)

DAVY (Davie)

Davy (Davie), Robert (Mr.) (fl. 1669-70), vintner. **132/16B** (poss 1669-70)

INDEX OF PERSONS: D

DEANE (Dene)

Deane, John (fl. 1641). **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

Dene, William (fl. 1425-6), cit. & pewterer. **39/6** (poss 1425; gtd to feofs of John Gedney 1426)

Dene; see DEANE

DENHAM

Denham, Henry (fl. 1612). **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' 1612)

Denham, Robert (fl. 1580). **152/19** (feof of Thomas Gill? 1580)

DEVER

Dever, Robert (fl. c.1408; d. by 1421). **118/16?** (feof of Edmund Hoddesdon c.1408)

DEY (1 DAY)

1 Dey, John (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof of Alice Hayward 1451-2)

DEYNES

Deynes, Alice (fl.1368), w. of John, stepm. of Henry. **132/23** (poss for life 1368)

Deynes, Henry (d. 1368), mercer, s. of John & steps. of Alice. **132/23** (poss or rev 1368)

~, ~, execs of (fl.1370). **132/23** (sold 2 shops to William de Halden 1370)

1? Deynes, John (fl. 1345?; 1352-8; d. 1368), of St. Olave Old Jewry parish, cit. & ironmonger, h. of Alice, f. of Henry. **132/23** (poss by 1345?; 1352-8)

DICKENSON

Dickenson, Thomas (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res at the Half Moon 1641)

DINHAM

Dinham, John (fl. 1399-1405), of Herts. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt. 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

DIXON (Dixson)

1? Dixon (Dixson), Henry (fl. 1638-60). **132/22** (res 1638-51; poss 'Three Pigeons' 1660)

Dixson; see DIXON

DOBBES

Dobbes, Richard (fl. 1548), aldm., h. of Agnes wid. of Cuthbert BECHER. **132/21** (ten by 1548)

Dod, see DODD

DODD (Dod)

Dodd, Ambrose (fl. <1559), f. of Joan & John (fl. 1561). **118/13** (ref to), see his children Joan & John)

Dodd, Joan (fl. 1559; d. 1561), da. of Ambrose, sis. of John (fl. 1561). **118/13** (rev 1559; left rev to John Dodd 1561)

Dod, John (fl. 1560-2). **118/OF** (ten 1560-2)

Dodd, John (fl. 1561), s. of Ambrose, br. & heir of Joan. **118/13** (rev 1561; poss pt 1561)

DODE

1 Dode, John (fl. 1305; 1318 wp), f. of William. **132/23** (poss shop by 1305)

1 ~, ~, William s. of (fl. 1318). **132/23** (poss shop 1318)

DODSWORTH

1 Dodsworth, Christopher (fl. 1667-71), baker. **132/22** (ten 'Three Crowns' 1667-71; res 1662-3; 1671)

DOMENYK

1 Domenyk, Robert (fl. 1407), cit. & mercer, h. of Joan, f. of Alice & Helen. **132/22** (poss by 1407 by right of w.)

INDEX OF PERSONS: D

- 1 ~, ~, Alice da. of (fl. 1408-37), also da. of Joan, sis. of Helen, w. of William MARKEBY & ?Richard SHIPLEY. **132/22** (poss 1427)
*Alice former w. of Richard SHIPLEY
- 1 ~, ~, Helen (Elena) da. of (fl. 14-37), also da. of Joan, sis. of Alice, w. of John HERTWELL. **132/22** (rev 1437)
- 1 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1407), da. of Richard de BRIKLESWORTH, m. of Alice. **132/22** (poss by 1407)
*Joan da. of Richard de BRIKLESWORTH

DONALL

Donall, Thomas (fl. 1641). **118/15Aii** (res 1641)

DONTON

Donton, John (fl. 1408). **132/21B** (ten 1408)

DORNEY

Dorney, John (Mr.) (fl.1664-9), h. of Anne. **118/0E** (ten 1664-6; received compensation)

~, ~, Anne w. of (fl. 1664-9). **118/0E** (ten 1664-6; received compensation 1669)

DOWER

Douwer, Thomas (fl. 1408), smith. **132/22** (ten/res 1408)

DOWNE

- 1 Downe, Robert (fl. 1550; 1556 wd; 1557 wp), ironmonger. **132/18** (bought from Ironmongers' Co 1550; beq to Ironmongers' Co 1556x7)

Draughton; see DRAYTON

DRAKES

Drakes, Nicholas (fl. 1459-60), cit. & fishmonger, h. of Joan former w. of John LUTTUR. **118/13** (with his w. Joan & Thomas Luttur gtd **13** to feofs 1460)

DRAYTON (Draughton)

Draughton, Margaret (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

Drayton, Richard (fl. 1422). **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

DRONTON

Dronton, Robert (fl. c.1489). **132/16** (ref to: accused of having stopped up the alley adj.)

DUDLEY

Dudley, John (fl. 1575). **132/22D** (poss bought from Crown 1575)

DUK

Duk, Roger (fl. 1231 x7), warden of hospital of St. Giles Holborn. **39/6** (gave assent as warden to grant poss to John s. of Walcher the mazeliner)

DUNDALKE

Dundalke, Michael (d. <1391), h. of Margaret. **132/21A** (ref to), see his wid. Margaret

*MICHAEL the armourer

~, ~, Margaret wid. of (fl. 1391-1408). **132/21A** (ten 1391)

DUNHAM

Dunham, John (fl. 1449), clerk. **118/16** (feof 1449)

de DUNSTAPLE

de Dunstable, John (fl. 1304; 1308 wp), skinner. **156/12** (poss by 1304; beq to William & Tiphania & Geoffrey de Medelane)

INDEX OF PERSONS: D

DURAND

Durand, - (fl. 1304), merchant of spices, alien. **156/12** (res as lodger 1304)

DURHAM

Durham, John (fl. 1390-2), of Middx, h. of Agnes sis. of Stephen atte Halle (HALL). **118/16** (poss 1390)
~, ~, Agnes w. of; see Agnes sis. of Stephen atte Halle (HALL)

DYKE

Dyke, Hugh (fl. 1440; d. <1446), cit. & mercer. 132/15 (feof 1440)

E

EASTWICK

Eastwick, Francis (fl. 1662-6). **39/6** (underten/res 1662-6)
~, ~, partner of (fl. 1666). **39/6** (underten/res 1666)

EDMUND

Edmund (called le Mareschal; Marescall), John (fl. >1320-5), of Wood Street, cit. & smith, h. of Agnes.
39/6 (poss W. pt by 1325; gtd to William de Horzede 1333)
~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. >1320-5). **39/6** (poss W. pt by 1325; gtd to William de Horzede 1333)

EDWARD

- 2 Edward I (b. 1239; acc. 1272; d. 1307), king of England. **118/0** (confirmed to mayor a plot of land next to cemetery 1282); **156/12** (ref to: requested **12** be granted to Jordan le Chaundeler 1265), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)
- 2 Edward II (b. 1284; acc. 1307; d. 1327), king of England, h. of ISABEL. **156/12** (poss 1317; gtd to queen Isabel), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)
- 2 Edward III (b. 1312; acc. 1327; d. 1377), king of England, s. of Isabel. **118/0** (presented William de Hynelond to the rectory 1350); **156/12** (poss 1355), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)
- 1, 2 Edward VI (b. 1537; acc. 1547; d. 1553), king of England. **118/0** (ref to), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)
- Edward, William (fl. 1438-51), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof 1438-51)

EDYALL

Edyall, Henry (fl. 1496), clerk. **118/14** (feof 1496)

EGBOROWE

Egborowe, Thomas (fl. >1548). **156/13A** (poss >1548)

EGLESTON

Egleston, Gilbert (fl. 1532-3). **132/19?** (ten? 1532-3)

EKINS

Ekins, Thomas (fl. 1580), skinner. **132/19** (ten 1580)

Eliot; see ELLIOTT

Elizabeth; see Elizabeth BURLEE

ELLIOTT (Eliot, Elyot)

Elliott, Edward (fl. 1666-<1672). **39/6** (ten of Boar's Head by 1666-<1672)

Elyot, Richard (fl. 1496; d. 1524), lawyer, judge, f. of Thomas, cousin of Thomas SOMER. **118/14** (poss 1496-1524)

~, ~, Thomas s. of (fl. 1524). **118/14**, see heirs of Richard Elyot (ELLIOTT)

~, ~, heirs of (incl. Thomas) (fl. 1524). **118/14** (poss 1524)

~, ~, m. of; family of (fl. 1524). **118/14** (rev 1524)

Eliot, William (fl. 1395), cit. & draper. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1395)

ELRYNGTON

Elryngton, Richard (fl. 1486), cit. & draper. **132/22A** (poss 1486); **132/22B-C** (ten 1486)

Eluuardus Grossus; see AILWARD

ELY

Ely, John (fl. 1433-40), of London. **132/15** (feof 1433)

INDEX OF PERSONS: E

Ely, Thomas (fl. 1434), of London. **132/20** (gtd by John atte Mershe 1434)

Elyot; see ELLIOTT

de ENEFELD

- 1 de Enefeld, John (fl. 1332; 1345/6 wd; 1346 wp), Chandler, h. of Margaret, f. of Thomas. **132/16** (?ten/res 1332; poss gtd by John le Venour & John Fourneys 1345/6)
- 1 ~, ~, Margaret w. & wid. of (fl. 1345/6-7), m. of Thomas. **132/16** (poss 1345-7)
- ~, ~, Thomas s. of (fl. 1347 (minor), 1367), also s. of Margaret. **132/16** (poss by 1367)
- Enefeld, Robert (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

ERIKE

Erike, John (fl. 1483-6), cit. & upholder, h. of Elizabeth. **132/22A** (poss 1483-6); **132/22B-C** (ten 1484-6)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1483-6). **132/22A** (poss 1483-6); **132/22B-C** (ten 1484-6)

ERL

Erl, Thomas (fl. 1383), cit. & mercer. **118/16** (quit 1383)

ESCROKE

Escroke. John (fl. 1509). kinJ2's servant. **152/19** (ten 1504; 1512-26)

de ESSEX

de Essex, Ralph (fl. 1269), smith. **132/21** (ten 3 shops 1269)

ESTFELD

- 1? Estfeld, William (fl. 1427). **132/22** (feof by 1427)
- Estfeld, William (fl. 1440-6), kt. **132/15** (feof 1440)

ETON

Eton, Thomas (fl. 1393-5), of Sawbridgeworth (Herts). **118/12** (poss gtd by execs of John Pigeon 1393; gtd to Thomas & Agnes Mallyng 1395)

de EUERE (1 DE EURE)

- 1 de Euere, Roger (fl. 1306-7), cit. & ironmonger, h. of Cristina. **132/16** (ten 1306/7)
- 1 ~, ~, Cristina w. of (fl. 1306/7). **132/16** (ten 1306/7)

EVERLEY

- 1 Everley, Richard (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof Alice Hayward 1451-2)

EYNESHAM (1 EYNESHAM)

- 1? Eynesham, John (fl. 1399, c. 1423-4), grocer, ?s. of William. **132/18** (poss by 1399-c.1423/4)
- 1? ~, ~, da. of (fl. 1449), w. of Ralph BLAKELOWE. **132/18** (poss by 1449)
- Eynesham, William (fl. 1359-89/90), exec of William de WIRCESTRE, ?h. of Agnes wid. of John RUSSELL, ?f. of John. **132/18** (poss shops by 1374-89/90)

F

FAIRHER

Fairher, John (fl.1365; 1366 wp), of St. Leonard Eastcheap parish, fishmonger. **118/0** (left beq to fraternity of St. Mary 1566)

FALDOE

Faldoe, Thomas (fl. 1595-1603), cit. & grocer, h. of Susan. **118/13** (ten 1595; bought from Sarah & Dorcas Kenningham c.1598; sold to Edward Pilsworth 1601; ten 1603)
~, ~, Susan w. of (fl. 1601). **118/13** (poss by 1601; sold to Edward Pilsworth)

FARRINGTON

Farrington, John (fl. 1668-71), cit. & haberdasher. **118/16** (ten 1668)

FAULEY

Fauley, William (fl. 1641). **118/14** (res 1641)

FAWKENERE

Fawkenere, John (fl. 1408-11). **132/21B** (ten 1408-11)

Feeild, Feild; see FIELD

FERMERY (1 FERMORY)

1 Fermery, Thomas (fl. 1460), cit. **132/16** (feof of Thomas Muschamp 1460)

(de/le) FERRUR

de (le) Ferrur, John (fl.1269). **132/21** (ref to as holder of **132/22-3** 1269); **132/22** (ten or poss 1269)

de FESCAUMP

de Fescaump, William (Master) (fl. <1266). **156/12** (ref to)

FIELD (Feeild, Feild)

Field (Feeild), Widow - (fl. 1648-9). **118/OC** (ten/res 1648-9)

Field, Edward (fl. 1639-48). **118/OC** (ten 1639-48)

Feild, Richard (fl. 1641), cordwainer, h. of Katharine. **118/OC** (res 1641)

~, ~, Katharine w. of (fl. 1641). **118/OC** (res 1641)

de FINCHESLE

de Finchesle, John jun (1305 wp), ironmonger, h. of Joan. **132/23** (poss shop by 1305)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1305-6), later mar. JOHN of Peterborough. **132/23** (poss shop 1305)

FISH

Fish, Mr. - (fl. 1637-8). **118/OB?** (ten 1637-8)

*John FISH

Fish, Widow - (fl. 1639-40). **118/OB** (ten 1639-40)

Fish, John (fl. 1635), clerk. **118/OB?** (res? 1635)

*Mr. - FISH

FISHER

Fisher, Mary (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res at the Half Moon 1641)

FITZGERALD

Fitzgerald, Mr. - (fl. 1668). **132/19** (ten? 1668)

FITZROBERT

1 fitzRobert, Robert (fl. 1430), cit. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

INDEX OF PERSONS: F

Flecher; see FLESHER

Flechch'; see FLECHERCHE

FLECHERCHE (Flechch')

Flecherche (alias Flechch'), John (fl.1411-12). **132/21B** (ten 1411-12)

FLESHER (Flecher)

Flesher (Flecher), Elizabeth (fl. 1672), 2nd w. of James, stepm. of Miles, Sarah, & Roberta. **39/6** (ten from 1671-2)

Flesher (Flecher), James (fl. 1653; d. by 1672), cit. & stationer, h. of Elizabeth SHERING, f. of Miles, Sarah, & Roberta. **39/6** (poss by 1653)

~, ~, Elizabeth 2nd w. of; see Elizabeth FLESHER

~, ~, Miles s. of (fl. 1672 (minor)), also s. of Elizabeth SHERING. **39/6** (poss 1672)

~, ~, Roberta da. of (fl. 1672 (minor)), also da. of Elizabeth SHERING. **39/6** (poss 1672)

~, ~, Sarah da. of (fl. 1672 (minor)), also da. of Elizabeth SHERING. **39/6** (poss 1672)

FLETCHER

1 Fletcher, John (fl. 1639; d. by 1661), cit. & whitebaker, h. of Alice, f. of John. **132/23** (ten 1639-<1661)

1 ~, ~, Alice wid. & exec of (fl. 1661). **132/23** (as exec sold to John Fletcher 1661)

~, ~, execs of (incl. Alice wid. of John) (fl. 1661). **132/23** (sold lease to John Fletcher jun 1661)

Fletcher, John (fl. 1661-9), cit. & apothecary, s. of John. **132/23** (ten 1661-9)

FOPPIN

Foppyn, Galyn (fl. 1540), cobbler. **118/14** (ten 1540)

FORSTER

1? Forster, Richard (fl. 1399-1405), of London. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

Forster, Robert (fl. 1385), cit. & saddler. **132/23** (poss shop 1385)

Forster, Thomas (fl.1377), parson of *Yvechurche*. **118/13A** (feof of Agnes wid. of Richard de Wynchecoumb 1377)

1 Forster, Walter (d. by 1376), h. of Agnes w. & wid. of Richard de WYNCHECOUMB. **118/13A** (poss > 1361-<1376)

1 ~, ~, Agnes wid. of: see Agnes w. & wid. of Richard de WYNCHECOUMB

Fourbour (le), Thomas; see de NORWYCO

Fourneaux; see de FOURNEIS

de FOURNEIS (Forneys, Fourneaux, Fourneys)

Forneys, John (fl. 1345/6), ?heir of William. **132/16** (rev 1315; poss by 1345/6 conveyed to John de Enefeld)

de Fourneis (Fourneys, Fourneaux), William (fl. 1312-41; d. by 1342), cit. & pepperer, h. of Cecilia. **132/15** (ref to as former holder of adj properties 1349); **132/16** (poss gtd by John de Wengrave 1312; res? 1314; gtd to John de Grantham 1315; poss for life 1315-41)

~, ~, Cecilia w. of (fl. 1315). **132/16** (poss for life 1315)

~, ~, heirs of (?incl. John) (fl. 1315). **132/16** (rev 1315)

Fourneys; see de FOURNEIS

FOWLER

Fowler, John (fl. 1635-41), cit. & clothworker, h. of Katharine. **118/15Ai** (poss/res bought from Thomas & Anne Morrice 1635-41)

~, ~, Katharine w. & wid. of (fl.1641-3), later mar. George HENLEY. **118/15Ai** (res 1641; qtcl. right in 1643)

Fowler, Joseph (fl. 1641). **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

Fowler, Joshua (fl. 1643). **118/15Ai** (poss 1643)

Fowler, Richard (fl. 1641). **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

INDEX OF PERSONS: F

FOXCOTE

Foxcote, Thomas (fl. >1368-75), of Gloucestershire. **118/16** (quit >1568-1375)

FOXTON

Foxton, John (fl. 1377-81), cit. & spicer, apothecary, & grocer, h. of Joan. **118/12** (poss (incl. shops) bought from Adam de Bury 1377; gtd to Adam de Carlell 1378); **118/13B** (poss gtd by Adam de Bury 1377; <1381 gtd to Simon Wynchecomb)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1377-81). **118/12** (poss (incl. shops) 1377; gtd to Adam de Carlell 1378); **118/13B** (gtd annuity from property in St. Peter Cornhill par. to Simon Wynchecomb <1381)

Fraunceis; see FRAUNCEYS

FRAUNCEYS (Fraunceis)

1 Fraunceys (Fraunceis), Adam (fl. 1349; d.1374-5), cit.& merchant, h. of Agnes, f. of Adam. **132/15** (bought (incl. shop) from Tithinglomb <1349; gtd back to Tithinglomb & w. 1349; leased to Tithinglomb for term of his life); **132/17** (ref to: see **15** 1330; poss? <1374-5); **132/18** (quit 1349); **132/19** (poss by 1362-1374/5); **132/20** (claimed income from 1349; poss bought from Nicholas Ankeil 1351; gtd to Stephen atte Mersh & Margery 1370)

~, ~, Agnes wid. of (fl. 1374-6). **132/19** (poss 1374-6; ?1410)

1, 2 Fraunceys, Adam (fl. 1349-1405; d. 1417), kt., s. of Adam, h. of Margaret, f. of Agnes & Elizabeth. **132/15** (ref to: plea of intrusion brought against him 1383); **132/16** (owner of adj. property; plea of intrusion brought against him 1383); **132/17** (poss by 1399); **132/18** (quit 1375-6); **132/19** (poss by 1399)

1 ~, ~, Agnes da. of (fl. 1410?). **132/19** (?interest in property 1410)

1 ~, ~, Elizabeth da. of (fl. 1417), m. of Thomas CHARLETON. **132/19** (ref to)

1 ~, ~, heirs of (fl. 15C). **132/18** (?quit 1425)

1 ~, ~, Margaret wid. of (fl. 1417-25), mar. Conan ASK. **132/18** (claimed quit as dower against William & Agnes Porter 1425)

Fraunceys, Agnes; see Agnes wid. of Adam FRAUNCEYS (d. 1574-5) or Agnes da. of Adam FRAUNCEYS (d. 1417)

FRAY

1 Fray, John (fl. 1426-49), cit., recorder of London. **39/6** (feof of John Gedney 1426; gtd to Gedney's execs 1449)

FREENE

Freene, Thomas (fl. 1612). **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' 1612)

FRENSCHE

Frensche, Henry (fl. 1384-99), of Horsham (Sussex), s. & heir of Robert. **39/6** (poss by 1384)

Frensche, Robert (fl. <1368-<1384), of Horsham (Sussex), f. of Henry. **39/6** (poss acq from Fulk de Horewode >1368-<1384)

FRESTHOP

Fresthop, Solomon (fl. 1399-1405), of Herts. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

FROWYK

1 Frowyk, Henry (fl. 1440-6), cit. & mercer. **132/15** (feof 1440)

FRYER

Fryer, Robert (fl. 1561; d. 1569), cit. & draper, f. of Robert. **118/13** (poss pt 1561-9)

Fryer, Robert (fl. 1569), s. of Robert. **118/13** (poss pt 1569)

FULLERE

Fullere, Ralph (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

FULWOOD

Fulwood, William (fl. <1568). **156/13B** (res <1568)

G

le GALEYS

le Galeys, William (fl. 1320), tailor, ?servant of queen. **156/12** (attacked there 1320)

GARDINER

Gardiner, Thomas (fl. 1660), 'cruellseller'. **152/25** (ten/res 1660-4)

GATES

2? Gates, John (fl. 1545), king's servant. **118/15A** (poss bought from Crown 1545)

GAUNSTED

Gaunsted, Simon (fl. 1404). **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grev 1404)

GAWEN

Gawen, John the elder (fl. 1622), cit. & clothworker. **118/13** (poss by 1 622)

GEDNEY

1 Gedney, John (fl. 1426; d. ?1449), cit. & draper, execs: Thomas TYRELL, John CLOPTON, John STOKKER & Thomas CLERK. **39/6** (poss 1426-49); **132/15** (feof 1433)

GEMEULX

Gemeulx, Nicholas (fl. 1349), s. of Bartholomew THOMASYN, h. of Agnes gdda. of William de Pumfreyt. **118/14** (ref to), see his w. Agnes gdda. of William de Pumfreyt (POUNTFREIT)

GEOFFREY

Geoffrey of Winchester (fl. c.1250). **118/0** (ref to: received quit from 156/8)

GERLANDER

Gerlander, John (fl. 1355), chaplain. **132/22** (gtd to Matthew & Joan Broun 1355)

GERLETHORP

Gerlethorp, Robert (fl. 1387), clerk. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Medelane 1 387)

GERVASE

Gervase (fl. 1138-c.1157), abbot of Westminster, illegit. s. of King STEPHEN. **118/0** (persuaded k to give ch to Westminster)

GIBBES

Gibbes, Dorothy (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)

GIFFARD

1? Giffard, Thomas (fl. 1422). **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

GILL

Gill, Ralph (fl. 1601-10), St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, esq., eldest s. of Thomas. **132/19** (rev 1602; poss 1608; gtd by Sarah)

Gill, Robert (fl. 1668), esq. **132/19** (poss pt by 1668)

2 Gill, Thomas (fl. 1580; 1601 wd; 1602 wp), of London & Mucking (Essex), gent., esq., h. of Elizabeth, f. of Elizabeth, Sarah, Ralph, & ?Thomas. **132/19** (poss 1580)

2 ~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1596). **132/19** (leased to William Smyth & Roger Powell 1596)

