

# **The Medieval Friaries of London**

**A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the  
Dissolution**

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Arts & Humanities  
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I, Nick Holder, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

**Nick Holder**

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the evidence for the buildings and precincts of the five friaries of late medieval London: Black Friars, Grey Friars, White Friars, Austin Friars and Crossed (or Crutched) Friars. Virtually nothing survives, at least above ground, of these once-famous institutions and so documentary and archaeological evidence form the core of the research. Using a technique of historic map regression – working backwards from the modern Ordnance Survey map and carrying out a succession of ‘digital tracings’ of historic maps – the early modern street plan of each friary was drawn. Then, evidence from dozens of archaeological excavations (small and large, antiquarian and modern) could be pasted onto the base map of each friary. Finally, documentary evidence was brought in, primarily a series of surveys (‘particulars for grant’) by the Court of Augmentations, the Crown body supervising the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s and ‘40s.

After setting out the historiography of research into monastic London, five chapters examine the five friaries in turn, discussing the church, cloister, precinct walls and gardens, and illustrating the evidence with a series of reconstructed plans. The chapters also examine the fate of the friary buildings in the mid-sixteenth century, after the Dissolution. In a concluding chapter, the churches and precincts are compared, looking at size, status and the use of space. The limited evidence for the economy of the friaries – both income and expenditure – is also examined. The gradual ‘secularisation’ of the friaries in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is also considered, before studying the purchasers of the old friary buildings in the 1540s and the uses they made of their new properties.

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## Abbreviations

### *Bibliographic abbreviations*

<i>Letters and Papers</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. by R. H. Brodie and others, 22 vols (London: Longman, 1862–1932)
Mills and Oliver	<i>The Survey of Building Sites in the City of London After the Great Fire of 1666</i> , P. Mills and J. Oliver, 5 vols, London Topographical Society, 97–9, 101, 103 (London: London Topographical Society, 1962–7)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Röhrkasten	J. Röhrkasten, <i>The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539</i> , Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004)
Stow	<i>Survey of London</i> , J. Stow, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908)
<i>TLAMAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i>

### *Abbreviations of modern organisations*

AOC	AOC Archaeology Ltd
LAARC	London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (part of Museum of London)
MOLA(S)	Museum of London Archaeology (formerly Museum of London Archaeology Service)
PCA	Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)

### *Abbreviations of measurements*

ha	hectares
m	metres
'	feet
"	inches

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profitable discussions and he kindly allowed me to look at his files of notes and photocopies, and a draft copy of the article based on his 2007 talk at the Harlaxton Symposium.<sup>1</sup>

Chris Phillpotts (a former colleague at the Museum of London, now an independent researcher) kindly helped me with advice and answered several queries. In particular, his checklist of sources to consult at the National Archives introduced me to the complex world of the ‘additional finding aids’ and saved me a great deal of trouble and confusion.

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The ‘Medieval and Tudor London’ seminar run by Vanessa Harding, Caroline Barron and Julia Merritt at the Institute of Historical Research is an enjoyable and stimulating environment and many of the seminars have shaped this research.

Henry Summerson kindly provided me with references to London friaries that he has noted while reading the rolls of the London eyre of 1321; his useful work on this document would make an excellent resource for students of London topography and buildings.

I am grateful to the staff of numerous libraries and archives, especially the National Archives, the British Library and the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (Museum of London). In particular I would like to thank Peter Barber (British Library, Department of Maps), Kim Sloan (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings), Cath Maloney and Joanna Wylie (LAARC), Wendy Hawke (London Metropolitan Archive), Maureen Jurkowski and Nigel Ramsay (University College London) drew on their work on the UCL English Monastic Archives project and gave me useful bibliographic advice, particularly help with tracking down monastic material at the National Archives.

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<sup>1</sup> B. Watson and C. Thomas, ‘The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review’, in *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 265–97.



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<sup>2</sup> J. Oldland, 'The Allocation of Merchant Capital in Early Tudor London', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), 1058–80.

<sup>3</sup> LMA, COLLAGE 21718 (Fig 22).

to the site records at a very early stage. We had several profitable discussions about the evidence for the friary. Ann Causton shared with me her research on Crossed Friars (the evidence of John de Causton's bequests to the friary). Michael Hayden answered a number of queries concerning the friars.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

A new order of preacher-monks arrived in England in 1221, a small band of Dominicans led by Gilbert de Fresnay, and within three years they had founded a friary in London. The great thirteenth-century religious experiment, begun just a few years earlier by Saints Francis and Dominic, thus took hold in this country. The movement both reflected and brought about great changes in the Church and in society, with the friars filling a spiritual gap in the expanding towns and merchant class of Christendom.<sup>1</sup> This thesis concentrates, however, on the physical rather than the spiritual world: it will examine for the first time the topography of the five friaries of late medieval London, and it will investigate their fate in the decades following the Dissolution.

The five friaries under review are the houses that lasted up to the Dissolution in 1538: the Dominican Black Friars, the Franciscan Grey Friars, Carmelite White Friars, Augustinian Austin Friars and the house of Crossed or Crutched Friars (Fig 1).<sup>2</sup> The five London friaries will be discussed in turn, examining the evidence for their medieval precincts and moving on to consider the new landlords following the Dissolution of the friaries in 1538. A concluding essay will draw together the various strands of evidence to examine the layout and architecture of the medieval friaries, the process of secularisation and transition in the 1530s, and what happened to the precincts in the decades following the Dissolution.

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<sup>1</sup> C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 238–73.

<sup>2</sup> This thesis will not examine the short-lived friaries of the thirteenth century that were, in effect, closed down by the Second Council of Lyon in 1274: the Sack Friars and the Pied Friars. A future study of these two houses could build on Jens Röhrkasten's work and investigate relevant archaeological excavations and search for any documentary evidence such as later land sales enrolled in the Court of Husting. The short-lived Dominican house in St Bartholomew's priory – refounded by Mary in 1556 and closed three years later – will not be investigated here: see E. A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), i, 277–88, 521–3, 544–5. It would, however, be fascinating to know more about the layout of this friary, and whether any trace of it survives in the current church. Nor will this thesis consider the evidence for the Minoreesses, the house of Franciscan nuns in the east of London; the topography of this house has been studied in detail by Martha Carlin and Derek Keene: *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire. St Botolph Aldgate: Minorities, East Side; the Abbey of St Clare; Holy Trinity Minorities* (unpublished typescript, Institute of Historical Research, London, 1987). A future study could compare the Franciscan nuns with London's other female houses: the Augustinian canonesses of Holywell, St Mary and Kilburn, and the Benedictine nuns of St Helen.

**Fig 1 Map showing the five friaries and other religious houses of medieval London (scale 1:20,000)**

Mapping naturally plays an important part in the project and the changing topography of the five friaries will be illustrated in a series of maps, reconstructing the layout of the friaries shortly before the Dissolution in the 1530s and the pattern of land ownership a decade or so later. Although the writer is an archaeologist by training, the intention is to draw on three main strands of evidence, documentary, archaeological and cartographic. A fourth line of enquiry is, or rather would be, that of architectural history; unfortunately for London the combination of fire, economic development and bombing have removed nearly all traces of the five friaries from the streets of the modern city, although old watercolours and drawings of parts of the friaries offer a little compensation.

The underlying approach of this research is that the study of a wide range of evidence for these religious houses, including for their dissolution, is the only way to understand their medieval topography. In doing this, light can also be cast on the transformation of London in the early to mid-sixteenth century: the 1530s, '40s and '50s are a crucial but under-investigated time in London's history.<sup>3</sup>

The study draws its inspiration from both historians' and archaeologists' approaches to urban topography. The methodology of topographic reconstruction that underpins this research owes much to the techniques developed by Derek Keene, Vanessa Harding and Martha Carlin who were studying parishes in Cheapside and in the eastern and southern suburbs, and by Tony Dyson and Colin Taylor who were studying seventeen parishes along the north bank of the Thames. Crucially, both these projects linked documentary evidence (particularly the records of medieval property transactions recorded in the Court of Husting) to reconstructed maps that they created by a process of historic map regression. In another significant methodological development, the reconstructed maps also enabled archaeological evidence to be brought in.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> V. Harding, 'Early Modern London 1550–1700', *London Journal*, 20.2 (1995), 34–45 (p. 34); 'Reformation and Culture 1540–1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by P. Clark, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ii, 263–88 (pp. 263–6).

<sup>4</sup> The methodology is summarised in V. Harding, 'Reconstructing London Before the Great Fire', *London Topographical Record*, 25 (1985), 1–12. The principal publication of the Social and Economic Study of Medieval London project is D. J. Keene and V. Harding, *Historical Gazetteer of London Before the Great Fire. Cheapside; Parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary Le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey,

Archaeologists have recently begun to take the hitherto rural concept of ‘landscape history’ or ‘landscape archaeology’ and apply it to urban areas. The fruitful approach by archaeologists such as Roberta Gilchrist and John Schofield has seen a move away from the traditional focus on ‘the site’ (i.e. the archaeologically excavated area, often a random sample defined by the needs of a modern developer) to a higher interpretive level, using more meaningful spatial units such as the medieval tenement, parish or monastic precinct.<sup>5</sup>

### *Historiography*

England’s friars and friaries have often been overlooked by historians and archaeologists who are attracted, perhaps, by the richer archival and architectural remains left by monks and canons. Two recent publications may, however, indicate that this is changing. A Harlaxton symposium – ‘The Friars in Medieval Britain’ – and its promptly published proceedings featured a wealth of contributions on the medieval mendicants, including Clive Burgess’ valuable study of the relations between the friars and the secular clergy, and studies of surviving mendicant art such as Nicholas Rogers’ investigation of an English friary’s retable.<sup>6</sup> Mike Salter’s *Medieval English Friaries* is a further volume in his remarkable series of travel guides to the medieval remains of Britain and Ireland, a small but rich book that is the fruit of a huge amount of research and survey work.<sup>7</sup>

We must acknowledge our debt – as must virtually every historian of medieval or early modern London – to the great Tudor historian and antiquary John Stow whose *Survey of London* was first published in 1598.<sup>8</sup> Stow describes the five friaries in his ward-by-ward guided tour of the Tudor city and is particularly interested in the conventual churches and their memorials. As Caroline Barron and Jens Röhrkasten

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1987). The Dyson and Taylor archive, an extensive card index, is held by the Museum of London’s LAARC.

<sup>5</sup> R. Gilchrist, ‘Landscapes of the Middle Ages: Churches, Castles and Monasteries’, in *The Archaeology of Britain: An Introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by J. Hunter and I. Ralston (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 228–46; J. Schofield, ‘Landscapes of the Middle Ages: Towns 1050–1500’, in *ibid.*, pp. 210–27.

<sup>6</sup> N. Rogers (ed.), *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); C. Burgess, ‘Friars and the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol: Observations and Possibilities’, pp. 73–96; N. Rogers, ‘The Provenance of the Thornham Parva Retable’, pp. 185–93.

<sup>7</sup> M. Salter, *Medieval English Friaries* (Malvern: Folly Publications, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> J. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), i, 339–41 and ii, 350 (Black Friars); i, 316–22 and ii, 345 (Grey Friars); ii, 46–7 and 364–5 (White Friars); i, 176–9 and ii, 300 (Austin Friars); i, 147–9 and ii, 293 (Crossed Friars). (Hereafter cited as ‘Stow’.)

have shown, even though Stow's work was edited, borrowed from and added to by several writers in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is no serious alternative to Stow's history of the friaries until the nineteenth-century edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*.<sup>9</sup> Dugdale's nineteenth-century editors were almost the first historians since Stow to conduct any new documentary research, with some exceptions (notably John Strype a century earlier). They took advantage of the newly accessible collections in the British Museum and other records that were soon to be incorporated in the Public Record Office. The first modern history of London's friaries was written in 1909 by Minnie Reddan and appeared in the London volume of the *Victoria County History*.<sup>10</sup> This volume has recently been updated by Caroline Barron and Matthew Davies and it contains useful reviews of the 1909 accounts by Jens Röhrkasten, Frances Maggs and Jennifer Ledfors.<sup>11</sup>

A number of modern histories of the medieval friaries have been written by mendicant historians examining the early history of their own orders. The list includes the Dominicans Raymond Palmer and William Hinnebusch (a study of the London house by the former and of the whole English province by the latter), the Franciscan Michael Robson, the Carmelites Keith Egan and Richard Copsey (including studies of the English order by the former and of the London house by the latter) and the Augustinian friar Francis Roth.<sup>12</sup> Important works on the London

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<sup>9</sup> C. M. Barron and V. Harding, 'London', in *English County Histories: a Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, ed. by C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), pp. 259–61; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 3–8 (hereafter cited as 'Röhrkasten'); W. Dugdale and others, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches*, 6 vols (London: Longman etc., 1817–1830), vi (2), 1487 (Black Friars), pp. 1514–22 (Grey Friars), p. 1572 (White Friars), p. 1586 (Crossed Friars), p. 1594 (Austin Friars).

<sup>10</sup> *Victoria County History, London, Including London within the Bars, Westminster & Southwark*, ed. by W. Page, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909).

<sup>11</sup> C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), pp. 116–17, 122, 128, 133 and 139.

<sup>12</sup> W. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, Dissertationes Historicae, 14 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1951); R. Palmer, 'The Black Friars of London', *Merry England* [short-lived Victorian journal], 12 (1889), 428–42; vol. 13 (1890) 33–43, 116–32, 191–205, 266–88, 354–66; M. Robson, 'Franciscan Bishops of Irish Dioceses Active in Medieval England: A Guide to the Materials in English Libraries and Archives', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 38 (1996), 7–39; K. J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses, England and Wales', in *Carmel in Britain: Essays on the Medieval English Carmelite Province. Volume 1, People and Places*, ed. by P. Fitzgerald-Lombard and R. Copsey (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), pp. 1–85; R. Copsey, 'The Medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province: An Annotated Bibliography', in *Carmel in Britain*, pp. 205–50; R. Copsey, 'The Medieval Carmelite Priory at London, a Chronology' (London: unpublished typescript, 2008); F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249–1538*, Cassiciacum, 6 and 7, 2 vols (New York: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1961 and 1966).

friaries by secular historians include Charles Kingsford's compilation of source material for Grey Friars and, more recently, Michael Hayden's work on Crossed Friars.<sup>13</sup>

The definitive history of the London friaries has been provided by Jens Röhrkasten in *The Mendicant houses of medieval London, 1221–1539* (2004). Röhrkasten's exhaustive work is first and foremost a biographical account of the houses, featuring a rich level of detail on the friars and their lay supporters. The present study draws heavily on Röhrkasten's research and, in a sense, is a series of 'missing illustrations' to complement it. In addition, whereas Röhrkasten concentrates on the early physical development of the friaries, this study looks at the other end of the story by drawing on the rich records of the Court of Augmentations who administered the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

The third volume of David Knowles' great work, *The Religious Orders in England*, charts the precise chronology of the Dissolution and, although concentrating on rural houses, contains a lot of information relating to the London houses.<sup>14</sup> Knowles' account alternates – perhaps surprisingly for the modern reader – between the neutral analysis of a historian and the more 'committed' martyrology of a Catholic. If Knowles gives us the monk's viewpoint, he is complemented by Joyce Youings who, in concentrating on the processes of dissolution, shows us the alternative viewpoint of the government commissioner doing the actual dirty work.<sup>15</sup> Youings analyses the role of the Court of Augmentations and its numerous surveyors, auditors and receivers, perhaps more usefully for our purposes than Walter Richardson, who was primarily interested in the Court of Augmentations as an arm of central government.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *The Grey Friars of London: Their History, with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 6 (Aberdeen: British Society of Franciscan Studies, 1915); C. L. Kingsford, 'Additional Material for the History of the Grey Friars, London', in *Collectanea Franciscana II*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922), pp. 61–156; M. Hayden, 'The Crutched Friars Revisited', *Clairlieu*, 53 (1995), 64–85.

<sup>14</sup> D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–59).

<sup>15</sup> J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, Historical Problems Series, 14 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971).

<sup>16</sup> W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536–1554* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961).

Friaries play a smaller role in historians' accounts of these years than might be expected because they are under-represented in the various government surveys and investigations of the years leading up to the Dissolution. Friaries were not in the remit of the commissioners appointed under the terms of the 1534 Act concerning first fruits and tenths because the majority of friaries held few or no rural manors or other property; no friaries appear in the great monastic tax assessment known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (nor in Alexander Savine's major study of the *Valor*).<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately for historians, friaries were not included in the Visitors' reports of 1535–6, nor in any 1536–7 commissioners' reports by those carrying out the dissolution of the smaller houses.<sup>18</sup> The separate body of commissioners sent out to the friaries in 1538, led by the ex-Dominican Richard Ingworth, created a body of records that includes correspondence, inventories and surrender documents. Unfortunately, few records for the London houses apart from the signed surrenders appear to have survived.<sup>19</sup>

Several scholars have considered the changing times in London's late medieval monastic houses: John Schofield has looked at the architectural changes taking place in some of London's monastic precincts around the time of the Dissolution.<sup>20</sup> Barney Sloane has examined the evidence for the secularisation of many London monastic precincts before the Dissolution, as the religious houses increasingly rented out tenements to corrodians and other tenants in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; this theme is complemented by Jens Röhrkasten who looked at the secular use of the London friaries by the Crown, for meetings of parliament and royal councils, as well

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<sup>17</sup> A. Savine, 'English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution', in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, 1, ed. by P. Vinogradoff (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), pp. 1–303.

<sup>18</sup> Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, pp. 34–48, 75–6, 178–9; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 360–6.

<sup>19</sup> The documents of the commissioners, and their correspondence with the Court of Augmentations and Thomas Cromwell, survive in two main batches, one at the British Library (Cotton Cleopatra E IV) and a second in the National Archives (series E36/115 and 153, and SP1). A search of these documents failed to find any useful London material, apart from surrenders: did the two London commissioners, Richard Layton and Thomas Legh, simply report to Cromwell in person without writing detailed reports or letters? Several non-London documents of these commissioners are printed in H. Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 3rd ser., 3, (London: Richard Bentley, 1846); T. Wright, *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 26 (London: Camden Society, 1843).