2 ~, ~, Elizabeth da. of (fl. 1601-2). **132/19** (poss moiety 1601-2)

2 ~, ~, Sarah da. of (fl. 1601-2), mar. John VERNON. **132/19** (poss moiety 1601 -2)

Gill, Thomas (fl. 1607), cit. & haberdasher, ?s. of Thomas, ?younger br. of Ralph, h. of Sibilla. **132/19** (qtcl. to Francis Neve 1607)

INDEX OF PERSONS: G

~, ~, Sibilla w. of (fl. 1607). **132/19** (qtcl. to Francis Neve 1607)

de GLEDESEYE

de Gledeseye, Baldwin (fl. 1339), chaplain. **156/13** (poss acqd from William de Medelane 1339; regtd to Medelane 1339)

GLOUCESTER

Gloucester; earls of (fl.1 3C). **118/0** (ref to: owners of **118/11** 13C)

~, ~, bailiffs of (fl. 1304). **118/0** (ref to: conflict with parish over paling surrounding chyard 1304)

Godard; see GODDARD

GODCHILD

Godchild, Richard (fl. 1357), cit. & cutler, h. of Juliana former w. of William de Broune (BROWN). **39/6** (qtcl. to Richard Peticru 1357)

~, ~, Juliana w. of; see Juliana Fformer w. of William Broune (BROWN)

GODDARD (Godard)

1 Godard, Geoffrey (1274 wp), cit., exec: Robert de ASSENDON & Simon Godard. **118/16** (beq quit to ch of St. Mary Woolnoth); **156/13** (quit by 1274)

Godard, Hugh (fl. 1604?-12), cit. & draper. **132/22** (poss?/res 1604?-8; ten shop 1604; poss pt 1611-12)

1 Godard, Simon (fl. 1274; d. by 1304), exec of Geoffrey, h. of Alice. **156/13** (quit 1274)

1 ~, ~, Alice former w. of (fl. 1304), mar. Richard Constantyn (CONSTANTYNE). **156/13** (quit 1504)

GODDISFAST

Goddisfast, Roger (fl. 1412), cit. & smith, h. of Alice. **132/20** (ten/res 1412)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1412). **132/20** (ten/res 1412)

GODFREY

Godfrey, John (fl.1638). **132/19** (ten/res 1638)

GODWYNE

Godwyne, Stephen (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

GODYN

Godyn, Henry (fl. 1386), cit. **39/6** (ten 1386)

GODYNG

Godyng, Thomas (fl. 1430), cit. & brewer. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

GOLDESMYTHE

Goldesmythe, Francis (fl. 1550), gent. **118/12** (poss gtd by Crown 1550 (issues from 1548)

GOLDWYN

Goldwyn, Thomas (fl. 1445; d. <1462), cit. & skinner. **132/23** (poss 1445)

de GOLDYNGTON

de Goldyngton, Thomas (fl. 1377), parson of St. Christopher le Stocks. **118/13A** (feof of Agnes wid. of Richard de Wynchecoumb 1377)

GOMAN

Goman, John (fl. 1414-22). **132/21A** (ten 1414-22)

GOTT

Gott, Samuel (fl. 1624), cit. & ironmonger. **132/16A** (bought 1624 from Francis Muschampe (III))

GOURLL

Gourll, John (fl. 1480-3), clerk. **132/22** (poss 1480-3; gtd to John & Elizabeth Erike 1483); **132/22B** (poss 1486)

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de GRADELEYE

de Gradeleye, Thomas (fl. 1355), clerk. **132/22** (gtd to Matthew & Joan Broun 1355)

de GRANTHAM

1 de Grantham, John (fl. 1315), pepperer. **132/16** (poss gtd by William de Fourneis 1315; gtd back 1315)

GRAUNT (Graunte)

Graunte, John (fl. 1624). **132/16B** (ten/res 1624)

Graunt, John (Mr.) (fl. 1631-41), grocer, h. of Elizabeth. **118/13** (ten?/res at the Half Moon 1631-41)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res at the Half Moon 1641)

Graunte; see GRAUNT

GRAVENYNG

Gravenyng, John the younger (fl. 1387), cit. & corder. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Medelane 1387)

Graye: see GREY

GREEN (Greene, Grene)

Grene, Mr. - (fl. 1668). **132/19** (ten? pt 1668)

*Edmund Greene (GREEN)

1? Greene, Edmund (fl. 1662-3). **132/19?** (res 1662-3)

*Mr. Grene (GREENE)

1? Greene, Edward (fl. 1662-3). **132/18?** (res? 1662-3)

Grene, John (fl. 1513), cit. & merchant tailor. **132/20** (poss gtd by Joan & Richard Toft 1513)

Greene; see GREEN

GREGORY

Gregory, William 'the middle' (medius) (fl. 1445; d. <1462), cit. & skinner. **132/23** (poss 1445)

Gregory, William (sen) (fl. 1445; 1465 wd; 1472 wp), cit. & skinner, aldm. **132/23** (poss 1445-1465x72)

Grene; see GREEN

GRESHAM

Gresham, Richard (fl. 1538-50; <1596). **132/20** (poss 1538-50; <1596)

de GREWNDEY

de Grewndey, Michael the elder (fl. 1540), ?br. of Michael. **118/14** (ten 1540)

de Grewndey, Michael the younger (fl. 1540), ?br. of Michael. **118/14** (ten 1540)

(de) GREY (Graye)

Grey, John (fl. 1401-4), dominus. **39/6** (ten 1401; feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

de Grey, John (lord) (fl. 1422), lord de Grey of Codnore. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

Grey, Robert (fl. 1404). **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

1 Grey, Thomas (fl. 1404-25), of London, grocer, h. of Maud. **39/6** (poss 1404-<18; regained 1419; gtd to William Dene 1425)

1 ~, ~, Maud w. of (fl. 1419-22). **39/6** (poss 1419)

Graye, William (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

de GREYLONDE

de Greylonde, William (fl. 1349; d. by 1363), of London, cit. **118/0** (abbot of Colchester alienated advowson to him 1327x49)

GRINDER

Grinder, Ralph (fl. 1624-38). **132/19** (ten/res 1624-38)

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GROVE

Grove, John (Mr.) (fl. 1638-41), member of Clothworkers' Co. **118/15B & C** (ten/res 1638-41)

GUBBE

1 Gubbe, John (fl. 1345). **132/23** (?ten 1345)

Guillem; see GUILLIM

GUILLIM

Guillim, Burnet (fl. 1332), of Lucca, cit. & spicer. **156/13** (ten 1332)

Guillem, Nicholas (fl. 1332), ?Italian. **156/13** (res 1332)

GUNSON

Gunson, Anne (fl. 1643), ?wid. of William. **132/22** (res 1643; ten 1660)

Gunson, William (fl. 1638-<1643), ?h. of Anne. **132/22** (res 1638-<43)

GUNSTON

Gunston, Robert (fl. c.1580), merchant tailor. **118/14** (underten/res/warehouse 1580)

GUNTER

Gunter, William (fl. 1548-<1558), of London, gent. **118/13** (poss acq from Crown 1548; ?gtd to Thomas Alsopp <1558)

GUY

Guy, Christopher (fl. 1666), druggist. **39/6** (underten/res 1666)

de GUYNSANE

de Guynsane, Fridus (fl. 1355), merchant of Lucca. **156/12** (ten 1355)

GWYN

Gwyn, Edward (fl. 1568-78; d. 1584), ?k. of Roger. **156/13B** (ref to: res of St. Benet Sherehog)

Gwyn, Roger (fl. 1594; d. 1624), grocer, ?k. of Edward. **156/13B** (res 1594-1624)

GYBON

Gybon, Richard (fl. 1407). **156/13** (feof <1407)

GYLLYAT

Gyllyat, William (fl. 1558), s. of Anne w. & wid. of Thomas ALSOPP (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558)

H

HADLEE

Hadlee, John (fl. 1404), *dominus*. **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

HAKEDY

1 Hakedy, Richard (fl. 1441), grocer. **118/15B & C** (feof 1441)

de HALDEN

de Halden, William (fl. 1370-6). **118/16** (quit 1375); **132/23** (poss 1370-6)

HALE

1? Hale, William (fl. 1611), of King's Walden (Herts), esq., h. of Rose da. of Sir Christopher BOND. **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' by 1611; sold to Hugh Goddard 1611)

HALL (atte Halle; see also de HODDESDON)

Hall, James (fl. 1606). **132/22** (plaintiff in suit concerning 'the Harrow' 1606)

atte Halle, John (d. ?1361-2), h. of Marion, f. of Robert. **118/16** (poss brewhouse & 7 shops 1361-2)

*John de HODDESDON

~, ~, Marion wid. of (fl. 1361-2). **118/16** (poss pt 1361-2)

~, ~, Robert s. of (fl. 1361-2; d. c.1369), br. of Robert. **118/16** (poss 1561-9)

atte Halle, Richard (d. 1369), br. of John, f. of Stephen & Agnes. **118/16** (poss 1369)

*Richard de HODDESDON

~, ~, Stephen s. of; see Stephen atte Halle (HALL)

atte Halle, Stephen (b. c.1359; fl. 1369 aged 10 years; d. <1390), s. of Richard, br. of Agnes. **118/15** (disseised Elizabeth Burlee; ?ten 1382); **118/16** (inherited brewhouse & shops 1369; poss by 1382)

~, ~, Agnes sis. & heir of (fl. 1369-92), da. of Richard, w. of John DURHAM, ?k. Edmund HODDESDON & Katharine THOMAS. **118/16** (poss 1390)

Halle (atte); see HALL

HAMPTON

Hampton, Randall (fl. 1599-1609), haberdasher. **132/23** (ten/res 1599-1609)

HANDFORD

Handford, John (d. c.1525), merchant tailor. **118/0** (gave money for font to be made; bur. in ch 1525)

HANDSON

Handson, Ralph (fl. 1624-5), cit. & ironmonger. **132/16A** (bought 1624 from Francis Muschampe (III))

HANSTON

Hanston, Joan (fl. 1641). **118/14** (res 1641)

HARDELEE

Hardelee, Benedict (fl. 1365), cit. & smith, h. of Joan. **132/21A** (ten 1365-<1 3 91)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1365). **132/21A** (ten 1365-<1391)

*Joan w. (?wid.) of Henry LORCHOUN

HARRISON (Harryson)

1 Harrison, Thomas (fl. <1484). **132/22C** (ten <1484)

Harryson, William (fl. 1598), cit. & joiner, h. of Sarah da. of William KENNINGHAM. **118/13** (poss c.1598; sold to Thomas Faldoe)

~, ~, Sarah w. of, see Sarah da. of William KENNINGHAM

HARRY

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Harry, William (fl. 1430), tailor. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1450)

Harryson; see HARRISON

HASILWODE

Hasilwode, John (fl. <1512), draper. **132/19** (ten <1512)

HAUGHTON (Hawghton, Hawton, Houghton)

Haughton (Hawghton, Hawton), George (Mr.) (fl. 1637-57; d. by ?1658), apothecary, h. of Susan. **118/OE** (ten/res by 1637-57)

~, ~, Susan w. of (fl. 1641). **118/OE** (res 1641)

*Mrs. Susan Houghton (HAUGHTON)

Houghton, Susan (Mrs.) (fl. 1658-64), Swid. of George. **118/OE** (ten 1658-64)

*Susan w. of George HAUGHTON

de HAUKENDENNE

de Haukendenne, John (d. by 1363), poulterer. **132/15** (William Tithinglomb conveyed to him his life interest (incl. shop) <1565)

de HAVERELL

1? de Haverell, Thomas (fl. 1203-20), sheriff (1203-4). **39/6** (poss early 13C; quit gtd to St. Giles hospital Holborn early 13C)

de HAVERYNG

de Haveryng, John (fl. 1367; d. by ?1412), s. of Richard, br. of Nicholas. **118/14** (rev 1367)

Haveryng, Lady Agnes; see Agnes gdda. of William de PUMFREYT

de Haveryng, Nicholas (fl. 1367; d. by ?1412), s. of Richard, br. of John. **118/14** (rev 1367)

de Haveryng, Richard (fl. 1367; d. by 1412), kt., f. of John & Nicholas, h. of Agnes gdda. of William de PUMFREYT. **118/14** (poss 1367)

~, ~, Agnes w. of; see Agnes gdda. of William de PUMFREYT

Hawes; see HAYES

HAWKES

Hawkes, Dudley (fl. 1596-1612), grocer. **118/12** (ten/res ?1596; 1612)

HAWKINS

Hawkins, Judith (fl. 1666-7), poor, wid. of Thomas. **118/15B & C** (ten by 1666-7)

Hawkins, Thomas (fl. 1658; d. by 1666), h. of Judith. **118/15B & C** (ten 1658)

HAXEY

1 Haxe, William (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof Alice Hayward 1451-2)

HAY

Hay, Edward (fl. 1668), of Tunstall (Suff.). **118/12** (poss by 1668; sold to Humphrey Richardson 1668)

HAYES (Hawes)

Hayes, Mr. - (fl. 1559). **118/14** (partly paid for rebuilding 1559; ten 1559)

Hayes (alias Hawes), George (fl. 1580), cit. & salter. **132/19** (ten/res 1580-<1596)

HAYMAN

Hayman, Richard (fl. 1460), clerk. **132/16** (feof of Thomas Muschamp 1460)

HAYWARD

Hayward, Mr. - (fl. 1559). **118/14** (partly paid for rebuilding 1559; ten 1559)

1? Hayward, John (fl. 1601), preacher. **118/OG** (ten by 1601)

1 Hayward, Richard (fl. 1451-2), cit. & mercer, h. of Alice da. of Richard PERSON. **132/22** (quit 1452)

~, ~, Alice w. of, see Alice da. of Richard PERSON

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HENDE

Hende, John (d. 1418), h. of Elizabeth. **132/19** (poss by 1418)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. & wid. of (fl. 1405-18; d. 1462), later mar. Ralph BOTILLER. **132/19** (poss shops 1405-1462 gtd by Adam Fraunceys)

HENEAGE

Heneage, Michael (Sir) (fl. 1668). **132/19** (poss pt by 1668)

Heneage, Thomas (fl. 1610), esq. **132/19** (poss conveyed by Ralph Gill 1610)

HENLEY

Henley, George (fl. 1643), of London, merchant, h. of Katharine wid. of John FOWLER. **118/15Ai** (qtcl. right in to Joshua Fowler 1643)

~, ~, Katharine w. of, see Katharine wid. of John FOWLER

HENRY

Henry I (b. 1068; acc. 1100; d. 1135), king of England. **118/0** (confirmed ch to Colchester Abbey 1104), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

Henry II (b. 1133; acc. 1154; d. 1189), king of England. **118/0** (confirmed ch to Colchester Abbey 1159x61), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

2 Henry III (b. 1207; acc. 1216; d. 1272). **156/12** (ref to: 1265), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

2 Henry IV (b. 1366; acc. 1399; d. 1413). **118/0** (presented to the rectory 1404), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

2 Henry VIII (b. 1491; acc. 1509; d. 1547), king of England. **132/23** (ref to: 1547), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

HERDSON

Herdson, Henry (fl. 1547-9), cit. & skinner. **132/23** (gtd lease from 1553 by Skinners' Co; assigned lease to Blase Whight 1549)

HERLAW

Herlawe, Philip (fl. 1362-91), cit. & armourer, h. of Agnes. **132/21B** (ten 1362-< 1391)

~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. 1362). **132/21B** (ten 1362)

HERNE

Herne, Reginald (Mr.) (fl. 1650). **118/OA** (ten/res 1650-62)

HERRINGBROKE

Herringbroke, Peter (fl. 1648; 1662-6), merchant. **156/13A** (ten?/res 1662-6)

HERT

Hert, John (fl. 1474), gent. **156/13** (feof 1474)

Hert, William (fl. 1408), cit. & cutler. **118/16** (ten 1408)

HERTWELL

1 Hertwell, John (fl. 1427-37), h. of Helen DOMENYK. **132/22** (qtcl. 1427)

HETHE

Hethe, Thomas (fl. 1448; d. by 1459), gent. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448)

de HEYWODE

de Heywode, William (fl. <1266). **156/12** (ref to)

HILL

Hill, Mrs. - (fl. 1656), widow, da. of Widow Chamberlen (CHAMBERLAIN). **118/OD** (ref to)

Hill, Edmund (fl. 1662-8), druggist?, partner of John LILBOURNE. **156/12** (res 1662-6; poss 1668)

Hiller; see HILLIARDE

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- HILLIARDE (Hiller)
 Hilliarde (Hiller), Matthew (fl. 1612-25), cit. & grocer. **118/15Aii** (ten 1612; ten/?res 1625)
- HINDE (2 HYNDE)
 1, 2 Hinde, Augustine (fl. 1550), aldm. **132/18** (gtd quit by Crown 1550); **132/23** (quit 1550; qtcl. to Skinners' Co.1555)
- HINSHAW
 Hinshaw, Henry (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res at the Half Moon 1641)
- de HO
 de Ho, Andrew (fl. 1369), guardian of Stephen atte Halle (HALL). **118/16** (custody of property during Stephen atte Halle's minority 1569-71)
- HOBSON
 1 Hobson, William (fl. 1548), of London, haberdasher. **118/13** (poss acq from Crown 1548; ?gtd to Thomas Alsopp <1558)
- (de) HODDESDON ((de) Hodesdon; see also BARNET & HALL)
 Hoddesdon, Edmund (fl. 1392-8; d. 1408), cit. & mercer, h. of Margery, br. of Thomas (d. by 1421), ?k. of Agnes sis. of Stephen atte Halle (HALL), ?k. of Edmund BARNET. **118/16** (poss gtd by Agnes & John Durham 1392-1408)
 ~, ~, Margery w. of (fl. 1392-8). **118/16** (poss 1392)
 de Hodesdon, John (fl. 1323; d. c.1361), s. of Richard, br. of Richard & William. **118/16A; 118/16B** (rev 1323; poss? by 1356-7)
 *John atte HALL
 ~, ~, heirs of (fl. later 14C). **118/16** (poss later 14C)
 Hoddesdon, John (fl. <1547), h. of Jane. **118/16** (poss <1547)
 ~, ~, Jane former w. of (fl. c.1547), later mar. Edward CULPEPYR. **118/16** (claimed dispossession c.1547)
 de Hoddesdon (Hodesdon), Richard rfl. 1301x4; 1323 wp), fishmonger, h. of Agnes, f. of John, Richard, & William. **118/16A** (poss shops 1316>-<1323; beq to w. for life); **118/16B** (poss 1301x4; paid quit by 1307-8; Fres by 1319)
 ~, ~, Agnes w. & wid. of (fl. 1323-6). **118/16A; 118/16B** (poss for life beq by h. 1323-6)
 ~, ~, John s. of; see John de HODDESDON (fl. 1323)
 ~, ~, Richard s. of (fl.1323; 1356-7). **118/16A; 118/16B** (rev 1323; poss 1356-7)
 *Richard atte Halle (HALL)
 ~, ~, William s. of (fl.1323; Fd. by 1356/7). **118/16A; 118/16B** (rev 1323)
 Hoddesdon (alias Barnet), Robert (fl. 1449), f. of Thomas (fl. 1458). **118/16** (claimed he had been disseised by Thomas & Henry Somer; poss 1449-58)
- 1? Hodesdon, Sewal (fl. 1392). **118/16?** (res? 1392)
 Hoddesdon (alias Barnet), Thomas (fl. 1408; d. by 1421), elder br. of Edmund, h. of Rose. **118/16** (claimed poss as Edmund de Hoddesdon's heir 1408-18)
 ~, ~, execs of (fl. 1421). **118/16** (attempted to hold feofs of Edmund Hoddesdon to obligation to found chantry 1421)
 ~, ~, Rose wid. of (fl. 1421-6). **118/16** (plea brought against her alleging forgery of muniments 1426; guilty of trespass 1427)
 Hoddesdon (alias Barnet), Thomas (fl. 1458), s. of Robert, h. of Jaquetta. **118/16** (gtd rent from by f. 1458)
 ~, ~, Jaquetta w. of (fl.1458). **118/16** (gtd annual rent from by f.-in-law 1458)
 Hoddesdon, family of (fl. 1485-1547). **118/16** (poss 1485-1547)
- Hodesdon (de); see de HODDESDON
- Hodge; see HODGES

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HODGES (Hodge)

Hodges, George (fl. 1656-71), s. of Thomas & Mary. **156/13B** (poss 1671)

Hodge, John (fl. c.1601-?1624). **156/13B** (ten c.1601; ?poss by 1624)

*John HODGES

Hodges, John (d. 1624), aldm. **156/13B** (ref to: identical? to John Hodge)

*John Hodge (HODGES)

Hodges, Thomas (fl. 1651; 1656 wp), esq., h. of Mary, f. of George. **156/13B** (poss by 1651)

~, ~, Mary w. & wid. of (fl. 1656), m. of George. **156/13B** (poss by 1656)

HOLAND

Holand, John (fl.1422), earl of Huntingdon. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

Holand, Ralph (1450 wd; 1452 wp), cit. & tailor. **39/6** (poss 1450-52)

de HOLBECH

1 de Holbech, William (fl. 1361; 1365 wd; 1367 wp), cit. & draper, h. of Maud. **156/12** (ten/res 1361-c.1367)

1 ~, ~, Maud w. & wid. of (fl. 1361; 1392 wd; 1393 wp). **156/12** (ten/res 1361-?1392)

~, ~, junior maid of (fl. 1367). **156/12** (left money by William Holbech; res? 1367)

~, ~, senior maid of (fl. 1367). **156/12** (left money by William Holbech; res? 1367)

~, ~, bailiff of (fl. 1367). **156/12** (left money by William Holbech; res? 1367)

~, ~, cook of (fl. 1367). **156/12** (left money by William Holbech 1367; Fres 1367)

HOLKER

Holker, Martha (fl. 1653). **132/16B** (poss by 1653)

Holker, Thomas (fl. 1653). **132/16B** (poss by 1653)

HOLME (Holmes)

Holme, John (fl.1399-1405), vicar of Brokesborne. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

Holme (Holmes), Thomas (fl. 1426-48), cit. & grocer, h. of Katharine, f. of Maud. **118/15A** (ten 1448-
<1459); **118/15B & C** (feof 1426; rev conveyed to feofs 1432; qtcl. to feof 1441) **132/16** (poss 1426-48)

~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl.1457). **132/16** (qtcl to feofs of Thomas Holme 1457)

~, ~, Maud da. & heir of (fl.1457). **132/16** (qtcl to feofs of Thomas Holme 1457)

HOLMEDON

Holmedon, Edward (fl. 1586), grocer. **118/16** (res 1586)

Holmedon, Elizabeth (fl. 1590), da. of sis. of Sir Thomas RAMSEY. **118/16** (poss 1590)

Holmes; see HOLME

Homewood; see HONYWOOD

HONYWOOD (Homewood)

1 Homewood, Nicholas (d. c.1633), br. of Ironmongers' Co., f. of Nicholas. **132/18** (ten 1633)

1 Homewood, Nicholas (fl. 1633 (minor), 1640), s. of Nicholas, guardian: Thomas CARTER. **132/18**
(inherited lease 1633)

Honywood, Robert (fl. 1610), esq. **132/19** (poss conveyed by Ralph Gill 1610)

atte HOO

atte Hoo, Thomas (fl. 1402), chaplain. **132/15** (poss shops 1402 from Katharine wid. of William Wasshyngburn)