<sup>20</sup> J. Schofield, 'Building in Religious Precincts in London at the Dissolution and After', in *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. by R. Gilchrist and H. C. Mytum, British Archaeological Reports (British series), 227 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993), pp. 29–41.



as their use by individual Londoners as neutral venues for legal and financial transactions.<sup>21</sup>

Caroline Barron has considered the background to the Dissolution in London, in particular the increasing involvement of the City authorities in the administration of some of London's religious houses and, conversely, the increasing tendency of lay benefactors to establish non-religious charitable institutions such as almshouses.<sup>22</sup> The latter field has been explored in detail by Wilbur Jordan in his great series of books on charitable donation in the years 1480–1660. The London evidence is perhaps somewhat contradictory: although it can be shown that late medieval Londoners were particularly ahead of their time (and ahead of their rural compatriots) in the extent to which their charitable giving was aimed at lay rather than religious institutions, the evidence also shows that Londoners kept up their financial support for *monastic* institutions, a nuance perhaps not brought out in Jordan's text.<sup>23</sup> Jens Röhrkasten showed that Londoners' bequests to friaries actually increased in value in the sixteenth century and he argues that the citizens were responding favourably to institutional reforms.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> B. Sloane, 'Tenements in London's Monasteries c. 1450–1540', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, ed. by D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 290–8; J. Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses of the Mendicant Priors of Medieval London', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by P. Trio and M. de Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 135–51.

<sup>22</sup> Barron, *Religious Houses*, pp. 22–4.

<sup>23</sup> W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480–1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959); W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480–1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (Allen & Unwin: London, 1960); W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of Rural England, 1480–1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Rural Society* (Allen & Unwin: London, 1961). For example, in the years 1480 to 1540, Londoners gave only 45% of their charitable donations to the church (compared with, for example, 70% of Yorkshire donations) and they are therefore statistically the 'least pious' in Jordan's sample of ten counties. However, if one excludes the secular church and concentrates on donations to monastic houses, London comes out top of the league with both Londoners and Yorkshiremen and women giving 7% of all their donations to monastic houses (compared to 1% for Hampshire, the lowest figure). (Note that the 7% figure for London is a revision of Jordan's gross figure of 17%, which is heavily skewed by royal expenditure on the new chapel at Westminster.) *Philanthropy*, pp. 302–5; *Charities of London*, pp. 22–3, 275, 279–81, 423 (table I); *Charities of Rural England*, pp. 374, 440 (table III).

<sup>24</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 270–3 (table 3), 555–67. The annual figures of bequests per friary for the late fifteenth century (table 3) have to be converted to decadal totals in order to compare them to the sixteenth-century figures (pp. 555–67). The trends thus revealed show that bequests to the friaries generally continued to increase decade by decade in the sixteenth century, even in the 1530s (if allowance is made for the truncation of this decade by the Dissolution), although bequests to the Austin Friars peaked in the 1490s and bequests to the Crossed Friars peaked in the 1520s.

Archaeologists, primarily at the Museum of London, have published a number of monographs on the religious houses of London and its environs: the series has been cited as one of the major advances in the study of English monastic history and is a significant influence on this research project.<sup>25</sup> Importantly, the studies have all sought to integrate archaeological and documentary evidence, and have continued the story after Dissolution into the early modern period. The houses published so far include the Augustinian priories of St Mary Spital, Holy Trinity Priory, St Mary Overie and Merton Priory (Surrey), the Cistercian abbey of St Mary Stratford Langthorne (Essex), the London Charterhouse and the priory of the Knights Hospitallers.<sup>26</sup> The Benedictine abbey of St Peter's Westminster and the Templars' precinct to the west of the City also feature in recent monographs.<sup>27</sup> Future publications are due to appear on the Augustinian canonesses of St Mary Clerkenwell, the Cistercian house of St Mary Grace and the Cluniac priory (later abbey) of St Saviour Bermondsey, with a second book on St Mary Bishopsgate that will examine the cemetery and outer precinct.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, ongoing archaeological

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<sup>25</sup> G. Coppack, *Abbeys & Priors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), pp. 8, 33. A useful summary of the Museum of London's discoveries and publications of monastic sites can be found in B. Sloane, 'Reversing the Dissolution: Reconstructing London's Medieval Monasteries', *TLAMAS*, 50 (1999), 67–77.

<sup>26</sup> C. Thomas, B. Sloane and C. Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London*, MoLAS Monograph, 1 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1997); J. Schofield and R. Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History*, MoLAS Monograph, 24 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005); D. Divers and others, *A New Millennium at Southwark Cathedral: Investigations into the First Two Thousand Years*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph, 8 (London: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2009); P. Miller and D. Saxby, *The Augustinian Priory of St Mary Merton, Surrey: Excavations 1976–90*, MoLAS Monograph, 34 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007); B. Barber, *The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Stratford Langthorne, Essex: Archaeological Excavations for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project*, MoLAS Monograph, 18 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004); B. Barber and C. Thomas, *The London Charterhouse*, MoLAS Monograph, 10 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2002); B. Sloane and G. Malcolm, *Excavations at the Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London*, MoLAS Monograph, 20 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004). Knowles' and Grimes' work on the London Charterhouse is an important earlier example of a combined archaeological and historical study: D. Knowles and W. F. Grimes, *Charterhouse: The Medieval Foundation in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London: Longman, 1954).

<sup>27</sup> C. Thomas, J. Sidell and R. Cowie, *The Royal Palace, Abbey and Town of Westminster on Thorney Island: Archaeological Excavations (1991–8) for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project*, MoLAS Monograph, 22 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2006); J. Butler, *Saxons, Templars and Lawyers in the Inner Temple: Archaeological Excavations in Church Court and Hare Court*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph, 4 (London: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> These four books will be part of the MOLA (formerly MoLAS) Monograph series.

work will eventually result in a book on the Augustinian canonesses of Haliwell Priory and a second book on St Saviour Bermondsey.<sup>29</sup>

There have also been recent archaeological excavations on the sites of the London friaries but, by an odd combination of circumstances, these have not resulted in dedicated archaeological monographs. If the London friary excavations had taken place in the 1970s, or had they been situated outside the City boundary, they probably would have been published as part of the English-Heritage funded programme that supported the publication of archaeological sites – those dug in the City up to the 1970s and non-City sites dug up to the 1980s. Again, had there been major excavations in the 1990s, after the introduction of more stringent archaeological planning guidelines, there would have been sufficient funding from the site developers for a major monograph or two. Instead, the majority of London friary sites are situated in the modern City of London, were excavated in the 1980s and early '90s, and therefore remain largely unpublished. This anomalous set of circumstances has provided the inspiration for the current research project, and for a presentation by Bruce Watson at the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium.<sup>30</sup> (A few individual excavations of friary sites have been published; they are discussed in the chapter introductions and in the catalogue of sources, Appendix 3.)

Archaeologists have only recently begun examining the evidence for the Dissolution itself, notably Patrick Greene whose chapter on the Dissolution in his book *Medieval Monasteries* was one of the first attempts to consider the Dissolution and its immediate aftermath from an archaeological point of view.<sup>31</sup> More recently, a major conference entitled 'The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580' (jointly organised by the Societies for Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology) has provided a treasure trove of stimulating articles that have influenced this research project. These include Maurice Howard's discussion of the effect of the Dissolution on sixteenth-century domestic architecture, Richard Morris on the use of *ex situ*

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<sup>29</sup> Archaeological work by MOLA at Haliwell priory and by Pre-Construct Archaeology at Bermondsey abbey (confusingly, this future Bermondsey book will be in addition to the forthcoming book on the abbey by the Museum of London).

<sup>30</sup> B. Watson and C. Thomas, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review', in *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 265–97.

<sup>31</sup> J. P. Greene, *Medieval Monasteries* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 178–98. In addition, the chapter 'Monasteries and towns' is an important and relatively rare discussion of urban monastic houses (pp. 162–77).

monastic architectural fragments as a means of studying the houses before and after Dissolution, and John Schofield's discussion of the effects of the Dissolution in London. There are also a number of important case studies that examine the topographic effect of the Dissolution on the sites of monastic houses in Chester, Coventry, London and Northern Ireland.<sup>32</sup>

It is not, of course, only archaeologists who have been studying London's monastic houses. The Survey of London researchers are about to complete their architectural study of the Charterhouse: where archaeologists concentrated on the medieval Charterhouse, the architectural historians of the Survey are concentrating on the post-Dissolution history of Sir Edward North's mansion and Thomas Sutton's hospital. Charterhouse is really the only London monastic house to have any medieval or sixteenth-century buildings surviving above ground (if one excepts Westminster Abbey) but Maurice Howard's work *The Early Tudor Country House* goes beyond the remit of his title and includes some sixteenth-century converted London houses, including Thomas Cromwell's house in Austin Friars as well as the Charterhouse.<sup>33</sup> Roger Leech opened up a new area of research with his remarkable rediscovery of a few surviving buildings of the late sixteenth-century 'row houses' in the former priory of St Bartholomew.<sup>34</sup>

Historians since Minnie Reddan have made full use of a range of documentary sources in several important studies of individual houses, notably of Augustinian hospitals, including Norman Moore's works on St Bartholomew's, Catherine Jamison on St Katharine's, Martha Carlin's study of St Thomas in Southwark and Ann Bowtell's research on Elsing's Hospital.<sup>35</sup> Other important historical studies of

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<sup>32</sup> *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580: Papers Given at the Archeology of Reformation Conference, February 2001*, ed. by D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), with contributions by M. Howard, 'Recycling the Monastic Fabric: Beyond the Act of Dissolution', pp. 221–34; R. K. Morris, 'Monastic Architecture: Destruction and Reconstruction', pp. 235–51; J. Schofield, 'Some Aspects of the Reformation of Religious Space in London, 1540–1660', pp. 310–24; S. W. Ward, 'Dissolution Or Reformation? A Case Study from Chester's Urban Landscape', pp. 267–79; I. Soden, 'The Conversion of Former Monastic Buildings to Secular use: the Case of Coventry', pp. 280–9; C. Phillpotts, 'The Houses of Henry VIII's Courtiers in London', pp. 299–309; B. Sloane, 'Tenements in London's Monasteries c. 1450–1540', pp. 290–8; A. Hamlin and N. Brannon, 'Northern Ireland: The Afterlife of Monastic Buildings', pp. 252–66.

<sup>33</sup> M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490–1550* (London: George Philip, 1987), pp. 136–62 and gazetteer.

<sup>34</sup> R. H. Leech, 'The Prospect from Rugman's Row: the Row House in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London', *Archaeological Journal*, 153 (1996), 201–42.

<sup>35</sup> N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols (London: Pearson, 1918); C. Jamison, *The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower of London* (London: Oxford

particular houses include M.C. Rosenfield's article on Holy Trinity Aldgate, Barbara Harvey's study of Westminster, Martha Carlin's topographic survey of the Franciscan nunnery of the Minoreesses, as well as a recent examination of St Mary Graces and its patronage by royalty and the aristocracy.<sup>36</sup>

The effect of the Dissolution on Londoners is considered in Susan Brigden's history of the Reformation in London and it is interesting to note that several of those mentioned in her survey of London's 'heretical community' in the 1520s and 1530s were royal servants who went on to acquire ex-monastic property.<sup>37</sup> A groundbreaking article by Eliza Jeffries Davis in 1924 looked at the dramatic effect of the Dissolution on the capital, arguing that it brought about 'the transformation of London' (the aptly named title of her essay). She also raised the interesting question of the various extra-parochial 'liberties' created by the dissolution of several of London's monastic houses, including Black Friars and White Friars.<sup>38</sup> These liberties tended to be seen as hotbeds of dissent (religious or criminal) and foreigners: Anthony House's work is therefore an important piece of research following on from Jeffries Davis, looking at the widely differing characters of London's ex-monastic liberties and including a detailed case-study of Blackfriars.<sup>39</sup>

There is surprisingly little literature looking at medieval or Tudor London from the point of view of the historical geographer. Henry Darby was England's great proponent of the discipline but it is probably fair to say that he, like most historical geographers, concentrated on the development of rural rather than urban England,

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University Press, 1952); M. Carlin, 'The Medieval Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr in Southwark', *Bulletin of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 37 (1985), 19–23; A. Bowtell, 'The Economic Fortunes of a London Hospital: Elsyngspital 1330–1536', *TLAMAS*, 59 (2008), 191–212; A. Bowtell, 'A Medieval London Hospital: Elsyngspital 1330–1536' (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2009). Elsyngspital began, it should be noted, as a hospital of secular canons.

<sup>36</sup> B. F. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: the Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); M. C. Rosenfield, 'Holy Trinity Aldgate on the Eve of the Dissolution', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 3.3 (1970), 159–73; Carlin and Keene, *Historical Gazetteer... St Botolph Aldgate*; E. Jamroziak, 'St Mary Graces: a Cistercian House in Late Medieval London', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by P. Trio and M. de Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 153–64.

<sup>37</sup> S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), chapter 2, 82–128.

<sup>38</sup> E. J. Davis, 'The Transformation of London', in *Tudor Studies: Presented by the Board of Studies in History in the University of London to Albert Frederick Pollard, being the Work of Twelve of His Colleagues and Pupils*, ed. by R. W. Seton-Watson (London: Longmans, 1924), especially pp. 298–300.

<sup>39</sup> A. P. House, 'The City of London and the Problem of the Liberties, c1540–c1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2006).

although the final edition of his *Historical Geography of England* did include brief surveys of medieval and Tudor London.<sup>40</sup> One notable exception in the field of London's historical geography is Michael Power who, after completing a PhD thesis looking at the urban development of east London in the early modern period, went on to analyse the morphology of central London in the second half of the sixteenth century using John Stow's *Survey* as the primary source material.<sup>41</sup> This perceptive study deserves a wider readership among archaeologists and historians studying late medieval and Tudor London.

The specific technique of historic map regression – working backwards in a series of tracings from modern to historic maps – was first used in London in the late nineteenth century when Joseph Jacobs published a pioneering study of the medieval Jewry featuring a reconstructed map that used the Ordnance Survey as its basis and brought in details from earlier maps and from documentary evidence.<sup>42</sup> The technique does not seem to have been widely applied again until two groundbreaking research projects of the 1980s: the Social and Economic Study of Medieval London, which analysed in depth the property histories of five Cheapside parishes, and the London volume of the *British Atlas of Historic Towns*, with cartography of the whole City by W.H. Johns.<sup>43</sup> More recently, archaeologists at the Museum of London (including the present author) have used Computer Aided Drawing software to create digital historic maps using an updated version of the technique, with tracing paper and pencil replaced by digital tracing or digitising.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> H. C. Darby (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 245–7 (in Chapter 5 by A. Baker), 298–301 (in Chapter 6 by F. V. Emery).

<sup>41</sup> M. J. Power, 'The Urban Development of East London, 1550 to 1700' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1971); M. J. Power, 'John Stow and His London', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11.1 (1985), 1–20.

<sup>42</sup> J. Jacobs, 'The London Jewry, 1290', in *Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887*, ed. by J. Jacobs (London: William Clowes, 1888), pp. 20–52.

<sup>43</sup> Keene and Harding, *Historical Gazetteer... Cheapside*; M. D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in conjunction with the Historic Towns Trust, 1989). The principal map of Lobel's atlas has recently been reissued in an attractive single-sheet format: *A Detailed Street Map of the City of London Five Hundred Years Ago* (Moretonhampstead, Devon: Old House Books, 2008).

<sup>44</sup> D. Bowsher and others, *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times*, MoLAS Monograph, 36 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), pp. 416–17 (N. Holder, 'Cartographic reconstruction').

## *Methodology and sources*

### **Documentary sources**

The first task in the documentary research was to compile a list (in fact an Excel spreadsheet) of relevant documents, broken down by religious house, date, type and archive. The list was compiled by means of a trawl of four important printed works, noting down every reference to a document concerning a London friary, concentrating on documents which might have information concerning the convents' topography.<sup>45</sup> That great resource of Tudor political history, *Letters and Papers*, has admirable indexes to the twenty-two volumes. Marjorie Honeybourne's 1929 MA thesis on London's religious houses is a remarkably full work (and one which surely deserved a higher academic award).<sup>46</sup> Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding's invaluable work *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London Before the Great Fire* (arising from their groundbreaking research into Cheapside parishes) is structured by medieval institution rather than modern archive, facilitating a search for friary-related documents.<sup>47</sup> Finally, Röhrkasten's *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London* is the definitive work on the London houses, although one might wish for a fuller index.

The next stage was to look through the relevant catalogues of the main London archive repositories, the National Archives, the British Library, the London Metropolitan Archive and the Guildhall Library. In all four cases it was necessary to use older card indexes and lists in addition to the modern online catalogues: for example, an online search of the National Archives catalogue found fewer than a dozen records for White Friars, whereas a search of the various 'additional finding aids' found about forty. (The complicated system of the National Archive's additional finding aids is described and tabulated in Appendix 2 for the benefit of future researchers.)

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<sup>45</sup> Friaries have not so far been included in the online 'English Monastic Archives' project, which aims to catalogue all the surviving archives of England's monastic houses: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/englishmonasticarchives/> (accessed 29 Oct 2008).

<sup>46</sup> M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (Including the Prebends of St. Paul's and St. Martin's-Le-Grand), the Inns of the Bishops and Abbots, and the Churches and Churchyards, before the Dissolution of the Monasteries' (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1929).

<sup>47</sup> D. Keene and V. Harding, *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London before the Great Fire*, London Record Society, 22 (London: London Record Society, 1985).

There is one notable class of documentary evidence which has not been examined in detail for this study: wills. This decision was taken on the grounds that others have already trawled through London wills looking for references to the friaries. In addition to the other uses Röhrkasten makes of this valuable source material he notes for each friary the structural references he found in the wills – for example to chapels, altars and church construction projects – and his work is therefore quoted extensively in this study. Christian Steer is using the wills as a source material for his study of medieval tombs and been kind enough to share some of his data, as has Robert Wood with his study of wills enrolled at the Archdeaconry Court.<sup>48</sup>

Documents consulted as part of the research for this thesis are calendared in Appendix 3, which is arranged by friary.