HOODE

Hoode, Alice (fl. 1641). **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

HOPTON

Hopton, David (fl. c.1480), clerk. **132/22A** (poss by 1480; gtd to Edmund Chaderton & John Gourll)

INDEX OF PERSONS: H

le HORE

le Hore, John (1336 wd; 1337 wp), cornmonger (*bladarius*), br. of Robert. **132/19** (poss gtd by John & Agnes atte Welle by 1336; beq to br. Robert 1337)

le Hore, Robert (fl. 1336-7), salter, br. of John. **152/19** (poss 1337)

de HOREWODE (1 HORWODE)

- 1 de Horewode, Fulk (fl. 1368), cit. & merchant (*mercator*). **39/6** (poss acq from Richard Vyncent 1368; later gtd to Robert Erensche)

HORSTON (1 HORSTONE)

- 1 Horston, William (fl. 1395), cit. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1595)

de Horzede; see BROWN

de HOSIERE

de Hosiere, *Baudechimus* (fl. 1312). **118/15** (ten 1312)

HOUGH

Hough, Anne (fl. 1638). **132/19** (ten/res by 1662)

Hough, William (fl. 1638). **132/19** (ten/res by 1643)

HOVEMAN (van Hoven)

Hoveman (van Hoven), Anthony (fl. 1565-69), Dutch? **118/0C** (ten 1565-69)

van Hoven; see HOVEMAN

HOWLAND

Howland, Geoffrey (fl. 1668-71), of 'Sheffam' (Surrey), esq. **118/16** (poss 1668)

HUDSON

Hudson, John (fl. 1568-70), cit. & grocer, h. of Anne. **156/13B** (poss gtd by John Thatcher 1568; sold to Alice Braunche 1569)

~, ~, Anne w. of (fl. 1570). **156/13B** (qtcl. to Alice Braunche 1570)

Hudson, Preston (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res at the Half Moon 1641)

Hugh; see de WIRCESTRE

Hugh of Worcester (*de Wygorn'*) (fl. 1320), cit. & skinner. **39/6** (quit 1320)

HUMBER (Humbre)

Humber (Humbre), John (fl. 1441; 1444 wd), cit. & brewer. **118/0** (beq to ch 1444); **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1441)

Humbre; see HUMBER

HUN

Hun, Walter (fl. 1448-59), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448-59)

de HUNFRANVILLE (Hunfranvill', d'Umfreville)

de Hunfranvill', Ida (fl. 1192x1211), sis. of Richard, m. of Thomas BLUND. **132/21** (ref to), see her s. Thomas BLUND

de Hunfranville (Hunfranvill', d'Umfreville), Richard (fl. ?1212; d. 1226), of Northumberland, lord of Redesdale, uncle of Thomas BLUND. **132/21** (ref to; chantry endowed for soul of), see his nephew Thomas BLUND

HUNT (Hunte)

INDEX OF PERSONS: H

- 1 Hunt, Thomas (fl. 1596), comfit-maker. **39/6** (res 1596)
Hunte, Walter (fl. 1448), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (ten 1448; poss 1451)

Hunte; see HUNT

HUNTER

Hunter, Mr. - (fl. 1668). **132/22** (ref to: holder of property adj. 1668); **156/12** (poss: had site surveyed 1668)

HUNTYNDON

Huntyndon, William (fl. 1418-21), clerk. **118/15** (feof 1418; conveyed to William Olyver 1421); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418-21)

Hutchins, Goodman; see Robert HUTCHINSON

HUTCHINSON (Hutchins)

Hutchinson (Hutchins), Robert (Goodman) (fl. 1603-5). **118/OC** (ten 1603-5)

HUTTON

Hutton, Charles (fl. 1491-7). **132/23** (ten/res 1491-7)

HYATT

Hyatt, Robert (fl. 1540), cit. & tallow chandler. **118/14** (ten 1540)

HYKYN

Hykyn, Lawrence (fl. 1540). **118/14** (ten 1540)

de HYNELOND

de Hynelond. William (fl. 1350), royal clerk. **118/0** (rector 1350)

I

INE

Ine, John (fl. 1364), rector of St. Michael Wood Street. **132/22** (poss 1364)

INNOCENT

Pope Innocent III (fl. 1198-1216). **118/0** (ref to: 1202)

le IRERNERE

le Irernere, John (fl. 1301x4). **118/16A** (poss 1301x4)

*John de WARE

ISABEL

Isabel (queen) (fl. 1317; d. 1358), w. of EDWARD II, m. of Edward III. **156/12** (poss 1317-c.1355: her wardrobe)

ITERUS

Iteus (Iterius) of Angouleme (de Enngolisna) (fl. 1280-9), royal clerk, constable of Bordeaux. **132/16** (poss gtd by Richard Tholesan 1280; gtd to Salomon de Laufar 1282)

IVE

1? Ive, John (fl. 1375), clerk. **118/16** (quit 1375)

IVYNGHO

Ivyngho, Robert (fl. 1383), cit. & salter. **118/16** (quit 1383)

J

JAMES

James I (b. 1566; acc. 1603; d. 1625), king of England. **118/0** (ref to); **132/23** (confirmed Haberdashers' Co. in poss of **23** 1619), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

JEAKELL

Jeakell, John (fl. 1652-69). **118/14** (ten 1652-69)

JENKINSON

Jenkinson, Thomas (fl. 1570), rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (dispute with churchwardens over ownership of tenements 1570)

Jennens; see JENNYNS

JENNYNS (Jennens) (1 JENNINGS)

Jennens, Richard (fl. 1612-18), h. of Elizabeth m. of John Clarke (CLERK). **118/15Aii** (sold with John Clarke to Michael Alexander 1613; sold w.'s life interest to Michael Alexander 1618)

1 Jennyns, Thomas (fl. 1565), cit. & girdler, h. of Thomasina. **156/13A** (poss by 1565; sold to Alice Marburye 1565)

~, ~, Thomasina w. of (fl. 1565). **156/13A** (qtcl. to Alice Marburye c.1565)

JEWKES

Jewkes, Roland the younger (fl. 1655), Inner Temple. **132/16B** (bought pt of Three Cranes 1655)

JOHN

John of Peterborough (*de burgo sancti Petri*) (fl. 1306), of London. **132/23** (poss by 1306; gtd to Richard de Caumpes 1306)

John of St. Florentine (fl. 1320), goldsmith, ?servant of queen. **156/12** (attacked there 1320)

John of Wymondham (fl. 1327-49), abbot of Colchester. **118/0** (alienated advowson of ch to William de Greylonde 1327x49)

JOHNSON

Johnson, John (fl. 1648). **132/22** (ten/res 'Three Crowns' 1648)

Johnson, William (fl. 1638). **132/19** (ten/res by 1643)

JONES

Jones, Griffith (fl. 1548), rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (rector 1548)

Jones, Randal (fl. <1599). **132/23** (res <1599)

JOSEPH

Joseph, J. (fl. 1489-90). **118/15A** (ten 1489/-0)

JULYEN

Julyen, Henry (fl. c1408; d. by 1421). **118/16?** (feof of Edmund Hoddesdon c.1408)

K

KAKE

Take, Robert (fl. 1395?), f. of Thomas MALLYNG. **118/12** (ref to 1395), see his s. Thomas MALLYNG

KAUEL (Chauel)

Kauel (Chauel), Richard (fl. 1192x1211). **132/21** (ten 1192x1211; sold to William the cook)

*RICHARD s. of the priest

de Kaumpes; see de CAUMPES

KECHEN

Kechen, Abel (fl. 1552-7). **118/14** (ten 1552-7)

de KELESEY

1 de Kelesey, Robert (fl. 1308-9), cit. **39/6** (ten pt 1608-9; poss 1609-<1325)

de KELYNGWORTH (1 DE KILLINGWORTH)

1 de Kelyngworth, John (fl. <1358), cit. & draper, f. of Richard. **132/22** (ref to), see his s. Richard de Kelyngworth

1 de Kelyngworth, Richard (fl. 1358; d. 1380), s. of John, h. of Katharine. **132/22** (quit 1358-80)

1 ~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl. 1380), later mar. William LAMBOURNE. **132/22** (sold quit to Simon de Wynchecombe 1380)

KEMPE

Kempe, Roger (fl. 1657-67), cit. & skinner. **118/15B & C** (ten from 1658-67; res 1666)

KENNINGHAM (Kennyngham)

Kennyngham, Robert (fl. 1567-95), cit. & grocer, h. of Alice, cousin of Sarah & Dorcas. **118/13** (poss 1567x95)

~, ~, Alice w. & wid. of (fl. 1595-8), later mar. Reuben WRIGHT. **118/13** (poss by 1595; sold her right in **13** for term of her life to Thomas Faldoe 1598)

Kenningham, William (fl. <1598), of London, yeoman, f. of Sarah & Dorcas. **118/13** (ref to), see his da.s Sarah & Dorcas

~, ~, Dorcas da. of (fl. 1598), sis. of Sarah; cousin & heir of Robert, w. of Thomas WHITE. **118/13** (poss c.1598)

~, ~, Sarah da. of (fl. 1598), sis. of Dorcas, cousin & heir of Robert, w. of William Harryson (HARRISON). **118/13** (poss c.1598)

Kennyngham; see KENNINGHAM

KERVILE

Kervile, Edmund (fl. 1460), cit. & grocer. **132/16** (feof of Thomas Muschamp 1460)

KETRYCH

Ketrych, Richard (fl. 1426-41), cit. & grocer. **118/15B & C** (feof 1426); **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1426; 1432-41)

KETTLEWOOD

1? Kettlewood, John (fl. 1596-99). **132/22** (ten/res 'le Flowre de Luce 1596-99)

KEYS

Keys, Philip (fl. 1404-5), rector of St. Martin Vintry. **118/15** (bought Elizabeth Burlee's interests in, 1404; conveyed to feofs 1405); **132/16** (poss 1404)

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king of England, see under CHARLES, EDWARD, HENRY, JAMES, STEPHEN, WILLIAM; see also
The Crown (Index of Institutions)

KIRBY

Kirby, John (fl. <1614). **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' <1614)

de KNOLLES

de Knolles, Richard (fl. 1362). **118/15?** (plea of intrusion brought against him by Katharine wid. of John
atte Pole concerning tenements in par. 1362)

Knolles, Thomas (fl. 1441), grocer. **118/15B & C** (feof 1441)

de Kompes; see de CAUMPES

KYNGESTON

Kyngeston, John (fl. 1412), h. of Elizabeth da. of Thomas & Elizabeth CHELRAY. **118/14** (poss (incl.
shops) 1412)

KYRKEBY

Kyrkeby, John (fl. 1440-6), chaplain. **132/15** (feof 1440)

KYRTON

1 Kyrton, Thomas (fl. 1460), gent. **132/16** (feof of Thorton Muschamp 1460)

Kyrton, Thomas (fl. 1474), gent. **156/13** (feof 1474)

L

LAMBE

Lambe, John (fl. 1455-6). **132/21** (ten 1455-6)

Lambe, Thomas (fl. 1669). **132/16B** (poss by 1669); **132/19** (ten? pt 1668)

Lambe, William (fl. 1569; 1573 wd; 1580 wp), cit. & clothworker. **118/14** (gained property from John Browne 1569; left to Clothworkers' Co. 1573x80)

LAMBING

Laming, Elizabeth (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)

LAMBOURNE

Lambourne, William (fl. 1580), h. of Katharine wid. of Richard de KELYNGWORTH. **132/22** (sold quit to Simon de Wynchecombe 1380)

LANDER (Laynder)

Lander (Laynder), Robert (fl. 1635-41), member of Grocers' Co., h. of Martha. **118/15B & C** (res 1635?-41)

~, ~, Martha w. of (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)

LANE

1? Lane, John (fl. 1392), cit. & mercer, h. of Alice. **118/13** (poss gtd by Simon Wynchecomb 1392)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1392). **118/13** (poss gtd by Simon Wynchecomb 1392)

Lane, Nicholas (fl. 1548), of London, grocer. **156/12** (poss 1548)

de Lanfar; see de LANFARE

de LANFARE (le Coteler, le Cotelour, le Cotiller, de Laufare, de Lanuare, de Lauuare)

de Lanuare (de Lauuare), Edward (fl. 1347-9), s. of William, ?k. of John. **132/16** (claimed (unsuccessfully) right to property from f. 1347); **132/19?** (pursued plea of land against John Scot 1349)

(de) Lanfare (de Laufare), John (fl. 1311-16), cit. & cutler, h. of Agnes, exec of Solomon de Lanfar. **132/16** (sold as exec to John de Wengrave 1312); **132/19** (poss beq by Solomon de Lanfare 1312; gtd to Hugh de Wircestre 1316)

~, ~, Agnes wid. of (fl. 1340), ?k. of Edward. **132/19** (brought plea of intrusion against William de Bray & John de Thurston 1340)

de (le) Lanuare (Lanfar, de Laufar, alias le Coteler, le Cotelour, le Cotiller), Solomon (S., Salomon) (fl. 1282-1306/7; 1312 wp), cit. & cutler, h. of Isabel, f. of John. **132/16** (poss 1282-1307, res by 1312; held shop in **15** or **17** by 1312); **132/18** (ref to as holder of **16** & **19**); **132/19** (poss gtd by Michael Tolesan by 1291-1312); **156/12** (ref to as holder of **132/16** or **19** 1302)

~, ~, execs of (?incl. John de Lanfare) (fl. 1312). **132/16** (ref to: to sell Solomon's right in **15** or **17** 1312)

~, ~, Isabel w. & wid. of (d. 1312). **132/19** (to receive £3. 10s. rent p.a. for life)

de Lauuare, William (fl. c.1280), f. of Edward. **132/16** (his s. claimed he had rev interest in from Richard de Tolesane)

LANGHORN (1 LANGTHORN)

1?,2? Langhorn, John (fl. 1386), cit. & brazier. **118/13A & B** (gtd rent from **13** by Simon Wynchecomb for lifetime of Simon's w. Joan)

(de/le) Lanuare; see de LANFARE

LARGE

Large, Richard (fl. 1596; d. 1616), grocer. **118/12** (ten/res <1596; d. in St. Stephen Walbrook par. 1616)

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LASCOE

Lascoe, Henry (fl. 1662-6), druggist, partner of Henry WILLINGHAM & Edward WILLOUGHBY.
156/12 (res 1662-6)

LAURENS

Laurens, Matthew (fl. 1572-3), cit. & fishmonger. **132/15?** (recovered poss against Robert Younge 1572-3)

LAWRENCE

- 1 Lawrence of St. Michael (alias Lawrence s. of Michael) (fl. <1271), s. of William s. of BENEDICT.
156/12 (poss <1271 with **156/13**)

LAWSON

Lawson, William (fl. 1657). **118/15B & C** (poss by 1657; sold to William Tibbs c.1663)

LAXHAM

Laxham, John (fl. 1507; d. 1521). **156/13A** (ten/?res 1507-21)

Laynder; see LANDER

de Lauuare; see de LANFARE

LED (Lyde)

Lyde, Agnes (fl. 1573-6), wid. of Peter LED. **118/0D** (ten 1573-6)

Led, Peter (fl. 1568; d. 1572-3), h. of Agnes. **118/0D** (ten/res 1568-1572/3)

Lee; see LEIGH

LEGET

Leget, John (fl. 1440-6), chaplain. **132/15** (feof 1440)

LEIGH ((atte) Lee)

Lee, Leticia (Lady); see Leticia wid. of Richard LEE (d. 1472)

- 1 Lee, Richard (fl. 1448-72; d. 1472), cit. & grocer, mayor, h. of Leticia, f. of Richard. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448); **156/13** (feof 1451; res? c.1472)

- 1 ~, ~, Leticia (Lady) wid. of (fl. 1472; 1477 wd; 1484 wp), m. of Richard. **156/13** (res? c. 1483; feof 1474; poss by 1477)

Lee, Richard (Mr.) (fl. 1474-88), esq., s. of Richard & Leticia. **156/13** (feof 1474; res? 1484-8)

Leigh, Thomas (fl. 1641), gent. **118/15B & C** (res 1641; ?lodger)

atte Lee, William (fl. 1425-6), cit. & pewterer. **39/6** (poss 1425; gtd to feofs of John Gedney 1426)

LEMAN

Leman, John (Sir) (fl. 1619), aldm. **118/0B-G** (poss from Crown 1619-20)

de LEMYNSTRE

de Lemynstre, Hugh (fl. c.1349). **132/20** (ref to c.1349)

Lenton; see LYNTON

LESPICER

Lespicer, Guy (fl. 1319). **156/13** (res 1319)

LEVER

Lever, John (fl. 1410), cit. & saddler. **132/20** (quit 1410-11)

LEVINS

Levins, Robert (fl. c.1660-7), cit. & draper. **132/22** (ten Three Pigeons c.1660-7; res 1662-3)

LEWES (Lewis)

Lewes, Thomas (fl. 1522-5; d. 1538), cit. & haberdasher. **132/18** (res 1522/ten 1524-38)

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Lewis, William (fl. 1569-76). **132/18** (ten 1569-76)

LEWIN

Lewin, - (fl. 1668). **132/19** (ten? 1668)

*Felix LEWIN

1 Lewin, Felix (fl. 1662). **132/19** (ref to: held house in area 1662)

*- LEWIN

LIGHT

Light, William (fl. 1460). **118/13** (feof 1460)

LILBOURNE (Lilburne)

Lilbourne (Lilburne), John (fl. 1662-6), druggist, partner of Edmund HILL. **156/12** (res 1662-6)

Lilburne; see LILBOURNE

LINGE

Linge, Joseph (fl. 1638). **132/19** (ten/res 1638)

de LITTLEFORD (le Shereman)

de Littleford (alias le Shereman), William (fl. 1339-41), shearman, h. of Katharine. **156/13** (poss shop 1339)

~, ~, Katharine w. of (fl. 1339-41). **156/13** (poss shop 1339)

de Lodelawe; see LODELOWE

LODELOWE (de Lodelawe)

Lodelowe, John (fl. 1377), chaplain. **118/12** (gtd property by John Foxton; gtd back to Foxton & w. 1377)

de Lodelawe, Thomas (fl. 1336), kt. **132/20** (rev 1336; qtcl. 1340 to John Anketil)

LODEWYK

Lodewyk, John (fl. 1390). **118/16** (feof of Agnes atte Halle 1390)

LODFORTH

Lodforth, Simon (fl. 1560-1). **118/0Ei-ii** (ten 1560-1)

LOK

Lok, John (fl. 1460), mercer. **118/13** (feof 1460)

LOMNER (Lumney, Lomnour)

1 Lomner (Lumney, Lomnour), Henry (fl. 1521-39; <1544), cit. & grocer. **39/6** (ten 1521-1539; res by 1529-<1544)

Lomnour; see LOMNER

LONDON

London, John (Mr.) (fl. 1662-71), cit. & skinner, h. of Mary. **132/20** (ten 1666-9; res? 1662); **132/22** (ref to: owner of **20** 1671)

~, ~, Mary w. of (fl. 1669). **132/20** (ten 1669)

LORCHOUN

Lorchoun, Henry (fl. 1362; ?d. by 1365), cit. & armourer, h. of Joan. **132/21A** (ten 1362-<1365)

~, ~, Joan w. (?& wid.) of (fl. 1362). **132/21A** (ten 1362-<1365)

*Joan w. of Benedict HARDELEE

LORYMER

Lorymer, William (fl. <1315). **132/20** (ten? of Michael Tolesan c.1312)

INDEX TO PERSONS: L

de LUCA

de Luca, Luke (fl. 1276). **156/12** (ten?/res 1276)

LUCAS

Lucas, Robert (fl. >1368; d. by 1383), of London, goldsmith, h. of Katharine wid. of Richard SUTTON & Margery. **118/16** (quit >1368)

~, ~, Margery wid. of (fl. 1383), later mar. Henry BAMME. **118/16** (quit by 1383)

LUDDINGTON (1 LODINGTON)

1 Luddington, Henry (fl. 1522; d. 1531), grocer. **132/22** (underten of William Mery?/res 1522)

LULLS

Lulls, George (fl. 1669; d. <1677), of London, gent. **118/12** (poss bought from Humphrey & Elizabeth Richardson 1669)

Lumney; see LOMNER

LUSHER

Lusher, Edward (fl. 1638-41). **132/16B** (res 1638-41; tavern 1638)

LUTTON

Lutton, Samuel (fl. 1669). **118/13** (poss or ten: had property surveyed 1669)

LUTTUR

Luttur, John (fl. 1419; d. c.1448), cit. & grocer, h. of Joan, f. of Thomas. **118/13** (poss gtd by William Olyver; John Sproxton; & John West 1419-c.1448); **118/15B & C** (feof 1426); **132/16** (feof of Thomas Holme 1426; 1432-41); **156/13** (feof 1438)

~, ~, Joan former w. of (fl. 1448-60), m. of Thomas, mar. Nicholas DRAKES. **118/13** (poss for life gtd by feofs 1459; gtd to feofs 1460)

Luttur, Thomas (fl. 1459-60), s. of John & Joan. **118/13** (rev 1459; gtd to feofs 1460)

LYCCHEFELD (1 LYCHEFELD)

1 Lycchefeld, William (Master) (fl. 1430), cit. & clerk. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

Lyde; see LED

LYMBRENNERE

Lymbrennere, Richard (fl. 1301). **118/16B** (poss or ten?: paid quit-rent to Holy Trinity Priory c.1301)

LYNDESEY (1 LINDSAY)

1 Lyndesey, Richard (fl. 1438; d. <1451), scrivener. **156/13** (feof 1438)

LYNDWODE

Lyndwode, William (d. <1454-5). **156/12** (ref to: rent from **156/12** assigned for upkeep of his chantry 1454-5)

LYNNE

Lynne, Alice (fl. 1408). **132/22** (ten/res 1408)

LYNTON (Lenton)

Lynton (Lenton), Thomas (fl. 1521-4), grocer. **132/23** (ten 1521-4; res 1522)

Lynton, William (fl. 1496), clerk. **118/14** (feof 1496)

M

MACHELL

Machell, Leonard (fl. c.1655), carpenter. **132/16B** (accused of trespassing on **16A**)

MAGARIO

Magario, Renerio (fl. 1291), merchant, cit. of Lucca. **156/12** (feof for Society of the Riccardi of Lucca 1291)

magnus, Thomas; see THOMAS *magnus*

MAKWILLIAM

Makwilliam, Thomas (fl. 1382), cit. & grocer. **118/12** (poss gtd by Adam de Carlell 1382; later qtcl. to John Pygeon & Thomas Broughton)

MALLYNG (Malyng, Cake)

Mallyng, Christina; see Cristina w. & wid. of Thomas MALLYNG

Mallyng (Malyng, alias Cake), Thomas (fl. 1395; d. 1412), cit. & mason, s. of Robert KAKE, h. of Agnes, Joan, & Cristina, f. of Joan. **118/0** (ref to: bur. in ch <1430); **118/12** (poss/?res gtd by Thomas Boocok & Thomas Eton 1395-1412); **118/15** (bought Elizabeth Burlee's interests in, 1404; conveyed to feofs 1405); **132/16** (poss 1404)

~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. 1395). **118/12** (poss gtd by Thomas Boocok & Thomas Eton 1395)