### **Archaeological evidence**

There have been numerous archaeological excavations conducted in the precincts of London's friaries, principally by the Museum of London (MoLAS), but recently including private companies such as Pre-Construct Archaeology (PCA) and AOC Archaeology (AOC).<sup>49</sup> Most of the archaeological archives of these sites – the mass of paper and electronic records, photographs, drawings, artefacts and environmental remains that are the product of a modern excavation – are held at the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC, part of the Museum of London) although a few archives remain with the excavating organisation, pending eventual transfer to the LAARC. A list of relevant sites was obtained by consulting the LAARC online catalogue, augmented by the MOLA internal database.<sup>50</sup>

One aspect of these archaeological archives that requires further comment is the use made of other people's interpretation and analysis. A comparison can be drawn here between archaeological and historical sources: the archaeological equivalent of the original document is perhaps the basic excavation archive of

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<sup>48</sup> Röhrkasten. The provisional title of Steer's thesis is 'Funeral Monuments in London, c. 1350– c. 1550' (PhD thesis in preparation, Royal Holloway, University of London); the provisional title of Wood's thesis is 'Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St Edmunds in the late Fourteenth to Early Fifteenth Centuries' (PhD thesis in preparation, Royal Holloway, University of London).

<sup>49</sup> The name of the limited company 'AOC Archaeology' is not an acronym and is never expanded.

<sup>50</sup> LAARC online catalogue: <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/laarc/catalogue/> (accessed 28 October 2008).



context sheets and plans of the various excavated walls, pits, layers and other features. Depending on the complexity of the site, and the time and money available for what archaeologists term post-excavation work, the archaeologist will then draw up a stratigraphic matrix of the site (essentially a diagram expressing the excavated features as a sequence of events) together with interpretive plans and text, which will appear in an unpublished site report. This report (formerly termed an archive report, now generally called a post-excavation assessment) can be seen as the equivalent of the historian's interpretive printed text: it contains much of the original site 'document' but it has been filtered and interpreted by the archaeologist. The two elements – original records and site report – are the archaeological archive. In this thesis, therefore, an attempt is made to distinguish between evidence based on the original records and interpretation based on an excavator's analysis of those records, in order to give due credit to the various archaeologists involved.

The various archaeological sites are catalogued in Appendix 3. Cited unpublished archive reports are listed in the Bibliography, 'Unpublished reports and theses'.

### **Visual sources**

An important aspect of the methodology of this thesis is the use of historic maps and the techniques of map regression. Essentially, this term means working backwards from modern to historic maps in a series of tracings and adjustments, one map at a time. Originally the technique of map regression relied on pencil and tracing paper: one had to trace the starting map and then retrace it again and again at each adjustment. With the advent of Computer Aided Drawing software, the process became much quicker, the manual tracing being replaced by digital tracing or digitisation (distinct, it should be noted, from the essentially photographic process of scanning). It can be seen that the process is inferential rather than objective, for at each stage one has to make subjective decisions about continuity and change. While one must be aware of its subjectivity and its limitations, the effect of this process of map regression is to endow historic maps with the greater accuracy of their modern counterparts, and to allow other forms of topographic data – whether archaeological or documentary in origin – to be overlaid with ease. The process can best be illustrated by taking a 100m-square sample of the area of modern Whitefriars and moving backwards in time a step at a time (Fig 2).

**Fig 2 The technique of map regression: moving backwards in time in Whitefriars (scale 1:1500)**

In addition to the use of historic maps and surveys, the print and drawing collection of the former Guildhall Library was searched for illustrations of medieval and Tudor buildings that survived into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>51</sup>

Significant visual sources are calendared in Appendix 3.

***Textual and graphical conventions***

The friaries are referred to as Black Friars, Grey Friars, etc., although the place-names Blackfriars, Greyfriars and Whitefriars are used to describe the post-Dissolution areas. When quoting from primary sources, a number of conventions have been observed: standard abbreviations are silently expanded but changes in Latin case are signalled in square brackets (e.g. *mur[u] lapidens* instead of manuscript ‘... [per] murum lapidensem’). Simple presentation of letters and numbers is preferred: numerals and money are therefore transcribed as ‘£3 4s 6d’ (rather than manuscript ‘iiij<sup>l</sup> iiiij<sup>s</sup> uij<sup>d</sup>’); thorn ‘Þ’ or ‘y’ is transcribed as ‘th’; initial doubled ‘ff’ is transcribed as simple ‘f’; manuscript ‘u’ is transcribed as ‘u’ or ‘v’ and manuscript ‘i’ is transcribed as ‘i’ or ‘j’, as appropriate. Dates are given in New Style, with regnal years and saints’ days converted to calendar dates. Measurements are generally given in metric and imperial; reconstructed measurements are usually rounded up or down to whole feet.

Graphical conventions used in the maps and plans are illustrated in Fig 3. North is to the top of the page in all figures, except where indicated. The figures are bound together at the end of the volume.

**Fig 3 Graphical conventions used in this thesis**


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<sup>51</sup> The Guildhall Library collections, now part of the London Metropolitan Archive, can be searched using the COLLAGE website: <http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/collage/app> (accessed 17 December 2010).

## Chapter 2: Black Friars

### *Introduction*

The first friars to arrive in England were the small group of Dominicans led by Gilbert de Fresnay in August 1221: having set up the first friary in Oxford he must have established the London convent soon after this date, and certainly before September 1224 when the London Black Friars were able to welcome the first Franciscans. The justiciar Hubert de Burgh provided a plot of land outside the City walls in the parish of St Andrew Holborn and the Dominicans were able to expand their land from this base over the next half-century. In the 1270s the decision was made – somewhat surprisingly – to move to a new site in the south-west corner of the City. After gaining the support of the new king Edward I, the City authorities – quite remarkably – agreed to a huge programme of public works: to level the old fortifications of Montfitchet and Baynard castles, to demolish that part of the City wall and to rebuild it further to the west, right up against the river Fleet.<sup>1</sup> The motivations for this move are not certain: the friars may have wanted better, water-based, transport links and a more prestigious site closer to the walled City. The king may have been motivated by a desire to get rid of the private fortifications of Montfitchet and Baynard's castles and, in conjunction with the City authorities, to have a more secure urban fortification using the natural defences of the river Fleet as the western boundary. This stretch of the Roman city wall may have been in a particularly poor state of repair; there may also have been a gap in the defences in the very south-west corner caused by the effect of land reclamation extending the foreshore to the south of the Roman wall. The Dominican archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby, and the prior of Black Friars (and unofficial confessor to Edward

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<sup>1</sup> J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 30–8 (hereafter cited as 'Röhrkasten'); C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), p. 117; M. D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, The British Atlas of Historic Towns, 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in conjunction with the Historic Towns Trust, 1989), pp. 65, 81 and map 'City of London c. 1270'; B. Watson, 'The Norman Fortress on Ludgate Hill in the City of London, England, Recent Excavations 1986–1990', *Chateau Gaillard*, 15 (1992), 335–45.

D), John of Darlington, must both have played an important part in the necessarily complex negotiations between the king, the City and the Bishop of London.<sup>2</sup>

With the support of the king and the City authorities, the construction of both the new precinct and the new wall – the latter combining the roles of city wall, precinct wall and land reclamation waterfront – began in the 1270s and continued into the early fourteenth century. The works necessitated considerable changes to this corner of the City and the construction project was a huge undertaking, one of the largest building projects ever undertaken in the medieval city. Constructing a new church, cloister and other buildings was quite some task in itself but building the new friary also entailed moving a 200-metre (225-yard) stretch of the Roman City wall. The confiscation of Templar land on the eastern banks of the river Fleet and additional donations by the king and the London citizen Thomas de Basing of plots of land in the adjacent parish of St Andrew allowed the completion of the new precinct: the Dominicans could now enjoy an extensive urban plot of just under eight acres (3.1 hectares), nearly half of which had been gained from the valley slopes of the river Fleet beyond the former wall, and a fifth of which had been physically reclaimed from the water and foreshore of the Fleet and Thames. The new wall, the conventual church and the majority of the precinct buildings seem to have been completed by the second decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The Dominican friary was the largest, wealthiest and most politically significant of the London friaries. It had nearly a hundred friars by the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and still had about sixty in the late fourteenth century after the effects of the Black Death, reducing to around forty members in the mid-fifteenth century. The physical size of the friary and the number of friars meant that the Dominicans had the greatest running expenses of all the friaries but they were probably the most economically secure since they consistently had royal financial support: an annual payment of £20 from the Exchequer continued to be paid right up to the year before Dissolution. In addition, the friars received the highest levels of financial support from testators (compared to the other London friaries) and, by the

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<sup>2</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 38–40.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 39–43; Barron, *Religious Houses*, pp. 117–18; LAARC, site VAL88, C. Taylor, 'The building of the City wall at the Friars Preachers' in 'Fleet Valley project, interim report', ed. by B. McCann, unpublished Museum of London report, 1993, pp. 87–92.

sixteenth century, had the greatest number (and value) of private rents within their precinct.<sup>4</sup>

Like the other mendicant orders, the London Black Friars was the head house of the English province and therefore housed the provincial prior as well as the London prior. The Black Friars also housed the order's *studium provinciale*, which trained English and some foreign black friars and sent them on for higher study at Oxford, Cambridge and Continental universities. When the ex-friar John Bale and the antiquary John Leland made separate visits to Black Friars shortly before the Dissolution they recorded just under thirty books on a variety of subjects in the chained library, of which thirteen identified manuscripts survive today.<sup>5</sup> Together with the Grey Friars, the Dominicans were the academic elite of London, ensuring the city's status as a European cultural and intellectual centre (admittedly in 'third place' after the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge).<sup>6</sup>

The Dominicans were also the most important of the London friaries in terms of their connections and influences. As has been stated, they received consistent financial support from the Crown and, in return, they provided several confessors and, on occasion, advisors and diplomats. However, with the important exception of John of Darlington in the thirteenth century, most of these Dominican royal servants did not have any real contact with the London friary while they were actually engaged in royal service.<sup>7</sup> The degree of financial contribution from the aristocracy and the City's mercantile elite indicates the Dominicans' success in attracting a few prominent and powerful supporters, although the corollary seems to be that they were less successful (compared to the Crossed Friars) at attracting smaller-scale bequests and donations from ordinary Londoners.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 239–41, 261, 270–3, 560–2.

<sup>5</sup> K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990), pp. 199–203; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 124; Röhrkasten, pp. 482–3, 491–3. It is not possible to correlate precisely the entries in Bale's and Leland's lists with the list of surviving manuscripts compiled by Ker.

<sup>6</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 479, 518; W. J. Courtenay, *Schools & Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 61–6.

<sup>7</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 210–18.

<sup>8</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 381–3, 405–7, 424–9, 448–50.

The precinct of the friary was also regularly used by the Crown: it contained a large hall known as the parliament chamber, which housed sittings of parliament on a number of occasions.<sup>9</sup> Right next to this hall there was a smaller building known as the Duchy Chamber, which was used for meetings of the council of the Duchy of Lancaster who administered the king's feudal revenues arising from that vast estate.<sup>10</sup> The friary must have made a convenient base for Crown business – it was right between the City and Westminster, and was central yet secluded. Perhaps most important of all, it was next door to Bridewell palace, Henry VIII's principal London residence in the 1510s and 1520s.<sup>11</sup>

The London house played a crucial, if somewhat accidental, role in events leading up to the Dissolution of the monasteries and the English Reformation. In 1529 the friary's parliament hall was the setting for the public inquiry into the 'great matter' of the divorce between Henry and Catherine. A religious court headed by Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio was convened by the Pope with, on the one side, Wolsey hoping for a speedy settlement in the king's favour and, on the other, Campeggio intending to postpone judgement with the real intention of putting off a decision for as long as possible. After the inevitable postponement of the court, Henry rid himself of his personally loyal, but religiously orthodox, advisor and began to listen to other more heterodox voices. In a certain sense, those few days at Black Friars in 1529 were the crucial first steps on the road that led to the royal supremacy, the Dissolution and, in the end, the English Reformation.

Five years later a supporter of the divorce, of Thomas Cromwell and of the 'new learning' – John Hilsey – was appointed provincial head of the Order as well as joint head of the commission that was charged with visiting all the English friaries and ensuring their adherence to the royal supremacy.<sup>12</sup> This commission could be seen as a trial run for the separate body of commissioners sent out to negotiate the surrender of the friaries in 1538, which was also led by a Dominican, Richard Ingworth.

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<sup>9</sup> Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses', pp. 140–1.

<sup>10</sup> G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 164–6; R. Somerville, 'The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (1941), 159–77.

<sup>11</sup> H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963–82), iv (2), 53–8.

<sup>12</sup> S. Thompson, 'Hilsey, John (d. 1539)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13325>> [accessed 25 October 2009].

Hilsey's house was at Black Friars and the convent thus served as an administrative base of the nascent Dissolution. In an odd sense, then, both the beginning and the end of the Ludgate friary happened as a result of close co-operation between prior and king. Hilsey and fifteen friars signed the surrender document on 12 November 1538.<sup>13</sup>

After the dissolution of the friary various tenements and parcels of land were leased out by the Crown. The Court of Augmentations did not make any major freehold grants of friary land until 1544 (below, 'Property granted to Paul Gresham and Francis Boldero') and the Crown was therefore able to use part of the friary as a store for the extensive equipment of the Revels. This link with the Revels explains why Sir Thomas Cawarden, master of the Revels, was to become the principal landholder in Blackfriars following a Crown lease of 1548 and a freehold grant two years later. Administratively, the precinct became a liberty outside the control of the City, but in ecclesiastical terms it was eventually recognised as a parish, St Ann Blackfriars, within the normal jurisdiction of the bishop of London. The area had an unusual mix of residents in the second half of the sixteenth century including aristocrats, gentry and aliens; its religious mix included both Puritans and recusants.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Sources***

A small amount of pre-Dissolution documentary material survives but the most important documentary source for Black Friars is the archive of the More-Molyneux family who acquired a sizeable part of the former priory from the original grantee, Sir Thomas Cawarden, in the 1550s: over 300 documents relating to the administration of their Blackfriars property were preserved and the material is now in the collections of the Surrey History Centre in Woking and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC.<sup>15</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, the Loseley material has

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<sup>13</sup> Barron, *Religious Houses*, pp. 119–20; *Letters and Papers*, xiii (2), no. 809.

<sup>14</sup> The complex history of the liberty and parish of Blackfriars, which has misled some historians, has been expertly charted by Anthony House: 'The City of London and the Problem of the Liberties, c1540–c1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2006), pp. 111–52.

<sup>15</sup> Both archives have detailed catalogues of their respective Loseley holdings and, very fortunately for a researcher based in England, most of the Folger material has been microfilmed and can be consulted at the Surrey History Centre (microfilm Z/407/2 and /3). Full details of the online Surrey History Centre and Folger Shakespeare Library online catalogues are given in the bibliography ('Internet sources'). In this chapter original manuscripts are cited in the usual manner (with the proviso that Folger manuscripts have only been looked at on microfilm), whereas catalogue entries are cited in the

been sampled, with a selection of about seventy documents examined. Black Friars is also the best documented London friary from the point of view of archaeological remains: thirty-eight separate archaeological investigations have taken place here, ranging from records of antiquarian observations to large-scale modern excavations by the Museum of London. The archaeological sites are mapped on Fig 4 and calendared in the appendix. While no site has yet produced good survival of buried medieval floor- and ground-levels, a number of investigations have revealed surprisingly well-preserved medieval walls. For example, part of the north wall of the medieval Guest Hall survived in elevation, preserved in the fabric of the seventeenth-century Apothecaries' Hall (site APO81) and much of the vaulted undercroft of the Provincial's lodging has been excavated (sites FRI88, IDY93 and PRG407).

**Fig 4 Map showing archaeological sites within the precinct of Black Friars (scale 1:1250)**

### *The medieval friary*

#### **The friary precinct and gates**

Work on the construction of the combined City- and precinct-wall of the new friary began by Ludgate in 1279 when Edward I (clearly the project's initiator) granted the mayor (in effect the principal contractor) the right to levy a special murage duty on incoming merchandise for three years. By 1284 the wall seems to have reached the Fleet and this stretch terminated in a tower. The work continued in an anti-clockwise direction around the new precinct, with a north-south stretch and another tower probably complete by 1286. Little further work was done until 1302 when a new murage grant was allowed and work began on the most difficult part, the extension of the wall into the Thames. This stretch was probably complete by 1306. In 1308-9 the missing part of the wall by the old Templar mill could be completed, thanks to the confiscation of Templar property by Edward II. Finally, a new tower was built between 1310 and 1317, probably right on the south-west corner of the wall and thus

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form 'Surrey History Centre [or Folger Library], Loseley catalogue, [MS number]'. Finally, a selection of the Loseley material has been printed in A. Feuillerat, *Blackfriars Records*, Malone Society Collections, 2 (i) (Oxford: Malone Society, 1913) and (in translation and modernised English) in I. Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: its History and its Design* (London: Owen, 1966).



strategically guarding the corner of the City.<sup>16</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that the wall was generally six feet wide (1.8m) along the Fleet and nine feet wide (2.7m) along the Thames. The wall was built from ragstone and chalk, with the waterside face generally built in neat ashlar (almost certainly Kentish freestone from the Hythe Beds). It was also ‘battered’ at an angle of 5° on the water side (i.e. it was thicker towards the base) in order to give greater strength.<sup>17</sup> There is much less archaeological evidence for the inland precinct wall, apart from a short stretch in the north-east corner (seen on sites CAT86 and PAL86) where the wall was faced with ragstone and was four feet (1.2m) wide.