~, ~, Cristina w. & wid. of (fl. 1412; 1430 wd). **118/0** (ref to: wished to be bur. in ch 1430); **118/12** (poss for life 1412)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. <1412). **118/12** (ref to 1412: bur. in ch of St. Mary Woolchurch)

~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. 1412). **118/12** (rev 1412)

Malyng; see MALLYNG

de MALYNS

de Malyns, Edmund (fl. 1367). **132/16** (Thomas de Enefeld brought plea of intrustion against him 1367)

de Malyns, Reginald (fl. 1367), kt. **132/16** (Thomas de Enefeld brought plea of intrusion against him 1367)

MANSEL

Mansel, John (d. 1265), keeper of the seal, counsellor of Henry III. **156/12** (poss/?res <1265)

MAPES

Mapes, John (fl. 1395), h. of Jocosa da. of John Blount (BLUNT). **118/16** (qtcl. 1395)

MARBURYE

Marburye, Alice (fl. 1565), wid. of John. **156/13A** (poss bought from Thomas Jennyns 1565)

Marburye, John (d. by 1565), h. of Alice. **156/13A** (ref to), see his widow Alice

le Marelemer; see le MARLINER

le Marescall, John; see John EDMUND

MARKEBY

1 Markeby, William (fl. 1427-37), h. of Alice da. of Robert DOMENYK. **132/22** (poss 1437)

1 ~, ~, Alice w. & ?wid. of; see Alice da. of Robert DOMENYK

le MARLINER (le Marelemer)

le Marliner (le Marelemer), Wascher (Washer, Walcher the mazeliner, *Walcherus mazelinarius*) (fl. c.1200) mazeliner (*mazelinarius*), f. of John. **39/6** (ten? <1231x7), see also his s. John

INDEX TO PERSONS: M

~, ~, John s. of (fl. c.1200; 1231x7). **39/6** (ten early 13C; poss acq from hospital of St. Giles Holborn 1231x7)

*John WAGER

the marshal; see WALTER the marshal

MARSHALL

Marshall, David (fl. 1633). **132/18** (res 1633)

MARTIN (Martine, Marttyn, Martyn)

Martine, Mother - (fl. <1586). **118/0Eiii?** (ten shed <1586)

Marttyn, Mr. - (fl. 1542-3). **132/18** (ten 1542-3)

Martin, Edmund (fl. 1614), h. of Katharine Trundle (TRUNDELL). **132/22** (ref to), see his w. Katharine Trundle (TRUNDELL)

Martin, Edward (fl. 1660). **132/22** (poss Three Pigeons 1660)

Martin, Katharine; see Katharine Trundle (TRUNDELL)

Martyn, Robert (fl. 1390), rector of Munden. **118/16** (feof of Agnes atte Halle 1390)

Martine, Marttyn, Martyn; see MARTIN

MARYNS

1? Maryns, John (fl. 1375), spicer. **118/16** (custody of property 1375)

the mazeliner; see Wascher le MARLINER

MATHER

Mather, John (fl. 1569). **118/0C** (ten 1569)

MAYDEWELL

Maydewell, Toby (fl. 1638), cit. & grocer. **156/12** (sold to William Underwood 1638)

MAYISTER

Mayister, Thomas (fl. <1449). **118/16** (feof <1449)

MAYLARD

Maylard, Richard (fl. 1513), cit. & saddler. **132/20** (poss gtd by Joan & Richard Toft 1513)

MAYNARD

Maynard, John (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

MAYS

Mays, Edmund (fl. 1426). **118/16** (brought plea against John Shenyfeld et al 1426)

le MAZELINER

le Mazeliner, James (fl. <c.1274), ?k. of John le MAZERER. **156/13** (poss <c.1274)

le MAZERER

le Mazerer, John (fl. 1291), ?k. of James le MAZELINER. **156/13** (poss by 1291)

(de) MEDELANE

de Medelane, Geoffrey (fl. 1308-19; d. by 1326), cit., s. of William & Tiphania, f. of William (fl. 1326). **156/13** (rev 1308; poss/?res by 1319-26)

~, ~, William s. & heir of; see William de MEDELANE (fl. 1326)

Medelane, Thomas (fl. 1362-91), cit. & vintner, h. of Maud. **156/13** (poss 1362-91)

~, ~, Maud w. of (fl. 1387). **156/13** (poss by 1387)

de Medelane, William (fl. 1308), of London, dyer, h. of Tiphania, f. of Geoffrey. **156/13** (poss acqd from John de Dunstaple 1308)

~, ~, Tiphania w. of (fl. 1308), m. of Geoffrey. **156/13** (poss 1308)

de Medelane, William (fl. 1326 (minor); d. c.1362), h. of Joan. **156/13** (poss 1326-<1362)

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~, ~, guardian of (fl. 1326). **156/13** (held on behalf of William 1326)
 ~, ~, Joan w. & wid. of (fl. 1339-62). **156/13** (poss 1339-62)

MELEMAN

Meleman, Geoffrey (1497 wd; 1499 wp), cit. & mercer. **118/13** (poss gtd by Thomas Bryan <1497; beq **13** to St. Paul's 1499)

Merie; see MERRIE

MERRIE (Merie, Mery, Merryell)

Mery, William (fl. 1521-44; d. c.1547), grocer. **132/22A** (poss? 1521); **132/22B-C 22D?** (ten/res 1521-44)

*William MERRIE

Merie (Mery, alias Merryell), William (fl. 1547). **132/22B-C** (ten 1547-?1583); **132/22D** (ten 1538)

*William Mery (MERRIE)

Merryell; see MERRIE

(atte) MERSH (atte Mershe)

atte Mershe, John (fl. 1434), cit. & goldsmith. **132/20** (poss by 1434)

Mersh, Margery; see Margery w. of Stephen atte MERSH

atte Mersh, Stephen (fl. 1370; d. by 1399), cit. & smith, h. of Margery, f. of William. **132/20** (poss gtd by Adam Fraunceys 1370)

~, ~, Margery w. of (fl. 1370-99). **132/20** (poss gtd by Adam Fraunceys 1370-99)

atte Mershe, William (fl. 1399), cit. & smith, s. of Stephen, h. of Joan & Margaret, f. of John. **132/20** (rev <1399; poss by 1410-12)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. c.1399). **132/20** (rev <1399)

~, ~, Margaret w. of (fl. 1412). **132/20** (poss by 1412)

atte Mershe; see atte MERSH

Mery; see MERRIE

METHWIN

Methwin, Paul (fl. 1655), of Bradford (Somerset), merchant, gent. **132/16B** (bought pt of Three Cranes 1655)

MEW

Mew, Mr. - (fl. 1668). **132/19** (ten? 1668)

MICHAEL

Michael (fl. < c.1215), f. of Richard. **132/18** (ref to), see his s. Richard

*Michael *Tolosanus* (TOLESAN)

~, Richard s. of (fl. c.1215). **132/18** (gtd quit to St. Bartholomew's Hospital c.1215)

Michael the armourer (fl. <1391). **132/21A** (?ten <1391)

*Michael DUNDALKE

Michael, Lawrence s. of; see LAWRENCE of St. Michael

MICHELL (Mychell)

Michell, John (fl. 1451-74), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof of Richard Lee 1451)

Michell, Richard (fl. 1405), cit. & grocer. **118/15** (feof 1405); **132/16** (feof 1405)

Mychell, Thomas (fl. 1522-5; 1527 wd; 1528 wp), cit. & ironmonger. **132/18** (poss (incl. shop) 1522-7/8)

Michell, William (fl. 1418-21), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof 1419); **118/15** (feof 1418; conveyed to William Olyver 1421); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418-21)

MICHELSON

Michelson, William (fl. 1631), cit. & merchant tailor, h. of Elizabeth. **118/13** (poss by 1631; sold to Lancelot Bathurst 1631)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1631). **118/13** (poss by 1631; sold to Lancelot Bathurst 1631)

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MIDDLETON

Middleton, John (fl. 1440-6), cit. & mercer. **132/15** (feof 1440)

MILDENHALE

- 1? Mildenhale, Robert (fl. <1449). **118/16** (feof <1449)
 Mildenhale, Robert (fl. <1475). **132/20** (poss <1475)

MILLES (Mylles)

Mylles, Henry (fl. 1522-44; d. ?1574), of London, grocer, ?aldm, h. of Elizabeth, f. of William. **132/22**
 (underten of William Mery?/res 1522-44; poss/res 1572-4); **132/22D** (ten 1574)
 ~, ~, Elizabeth wid. of (fl. 1574). **132/22** (poss pt 1574)
 Mylles, John (fl. 1590 (aged 14)), s. of William. **132/22** (rev 1590)
 Mylles, William (fl. 1574; d. 1590), cit. & grocer, s. of Henry, h. of Elizabeth, f. of John. **132/22** (poss
 1574-1590; res 1590)
 ~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1590). **132/22** (poss 1590)

MIRFYN

Mirfyn, Robert (fl. 1440-6), esq. **132/15** (feof 1440)

de MOLTON (de Moltone)

de Moltone, Oliver (fl. 1308), br. of Leticia. **39/6** (received rent 1308; gtd rent to Robert de Kelesey 1308-9)
 de Molton, Robert (fl. 1291-1304), cit. & tailor, h. of Agnes, f. of Bartholomew, Leticia & Oliver. **39/6**
 (quit 1291; poss by 1303-4)
 ~, ~, Agnes w. & wid. of (fl. 1291-1304; 1308 wp), m. of Bartholomew, Boneioya, Leticia. **39/6** (quit
 1291; poss by 1303-8)
 ~, ~, ~, Boneioya da. of (fl. 1308-25), w. of Ralph BELUERGE. **39/6** (poss W. pt 1308; qtcl. to John &
 Agnes Edmund 1325)
 ~, ~, Bartholomew s. of (fl. 1308-1325), also s. of Agnes, br. of Leticia. **39/6** (poss W. pt 1308; qtcl. to
 John & Agnes Edmund 1325)
 ~, ~, Leticia da. of (fl. 1308), also da. of Agnes, sis. of Bartholomew. **39/6** (inherited pt 1308; qtcl. to
 Robert de Kelesey 1309)

MONCK

Monck, Thomas (fl. 1682), of London, gent. **118/12** (poss bought from Sir Robert & Martha Clayton 1682)

MONOUX

- 1 Monoux, George (fl. 1513; d. 1544), aldm., cit., kt. **156/13** (quit by 1513)

MORCAR

Morcar, John (fl. 1404), *dominus*. **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

MORE

- More, Thomas (fl. 1460). **118/13** (feof 1460)
 1 More, William (fl. 1387), cit. & vintner. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Medelane 1387)

Morrice; see MORRIS

MORRIS (Morrice)

Morris, John (fl. 1677), esq. **118/12** (poss bought from Henry & Frances Avery 1677)
 Morrice, Thomas (fl. 1635), of Westminster, esq., h. of Anne. **118/15Ai** (poss by 1635; sold to John
 Fowler)
 ~, ~, Anne w. of (fl. 1635). **118/15Ai** (poss by 1635; sold to John Fowler)

MORTYMER

Mortymer, John (1368 wd). **118/0** (ref to: beq rent from **10** to ch 1368)

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MOSELEY (Mosely, Mosly)

Moseley (Mosly, Mosely), Mrs. - (fl. 1637-59), ?wid. of William. **118/0F** (ten shop 1637-59)

Moseley, William (fl. 1612-20), ?h. of Mrs. Moseley. **118/0F** (ten 1612-20)

MOYLE

Moyle, Walter (fl. 1548), of Broughton (Kent), esq. **156/12** (feof for Nicholas Lane 1548)

Muschamp; see MUSCHAMPE

MUSCHAMPE (Muschamp)

Muschamp, Francis (fl. 1617-20). **132/18** (ref to as owner of **132/16A**)

*Francis MUSCHAMPE (II) or Francis MUSCHAMPE (III)

Muschampe, Francis (I) (fl. >1525), of Camberwell, s. of Ralph, f. of Francis (II). **132/16A** (poss >1525-<1613)

Muschampe, Francis (II) the elder (fl. 1613), of Peckham (Surrey), esq., s. of Francis (I), ?f./uncle of Francis (III). **132/16A** (poss by 1613)

Muschampe, Francis (III) (fl. 1624), of Camberwell (Surrey), esq., ?s. & heir/nephew of Francis (II), h. of Jane. **132/16A** (poss 1624); **132/16B** (poss 1619-24; sold 1624-5 to Ironmongers' Co)

~, ~, Jane w. of (fl. 1625). **132/16A** (levied fine at cost of Ironmongers' Co 1625)

Muschampe, Ralph (fl. >1525), of Camberwell, esq., s. of William, f. of Francis (I). **132/16A** (poss >1525-<1613)

Muschamp, Thomas (fl. 1460-<1499), cit. & mercer. **132/16** (poss 1460-<1499)

Muschamp, Walter (fl. 1460), clerk. **132/16** (feof of Thomas Muschamp 1460)

Muschamp, William (fl. 1525), of Camberwell?, gent, ?f. of Ralph. **132/16** (poss by 1525)

Mychell; see MICHELL

Mylles; see MILLES

de MYMMES (1 MIMMES)

1 de Mymmes, William (fl. 1328-<1358), cit. & tawyer, h. of Alice. **132/22-3** (quit 1328-<1358)

1 ~, ~, Alice wid. & exec of (fl. 1358). **132/22-3** (sold quit-rent 1358)

N

NASARD

Nasard, John (fl. 1349). **118/15** (wrongly accused of having disseised John atte Pole 1349); **132/15** (plea of intrusion brought against him by Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel 1349: see also **132/20**); **132/20** (Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel claimed he had disseised them 1349)

Need; see SEED

Neuport; see NEWPORT

NEVE

Neve, Francis (fl. 1607), cit. & merchant tailor. **132/19** (poss 'le George' 1607)

NEVITT (1 NEVETT)

1 Nevitt, Edward (fl. 1662-6). **156/12** (res 1662-6)

NEWMAN

Newman, John (fl. 1594; d. by 1624). **118/15Ai** (poss <1624); **156/13B** (poss bought from Robert & Mary Braunche 1594)

NEWNTON

Newnton, Robert (fl. 1404). **39/6** (feof of Thomas Grey 1404)

NEWPORT (Neuport)

Neuport, Richard (fl. 1399), cit. & grocer. **39/6** (ten ?from 1404)

Newport, Robert (fl. 1399-1405), of Essex. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt., 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

Newport, William (fl. 1376), cit. & fishmonger. **132/23** (feof 1376)

NEWTON (Neuton)

Newton, John (fl. 1404), parson of St. Benet Sherehog. **39/6** (nominated feofs 1404; tried to disseise Thomas Grey)

1 Neuton, Robert (fl. 1418-19), clerk. **39/6** (feof 1418; gtd back to Thomas Grey 1419)

NICHOLLS (Nichols, Nicoll)

Nicholls, - (fl. c.1666-70). **118/15Aii** (ten/res c.1666-70)

1 Nicoll, Basil (fl. 1603), scrivener. **132/23** (ten 1603)

Nicholls, Joseph (fl. 1641). **118/14** (res 1641)

Nichols, William (fl. 1632-51 (aged 84)), cit. & clothworker. **118/0G** (ten 1632-49)

Nichols; see NICHOLLS

Nicoll; see NICHOLLS

NIXTON

Nixton, Richard (fl. 1575), tailor. **132/23** (ten 1575)

atte NOKE

atte Noke, John (fl. 1370), poulterer. **132/19** (ten/res <1370)

NOKET

Noket, Thomas (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

NOREYS

Noreys, John (fl. 1416), of Stevenage (Herts). **118/14** (feof of John Yonge 1416)

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NORMANVILLE

Normanville, William (fl. 1540; d. 1545). **156/12** (ten Servat's Tower from 1546; res? 1544-5)

NORWOLD

Norwold, Walter (fl. 1434), cit. & cutler. **132/20** (gtd by John atte Mershe 1434)

de NORWYCO (le Fourbour) (1 NORWICH)

1 de Norwyco (alias le Fourbour), Thomas (fl. 1328; 1329 wd; 1330 wp), furbisher *forbour*. **132/19** (poss
?bought from execs of Hugh de Wircestre by 1328)

1 ~, ~, execs of (fl. 1330). **132/19** (sold c.1330)

NYK

1 Nyk, Richard (fl. 1448), s. of Robert & Alice. **132/22** (rev quit 1448)

1 Nyk, Robert (fl. 1448; d. by 1451), of Westminster, h. of Alice da. of Richard PERSON, f. of Richard.
132/22 (rev quit 1448)

~, ~, Alice w. of; see Alice da. of Richard PERSON

O

ODO

Odo the smith (*faber*) (1275 wp), smith, f. of Maud. **118/13** (beq quit-rent to Haliwell Priory 1275); **118/15** (ref to: beq quit to Haliwell Priory from adj property 1275)
~, Maud da. of (alias Maud de la Cornere) (fl. 1275), nun at Haliwell Priory. **118/13** (use of quit-rent beq by f. to Haliwell Priory 1275); **118/15** (ref to: use of quit from adj. property 1275)

OLNEY

1? Olney, John (fl. 1440-6), cit. & mercer. **132/15** (feof 1440)

OLYVER

Olyver, William (fl. >1392-1426; d. by 1441), grocer. **118/13** (feof by 1419 (also holder of **15**); **118/15** (feof by 1418; conveyed to feofs; poss 1421); **15A** (ten <1419); **15B-C** (poss 1421; 1426 gtd to Richard Ketrych; John Luttur; Thomas Holme; 1426 ten); **132/16** (poss 1418-26; ten 1426-<1441)

OO

Oo, Thomas (fl. 1481-86), cit. & grocer. **118/15B & C** (feof 1481)

OSBARN (1 OSBORNE)

1? Osbarn, Richard (fl. 1427-30), cit. **132/22** (feof by 1427; feof of Richard Person 1430)

OUTRED

Outred, John (fl. 1422), h. of Alexandra. **39/6?** (brought plea of intrusion against Thomas & Maud Grey 1422)
~, ~, Alexandra w. of (fl. 1422). **39/6?** (brought plea of intrusion against Thomas & Maud Grey 1422)

OWEYN

Oweyn, John (fl. 1349). **132/20** (owed 100 marks by John Anketil <1349)
~, ~, execs of (fl. 1349). **132/20** (claimed debt from Anketil's heirs & tenants 1349)

P

PAGE

Page, Mr. - (fl. 1668-9). **118/16** (foundation surveyed for 1669; ?underten of John Farrington)

Page, Mrs. - (fl. 1588-9), ?wid. of William. **118/0F** (ten 1588-9)

Page, William (fl. 1582-8), ?h. of Mrs. Page. **118/0F** (ten 1582-8)

PANTON

- 1, 2 Panton, Thomas (fl. 1377), cit. & goldsmith. **118/15C** (acq Thomas Barnet's life interest (incl. shops) 1377)

PARKER

Parker, Elizabeth (fl. 1641). **118/14** (res 1641)

Parker, John (fl. 1459-60), scrivener. **132/16** (feof of John Colvile 1459-60)

- 1? Parker, John (fl. 1481-86), cit. & scrivener. **118/15B & C** (feof 1481)

Parker, William (fl. 1399; d. by 1405), of London. **132/17** (feof of Adam Fraunceys kt 1399; ratified 1405); **132/19** (feof of Adam Fraunceys 1399-1405)

Parker, William (fl. 1408). **118/16** (ten 1408)

PASSANO

Passano, Antonio (fl. 1313-15), of Genoa. **156/12** (poss 1313x1315-17)

Paviar; see PAVIER

PAVIER (Paviar, Pavyour)

Pavier, Agnes (fl. 1572-4), widow. **118/0Eiii** (ten/?res shed 1572-4; 1575-1586?)

Pavier, Anthony (fl. 1565-70). **118/0Eiii** (ten shed 1565-70)

Pavyour, Joan (fl. 1570-1), widow. **118/0Eiii** (ten shed 1570-1)

Paviar, John (fl. 1567-8). **118/0D** (ten 1567-8)

Pavyour; see PAVIER

PAYNE

Payne, Henry (fl. 1664-6), druggist. **156/12** (res 1664-6)

PAYS

Pays, John (fl. 1383). **118/16** (quit 1383)

Pearson; see PERSON

Pecche, William; see William CONSTANTYNE

PECOK

Pecok, Richard (fl. 1383-1407), h. of Margery. **132/21B** (ten 1391-1407)

~, ~, Margery w. of (fl. c.1407). **132/21B** (ten <1408S)

Peerson; see PERSON

PEKKE

Pekke, John (fl. 1401), royal clerk, rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (rector 1401)

PERIENT

Perient, John (fl. 1549), kt. **132/22B-C** (poss 1549)

PERKYNS

Perkyns, Thomas (fl. 1486), barber. **132/22B** (ref to: holder of ?**23** 1486)

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PEROT

Perot, Henry (fl. 1375). **118/16** (quit 1375); **132/23** (feof 1376)

PERSON (Pearson, Peerson) (1 PIERSON)

- 1 Person, Richard (fl. 1395-1430; 1446 wd; 1448 wp), cit. & armourer, h. of Joan, f. of Alice. **132/22** (quit 1395-1446x8)
- 1 ~, ~, Alice da. of (fl. 1448), w. of Robert NYK, m. of Richard NYK, later mar. Richard HAYWARD. **132/22** (rev quit 1448; quit 1451-2)
- 1 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1448). **132/22** (quit for life 1448)
- Pearson, Robert (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)
- Person (Peerson), Thomas (fl. 1507-35), grocer. **156/13B** (ten 1507-35; res c.1507-35)

PETER

Peter (fl. <1265), f. of Alan. **132/16** (ref to), see his s. Alan

~, Alan s. of (fl. 1265), gds. (*nepos*) of Maud la Blund (BLOUNT). **132/16** (quit by 1265)

PETICRU

- 1 Peticru, Richard (fl. 1350-62), cit. & ironmonger, exec of William Broune (BROWN) (d. 1338-9). **39/6** (sold to Walter de Somersham 1350; bought back (incl. shops) 1352; gtd to Richard Vyncent 1362; quit 1362)

PETLYNG

Petlyng, Henry (fl. 1364), chaplain. **132/22** (poss 1364)

PEVENESEY

Pevenesey, Henry (fl. 1438), h. of Joan. **156/13** (poss by 1438)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1438). **156/13** (poss by 1438)

Philip; see PHILLIPS

PHILIPPA

Queen Philippa (fl. 1355), w. of Edward III. **156/12** (ref to)

Philipps; see PHILLIPS

PHILLIPS (Philip, Philipps, Phillipps)

- Phillips (Philipps), Edward (Mr.) (fl. 1650-66), cordwainer, parish clerk, sexton. **118/0D** (ten 1656-65/6); **118/0G** (ten 1650-66; res by 1651-66)
- 1? Philip, Richard (fl. 1451; d. by 1474), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof of Richard Lee 1451)

PHOTTIE

Phottie, William (fl. 1638). **132/15** (res 1638)

*William PRETTY

PIEL (Pyel)

- 1? Pyel, John (fl. 1349-64), cit. & merchant. **132/15** (bought from Tithinglomb (incl. shop) <1349; gtd back to Tithinglomb & w. 1349); **132/17** (ref to: see **15**); **132/18** (quit 1349); **132/19** (ref to: owner of adj property **20?** 1363); **132/20** (claimed income from 1349; poss bought from Nicholas Anketil 1351; qtcl. to Stephen & Margery atte Mershe 1370)

PIGEON (Pygeon, Pyion)

Pigeon (Pygeon, Pyion), John (fl. 1365; 1390 wd; 1392 wp), piebaker, br. of Richard, h. of Maud, uncle of John, k. of William. **118/12** (ten/res/shop c.1365; plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381; poss acq from Adam de Carlell 1382-90x2)

~, ~, Maud w. & wid. of (fl. 1391; d. 1392x3). **118/12** (made gnt with h. to John Bryan of property in St. Andrew Castle Baynard c.1391; res 1391-1392x3)

~, ~, execs of (fl. 1390x2-3). **118/12** (poss 1393; gtd to Thomas Boocok & Thomas Eton 1393)

Pygeon, John (fl. 1392-3), s. of Richard, nephew of John (fl. 1365). **118/12** (qtcl. to John Pigeon's execs 1393); **118/16?** (res? 1392)

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Pygeon, Richard (fl. 1393?), of Stortford, br. of John (fl. 1365), f. of John (fl. 1392-3). **118/12** (ref to 1393), see his s. John Pygeon (fl. 1392-3)

Pygeon, William (fl. 1390; d. 1394), cit. & piebaker, master of John TOKY, f. of Juliana, k. of John Pigeon (fl. 1365). **118/12** (ten/res/shop 1390x2-4)

~, ~, Juliana da. of (fl. 1394). **118/12** (ref to: received beq from William Pygeon 1394)

PILSWORTH

Pilsworth, Edward (fl. 1601), cit. & clothworker. **118/13** (poss bought from Thomas & Susan Faldoe 1601)

PIPERCORN (1 PEPERCORN)

1 Pipercorn, John (fl. 1182x1213). **132/19-20** (ten 1182x1213); **132/21** (ref to: holder of adj. land)

PLATT

Platt, Thomas (fl. 1602-8). **118/14** (ten 1602-8)

PLOMER

Plomer, John (fl. 1666), gent. **39/6** (underten/res 1666)

POCOCKE

Pococke, William (fl. 1661-70), gent. **132/18** (underten 1661-70/res? 1662-3)

de PODIO

de Podio, Rolandino (fl. 1291), cit. of Lucca, merchant. **156/12** (feof for Society of the Riccardi of Lucca 1291)

(atte, de la) POLE

1 de la Pole, John (fl. 1319-32), apothecary. **118/15** (ref to: as prob. identical with John de la Pole)

*John de la POLE (fl. 1325-39)

atte Pole (alias de la Pole), John (fl. 1325-42), ?h. of Sabina da. of Michael de TOLESAN, f. of John. **118/14** (poss by 1327; ?quit 1327x42 (also owned **15**); **118/15** (poss 1325-42; brewhouse <1347)

*John de la POLE (fl. 1319-32)

1 atte Pole, John (fl. 1349; d. by 1362), s. of John, h. of Katharine. **118/15** (poss 1349-<1362)

1 ~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl. 1362). **118/15** (poss by 1362)

de la Pole, Thomas (fl. <1412), kt., h. of Elizabeth w. of Thomas CHELRAY. **118/14** (ref to), see his w. Elizabeth w. of Thomas CHELRAY

PONDARE

Pondare, William (fl. 1407). **156/13** (feof <1407)

the Pope; see ADRIAN IV, INNOCENT III

POPE

1 Pope, Peter (fl. 1390). **132/23** (res 1390)

1 Pope, William (fl. 1430), cit. & shearman. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

PORTER

1 Porter, William (fl. 1425), kt., h. of Agnes. **132/18** (quit 1425)

1 ~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. 1425). **132/18** (quit 1425)

Porthaleyn (alias Shipley), Alice; see Alice w. of Richard SHIPLEY

POSTENN

Postenn, Ellen (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

POTTS

Potts, Nathaniel (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

INDEX TO PERSONS: P

POUNTFREIT (Pountfreyt, de Pumfreyt)

Pountfreyt (alias Richard de Berdefeld), Richard (alias Richard of Berdefeld) (fl. 1353-65), of Great Bardfield (Essex), royal clerk, rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (rector 1353-63); **118/0A** (poss/res 1365)

de Pumfreyt, William (fl. 1342; d. 1349), gdf. of Agnes. **118/14** (poss by 1342-9; left to gdda. Agnes)

~, ~, Agnes gdda. of (fl. 1349-67; d. by 1412), w. of Nicholas GEMEULX, later mar. Richard de HAVERYNG. **118/14** (poss shops 1349)

~, ~, ~, Eleanor da. of (fl. 1367; d. by 1416), sis. of Elizabeth, w. of Giles YONGE, m. of John YONGE. **118/14** (rev 1367)

~, ~, ~, Elizabeth da. of (fl. 1367; ?d. c.1412), sis. of Eleanor. **118/14** (rev 1367)

*Elizabeth w. of Thomas CHELRAY

Pountfreit, William jun. (fl. 1402-<1433), cit. & skinner, f. of William. **132/15** (poss (incl. shops) 1402 from Katharine wid. of William Wasshyngburn)

Pountfreit, William (fl. 1433), cit. & mercer, s. of William jun. **132/15** (poss (incl. shops) by 1433)

Pountfreyt; see POUNTFREIT

POWELL

Powell, Roger (fl. 1596), cit. & salter. **132/19** (ten Red Lion 1596)

POWLE

Powle, Thomas (fl. 1560-3). **118/0Eiii** (ten shed 1560-3)

Powle, William (fl. 1563-5). **118/0Eiii** (ten shed 1563-5)

POWNDE

Pownde, Robert (fl. 1451; d. by 1474), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof of Richard Lee 1451)

PRESTON

Preston, Thomas (Sir) (fl. c.1408; d. by 1421). **118/16?** (feof of Edmund Hoddesdon c.1408)

PRETTY

Pretty, William (fl. 1643). **132/15** (ref to: resided in parish 1643)

*William PHOTTIE

PRIOUR

Priour, William (called) (fl. <?1281, 1292-4), of *Staumford*, horsemonger? (*cozzun*), h. of Cecilia, f. of Maud. **118/13A** (poss gtd by John Tolosan 1293/4; ?res 1292)

~, ~, Cecilia w. & wid.? of (fl. 1293/4), m. of Maud. **118/13A** (poss gtd by John Tolosan 1293/4; beq to John de Writele >1293/4)

~, ~, Maud da. of (fl. 1325), also da. of Cecilia, w. of John de UPMANTON. **118/13A** (qtcl. in **13A** to John de Writele 1325)

PRYMATE

Prymate, Henry (fl. 1662-3). **132/17?** (res 1662-3)

de Pumfreyt; see POUNTFREIT

PURSER

Purser, Katharine (fl. 1459-66). **132/21** (ten 1459-60; 1465-6)

Pyel; see PIEL

Pygeion, Pygeon, Pyion; see PIGEON

PYKOT

Pykot, Thomas (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (brought plea of intrusion 1381)

PYNCHESTER

Pynchester, Roger (fl. 1544). **118/16** (res 1544)

Q

de QUENTON

de Quenton, William (fl. 1364), kt., h. of Isabel wid. of Hugh de SADELYNGSTANES. **132/22** (qtcl. to John Ine & Henry Petelyng 1364)

R

RALPH

Ralph (fl. <1215), f. of Robert. **132/18** (ref to), see his s. Robert

~, Robert s. of (fl. <1215). **132/18** (ref to c.1215)

Ralph (fl. 1367-92), cook, servant of William HOLBECH. **156/12** (left money by William Holbech; res? 1367-92)

Ralph of Aldgate (fl. 1291), clerk. **39/6** (quit by 1291)

RAMSEY

- 1 Ramsey, Thomas (Sir) (fl. 1586; d. 1590), aldm, uncle of Elizabeth HOLMEDON. **118/16** (poss 1586-90)

RANES

Ranes, Thomas (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

RAWSTHORNE

Rawsthorne, Jerome (fl. 1669), cit. & mercer. **132/20** (underten of John & Mary London 1669)

RAYMOND

Raymond of Bordeaux (fl. 1320), master of John REYNER. **156/12** (ref to), see his servant John REYNER

REDBURNE

Redburne, George (fl. 1595-1616; d. 1618), sexton. **118/0D** (ten 1595-1616x18)

REDE

- 1 Rede, Matthew (fl. 1395), cit. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1395)

Redesdale, lord of; see Richard de HUNFRANVILLE

de REDYNGGE (1 READING)

- 1 de Redyngge, Alan (fl. 1325), tawyer. **132/22-3** (quit by 1325; sold to Thomas de Chigewell 1325)

REIGNER

Reigner, Henry (fl. 1641), servant, stranger. **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

REVE

Reve, Thomas (fl. 1549), gent. **132/22B-C** (poss 1549)

de REYLEGH

- 1 de Reylegh, Walter (1306 wp), cit. & tawyer (*allutarius*), h. of Agatha, f. of Isabal & Simon. **132/22-3** (quit by 1306)

- 1 ~, ~, Agatha w. of (fl. 1306), m. of Isabal & Simon. **132/22-3** (quit 1306)

~, ~, Isabal da. of (fl. 1306; ?d. <1325), also da. of Agatha. **132/22** (rev quit 1306)

- 1 ~, ~, Simon s. of (fl. 1306; ?d. <1325), also s. of Agatha. **132/22** (ref to: rev quit **132/23** 1306)

REYNER

Reyner, John (fl. 1320), servant or apprentice (*vallectus*) of RAYMOND of Bordeaux. **156/12** (attacked queen's servants there 1320)

REYNHAM

Reynham, Stephen (fl. <1362). **156/13** (William de Medelane assigned **13** for a term by statute merchant <1362)

INDEX TO PERSONS: R

RICHARD

Richard I (b. 1157; acc. 1189; d. 1199), king of England. **118/0** (confirmed ch to Colchester Abbey 1189), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

Richard III (b. 1452; acc. 1483; d. 1485), king of England. **132/19** (ref to); see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

Richard s. of the priest (fl. 1222-3). **132/19-20?** (poss? <1222-3); **132/21** (held 1222-3)

*Richard KAUEL

RICHARDS

Richards, George (fl. 1613), grocer. **132/22** (ten/res 'the Harrow' by 1613)

RICHARDSON

2? Richardson, Henry (fl. 1580). **132/19** (feof of Thomas Gill? 1580)

Richardson, Humphrey (fl. 1656-69), cit. & grocer, h. of Elizabeth. **118/12** (poss bought from Richard Turnbull 1656; poss bought from Edward Hay 1668; sold to Henry Avery & George Lulls 1669)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1669). **118/12** (poss by 1669; sold to Henry Avery & George Lulls 1669)

Richardson, Thomas (fl. <1599), clothworker. **132/23** (res <1599)

RICHE (Ritche, Ryche)

Ryche, John (fl. 1575; d. 1593), cit. & grocer, esq., f. of William Ritche (RICHE). **118/14** (ten 1570-80; res 1580); **118/15A** (poss bought from Andrew Clarke 1575)

Ryche, Richard (fl. 1440-6), cit. & mercer. **132/15** (feof 1440)

Riche, Richard (Sir) (fl. 1539), br. of Robert. **39/6** (ref to 1539), see his br. Robert

Riche, Robert (fl. 1539), esq, br. of Sir Richard. **39/6** (poss acq from Sir Ralph Sadler 1539)

Ritche, William (fl. 1593 (aged 40+)), s. & heir of John Ryche (RICHE). **118/15A** (poss? 1593)

Riche family (fl. >1539-1640). **39/6** (?poss 1539-1640)

RIGBY (Rigbie, Rygby)

Rigby, Gilbert (fl. 1650-66), sexton. **118/0B** (ten/res 1650-66)

Rigbie, John (fl. 1641), grocer. **118/14** (res/?underten 1641)

1 Rygby, Thomas (fl. 1459-60), gent. **132/16** (feof of John Colvile 1459-60)

RIKES

1 Rikes, Thomas (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof of Alice Hayward 1451-2)

Rikil; see RYKHILL

Ritche; see RICHE

RIXTON

Rixton, Richard (fl. 1422). **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

Robotham; see ROWBOTTOM

ROCHEFORT

Rochefort, Ralph (fl. 1422), kt. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

ROGER

Roger (fl. 1237), bishop of London. **118/0** (ref to 1237)

ROGERON

Rogeron, Richard (fl. 1430), of Hunden' (Suffolk), woolman. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1430)

ROGERS

Rogers, John (fl. 1540; 1552 wd), cit. & clothworker. **118/14** (poss shops by 1540-52; beq to Clothworkers' Co)

de ROKESLE

de Rokesle, Gregory (fl. 1279), master of the exchange of London & Canterbury, mayor. **156/12** (ref to)

INDEX TO PERSONS: R

de ROMESEYE

de Romeseye, John (d. <1362), tailor, h. of Felicia. **118/15** (ref to), see his wid. Felicia
 ~, ~, Felicia wid. of (fl. 1362). **118/15?** (plea of intrusion brought against her by Katharine wid. of John
 atte Pole concerning tenements in par. 1362)

ROMEYN

Romeyn, John (d. 1296), archbishop of York. **118/16** (quit owned by St. Paul's cathedral: pt of
 endowment of his obit by c.1400)

RONCKTHORNE (Roonckthorne)

Roonckthorne, Goodwife - (fl. 1562-7). **118/0D** (ten 1562-7)
 Ronckthorne, Thomas (fl. 1560-1). **118/0D** (ten 1560-1)

Roonckthorne; see RONCKTHORNE

ROOS

Roos, William (fl. 1422). **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

ROTSE

Rotse, William (fl. 1418). **39/6** (feof by 1418)

ROWBOTTOM (Robotham)

Rowbottom, Mr. - (fl. 1649). **132/22** (res 1649)
 *William ROWBOTTOM
 Robotham, William (fl. 1638-43). **132/20?** (res 1638-43)
 Rowbottom, William (fl. 1648), cit. & draper. **132/22** (poss Three Crowns 1648)
 *Mr. ROWBOTTOM

RUDD

Rudd, Richard (fl. 1614), haberdasher. **132/22** (ten 'Three Pigeons' 1614)

Russel; see RUSSELL

RUSSELL (Russel)

- 1? Russell (Russel), John (1349 wp), cit. & girdler, h. of Agnes. **132/18** (poss by 1349)
 ~, ~, Agnes w. & wid. of (fl. 1349), later mar. William de WIRCESTRE ?& William EYNESHAM.
132/18 (poss by 1349)
 Russell, Stephen (fl. 1475), cit. & founder. **132/20** (feof of Robert Scot 1475)
 Russell, Thomas (fl. 1469), patten-maker. **132/21** (ten 1469)
 *Thomas BREWER (fl. 1465-73)

de RYES

de Ryes, Hubert (fl. 1072-<1100), steward of king's household, f. of Eudo DAPIFER. **118/0** (poss <1072)

Rygb; see RIGBY

RYKHILL (Rikil) (1 RIKHILL)

- Rykhill, John (fl. 1407), s. of William. **156/13** (rev 1407)
 Rykhill, Nicholas (fl. 1407), s. of William. **156/13** (rev 1407)
 Rykhill, Nicholas (fl. 1422). **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)
 Rykhill, Thomas (fl. 1407-22), esq., s. of William. **156/13** (poss 1407-22)
 Rykhill (Rikil), William (fl. >1368-87), cit. & vintner. **118/16** (quit >1368-75); **156/13** (feof of Thomas
 Medelane 1387)
 *William RYKHILL (fl. < 1407)
 1 Rykhill, William (fl. <1407), kt., f. of Thomas, John, Nicholas, Agnes, Joan, & Maud. **156/13** (ref to), see
 his s. Thomas RYKHILL
 *William RYKHILL
 ~, ~, Agnes da. of (fl. 1407). **156/13** (rev 1407)

INDEX TO PERSONS: R

~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. 1407). **156/13** (rev 1407)

~, ~, Maud da. of (fl. 1407). **156/13** (rev 1407)

RYNGSTON

Ryngston, Thomas (fl. 1481; d. by 1486), of London, gent. **118/15B & C** (feof 1481)

S

de SADELYNGSTANES

de Sadelyngstanes, Hugh (fl. 1361), recorder of London, h. of Isabel, f. of John. **132/22** (poss by 1361)
~, ~, Isabel wid. of (fl. 1364), later mar. William de QUENTON. **132/22** (qtcl. to John Ine & Henry
Petlyng 1364)
de Sadelyngstanes, John (fl. 1364), s. of Hugh. **132/22** (brought unsuccessful plea of intrusion against
John Ine & Henry Petlyng 1364)

SADLER

Sadler, Mr. - (fl. 1638). **156/12** (ref to)?
*John SADLER
Sadler, Blunt (Major) (fl. 1662-8), merchant. **156/12** (res 1662-6; poss: had site surveyed 1668)
Sadler, John (fl. 1642; d. 1659), grocer. **156/12?** (res? <1662)
*Mr. SADLER
Sadler, Ralph (Sir) (fl. 1539), chief secretary to king. **39/6** (poss 1539; alienated to Robert Riche 1539)
Sadler, William (fl. 1638-43; d. ?1662). **132/15** (res 1638-?43)

ST. JOHN

1 St. John, Oliver (fl. 1422), kt. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Rykhill 1422)

SANDERS

Sanders, Daniel (fl. 1653; d. c.1658), cit. & grocer, h. of Martha. **39/6** (ten of King's Head 1653-8)
~, ~, Martha w. & wid. of (fl. 1658-72). **39/6** (ten of King's Head 1658-72)
Sanders, Joseph (fl. 1637-8, <1643), cit. & vintner, silkman. **132/22** (res 'Three Pigeons' 1637-<1643)
Sanders, Martha; see Martha w. & wid. of Daniel SANDERS

SAUNDERSON

Saunderson, Caesar (fl. 1655), of Lincoln's Inn, merchant. **132/16B** (bought pt of Three Cranes 1655)

SAVAGE

Savage, Humphrey (fl. 1492-3). **132/19** (ten? 1492-3)

SAY

Say, Thomas (fl. 1662-3). **132/22** (res 1662-3)

SAYER

Sayer, John (fl. 1418-21), of London. **118/15** (feof 1418; conveyed to William Olyver 1421); **132/16** (feof
of William Olyver 1418-21)

SCALTON

Scalton, John (fl. >1385), cit. & skinner, br. of Robert, f. of Joan. **132/23** (poss shop >1385)
~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. >1385-1445), later mar. John ANDREWE. **132/23** (poss shop by 1445)
Scalton, Robert (fl. >1385), cit. & skinner, br. of John. **132/23** (poss shop >1385)

Scot; see SCOTT

SCOTT (Scot, Scotte; see also CLERK)

Scott, George (fl. 1613-14), grocer, churchwarden. **118/0** (paid for clock to be installed in ch 1613-14)
Scott, John (fl. 1342-9), poulterer (*poletarius*), f. of Raymond. **132/19** (poss pt 1342-9)
Scott, John; see John CLERK
Scott, Nicholas (fl. <1525/6). **118/16** (poss? <1525/6)
Scott, Raymond (fl. 1363), s. & heir of John. **132/19** (qtcl. to Adam Fraunceys 1363)
Scott, Richard (fl. 1624-5), cit. & ironmonger. **132/16A** (bought 1624-5 from Francis Muschampe (III))
Scott (Scotte), Robert (also referred to as John) (fl. 1475), cit. & barber, f. of Joan. **132/20** (poss 1475)
~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. >1475). **132/20** (poss by 1513)

INDEX TO PERSONS: S

Scotte; see SCOTT

SEED (Need, Seede, Steede)

Seed, John (d. 1659). **118/16** (ref to), see his ?exec, Judith SEED

*John Seede (SEED)

Seede (Need, Steede), John (Capt) (fl. 1668). **118/16** (3 foundations set out 1668)

Seede, John (Mr.) (fl. 1638-43). **118/16?** (poss?/res 1638)

*John SEED (d. 1659)

Seed, Judith (fl. 1662/3), ?exec of John. **118/16?** (poss pt 1662/3)

Seede; see SEED

Senesterr'; see SENESTERRE

SENESTERRE

Senesterre (Senesterr'), John (fl. 1382; 1400 wd; 1401 wp), brewer, h. of Alice. **118/0** (beq to ch 1400; beq to fraternity of St. Mary; bur. in ch); **118/15** (disseised Elizabeth Burlee; ?ten 1382); **118/16** (ten/res ?brewhouse 1382)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1382). **118/15** (disseised Elizabeth Burlee; ?ten 1382); **118/16** (res? 1382)

SENYOR

Senyor, Thomas (fl. 1587-91). **118/14** (ten 1587-91)

SERVAT

Servat, William (fl. 1292-1308; d. 1318-19), Cahorsin merchant, aldm. **132/16** (ref to: holder of **156/12** in dispute with Solomon le Coteler); **156/12** (poss 1302x1303/4-1313x15); **156/13** (ref to: as holder of **156/12**)

~, ~, s. of (b. c.1289; fl. 1301 (aged 12)). **156/12** (ref to 1301)

SEWALE

Sewale, Robert (fl. 1392). **118/16?** (res? 1392)

SEYMOUR

Seymour, John (fl. 1395), cit. **132/22** (feof of Richard Person 1395)

de Seynt Albon, John; see John ALBON

SHADWORTH

1, 2? Shadworth, John (fl. 1407), cit. & mercer. **132/22** (ref to: owed debt by Robet Domenyk 1407; feof 1408)

SHAKILTON

Shakilton, William (fl. 1556). **118/15A** (ten/res 1556-?67)

Sharley; see SHIRLEY

SHARLYES

Sharlyes, Mr. - (fl. 1588-9). **118/0E** (res 1588-9)

SHARPE

Sharpe, John (fl. 1570-87), salter. **118/14** (ten 1570-87; res 1570)

SHARPING (1 SHARPYNG)

1? Sharping, William (fl. 1387), cit. & vintner. **156/13** (feof of Thomas Medelane 1387)

de SHAWE

de Shawe, Henry (fl. 1339-47), *purpoynter* (maker or seller of pourpoints). **118/13A** (poss gtd by John de Writele 1339; gtd to Richard & Agnes de Wynchecoumbe 1347)

INDEX TO PERSONS: S

SHENTON

Shenton, Thomas (fl. 1482), cit. & grocer. **118/12** (ten 1482)

SHENYFELD

Shenyfeld, John (fl. 1426), h. of Jocosa. **118/16** (plea brought against him alleging forgery of muniments 1426; guilty of trespass 1427)

~, ~, Jocosa w. of (fl. 1426). **118/16** (plea brought against her alleging forgery of muniments 1426; guilty of trespass 1427)

SHEPPARD

Sheppard, Goodwife (fl. 1598-1603), wid. of Henry. **118/0C** (ten 1598-1603)

Sheppard, Henry (b. c.1544; fl. 1569-98; d. 1598), Flemish, mender of old clothes, denizen, h. of Goodwife Sheppard. **118/0C** (ten 1569-98; bur. in the ch 1596)

~, ~, da. of (fl. 1571). **118/0C** (ref to 1571)

le Shereman, William; see William de LITTLEFORD

SHERING

Shering, Elizabeth (fl. 1643-53; d. <1672), da. of Stephen, w. of James FLESHER, m. of Miles, Sarah, & Roberta. **39/6** (poss beq by f. 1643)

Shering, Stephen (1643 wd), cit. & skinner, br. of Thomas, f. of Elizabeth. **39/6** (poss 1643)