**Fig 5 View of the north precinct wall of Black Friars (the late thirteenth-century City wall extension) under excavation**

The process of land acquisition continued in the the fourteenth century: nine riverside tenements in the south-west corner of the parish of St Andrew (to the west of Puddle Dock) begin to ‘disappear’ from the documentary record in the fourteenth century, almost certainly as a result of being bought by, or given to, the new friary. These tenements lay just outside the friary precinct and the westernmost tenement is described as abutting the ‘close of the Friars Preachers’.<sup>18</sup> The friary also acquired the prior of Ogbourne’s London house just to the north of these tenements, although the Wiltshire priory soon regained the property.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> LAARC, site VAL88, C. Taylor, ‘The building of the City wall at the Friars Preachers’ in ‘Fleet Valley project, interim report’, ed. by B. McCann (unpublished Museum of London report, 1993), pp. 87–92.

<sup>17</sup> K. Steedman, ‘Queen Victoria Street Excavation’, *Archaeology Today*, 8.11 (1987), 26–30; LAARC, site VAL88, McCann, ‘Fleet Valley project’, p. 73. Archaeologists working on the refurbishment of Blackfriars station uncovered another stretch of wall at the end of 2010 (information from Lesley Dunwoodie, Museum of London Archaeology).

<sup>18</sup> LAARC, Dyson and Taylor archive, parish of St Andrew Baynard’s Castle, Tenements A1 (last recorded property transaction in 1389), A2 (last record in 1357), A3 (last record in 1359), A4 (last record in 1357), A5 (last record in 1344), AX (only record in 1278), AY (last record in 1331), AZ (last record in 1329) and AA (last record in 1286). The quotation is Dyson’s translation (record card for Tenement A1, Husting Roll 89/27, 1361).

<sup>19</sup> This property has caused some confusion: in the Lobel atlas there are two separate properties in the southern part of the Black Friars precinct: Kings’ College Mansion and Duke’s Wardrobe. However, Honeybourne demonstrated that these were the same property, the former prior of Ogbourne’s town house. The evidence cited by Honeybourne, a description of abutments in a fourteenth-century Husting Roll transaction and the post-Fire records of Mills and Oliver show that the property was a block of land on the north side of Love Lane, between the southern part of the friary precinct and Puddle Dock (Fig 6): M. B. Honeybourne, ‘The Reconstructed Map of London Under Richard II’, *London Topographical Record*, 22 (1965), 35–7; Mills and Oliver, ii, 48v; iii, 80v and 118; LAARC, Dyson and Taylor archive, parish of St Andrew Baynard’s Castle, Tenement A1 (record card for Husting Roll 117/139).

The precinct wall was pierced by a series of gates, with the main northern gate situated by Ludgate (described as the *borial[is] port[a]* in 1540), an eastern gate leading into the cemetery from Carter Lane, and a second gate further south on Puddle Dock Hill (Fig 6). Finally, there was a water gate to allow access to the friary from the Thames.<sup>20</sup>

**Fig 6 Reconstructed map of the precinct of Black Friars shortly before Dissolution (scale 1:1000)**

### The church

The second conventual church of Black Friars – the church on the Dominicans’ new site at the confluence of the Fleet and the Thames – was begun in 1278, beginning with the choir (the first parcel of land that the Dominicans acquired).<sup>21</sup> By 1286 the church must have been partly built, since the friars completed the sale of their old convent that year and a royal refoundation charter seems to have been issued.<sup>22</sup> Work was still continuing in 1288 but in 1290 the king gave £22 6s 8d to pay for five windows at the west end of the church (at that stage only the choir) suggesting that the final stages of the construction project had been reached. When Eleanor of Castile, consort of Edward I, died later that year, her heart was buried here and in 1291–2 payments were made for her tomb, including for the floor and ceiling of the chapel where she was buried.<sup>23</sup> By 1292 the construction project had moved on to the cloister. Twenty years later a team of twenty-four masons supervised by master Michael of Canterbury were working here under royal patronage: master Michael had worked on St Stephen’s chapel in the Palace of Westminster and we can guess that he was now responsible for the design and execution of the nave at Blackfriars.<sup>24</sup> There are several references in wills to repairs over the next two centuries but the only specific reference to a major new building project in the church occurs in 1436

<sup>20</sup> The National Archives (TNA), SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 54v [*borial[is] port[a]*, 1540]; Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL), Loseley MS L.b.416 [‘wattergate’, 1559]; Surrey History Centre (SHC), LM/346/37 [gate at east of churchyard, 1553].

<sup>21</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> The refoundation charter does not survive but the document, written in French and dated 31 May 1286, seems to be cited in the London eyre of 1321: TNA, JUST 1/547A, m. 17v.

<sup>23</sup> B. Botfield, *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Illustrated by Original Records*, Roxburghe Club (London: Nicol, 1841), p. 103. The evidence of a sixteenth-century description of church monuments (British Library (BL), Harley MS 6033, f. 29v) shows that Eleanor’s monument was in the main choir rather than a chapel (although the monument could have been moved in the intervening two centuries).

<sup>24</sup> Colvin, *King’s Works*, i, 207.

when Sir John Cornewaill endowed a chantry in the new chapel he had built in honour of the Virgin.<sup>25</sup>

The archaeological evidence for the priory church derives from a number of excavations. Although this evidence is somewhat patchy – no large area of the church has yet been excavated – enough of the wall and arcade foundations survive to permit a reasonably confident basic reconstruction (Fig 7). Much of the western wall of the church has been revealed in excavations: at 7 Ludgate Broadway (site LBY85) foundations for the north-west angle of the church were discovered, including the projecting buttresses, and at Apothecaries' Hall (sites APO81 and PRG408) the south-western angle was found (Fig 7). The internal width of the church is thus 19.7m (65'), with the external width 21.9m (72'; allowance has been made for foundation offsets). This 'archaeological' width of 65' agrees fairly closely with the documentary evidence for a width of 66' that is recorded in the 1550 grant to Thomas Cawarden.<sup>26</sup> The length of the nave and aisles is less certain: no foundations for the end wall or a central tower have been discovered, nor is there a handy post-Dissolution survey stating the length (as there is for White Friars and Crossed Friars). However, both Alfred Clapham and Sidney Toy in their reconstructions in the early twentieth century argued that the narrow street still known as Church Entry must mark the line of the 'walking space' separating the nave from the choir. This hypothesis has been followed here, with the assumption that the point where Church Entry narrows on its eastern side is the very end of the nave and beginning of the choir.

**Fig 7 Reconstruction of the church of Black Friars (scale 1:500)**

Continuing our reconstruction, part of the east end of the choir has been recorded (site FRI88) and the total length of the church is thus 72.0m (236') internally, or 74.0m (243') externally, dimensions which do not quite tally with the measurement of 220' given in the 1550 grant. The arrangement of the bays and chapels of the choir is less certain. Foundations seen while digging a sewer in Friar Street in 1925 might be part of a buttress supporting an arcade of the nave. The position of a few fragments of wall and foundation (in sites FRI88 and PRG410) suggest that the choir did not have a southern aisle, but wall foundations discovered in the very north of

<sup>25</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 36–43 and 503; Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3.

site FRI88 must be the north wall. Their slightly odd alignment suggests that they form part of a discontinuous chapel to the north of the choir (whose alignment would have been influenced by the nearby precinct boundary wall) and which may not have continued as far west as the nave (Fig 7). This is certainly what is implied in the 1550 grant of the old church and its materials to Thomas Cawarden, which specifies 'lead of the roof of a vestry on the north side of the east end of the said church'.<sup>27</sup> Further more, this postulated layout of a choir with discontinuous chapels seems to correspond with the documented measurement of the east end of the church, given as 56' in a lease of 1553.<sup>28</sup>

The church was built in a typical medieval way: a deep foundation trench was dug and then mortar, ragstone and chalk were poured in. The main walls were about three feet nine inches thick above ground (1.1m; the less certain evidence for the choir suggests the walls were slightly thinner) and were built of roughly coursed, quite small ragstone blocks, with Reigate stone used for quoins and architectural details.

There was a central tower over the junction of the nave and choir. Wyngaerde's view of c. 1544 (drawn about a year before the tower and steeple were demolished) seems to show a large polygonal tower with a relatively squat spire (Fig 8). The church also had a porch and small tower at the west end, described in 1554 as the 'greate porch or gatehouse of sand stone covered with lead' and later as 'the Square Tower sometyme called the Church portch & the little gaterome thereunto adjoyninge'.<sup>29</sup> The abutments to these two post-Dissolution leases suggest that the porch faced north onto the churchyard and lay just east of Water Lane, in other words right in the north-west corner of the nave. A deep foundation (seen on site LBY85) probably supported the north-east corner of the tower and would suggest that it was about 20' by 13' (6.1m x 3.9m). We should therefore imagine a two- or even three-storey porch, perhaps decorated with statues, which would have been visible to churchgoers walking south down Water Lane. This sort of decorated porch functioned as a clear visual symbol to guide visitors towards the entrance of many late medieval parish churches: Northleach in Gloucestershire is a famous surviving

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> SHC, LM/346/37. The dimension of 56' specifically excludes the buttress at the end of the south wall.