Shering, Thomas (fl. 1643), br. of Stephen. **39/6** (rev 1643)

Sherle, Sherley; see SHIRLEY

SHIPLEY

Shipley, Richard (fl. <1448), h. of Alice. **132/22** (ref to), see his former w. Alice

~, ~, Alice former w. of (fl. 1448). **132/22** (poss 1448-<1461)

*Alice da. of Robert DOMENYK

SHIRLEY (Sharley, Sherle, Sherley)

Shirley (Sharley), James (fl. 1593-1616), draper, f. of William. **118/0E** (ten 1593-1616)

Shirley (Sharley, Sherle, Sherley), William (Mr.) (fl. 1564; d. 1593), draper, f. of James. **118/0C** (ten 1565-6); **118/0E** (ten/res as parishioners' lessee 1570-2); **118/0Ei-ii** (ten 1564-93; res 1570-1; bur. in ch nr font 1593); **118/0Eiii** (ten 1586-93)

SHIROKES

Shirokes, Robert (fl. 1426). **118/16** (brought plea against John Shenyfeld et al 1426)

SHORE

Shore, Richard (fl. early 15C). **118/0** (ref to)

SHORTUS

Shortus, Anne (Mrs.) (fl. 1607), ?wid. of Tronyon, exec: Daniel WINCHE. **132/18** (ref to 1607)

Shortus, Thomas (fl. 1594; d. 1618), s. of Tronyon, f. of Trinnian. **132/18** (ref to 1618)

~, ~, Trinnian s. of (fl. 1618). **132/18** (received annuity 1618)

Shortus, Tronyon (fl. 1573-92; d. c.1594), member of Ironmongers' Co., execs: Daniel & Sybyl WINCHE; ?h. of Anne; f. of Thomas & ?Sybyl w. of Daniel WINCHE. **132/18** (ten (incl. shop) 1582-92x4; res 1591)

SHRYMPULMERSSH

Shrympulmerssh, William (fl. 1391). **118/12** (ref to: disputed title of John Bryan's property in St. Andrew Castle Baynard par. 1391)

SHURBON

Shurbon, John (fl. 1638). **132/19** (ten/res 1638)

SIGEWYKE

Sigewyke, John (fl. 1509), king's servant. **132/19** (ten 1509; 1512-26)

INDEX TO PERSONS: S

SIMONET

Simonet, Giovanni (fl. 1291), cit. & merchant of Lucca. **156/12** (feof for Society of the Riccardi of Lucca 1291)

SINGLETON

Singleton, Isaac (fl. 1614-27), clerk, prebendary of St. Paul's, chancellor of bishop of Carlisle, s. of William; nephew of Thomas. **132/21** (ref to: see his f. William); **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' 1614; poss shop 1627)

Singleton, Robert (d. c.1612), cit. & skinner, ?br. of Thomas & William. **132/22** (left money to buy tenement 1612)

Singleton, Thomas (fl. 1597-1614), Doctor of Divinity, prebendary of St. Paul's, br.? & exec of Robert, br. of William (fl. 1580), uncle of William & Isaac. **132/21** (ref to); **132/22** (poss of 'the Harrow' bought from John Tudnam 1613; poss 'Three Pigeons' <1614)

Singleton, Thomas (fl. 1614-37), of London, gent., ?f. of Thomas (d. 1653-4). **132/21** (ten 1614-1637; res? 1638-43)

*Thomas s. of William SINGLETON

Singleton, Thomas (fl. 1649; d. 1653-4), cit. & skinner, ?s. of Thomas (fl. 1614-37). **132/21** (poss 1649)

Singleton, William (fl. 1580; d. c.1617), cit. & skinner, br. of Thomas, f. of William, Isaac, & Thomas. **132/21** (res 1596; ten by 1608); **132/22** (ref to: lived in **21**; claimed poss or ten of 'Three Pigeons' 1614); **132/23** (res 1580)

~, ~, Thomas s. of (fl. 1614-c.1617). **132/21** (ref to: ?identical with Thomas Singleton (fl. 1614-37)); **132/22?** (ten? 1614)

*Thomas SINGLETON (fl. 1614-37)

Singleton, William (fl. 1614), of Chester, gent., s. of William, nephew of Thomas (fl. 1597-1614). **132/22** (poss 'Three Pigeons' 1614; poss shop 1627)

SKRENE (1 SKRENE)

Skrene, John (fl. 1407). **156/13** (feof <1407)

1? Skrene, William sen. (fl. <1407). **156/13** (poss <1407)

SKYNER

Skyner, 'wido' (fl. 1544). **132/22** (res 1544)

*Margaret STYRRELL

SMART

Smart, John (fl. 1655), of London, merchant. **132/16B** (bought pt of Three Cranes 1655)

Smart, Joseph (fl. 1670), cit. & merchant tailor. **132/15** (poss by 1670)

SMITH (Smithe, Smyth, Smythe)

Smith, Goodman - (fl. 1605-16). **118/0C** (ten 1605-16)

Smith, Mr. - (fl. 1668-9). **118/16** (foundation surveyed for 1669; ?underten of John Farrington)

*Richard Smyth (SMITH)

Smith, Agnes (fl. 1600). **132/23** ({received #20 p.a for 3 yrs)

Smith, Grace (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res 1641)

Smith, John (fl. 1641). **118/15Aii** (res 1641)

Smith, Margaret (d. 1620), widow. **118/0C** (res 1620)

Smithe, Martin (fl. 1597), haberdasher. **118/16?** (ten? 1597)

Smyth, Richard (fl. 1662/3). **118.16** (res 1662/3)

*Mr. SMITH

Smythe, Roger (fl. <1541), cit. & grocer. **118/12** (ten <1541)

Smythe, Thomas (fl. 1545), of Inner Temple, gent. **132/22A** (poss by 1545; sold to John Blackman 1545)

Smyth, William (fl. 1596-1608), cit. & salter. **132/19** (ten/res? Red Lion 1596-1608)

Smith, William (fl. 1641). **118/12** (res 1641)

Smith, William (fl. 1670). **118/15Aii** (gtd annuity by Sarah da. of Michael Alexander 1670)

Smithe, Smyth, Smythe; see SMITH

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SOMER

Somer, Henry (fl. 1407). **132/22** (ref to: owed debt by Robert Domenyk 1407; feof 1408)

Somer, Henry (fl. 1418-41), Chancellor of the Exchequer. **118/16** (claimed he was enfeofed 1418; brought plea against John Shenyfeld et al 1426; poss from 1427-41)

Somer, Thomas (fl. 1449). **118/16** (feof 1449)

Somer, Thomas (fl. 1524), cousin of Richard ELLIOTT. **118/14** (rev 1524)

de SOMERSHAM

- 1 de Somersham, Walter (fl. 1350-2), cit. & draper. **39/6** (bought from Richard Peticru 1350; sold back to Peticru 1352)

SOPER

Soper, John (fl. 1496). **118/14** (feof 1496)

SPELMAN (2 SPELEMAN)

- 1, 2 Spelman (Speleman), Stephen (fl. 1383-95), cit. & mercer. **118/16** (quit 1383-95)

SPROXTON

Sproxton, John (fl. >1392-1419), clerk. **118/13** (feof by 1419); **118/15** (feof by 1418; conveyed to feofs); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418)

SPRYNGTHORP

Spryngthorp, John (fl. 1418), clerk. **39/6** (feof by 1418)

STACE

Stace, Richard (fl. 1426; d. by 1449), cit. & jeweller (*jueller*). **39/6** (feof of John Gedney 1426)

STANLEY

Stanley, Humphrey (fl. 1495). **132/19** (ten? 1495)

STEAD

Stead (?alias Steedes), Henry (fl. 1662-3). **132/18?** (res? 1662-3); **132/19?** (res 1662-3)

*Mr. STEEDS

Steede; see SEED

STEEDS

Steads, Mr. - (fl. 1668). **132/19** (ten? 1668)

*Henry STEAD

STEPHEN

Stephen (acc. 1135; d. 1154), king of England, f. of GERVASE. **118/0** (ordered officers of London to give ch to Westminster), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

STEPHENS

Stephens (Stevens), Thomas (Mr.) (fl. 1638-43). **118/16?** (res 1638)

STEVENSON

Stevenson, Richard (fl. 1591-7). **118/14** (ten 1591-7)

Stoakes; see STOKES

STOCK

Stock, Ellen (fl. 1641), wid. of ?William STOKES. **118/12** (res 1641)

STOCKLEY

Stockley, John (fl. 1593), cit. & grocer, ?f. of John (d. 1614). **118/15A** (ten/res 1593)

Stockley, John (fl. c.1601; d. 1614), cit. & merchant, merchant tailor, ?s. of John. **118/15Ai** (ten/res c.1601)

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- STOKES (Stoakes)
 1? Stokes, John (fl. 1474), cit. & grocer. **156/13** (feof 1474)
 Stokes (Stoakes), William (Mr.) (fl. 1635; d. 1638), ?h. of Ellen STOCK. **118/12** (ten/res 1635-8)
- STOKKER
 Stokker, John (fl. 1449-50), draper, exec of John GEDNEY. **39/6** (sold to Ralph Holand 1450)
- STORY
 Story, Geoffrey (fl. 1404), abbot of Colchester. **118/0** (ref to: involved in conspiracy against king 1404)
- STRANSTON
 Stranston, John (fl. 1392), chaplain. **118/16?** (res? 1392)
- STRATTON
 Stratton, Thomas (fl. 1501-3). **132/23** (ten 1501-3)
- STURGEON
 Sturgeon, John (fl. 1448). **118/15A** (res 1448)
- STYCHEFORDE
 Stycheforde, Thomas (fl. 1550). **132/20** (ten 1550)
- Styrrel; see STYRRELL
- STYRRELL
 Styrrel, Margaret (fl. 1545), widow, ?wid. of Nicholas. **132/22** (res 1545)
 *Skyner, 'wido'
 Styrrell, Nicholas (fl. 1522; d. by 1545), grocer, ?h. of Margaret. **132/22** (underten?/res 1522)
- Sudeley, lord of; see Ralph BOTILLER
- SUMMERTON
 Summerton, William (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)
- SUNDAY
 Sunday, John (1349 wd), rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0** (wished to be bur. in chancel 1349)
- SURENDEN (1 SURYNDEN)
 1 Surenden, James (fl. 1418-19), cit. & mercer. **39/6** (feof 1418; gtd back to Thomas Grey 1419)
- SUTTON
 Sutton, Richard (fl. 1368), king's sergeant. **118/16** (quit 1368)
 ~, ~, Katharine w. & wid. of (fl. c.1368), later mar. Robert LUCAS. **118/16** (beq interest in quit by
 Richard Sutton >1368)
 ~, ~, s. of (fl. >1368). **118/16** (f. beq interest in quit to him >1368-<1374)
- SYBSON
 1 Sybson, William (fl. 1486), cit. & draper. **132/22A** (poss 1486); **132/22B-C** (ten 1486)
- SYMONDS
 Symonds, John (fl. 1662-3). **132/15** (res 1662-3)
 ~, ~, partner of (fl. 1662-3). **132/15** (res 1662-3)
 Symonds, Richard (fl. 1643). **132/16B** (res by 1643)

T

TANTE

Tante, Matthew (fl. 1641). **118/14** (res 1641)

TAYLOR (Tayler, le Tayllur, le Taylur)

Tayler, Giles (fl. 1590). **118/16** (rev 1590)

Taylor, Joan (fl. <1558), sis. of Thomas ALSOPP (d. 1558), Robert ALSOPP, Reynold ALSOPP, & Margaret ANDLEBY, w. of - TAYLOR, m. of Lyne & John. **118/13** (ref to), see her sons Lyne & John TAYLOR

Taylor, John (fl. 1558), s. of Joan, br. of Lyne, nephew of Thomas ALSOPP (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558)

Taylor, Lyne (fl. 1558), s. of Joan, br. of John, nephew of Thomas ALSOPP (d. 1558). **118/13** (rev 1558)

1 le Taylur (called le Tayllur), Philip (fl. 1265; 1292 wp), cit., h. of Sabina, f. of John. **132/16** (quit 1265); **132/18** (ref to: quit from **16?** 1265)

~, ~, John s. of (fl. 1292). **132/16** (rev quit)

1 ~, ~, Sabina w. of (fl. 1265). **132/16** (quit 1265)

Tayler, William (fl. 1590). **118/16** (rev 1590)

TEGO

Tego, Joan (fl. 1538), widow. **132/20** (res 1538)

TEMMES

Temmes, William (fl. 1570-81). **132/21** (ten 1570-81)

TENCH

Tench, George (fl. 1653-5), cit. & girdler, h. of Bridget. **132/16B** (poss/res 1653-5)

~, ~, Bridget w. of (fl. 1653-5). **132/16B** (poss 1653-5)

THATCHER

Thatcher, John (fl. 1568-9), cit. & grocer, h. of Martha. **156/13B** (poss by 1568; gtd to John Hudson 1568)

~, ~, Martha w. of (fl. 1569). **156/13B** (qtcl. to John Hudson 1569)

Thatcher, Roger (fl. 1536), grocer. **156/13B** (ten 1536-44; res 1544)

Tholesan, Tholosan; see (de) TOLESAN

THOMAS

Thomas *magnus* (fl. 1192x1211). **132/16** (poss or ten 1192x1211); **132/19-20** (poss 1192x1211); **132/21** (ref to as holder of ?**132/19-20**)

Thomas, Katharine (fl. 1398-1418), ?k. of Agnes sis. of Stephen atte HALLE. **118/16** (poss by 1398; gtd to Edmund & Margery Hoddesdon; dispossessed Thomas Hodesdon as he had not paid #10 rent to her 1418)

Thomas, William (fl. 1392). **118/16** (Henry Somer claimed William Thomas had ejected Robert Hoddesdon from **16**)

THOMASYN

1? Thomasyn, Bartholomew (fl. <1349), f. of Nicholas GEMEULX. **118/14** (ref to)

THOMPSON

Thompson, Richard (Mr.) (fl. 1662-9). **118/0F** (ten 1662-6; received compensation 1669)

Thompson, Robert (fl. 1659-62), Lieutenant Colonel. **118/0F** (ten 1659-62)

de THORP

de Thorp, John (d. 1375), clerk. **118/16** (custody of property 1375)

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THROGOOD

Throgood, Thomas (fl. 1545). **118/15A** (poss bought from Crown 1545)

THURBY

Thurby, John (fl. 1459-60), chaplain. **132/16** (feof of John Colvile 1459-60)

THURLBY

Thurlby, John (fl. 1668), gent., h. of Elizabeth. **132/22** (poss 'Three Crowns' by 1668)

~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1668). **132/22** (poss 'Three Crowns' by 1668)

de THURSTON

de Thurston, John (fl. 1340), poulterer (*pulter*). **132/19** (plea of intrusion brought against him by Agnes wid. of John de Lanfare 1340)

THWAITES

Thwaites, Lawrence (fl. 1580). **132/19** (ten 1580)

THYRLEWALL

Thyrlewall, William (fl. 1408). **118/16** (ten 1408)

TIBBS

Tibbs, William (fl. c.1663), cit. & stationer. **118/15B & C** (poss bought from William Lawson c.1663)

Tidenam, Tidenham; see TUDNAM

Tidi; see TYDY

de TILLEBURY

de Tillebury, David (fl. 1327; 1337 wd; 1338 wp), cit. & apothecary. **118/12** (ten 1327; acq interest in **12?** under statute merchant as security for loan to Robert s. of Michael de Tolosan c.1327)

~, ~, execs of (fl. 1337-8). **118/12** (1337-8 interest under statute merchant)

TITHINGLOMB (Tythynglomb)

Tithinglomb (Tythynglomb), William (fl. 1329-49; d. 1363), cit. & poulterer, h. of Joan. **118/15** (ten 1349-51; disseised John atte Pole 1349); **132/15** (ten shops 1329; poss by 1349; gtd & qtcl to Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel 1349); **132/17** (acq rev from Robert Tholosan c.1330-49; poss? shops by 1349); **132/18** (quit by 1349); **132/20?** (poss? 1337; claimed he held property under 2 statute of merchants 1349)

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1349). **132/15** (poss shop gtd by Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel 1349)

TOFT

Toft, Richard (fl. 1513), cit. & merchant tailor, h. of Joan da. of Robert SCOT. **132/20** (poss by 1513)

TOKY

Toky, John (fl. 1394), apprentice of William PIGEON. **118/12** (ref to: received beq from William Pygeon 1394)

(de) TOLESAN (Tholesan, Tolesane, *Tolesanus*, Tolosan, de Toluse, de Tulusano, (de) Tulesan, de Tulesano, Tulosan)

Tolosan (de Toluse, de Tulesano; alias de Walebroc), John (fl. 1237-58; d. 1259), sheriff, mayor, aldm., ?s. of Michael, ?f. of Sir John. **118/16** (ref to: as holder of property on W. & S. 1258-9); **132/15** (poss shops <1265); **132/16** (poss/res 1258); **132/17**; **132/18**; **132/19** (poss shops <1265)

*John de Tulusano (TOLESAN)

de Tulusano, John (d. ?1259), ?f. of John. **132/19-20** (poss <1269)

*John Tolosan (TOLESAN) (d. 1259)

(de) Tolesan (de Tolosan, Tulesan), John sen. (Sir) (fl. 1260; d. c.1280), mayor, ?s. of John, h. of Joan, f. of Michael & John. **118/13** (poss <1275-c.1280); **118/15?** (poss by 1280); **132/16?** (poss 1259); **132/18** (poss by 1280); **132/19-20?** (poss by 1280)

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- ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1280). **132/18** (poss or quit 1280); **132/19-20** (house & rents in **132/-** beq by h. incl. **19** 1280)
- ~, ~, John s. of; see John (de) TOLESAN jun.
- ~, ~, Michael elder s. of; see Michael de TOLESAN
- de Tolesan (Tolosan, de Tulesan), John jun. (fl. 1280-93/4), cit., s. of John sen, younger br. of Michael. **118/13A & B** (poss 1280-93/4; gtd **13A** to William & Cecilia Priour 1293-4; quit 1293/4); **118/15?** (poss pt 1280)
- Tolesan (*Tolesanus*), Michael (fl. 1227), ancestor/?f. of John. **118/16** (ref to: as holding land adj. **132/16**); **132/16** (poss 1227); **132/18** (ref to: as ?identical with MICHAEL)
*MICHAEL; *Michael de WALEBROC
- (de) Tolesan (de Tolosan, Tulosan), Michael (fl. 1280-1304; 1312 wp), cit., elder s. of John (d. c.1280), br. of John, h. of Juliana, f. of Sabina, John, & Robert. **118/12** (poss shops by 1312); **118/13B?** (poss? shop >1293/4-1312); **118/14** (poss shops? by 1312); **118/15** (poss shops 1280-1312; res? 1292); **132/15** (poss shops 1282-1312); **132/16** (ref to as owner of shops adj on N. 1282; quit by 1312); **132/17** (poss 4 shops 1282-1312); **132/18** (poss or quit 1280-1312); **132/19-20** (poss beq by f. c.1280; gtd to Solomon de Lanuare by 1291; quit by 1291); **132/20** (poss c.1312)
- ~, ~, John s. of (fl. 1312), br. of Sabina & Robert. **118/12** (inherited shop? 1312); **118/13B?** (may have been possessor 1312); **118/15** (quit 1312; poss pt 1312)
- ~, ~, Juliana w. & wid. of (fl. 1312-36; d. by 1340), m. of Robert, later mar. Walter le BRET. **118/15** (ref to: see Walter le Bret); **132/15?**; **132/17?** (life interest beq by h. 1312); **132/17** (poss shops 1312); **132/18** (quit for life 1312-40); **132/19** (quit 1312); **132/20** (poss 1312-36)
- ~, ~, Robert s. of; see Robert TOLESAN
- ~, ~, Sabina da. of (fl. 1312), sis. of John & Robert, ?w. of John atte POLE. **118/14** (poss beq by f. 1312); **118/15** (poss 2 shops 1312)
- ~, ~, children of (John, Robert, & Sabina) (fl. 1312). **132/19** (rev quit 1312)
- ~, ~, heirs of (fl. 1312-15; 1376). **132/19** (quit 1376); **132/20** (poss 1315)
- ~, ~, sons of (John & Robert) (fl. 1312). **132/15** (rev 1312)
- Tholesan (Tolesane), Richard (fl. 1280), s. of Stephen. **132/16** (poss by 1280; gtd to Iterus of Angouleme 1280; quit 1280)
- Tolesan, Robert (fl. 1312-47), s. & heir of Michael, also s. of Juliana, br. of Sabina & John (fl. 1312), h. of Agnes, f. of Joan & Katharine, heir of John jun. (fl. 1293/4). **118/12** (inherited shop? 1312; also held **118/14**); **118/13A** (quit 1339); **118/13B** (poss shop 1339-47); **118/15** (poss **15C** 1312; gtd wardship of da. to Walter le Bret 1342); **132/15** & **132/17** (rev shops 1312; agreed to pass rev to William Tithinglomb c.1333; 1340 qtcl.); **132/17** (rev; gtd to William Tithinglomb c. 1330); **132/18** (rev quit 1312; transfered interest to William Tithinglomb 1340); **132/20** (rev 1312; gtd rev interest to Thomas de Lodelawe 1336; qtcl. to John Anketil 1340)
- ~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. c.1327), m. of Joan. **118/12** (ref to c.1327)
- ~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. c.1327; 1342 (minor)), also da. of Agnes, ward of Walter le BRET. **118/12** (ref to c.1327); **118/15** (inherited shops 1342)
- ~, ~, Katharine da. of (fl. 1351; d. by ?1376), w. of Thomas atte BARNET, d. without heirs. **118/15C** (complained of intrusion by William Tythynglomb 1351)
- Tolesan, Stephen (fl. <1280), cit., f. of Richard. **132/16** (ref to), see his s. Richard TOLESAN

Tolesane, *Tolesanus*; see (de) TOLESAN

TOLLAR

Tollar, Charles (fl. 1593-1612). **118/0F** (ten 1593-1612)

Tolosan, de Tolusano, de Toluse; see (de) TOLESAN

de Topefeld; see de TOPPESEFELDE

de TOPPESEFELDE (de Topefeld) (1 TOPEFELD)

1? de Toppesfelde, Richard (fl. c.?1340). **132/22** (ten shops c.1340)

*Richard s. of William de Topefeld (de TOPPESEFELDE)

de Topefeld, William (fl. ?<1342), f. of Richard. **132/22** (note 3), see his s. Richard

1 ~, ~, Richard s. of (fl. 1342). **132/22** (note 3: as ?identical with Richard de Toppesfelde)

*Richard de TOPPESEFELDE

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TOROLD

Torold, John (fl. 1367), taverner. **132/16** (Thomas de Enefeld brought plea of intrusion against him 1367; res? 1367; tavern? 1367)

atte TOUR

atte Tour, Reginald (fl. 1349). **132/15** (plea of intrusion brought against by Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel 1349; see also **132/20**)

atte Tour, Roger (fl. 1349). **118/15** (wrongly accused of having disseised John atte Pole 1349); **132/20?** (ten? by 1349; Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel claimed he had dispossessed them 1349)

TOWNESEND

Townesend, George (fl. 1538), gent., h. of Alice. **132/20** (rev 1538; sold to Richard Gresham)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1538). **132/20** (rev 1538; sold to Richard Gresham)

TRAPHAM

Trapham, Elizabeth (fl. 1559-61), da. of Reynold ALSOPP, sis. of Robert & Thomas ALSOPP, w. of Thomas TRAPHAM. **118/13** (rev 1559; poss pt 1561)

Trapham, Thomas (fl. 1559-61), h. of Elizabeth. **118/13** (poss pt 1561)

Traveree; see TRAVERS

TRAVERS (Traveree, Trever, Trevers)

Traveree ('Trever'), Giles (Captain) (fl. 1668-9). **118/15Ai?** (poss or ten <1669); **118/16** (ref to: adj. 1669)

Travers (Trevers), James (fl. 1666-71), cit. & apothecary. **132/22** (poss 1667); **156/13B** (ten 1666-71; res 1666)

TRESWELL

Treswell, Ralph (fl. 1612). **118/14** (ref to: surveyed property 1612)

Trever, Trevers; see TRAVERS

TROTT

1 Trott, Rose (fl. 1552). **132/23** (ten 1552)

TRUNDELL

Trundell, Katharine (fl. 1603), widow, ?wid. of William TRUNDELL (1600 wp). **132/23** (qtcl. to Thomas Tudnam 1603)

*Katharine Trundle (TRUNDELL)

Trundle (alias Martin), Katharine (fl. 1613), wid. of William, later mar. Edmund MARTIN. **132/22** (possible claim of dower interest in 'the Harrow' 1613)

*Katharine TRUNDELL

Trundell, William (1600 wp), ?h. of Katharine (fl. 1603), ?f. of William. **132/23** (?lent money to Thomas Tudnam)

*William Tidenham (TUDNAM)

*William Trundle (TRUNDELL)

Trundell, William (fl. 1603), ?s. of William; h. of Anne. **132/23** (qtcl. to Thomas Tudnam 1603)

~, ~, Anne w. of (fl. 1603). **132/23** (qtcl. to Thomas Tudnam 1603)

Trundle, William (d. by 1613), cit. & goldsmith, h. of Katharine. **132/22**, see his wid. Katharine Trundle (TRUNDELL)

*William TRUNDELL

Trundle; see TRUNDELL

TRUTHENEK

Truthenek, Michael (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

TUDNAM (Tidenam, Tidenham)

Tudnam, John (fl. 1596). **132/22** (ten/res 1596)

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Tudnam, John (fl. 1603), cousin & heir of Robert. **132/23** (qtcl. to Thomas Tudnam 1603)
 Tudnam, John (fl. 1604; d. by 1627), cit. & grocer, f. of Robert. **132/22** (poss/res 'the Harrow' 1604; sold to Thomas Singleton 1613)
 Tudnam (Tidenham), Robert (fl. 1566-99; 1600 wp), cit. & grocer, cousin of Thomas & John. **132/22** (ten pt by 1579; poss/?res 1596; poss pt gtd by John & Elizabeth Blackman 1579; poss pt gtd by Robert & Alice Brett 1596); **132/23** (ten from 1570-75; poss bought from Richard & Agnes White 1580-1600; beq to Thomas Tudnam)
 Tudnam, Robert (fl. 1627), of Exeter, upholder, s. & heir of John. **132/22** (sold shop to William & Isaac Singleton 1627)
 Tudnam (Tidenam), Thomas (fl. 1600-5), of Holme Hale (Norfolk), yeoman, cousin of Robert, h. of Margaret. **132/23** (poss 1600-3; sold to Haberdashers' Co 1603; qtcl. 1605)
 ~, ~, Margaret w. of (fl. 1605). **132/23** (qtcl. to Haberdashers' Co 1605)
 Tidenham, William (fl. 1600). **132/23** (owed a debt by Thomas Tudnam 1600)
 *William TRUNDELL

de Tulesano, Tulosan, Tulson; see (de) TOLESAN

TURKE

Turke, Richard (fl. 1550), aldm. **132/18** (gtd quit by Crown 1550); **132/23** (quit 1550; qtcl. to Skinners' Co 1553)

TURNBULL

Turnbull, George (d. <1656), of Eason (Suff.), clerk, f. of Richard. **118/12** (ref to), see s. Richard
 Turnbull, Richard (fl. 1656), of Eye (Suff.), gent., s. & heir of George. **118/12** (poss by 1656: sold to Humphrey Richardson 1656)

TURNER (Turnour)

Turner, John (fl. 1505), cit. & spurrier, h. of Joan. **156/13** (quit 1505)
 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1514). **156/13** (qtcl. to George Monoux 1514)
 Turnour, John (fl. 1584-5). **118/0D** (ten 1584-5)
 Turnour, William (fl. 1585-6). **118/0D** (ten 1585-6)

Turnour; see TURNER

TYDY (Tidi)

Tydy (Tidi), Roger (fl. 1349). **118/15** (wrongly accused of having disseised John atte Pole 1349); **132/15** (plea of intrusion brought against by Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel 1349: oee also **132/20**); **132/20** (Adam Fraunceys & John Pyel claimed he had dispossessed them 1349)

de TYERNE

de Tyerne, John (fl. 1332), chaplain. **156/13** (quit 1332)

TYKNORE

Tyknore, Richard (fl. 1394), draper. **132/15** (feof of Katharine Wasshyngburn 1394)

TYRELL

Tyrell, Thomas (fl. 1449-50), kt., exec of John GEDNEY. **39/6** (sold to Ralph Holand 1450)

Tythynglomb; see TITHINGLOMB

TYUIEOT

Tyuiet, Thomas (fl. 1459-60), draper. **132/16** (feof of John Colvile 1459-60)

U

d'Umfreville; see de HUNFRANVILLE

UNDERWOOD

Underwood, Mr. - (fl. 1638). **156/12** (?res 1638)

*William UNDERWOOD or Robert UNDERWOOD (fl. 1638)

Underwood, Robert (d. c.1638), cit. & grocer, h. of Timothea, f. of Robert. **156/12** (poss by c.1638)

~, ~, Timothea wid. of (fl. 1638). **156/12** (sold to William Underwood 1638)

Underwood, Robert (fl. 1638), cit. & draper, s. & heir of Robert. **156/12** (sold to William Underwood 1638)

*Mr. UNDERWOOD

Underwood, William (fl. 1638; d. 1658), cit. & grocer, aldm. **156/12** (poss/?res 1638-1658)

*Mr. UNDERWOOD

de UPMANTON

de Upmanton, John (fl. 1325), of Faversham, h. of Maud da. of William & Cecilia PRIOUR. **118/13A**
(qtcl. in **13A** to John de Writele 1325)

UPTON

1 Upton, John (fl. 1451-2). **132/22** (feof Alice Hayward 1451-2)

V

VANNERE

Vannere, Henry (fl. 1389), guardian of Joan da. of Richard de BRIKLESWORTH. **132/22** (guardian of Joan da. of Richard Briklesworth 1389)
Vannere, William (fl. 1394-1401). **39/6** (ten 1394-1401)

VENABLES

Venables, Richard (fl. 1540-1), gent. **118/12** (ten (incl. shops 1540)

le VENOUR

le Venour, John (fl. 1345/6). **132/16** (poss by 1345/6; conveyed to John de Enefeld)

*John s. of William le VENOUR

le Venour, William (fl. <1315), f. of John. **132/16** (ref to), see his s. John

~, ~, John s. of (fl. 1315), h. of Juliana. **132/16** (rev 1315)

*John le VENOUR

~, ~, ~, Juliana w. of (fl. 1315). **132/16** (rev 1315)

VERNON

2 Vernon, John (fl. 1608), cit. & haberdasher, h. of Sarah da. of Thomas GILL. **132/19** (poss by 1608)

VINCENT (Vyncent)

1 Vyncent, Richard (Dom) (fl. 1362; 1368), rector of St. Benet Sherehog. **39/6** (poss acq from Richard Peticru 1362; gtd to Fulk de Horwode 1368)

Vyncent, Richard (fl. 1381). **118/12?** (plea of intrusion brought against him et al by Thomas Pykot 1381)

VYGERS

Vygers, Walter (fl. 1641). **118/15B & C** (res 1641)

Vyncent; see VINCENT

VYNER

Vyner, Elizabeth (fl. 1641). **118/15Aii** (res 1641)

W

WADYNGHAM

Wadyngham, Robert (fl. 1377), chaplain. **118/12** (gtd property by John Foxton; gtd back to Foxton & w. 1377)

WADYNGTON

Wadyngton, Richard (fl. 1543-48; d. 1565), ?k. of William. **132/18** (ten/res 1543-4; res 1548-56; ten 1548-65)

*William WADYNGTON

Wadyngton, William (?error for Richard) (fl. 1546-7), ?k. of Richard. **132/18** (ten 1546-7)

*Richard WADYNGTON

WAGER

Wager, John (fl. <1291). **39/6** (named as former owner 1291)

*John s. of Wascher le MARLINER

Waggstaff; see WAGSTAFFE

WAGSTAFFE (Waggstaff)

Wagstaffe (Waggstaff), Henry (fl. 1669-70), grocer. **118/15Ai** (poss or ten 1669-70); **132/16B** (ref to: holder of **118/15A**)

Walcher the mazeliner; see Wascher le MARLINER

WALDERN (1 WALDEN)

1? Waldern, William (fl. 1418-19), cit. & mercer. **39/6** (feof 1418; gtd back to Thomas Grey 1419)

de WALEBROC

de Walebroc, Michael (fl. 1220s), merchant. **132/16** (ref to: as ?identical with Michael Tolesan)

*Michael TOLESAN

de Walebroc, John; see John de Tulesano (TOLESAN)

(le) WALEYS (1, 2 le WALEIS)

1?, 2 le Waleys, Henry (fl. 1282), mayor. **118/0** (ref to 1282)

Waleys, John (fl. 1375). **118/16** (quit 1375)

WALKER (Wilkes)

Walker, Widow - (fl. 1578-81), ?wid. of Thomas. **118/0F** (ten/res 1578-81)

Walker (Wilkes), Thomas (fl. 1562-77), clothworker. **118/0F** (ten shed or shop 1562-??7)

de WALSOKNE

de Walsokne, Adam (fl. 1308-25), h. of Isabel, f. of Margery. **39/6** (poss shop 1308; res ?1319; poss whole of E. pt by 1325)

~, ~, Isabel w. of (fl. 1308). **39/6** (poss shop 1308)

~, ~, Margery da. & heir of (fl. 1329). **39/6** (poss by 1329; gtd to William Broune alias de Horzede 1329)

WALTER

Walter (fl. 1231x7), procurator of hospital of St. Giles Holborn. **39/6** (poss as procurator by 1231x7; gtd to John s. of Walcher the mazeliner)

Walter (fl. <1265), f. of Robert. **156/12** (ref to)

~, Robert s. of (fl. <1265). **156/12** (ref to)

~, ~, heir of (fl. <1265). **156/12** (ref to)

1 Walter the marshal (*marescallus*, the smith) (fl. 1182-3), of London, smith (*faber*). **132/21** (poss moiety 1182-3 ; gtd by St. Augustine's Abbey)

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WALTHAM

Waltham, John (fl. 1408), brazier (*brasyer*). **132/22** (ten/res 1408)
Waltham, Richard (fl. 1392), of Essex. **118/16?** (res? 1392) 1392,,

WALTON

Walton, William (fl. 1635), cit. & clothworker. **118/15Ai** (ten/res 1635)

WARD (Warde)

Ward, Anthony (fl. 1641), 'marces'. **118/14** (res 1641)
Warde, Garrard (Garret) (fl. 1593-1608; d. 1612), member of Clothworkers' Co., h. of Joan, f. of George.
118/14 (ten/?res 1593-1612)
~, ~, Joan wid. of (fl. 1612; d. 1622), m. of George. **118/14** (ten/res 1612-22)
Ward, George (Mr.) (fl. 1612; d. 1646), cit. & clothworker, s. of Garrard & Joan, h. of Elizabeth. **118/14**
(ten/res 1622-46)
~, ~, Elizabeth w. & wid. of (fl. 1641; d. 1652). **118/14** (res/ten 1641-52)
Ward (Warde), Joan; see Joan wid. of Garrard Warde (WARD)
Ward, John (fl. 1641), grocer, h. of Elizabeth. **118/13** (res 1641)
~, ~, Elizabeth w. of (fl. 1641). **118/13** (res 1641)

Warde; see WARD

de WARE

de Ware (alias de Woodford), John (fl. 1304; 1317 wp), cit. & hafter (*manchoerus, haftere*). **118/16A**
(poss shops 1304-1316)
*John le IRERNERE

WARENGTON

Warengton, Mr. - (fl. 1541-2). **132/18** (ten 1541-2)

WARMYNGTON

Warmyngton, Edward (fl. 1448-59), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448)

WARNER

Warner, Thomas (fl. <1512), poulterer. **132/19** (ten <1512)

Washer the mazeliner; see Wascher le MARLINER

WASSHYNGBURN

Wasshyngburn, William (d. <1394), cit. & sheerman, h. of Katharine. **132/15** (ref to), see his wid.
Katharine
~, ~, Katharine wid. of (fl. 1394-1402). **132/15** (poss shops 1394-1402; gtd to William Pountfreit &
Thomas atte Hoo 1402)

WATSON

Watson, Elias (Mr.) (fl. 1638-43). **118/16?** (res 1638)

WAWLL

Wawll, Mr. - (fl. 1570-2). **118/0E** (ten as rector's lessee 1570-2)

WEBBE

Webbe, Richard (fl. 1597-1602). **118/14** (ten 1597-1602)

de WEDON

de Wedon, Roger (fl. 1326-32), saddler (*seler*), h. of Isabel. **156/13** (ten shop 1326-32)
~, ~, Isabel w. of (fl. 1326-32). **156/13** (ten 1326-32)

WELBOURNE

Welbourne, John (fl. <1367; d. by ?1367), clerk. **118/14** (feof of Richard & Agnes de Haveryng <1367)

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atte WELLE

atte Welle, John (fl. c.1330), cit. & ironmonger (*ferronus*), h. of Agnes. **132/19** (poss c.1330; gtd to John le Hore <1336)

~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. c.1330). **132/19** (poss c.1330; gtd to John le Hore <1336)

de WENGRAVE

de Wengrave, John (fl. 1311/12). **132/16** (poss bought from exec of Solomon le Coteler 1312; gtd to William de Fourneis 1312)

WEST

West, John (fl. >1392-1419), clerk. **118/13** (feof by 1419); **118/15** (feof by 1418; conveyed to feofs); **132/16** (feof of William Olyver 1418)

West, John (fl. 1669-70), scrivener. **118/15Aii** (ten 1669); **118/15B & C** (ten? 1669: had site surveyed 1669)

de WESTON

de Weston, Walter (fl. 1361). **132/22** (qtcl. 1361)

WHATELE

Whatele, John (fl. 1427). **132/22** (feof by 1427)

Whight; see WHITE

(le) WHITE (Whight, Whyte)

White (Whight), Blase (fl. 1535-50; <1579), cit. & grocer, br. of Richard. **132/22** (ten/res <1579); **132/23** (ten 1535-50; res 1544; poss 1550)

le White (Whyte), John (fl. <1305-6). **132/22** (poss <1305-6); **132/23** (poss <1305; gtd to John le White)

White, Richard (fl. 1566-80), of Holme Hale (Norfolk), tanner, br. & heir of Blase, h. of Agnes. **132/23** (poss by 1566-80; sold to Robert Tudnam 1580)

~, ~, Agnes w. of (fl. 1580). **132/23** (poss by 1580; sold to Robert Tudnam)

White, Thomas (fl. 1598), cit. & draper, h. of Dorcas da. of William KENNINGHAM. **118/13** (poss c.1598; sold to Thomas Faldoe)

le Whyte; see (le) WHITE

WHYTEBERD

Whyteberd, John (fl. 1408). **118/16** (ten 1408)

WHYTYNGHAM

1 Whytyngham, Robert (fl. 1405), cit. & tailor. **118/15** (feof 1405); **132/16** (feof 1405)

WIGGE (Wiggs)

Wigge (Wiggs), Mr. (fl. 1638-42). **39/6** (res 1638-42)

Wiggs; see WIGGE

WILBY

Wilby, Thomas (fl. <1512), poulterer. **132/19** (ten <1512)

WILDE (Wolde)

Wilde (Wolde), John (fl. 1577-82), haberdasher. **132/18** (ten 1577-82); **132/19** (ten 1580)

WILKOX (Wylkocke)

Wilkox (Wylkocke), John (fl. 1538; d. 1540). **132/18** (ten/?res 1538-40)

WILKS

Wilks, Alexander (fl. 1653). **132/18** (ten pt 1653)

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WILLAN (Willam, Willand, William)

William, Goodwife - (fl. 1604-5), ?wid. of Edward (fl. 1588-2602/3). **118/0B** (ten 1604-5)

Willan, Edward (fl. 1588-1602/3), parish clerk, sexton, ?h. of Goodwife WILLAN. **118/0B** (ten 1588-1603)

Willan (Willam, Willand), Edward (fl. 1606-20; d. 1633), 'distracted almsman'. **118/0B** (ten 1606-20x?33; bur. in the ch 1633)

Willand, James (fl. 1560; d. 1588), sexton of St. Mary Woolchurch. **118/0B** (ten/res 1560-88; bur. in the ch 1588)

Willand; see WILLAN

WILLIAM

William Rufus (acc. 1087; d. 1100), king of England. **118/0** (ref to), see also The Crown (Index of Institutions)

William the cook (*cocus*) (fl. 1212x22). **132/21** (poss 1313x22; gtd to St. Paul's)

William; see also WILLAN

WILLINGHAM

Willingham, Henry (fl. 1662-3), druggist, partner of Henry LASCOE. **156/12** (res 1662-3)

Willingham, William (fl. 1662-3). **156/12** (res 1662-3)

WILLOUGHBY

Willoughby, Edward (fl. 1666), druggist, partner of Henry LASCOE. **156/12** (res 1666)

WILSON

Wilson, Goodwife - (fl. 1564-5). **118/0C** (ten 1564-5)

de WILTSHIRE

de Wiltshire, John (fl. 1371), cit. & pepperer. **118/16** (custody of property 1371-5)

WINCHE

Winche, Daniel (fl. 1594-1623; d. by 1625), cit. & grocer, exec of Tronyon & Anne SHORTUS, h. of Sybyl. **132/16A** (ten 1513); **132/18** (ten shop 1594?-1623/res 1579?-1623)

~, ~, Sybyl w. & wid. of (fl. 1594-1625; d. 1631), exec of Tronyon SHORTUS, ?da. of Tronyon SHORTUS. **132/18** (ten 1594-31; res 1579-1631)

Winche, Robert (fl. 1631-3), s. of Daniel & Sybyl. **132/18** (ten 1631-3)

Winche, Sybyl (Mrs.); see Sybyl w. & wid. of Daniel WINCHE

de WINCHESTER (de Wychestr')

de Wychestr', John (fl. 1292; d. by 1310), ?k. of John (fl. <1312-27). **118/12?** (ref to as res of Walbrook ward 1292)

de Wynchestr', John (fl. <1312-27), tailor, h. of Alice, ?k. of John (d. by 1310). **118/12** (ten <1312-1327)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. <1312-27). **O118/12** (ten <1312-1327)

WINGAR (Wyngar)

Wyngar, Agnes (1522 wd), w. of John. **118/0** (wished to be bur. in ch 1522)

Wyngar, George (1521 wp). **118/0** (bur. in ch 1521)

Wingar (Wyngar), John (fl. 1504-5), mayor (1504-5), h. of Agnes. **118/0** (aided building of ch)

de WIRCESTRE (of Worcester, Worcestre, *de Wygorn'*)

Worcestre, Agnes; see Agnes w. & wid. of John RUSSELL

1? de Wircestre (of Worcester, *de Wygorn'*), Hugh (fl. 1316-20; 1326 wp), cit. & skinner. **39/6** (quit 1320); **132/19** (poss gtd by John de Lanfare 1316; left to be sold by execs 1326)

~, ~, execs of (fl. 1326). **132/19** (sold to Thomas de Norwyco by 1328)

de Wircestre, William (sen.) (1358 wd; 1359 wp), cit. & fellmonger, h. of Agnes wid. of John RUSSELL, f. of William & Joan, exec: William EYNESHAM. **132/18** (poss shops by 1358)

~, ~, Agnes w. of; see Agnes wid. of John RUSSELL

~, ~, Joan da. of (fl. 1358). **132/18** (rev 1358)

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~, ~, William s. of (fl. 1358). **132/18** (rev 1358)

WITTENEYE (Wytteneye)

Witteneye, Richard (fl. 1448-9). **132/21** (?ten 1448-9)

Witteneye (Wytteneye), Thomas (alias Thomas the tailor) (fl. 1412-53). **132/21B** (ten 1412-20); **132/21** (ten 1422/3-?1453)

Wittilsay; see WYTTILHAY

Wlwardus de Cuninghop'; see *de CUNINGHOP'*

Wodeford; see de WOODFORD

Wolde; see WILDE

WOLLASTON

Wollaston, Widow - (fl. 1637-8). **118/0C** (ten 1637-8)

WOODE (1 WOOD)

1? Woode, Edward (fl. <1547). **132/22B-C** (ten <1547)

de WOODFORD (Wodeford)

de Woodford (Wodeford), John (fl. 1258-9), f. of Agnes. **118/16A** (poss or ten shops 1258-9)

~, ~, Agnes da. of (fl. <1301), ?w. of Richard COOK. **118/16A** (poss shops <1301; gtd to John de Ware)

WOODSHAWE

1 Woodshawe, James (fl. 1582). **132/23** (poss 'concealed land' gtd by king, 1582)

Worcestre; see de WIRCESTRE

Worley; see WORSLEY

WORSLEY (Worley, Worsleye)

Worley, Hugh (fl. 1580), of Parndon ('Paringdon magna', Essex), gent., s. of Otvel & Alice. **132/19** (qtd. to Thomas Gill 1580)

Worsleye, Otvel (d. by 1580), h. of Alice. **132/19** (ref to), see his s. Hugh Worley (WORSLEY)

~, ~, Alice w. of (fl. 1580), m. of Hugh. **132/19** (ref to), see her s. Hugh Worley (WORSLEY)

Worsley, Ralph (fl. 1526-44), page of the king's wardrobe. **132/19** (ten 1526; poss 1544)

~, ~, descendants of (fl. <1580). **132/19** (poss to 1580)

Worsleye; see WORSLEY

WORTH

Worth, Mr. - (fl. 1638). **118/15Aii** (ten/res 1638)

*Zachary WORTH

Worth, John (Mr.) (fl. 1657), cit. & salter, ?k. of Zachary. **118/15Aii** (ten/res 1657-c1666)

Worth, Zachary (fl. 1635; d. 1650), member of Haberdashers' Co, h. of Joan, ?k. of John. **118/15Aii** (ten/res 1641-1650)

*Mr. WORTH

~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1641). **118/15Aii** (res 1641)

WOULDHAWMOORE

Wouldhawmoore, Francis (or Frances) (fl. 1641). **118/15Ai** (res 1641)

WRIGHT

Wright, Reuben (fl. 1598), of Ivill (Sussex), h. of Alice wid. of Robert KENNYNGHAM. **118/13** (sold w.'s right in **13** to Thomas Faldoe 1598)

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de Writele, John (fl. >1293/4-1339), cit. & draper. **118/13A** (poss gtd by Cecilia w. of William Priour >1293/4; gtd to Henry de Shawe 1339)

Wychestr' (de); see de WINCHESTER

WYKYNG

Wykyng, William (fl. <1499), cit., aldm. **118/15A** (ten <1499)

Wylkocke; see WILKOX

WYLLY

Wylly, John (fl. 1509-21). **132/23** (ten 1508-21)

le WYMPLERE

le Wymplere, William (d. by 1271), h. of Isabel. **39/6** (ref to), see his wid. Isabel ~, ~, Isabel wid. of (fl. 1271). **39/6** (poss by 1271)

de WYNCHECOMBE (Wynchecoumbe, de Wynchecoumb) (1 WINCHCOMBE)

1 de Wynchecoumb (Wynchecoumbe), Richard (fl. 1347; d. 1361-2), cit. & armourer, h. of Agnes, f. of Simon. **118/13A** (poss gtd by Henry de Shawe 1347-1361/2)

1 ~, ~, Agnes w. & wid. of (fl. 1347-77), later w. & wid. of Walter FORSTER. **118/13A** (poss shop gtd by Henry de Shawe 1347; gtd to feoffees 1377)

~, ~, unspc. children of (fl. 1361-2). **118/13A** (rev 1361-2)

1 Wynchecomb (Wynchecombe), Simon (fl. 1361-95), cit. & armourer, s. of Richard. **118/13A & B** (rev? 1361; poss **13A** >1377x92; poss **13B** by 1381; res by 1386; gtd to John Lane & Alice 1392); **132/22-3** (quit 1380-95); **132/22** (quit by acq from Katharine & William Lambourne 1380)

1 ~, ~, Joan w. of (fl. 1386; d. ?<1392). **118/13** (ref to 1386)

Wynchecoumb, Wynchecoumbe; see de WYNCHECOMBE

de Wynchestr'; see de WINCHESTER

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WYRYNG

Wyryng, John (fl. 1394). **132/15** (feof of Katharine Wasshyngburn 1394)

Wytteneye; see WITTENEYE

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Wytteryns, Richard (fl. 1576-85). **118/0D** (ten 1576-85)

WYTTILHAY (Wittilsay)

Wittilsay, John (fl. 1399-1416). **132/21A** (ten 1399-1416; res 1402-8)

Wyttilhay, William (fl. 1397). **132/21A** (ten 1397)

WYVILE

Wyvile, Stephen (fl. >1368-75), of Isle of Wight. **118/16** (quit >1368-1375)

Y

Yonge; see YOUNG

YOUNG

Yonge, Giles (d. by 1416), h. of Eleanor da. of Agnes gdda. of William de Pumfreyt (POUNTFREIT), f. of John (fl. 1416). **118/14** (ref to), see his s. John

Yonge, John (fl. 1416), s. of Giles & Eleanor. **118/14** (poss passed from his m. by 1416; gtd to John Noreys & John Blounham 1416)

Yonge, John (fl. 1448-59), cit. & grocer. **118/13** (feof of Luttur family 1448)

Younge, Robert (fl. 1572-3), cit. & fishmonger. **132/15?** (Matthew Laurens & George Bullock recovered poss of **15?** against him 1572-3)

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Crown, the (i.e., the sovereigns of England), **39/6** (poss 1536-9; gtd to Sir Ralph Sadler 1539; quit 1539); **118/0** (advowson 1539-42); **118/0A?** (poss 1350); **118/0B-G** (poss by 1619; gtd to Sir John Leman & chamberlain of London 1619); **118/12** (poss 1547; gtd to Francis Goldesmythe 1550); **118/13** (poss 1547-8; gtd to William Gunter & William Hobson 1548); **118/14** (held 2/3 of 14 during minority of Elizabeth da. of Thomas Calson & Sibyl da. of Thomas Chelray 1412-18; quit 1539-1670); **118/15A** (poss 1539-45; sold to John Gates & Thomas Throgood 1545); **118/16** (quit 1548-72; gtd back to St Paul's); **132/15** (moiety of shop leased to William for life; returned to Adam Fraunceys 1364); **132/16** (received 1d. socage 1280-1312; quit 1548-1651); **132/18** (ref to: failed to gain poss 1548; received quit ?1548-50; 1567/-1650); **132/19** (taken into k.'s hands >1316; k. confirmed grant to Hugh de Wircestre 1321); **132/19** (poss 1418; gave Elizabeth w. of John Hende seisin; poss c.1485-1544 when sold to Ralph Worsley; quit 1547-1651); **132/21?** (quit 1539-40); **132/22B-C** (poss 1547-9); **132/22D** (poss 1538-75); **132/23** (quit 1539-1550); **156/12** (poss 1265; gtd to Jordan le Chaundeler; poss 157-8); **156/13A** (poss 1547-8; sold to Thomas Ashe & his w.); **156/13B** (poss 1547-8; sold to Ralph & William Bodnam)

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- Domus Conversorum, masters of (fd. 1232, ceased 17C), **132/16** (gtd rent to Roger le Convers <1260)
- Grocers' Company, **156/12** (ten 1395-1417)
- Haberdashers' Company, **132/23** (poss 1603)
- Haliwell Priory, nuns of (fd. <1127; diss. 1539), **118/13** (quit 1275; 1293/4; 1339); **118/15** (ref to: quit from adj property 1275)
- Holborn, hospital of St Giles (fd. <1118; diss. 1539). **39/6** (quit gtd by Thomas de Haverell early 13C-c.1539; poss by 1231x7; gtd to John s. of Walcher the mazeliner)
- Holmes College; see St Paul's Cathedral
- Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate (fd. 1107-8; diss. 1532). **118/16** (quit 1227-15C)
- London, bishop of, **118/0** (received 3s. from rectory 1540-1); *see also* ROGER (Index of Persons)
- ~, city of (Corporation), **118/0** (paid compensation to parish when ch was pulled down 1669); **118/16** (held property for use of Stephen s. of Richard atte Halle 1369; poss pt 1671); **132/15** (paid £51 for piece of ground to enlarge Poultry 1670); **132/16B** (leased piece of waste ground adj to Thomas Bullock 1651); **132/21** (poss beq by Thomas Singleton as governors of Christ's Hospital 1654)
- ~, ~, Chamberlain (City Chamberlain), **118/0B-G** (poss 1619-20); **118/0G** (ref to: to direct building 1601); **118/16?** (received annual rent of 4d. 1597); **132/16B** (recompensed Thomas Bullock for surrendering a lease in 1655)
- ~, ~, Court of Aldermen, **118/0** (ref to: ordered parishioners to remove nuisance; intervened in quarrel between Richard Pountreyt & parishioners 1363); **118/0G** (gtd lease of void ground to John Hayward 1601); **118/12** (ref to: ordered Richard Large to remove house sign c.1596); **118/14** (ref to: ordered lowering of street surface to stop flood 1642)
- ~, ~, Recorder of, **132/18** (ref to: gave advice to Ironmongers' Co. on how to use £140 left by Thomas Mychell 1527x8)
- ~, mayor of, **118/0** (intervened in quarrel between Richard Pountfreyt & parishioners 1363); **118/14** (ordered to deliver seisin to Sibyl da. of Thomas Chelray 1418); **132/19** (involved in dispute with John Scot 1342)
- ~, ~, sergeant, **132/19** (involved in dispute with John Scot 1342)
- Lucca, merchants of the Society of the Riccardi of, **156/12** (poss 1291: 1300); *see also* Renerio MAGARIO, Rolandino de PODIO, Giovanni SIMONET (Index of Persons)
- Minoreesses, abbey of nuns of the Order of St. Clare, without Aldgate (fd. 1293-4, diss. 1538), abbess & convent of. **156/13** (quit 1340-79)
- Newgate, prisoners in, **132/23** (left beq from by Peter Blundell 1600)
- Skinners' Company, **132/23** (poss 1472-1550)
- Society of the Riccardi of Lucca, merchants of, *see* Lucca
- Southwark (Surr), hspital of St Thomas the Martr (fd. 1173, 1215; diss. 1540), **118/14** (quit 1349)
- ~, priory of St Mary Overy (fd. 1106; diss. 1539), **132/21?** (quit <1539-40)
- St. Antonin, church of, **132/23** (endowment for obit for souls of William Gregory, etc 1472)
- St. Bartholomew's Hospital (fd. 1123, re-fd. 1544), **132/18** (quit c.1215-1666)
- St. Christopher, fraternity of, **118/0** (associated with ch of St Mary Woolchurch)
- St. Giles's Hospital, Holborn, *see* Holborn
- St. James, fraternity of, **118/0** (associated with ch of St. Mary Woolchurch)
- St. John Walbrook, parson of, **132/23** (poss beq by William Gregory sen. 1472)
- ~, fraternity of Corpus Christi of the craft of Sknners in church of, **132/23** (poss beq to by William Gregory sen. 1472)
- St. Leonard Shoreditch, church of, **132/19** (receive quit for 40 years from 1312)
- St. Margaret Lothbury, parson of, **118/16** (feofs of Edmund Hoddesdon wished to convey property to him in 1420 in order to found a chantry)
- St. Mary Colechurch, church of, **132/18** (received part of income to keep obit of Robert Down 1556x7); **132/19** (received pt of purchase money to maintain chapain 1330-<1544)
- St. Mary Woolchurch, church & churchwardens of, **118/0A** (poss 1650); **118/0B-F** (poss 1560-70); **118/16** (quit by 1369)
- ~, fraternity of St. Mary of (fraternity of Our Lady and St. Anne 1541) in church of, **118/0** (ref to 1365; 1547)
- ~, fraternity of Our Lady and St. Anne in church of; *see* fraternity of St. Mary of St. Mary Woolchurch
- ~, rector of, **118/0A** (poss)
- ~, trustees of, **118/0B-G** (poss 1620)
- St. Mary Woolnoth, church of, **118/16** (quit 1274-1369)
- St. Mildred Poultry; church & parishioners of, **132/16B** (ref to: replaced two buckets destroyed by fire there 1588-9); 132/19 (parishioners to have £7 p.a. rent to maintain 2 chaplains in ch 1312-1548; received pt of purchase money to maintain chaplain 1330)
- St. Olave Old Jewry, church of, **132/18** (rent of property perpetual endowment for chantry priest in ch 1528)

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- St. Pancras, church of, **132/16** (quit 1404-1548)
- St. Paul's Cathedral, dean & chapter of (fd. c.604), **118/12** (quit 1386-1482; poss by 1541); **118/13B** (quit 1386; poss beq by Geoffrey Meleman to maintain chaplains in Holmes College 1499-1547); **118/16** (quit 1355-548; 1572); **132/19** (ref to: owned **21** 1192x1211); **132/21** (quit 1192x1211; poss gtd by William the cook by 1223-<1290; poss by 1336-1649; poss 1660); **156/12** (rev n £16 rent 1454-5; ref to: as holder of **132/21** 13C)
- St. Peter Broad Street, church of, **39/6** (Willam Broune left all his tenements for the maintenance of a chaplain in the church 1339)
- St. Stephen Walbrook, church of, **156/13** (poss beq by Leticia Lee 1484-1547)
- St. Thomas of Acre, church of, **39/6** (William Broune left all his tenements for the maintenance of a chaplain in the church 1339); **132/19** (received pt of purchase money to maintain chaplain 1330-<1544)
- St. Thomas of Acre, house or hospital of (birthplace of St. Thomas of Canterbury) (fd. early 13C; diss. 1538), **39/6** (quit by 1271-1519)
- Stratford-at-Bow (Mddx), priory of St. Leonard (fd. <1154; diss. 1536), **39/6** (poss 1452-1536); **156/13** (quit <1341)
- Swannington (Norfolk), parish of, **39/6** (received £5 annuity from **39/6**; 1643)
- Trustees for sale of lands of dean & chapter of St Paul's, **132/21** (conveyed to William Benson 1649)
- Trustees for the sale of fee farm rents, **132/16** (sold quit to Brian Blomeley 1651)
- Walbrook ward, beadle of, **132/19** (ref to: involved in dispute with John Scot 1342)
- Westminster, abbey of St. Peter (fd. 7C; diss. 1540), **118/0** (poss 1138x57); **132/19** (poss 1182x1213; quit from **19-20** 1291-1529); **132/19-20** (quit <1312-15C); **132/21** (ref to: owner of adj. land <1213); *see also* GERVASE abbot of (Index of Persons)
- ~, college (chapel) of St. Stephen, dean & chapter of (fd. 1348; diss 1547), **132/22** (claimed by c.1480); **132/22A** (to receive £10 p.a. for 6 years from 1483); **132/22B-C** (poss by 1484-1547); **156/12** (poss 1358-1547)

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ALICE BOTILLER

button-maker

le BOTONER

carpenter

MACHELL

chamberlain

CHAMBERLAIN

chancellor of bishop of Carlisle

SINGLETON

Chancellor of the Exchequer

SOMER

chandler

BRACY CHANDLER de ENEFELD
see also **tallowchandler**

chaplain

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BOLT	GERLANDER	LEGET	THURBY
COOK	de GLEDESEYE	LODELOWE	de TYERNE
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BRYAN

chief secretary to king

SADLER

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cleric

BLOUNT

see also **clerk**

clerk

de BRADELE
BRISTY
BROUGHTON
CASEY
CHADERTON
CHAMBERLAIN
de DAVENTRE
DUNHAM

EDYALL
FISH
GERLETHORP
GOURLL
de GRADELEYE
HAYMAN
HOPTON
HUNTYNDON

IVE
LYCCHEFELD
LYNTON
MUSCHAMPE
NEWTON
RALPH
SINGLETON
SPROXTON

SPRYNGTHORP
de THORP
TURNBULL
WELBOURNE
WEST

see also **cleric**

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BROWN

clothworker

BANKS
BLOWER
CHRISTIAN
FOWLER

GAWEN
LAMBE
NICHOLLS
PILSWORTH

RICHARDSON
ROGERS
WALKER
WALTON

WARD

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HUNT

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GARDINER

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crewelman

CHRISTIAN

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cutler

BELGRAVE

GODCHILD

HERTNORWOLD

de LANFARE

doctor of divinity

SINGLETON

draper

BARNHAM

CONSTANTYNE

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fellmonger

de WIRCESTRE

fishmonger

BOX
BULLOCK

DRAKES
FAIRHER

de HODDESDON
LAURENS

NEUPORT
YOUNG

founder

RUSSELL

fuller

FULLERE

furber (*forbour*)

de NORWYCO

girdler (*zonarius*)

atte BARNET
de BRAUGHING

JENNYNS

RUSSELL

TENCH

goldsmith

BAMME
BURDEYN

CARTER
JOHN

LUCAS
atte MERSH

PANTON
TRUNDELL

grocer

ALSOPP
ANDLEBY
ASHE
BABHAM
BACOUN
BARLEY
BERE
BLACKMAN
BODNAM
BOTHE
BUCKLE
CANYNGES
de CARLELL
CATWORTH
CHICHELE
CLERK
COLVILE
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EYNESHAM
FALDOE
FOXTON
GRAUNT
GREY
GWYN
HAKEDY
HAWKES
HILLIARDE
HOLME
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HUDSON
HUN
HUNT
KENNINGHAM
KERVILE
KETRYCH
de KNOLLES
LANE

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LEIGH
LOMNER
LUDDINGTON
LUTTUR
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MAKWILLIAM
MAYDEWELL
MERRIE
MICHELL
MILLES
NEUPORT
OLYVER
OO
PERSON
PHILIP
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RICHARDS
RICHARDSON

RICHE
RIGBY
SADLER
SANDERS
SCOTT
SHENTON
SMITH
STOCKLEY
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GILL	LEWES	VERNON	

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de WARE

horsemonger (*coşsun*)

PRIOUR

hosier

de HOSIERE

ironmonger (*ferronus*)

ADAM	de CAUMPES	de FINCHESLE	PETICRU
BALLARD	DEYNES	GOTT	SCOTT
BELUERGE	DOWNE	HANDSON	atte WELLE
BROWN	de EUERE	le IRERNERE	
CARTER	le FERRUR	MICHELL	

jeweller (*jueller*)

STACE

joiner

HARRYSON

judge

ELLIOT

keeper of the seal

MANSEL

king's sergeant

le CONVERS SUTTON

king's servant

CHEKE ESCROKE GATES SIGEWYKE

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ELLIOT

lawyers

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'marces'

WARD

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MALLYNG

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BENEDICT de ROKESLE

mazeliner (*mazelinarius*) or mazerer

le MARLINER

le MAZELINER

le MAZERER

member of Clothworkers' Co.

GROVE

WARD

member of Grocers' Co.

LANDER

member of Haberdashers' Co.

WORTH

member of Ironmongers' Co.

HOMEWOOD

SHORTUS

mender of old clothes

SHEPPARD

mercier

BATTY
de BEDYNGTON
BURLEE
COLET
DANE
DEYNES
DOMENYK

DYKE
ERL
FROWYK
HAYWARD
de HODDESDON
LANE
LOK

MELEMAN
MIDDLETON
MUSCHAMPE
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FRAUNCEYS
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MAGARIO
METHWIN
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STOCKLEY
SUNDERSON
de WALEBROC

merchant of spices

DURAND

see also **merchant**

merchant of the Staple

BROTHERS

merchant tailor

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CAUTHORNE
GREEN

GUNSTON
HANDFORD
MICHELSON
NEVE
SMART
STOCKLEY

TOFT

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nun

ODO

officials

see **city officials, royal officials**

page of the king's wardrobe

WORSLEY

parish clerk

PHILLIPS

WILLAN

parson

atte BECHE
BELGRAUNT

de BORHAM
de BUCKEBY
FORSTER
de GOLDYNGTON

NEWTON

patten-maker

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ADRIAN

INNOCENT

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de BRAY

BROWN

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CREKE

de HAUKENDENNE

atte NOKE

SCOTT

de THURSTON

TITHINGLOMB

WARNER

WILBY

preacher

HAYWARD

prebendary of St. Paul's

SINGLETON

procurator of hospital of St. Giles Holborn

WALTER

purpoynter (maker or seller of pourpoints)

de SHAWE

recorder of London

FRAY

de SADELYNGSTANES

rector

INE

JENKINSON

JONES

KEYS

MARTIN

PEKKE

POUNTFREIT

SUNDAY

VINCENT

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de HYNELOND

ITERUS

PEKKE

POUNTFREIT

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FORSTER

LEVER

MAYLARD

de WEDON

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le HORE	POWELL	SMITH	

scrivener

CLERK	NICOLL	PARKER	WEST
LYNDESEY			

cf. **clerk**

sergeant of Prince Edward

CHANDLER

servant

RALPH	REIGNER	REYNER
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servant of the queen

le GALEYS	JOHN
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shearman

de LITTLEFORD	POPE	WASSHYNGBURN
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silkman

SANDERS

skinner (*pelet'*)

ALLEY	EKINS	HUGH	SCALTON
BEVERLEY	GOLDWYN	KEMPE	SHERING
de BRAY	GREGORY	LONDON	SINGLETON
de DUNSTAPLE	HERDSON	POUNTFREIT	de WIRCESTRE

smith (*faber*)

DOUVER	de ESSEX	HARDELEE	ODO
EDMUND	GODDISFAST	atte MERSH	WALTER

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FOXTON	LESPICER	MARYNS	PIPERCORN
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le GALEYS

HARRY
HOLAND

NIXTON
de ROMESEYE

WHYTYNGHAM
de

de MOLTON
see also **merchant tailor**

TAYLOR

WITTENEYE

tallowchandler

BOWYERHYATT

see also **chandler**

tanner

(le) WHITE

taverner

BRYAN

TOROLD

tawyer (allutarius)

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de MYMMES

de REDYNGGE

de REYLEGH

upholder

ERIKE

TUDNAM

vicar

BLOUNHAM

HOLME

vintner

BULLOCK
COSYN

DAVY
de MEDELANE

MORE
RIKHILL

SANDERS
SHARPING

warden of hospital of St. Giles Hospital

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DUK

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FLETCHER

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 St. Mary Newchurch *see* St. Mary Woolchurch
 St. Mary Woolchurch (*Wollochirch, Wolcherche, Wolcherchewawe*) (13C-17C) (St. Mary Newchurch, *de Newechercha, Niwekirke, Niewechirche, Newechurche, de Westchepinge* 11C-12C), **118/0; 118/16** adj.
 St. Mary Woolchurch cemetery (*cimiterium*) (13C-17C) (cemetery of *Newcherch* 13C), **118/0; 118/16**
 The Saracen's Head, *le Sarazineshed, Sarsyn's Head* (15C-16C), **118/13** (ref to); **118/15** adj.; **132/16**
 The Saracen's Head (17C), **156/13B**
 'second house towards the Stocks' (14C; in Poultry), **132/21**
 Servat's Tower, *la Tour Servat, Cervettestour, Seruettestour, Servettstour, Suruittestour, Turre in Bokelerisbury, le tour en Bokelerisbury, Sylvestertour, Seruestower* (14C-16C; formerly the wardrobe; later the Queen's Wardrobe), **132/16** adj.; **132/18; 132/19** adj.; **132/20** adj.; **132/22; 132/23** (ref to); **156/12; 156/13** adj.
 The Ship (16C-17C), **132/18**
 The Sugar Loaf, 'signe of the Sugar Loafe' (17C; later the Three Pigeons q.v.), **132/22**
 Spurrier Street, *Sporiereslane* (14C; formerly Ironmongers' Row q.v.), **132/22**
 Stocks market (13C-17C), **118/0; 118/14** (ref to); **118/15Aii** (ref to); **118/16**; *see also* Woolchurchaw market
 Stocks market house (17C), **118/16**
 street, *see* Lombard Street, Milk Street, Queen Victoria Street, Spurrier Street
 The Sun and Moon (17C; formerly the Three Pigeons q.v.), **132/22**
- The Three Cranes (tavern) (16C-17C), **132/16B**
 The Three Crowns (17C), **132/22**
 The Three Pigeons (Three White Pigeons) (early 17C; formerly The Sugar Loaf; later The Sun and Moon qq.v.), **132/22**
 The Three White Pigeons, *see* The Three Pigeons
le Tour (15C), **132/22C**
 The Tun (17C), **118/12**
- 'vestrie howse' (of St. Mary Woolchurch, 16C), **118/0**
viam West' (?Westcheap q.v.) (12C), **132/21**
vicus ferronum, *see* Ironmongers' Row
- Walbrook (the street) (19-20C), **118/12; 118/14; 118/15; 156/12**
 Walbrook stream (13C-17C), **118/0; 118/12; 118/13; 118/15; 132/16; 132/18; 156/13**; *see also* 'city sewer'
 The wardrobe (*garderoba*) (13C; later Servat's Tower, Queen's Wardrobe, qq.v.), **156/12**
 Westcheap (*Westchep*) (13C), **132/21**; *see also* *viam West'*
 The White Bear, the 'Whitt Beare' (16C), **156/13B**
 The White Horse (17C), **132/23**
 The White Lion (16C), **118/12** (ref to)
 The Windmill (17C), **132/21**
 Woolchurch, *see* St. Mary Woolchurch
 Woolchurch market (17C), *see* Stocks market
 Woolchurchaw market (*mercatum ... de Wollechirchewawe*: 13C), **118/0**, *see also* Stock market
 The Woolsack, 'Wolsacke' (15C-17C), **156/12**