<sup>29</sup> SHC, LM/347/10 [1554 lease]; Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 108 [1592 lease].

example, and the London Guildhall is a similar example in a lay context, rather closer to Black Friars.<sup>30</sup>

**Fig 8 Black Friars: detail of Wyngaerde's view of London, showing the former precinct in c. 1544**

The archaeological evidence also reveals a little of the internal arrangement of the church. Fortunately, the foundations for the arcade responds on the inside of the west wall were discovered, thus giving an approximate width of 14' (4.3m) for the two aisles.<sup>31</sup> Using the archaeological evidence of buttress and pier base foundations we can suggest that the nave and aisles were divided into seven bays each about 15' 3" wide (4.6m, measured centre to centre); the crossing or walking space formed a slightly wider eighth bay. Documentary evidence suggests that this latter bay was about 20 feet (6m) wide, although this measurement is from a lease of 1553 and is not therefore an architectural 'centre-to-centre' measurement.<sup>32</sup> The recent excavations in the church have revealed several chalk and ragstone pier base foundations: quatrefoil column fragments found in 1925 and 1985 (sites PRG410 and LBY85) must once have supported the arcade that sat on these foundations. The nave was a generously proportioned preaching space, nearly 37' wide (11.1m, measured centre to centre). The choir was probably seven bays long and the evidence of a buttress foundation found in Friar Street (site FRI88) would suggest that the eastern half was built to a slightly different 'module' or spacing to the western half. This eastern part of the nave and the chapel to the north might well have been part of Sir John Cornewail's Lady chapel building project of the 1430s.<sup>33</sup> Some or all of the nave was paved with tile rather than stone: in 1915 a patch of 'plain red tiling' was observed at the west end of the nave (site PRG408). This tile floor may have been

<sup>30</sup> D. Bowsher and others, *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times*, MoLAS Monograph, 36 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), i, 195–8.

<sup>31</sup> Part of the elevation of the respond for the south aisle was recorded in c. 1911 (site PRG408) but the drawings are not detailed enough to allow an exact aisle width to be calculated. Philip Norman and Alfred Clapham (working for the RCHME) noted that the observed aisle width was 'about 15ft', but the later archaeological evidence of site APO81 would suggest the slightly smaller width of c. 14 feet (NMR, RCHME investigators' field notes for London, Apothecaries' Hall).

<sup>32</sup> In 1553 Sir Thomas Cawarden leased several parcels of the former church and churchyard to Ninian Sawnders and the parcel at the south end of the 'late belfry' is 20' (east–west) by 13' (north–south): SHC, LM/346/37.

<sup>33</sup> Clapham suggested that the Lady chapel was at the other end of the church, to the north-west of the nave: A. W. Clapham, 'On the Topography of the Dominican Priory of London', *Archaeologia*, 63 (1911–12), p. 64. Although this was a reasonable hypothesis, the archaeological and documentary evidence for a chapel at the east end is more compelling.

quite extensive: in contrast to the cloister, the 1550 grant and survey does not list any paving stones from the church.

Other details of the internal layout are revealed by documentary evidence. There was a flight of covered night stairs leading from the south of the choir up to the dormitory on the east side of the cloister.<sup>34</sup> At least five distinct chapels are mentioned in the sources: a Lady chapel built in the 1430s (first mentioned in a chantry endowment by John Cornewall, Baron Fanhope, in 1436), a chapel of the Virgin (distinct from the Lady chapel and built by Joan de Ingaldesthorp before 1470), a Pardon chapel (referred to in a will of 1464), a chapel of St John the Baptist built in the early sixteenth century (will of 1509) and the chapel of St Ann (first mentioned in 1502).<sup>35</sup> The chapel of St Ann must have been the quasi-parish church referred to in the parish tax survey of 1535–6 and in the petitions by residents of the 1550s (below, ‘The church of St Ann Blackfriars’). In 1520 the chapel is described in the will of Roger Wotley as being ‘within and adjoining the church of the Friars Preachers’ and we might perhaps imagine it as occupying a few bays of one of the aisles, perhaps the northern aisle nearest the entrance for lay worshippers.<sup>36</sup> In addition to these chapels, there are several further references in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century wills to altars, most of which would have been sited in chapel-like bays of the aisles. Six altars are attested, dedicated to our Lady of Grace, St Michael the Archangel, St Peter, St Thomas Aquinas, St Zita and to the founder of the Dominican order, St Dominic. Finally, other wills request burial near to a number of images (whether statues or paintings) and many of these would also have had altars: St Peter of Milan (in the north aisle, perhaps the same as the altar of St Peter), St Erasmus (also in north aisle), our Lady of Pity, St Michael and St Patrick.<sup>37</sup>

The dedication of the church itself seems to have been to St John the Evangelist: a lease of 1536 describes John Hilsey as prior ‘of the ordre of freers prechers of the house of seynte John Evangeliste in london nexte ludgate’.<sup>38</sup> Lady Ingoldsthorp in her will of 1503 left a chalice and a pair of candlesticks ‘in worship of God and St

<sup>34</sup> SHC, LM/346/37; TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3.

<sup>35</sup> Clapham, ‘Topography’, pp. 65–7; Röhrkasten, pp. 503–4.

<sup>36</sup> Clapham, ‘Topography’, p. 66 (modernised spelling).

<sup>37</sup> The altars of St Thomas Aquinas and St Zita are mentioned, respectively, in a lost papal letter and a papal indulgence of the early sixteenth century: *Calendar of Papal Letters (1513–1521)*, pp. 558 (no. 1245), 578 (footnote 109).

<sup>38</sup> TNA, E303/9/180; E315/216, f. 52; E326/12376.

John the Evangelist' for the high altar of the church, and St John also appears on the conventual seal (with Mary, either side of a crucifix).<sup>39</sup>

There was an anchoress' cell on the north side of the church and we can see from references in several post-Dissolution leases that it was adjacent to the north-west porch.<sup>40</sup> It was probably built up against the second and third buttresses of the church and it almost certainly had a 'squint' or window into the corresponding chapel or altar in the north aisle. The Black Friars anchoress was one of about twenty London anchorites living in cells by parish churches, religious houses or against the city wall. The names of at least three of the Black Friars' anchoresses are known: in the 1470s Katharine Foster lived here with her maid and in 1521 Margaret Elyote became the anchoress after winning an unusual case at the court of Chancery in which she promised not to be a financial burden on the friary and sought alms instead from the mayor and City. After the Dissolution Katharine Man relinquished her right to the cell and accepted a pension of 20s.<sup>41</sup>

At the time of the Dissolution, just over seventy pounds of plate were removed from the church.<sup>42</sup> An inventory of the church drawn up soon afterwards lists some of the fixtures, as well as a tiny quantity of low-value plate that had not been removed (and which presumably remained for the use of parishioners). It includes pews and screens in the nave, two organs in the rood-loft (described with the following note: 'thethon bygger than thother'), the stalls in the choir, the table at the high altar and 'iiij candelstykes of latten & an sylver & the Images aboth sydes the alter'.<sup>43</sup>

A list of the burial monuments at Black Friars made in c. 1500 records the names of 103 burials (with slightly fewer monuments as several were of husband and wife) and the total number of known monuments has been calculated by Christian Steer as

<sup>39</sup> Clapham, 'Topography', p. 65 (translated).

<sup>40</sup> The clearest source that gives its location is a lease of 1570 where the 'tenement sometime called the Ancres howse' abuts the gate-room (porch) to the west and the way leading from Carter Lane to the north: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 112–13. It is mentioned in several other leases.

<sup>41</sup> Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 238; A. K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 288–9; R. M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorities of England* (London: Methuen, 1914), pp. 96, 230–1; TNA, C1/538/13 (the Chancery document is very faded and hard to read: the information therefore derives from the catalogue entry).

<sup>42</sup> *Account of the Monastic Treasures Confiscated at the Dissolution of the Various Houses in England*, ed. by W. Turnbull (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1836), p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> TNA, E117/14/202.

110, using some additional sources.<sup>44</sup> The list includes a large number of aristocratic and high-status names including the original founder Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent (who died in 1243 and whose body must have been moved from the original Holborn friary) and the important royal benefactor queen Eleanor, whose heart was buried here.<sup>45</sup> Two late medieval tombs are illustrated in an early sixteenth-century heraldic collection: the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Lord Amaund, and his wife Anne, and that of William Viscount Beaumont.<sup>46</sup> Archaeological excavation has only located five burials in the nave, three from the choir and two in the Lady chapel to the north.<sup>47</sup> The Lady chapel also had two brick-lined tombs (probably dating to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century) that seemed to have been emptied at the time of the priory's dissolution, when the bodies may have been moved to another church by family members.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, the early sixteenth-century list of burial monuments is not precise enough to identify any burials in this chapel, let alone the occupants of these two tombs.<sup>49</sup>

The late fourteenth-century poem known as 'Pierce the Ploughman's Crede' describes a Dominican friary in an evocative section consisting of sixty-four lines: it is very tempting to read this as a poetic description of the London friary. However, as Röhrkasten points out, it could be describing the Norwich house, or be an amalgam of several friaries; it should also be remembered that the poet is satirising the excessive splendour of the church.<sup>50</sup> Even if it cannot be relied on as a faithful

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<sup>44</sup> BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 29v–30v. The Harley MS is an accurate sixteenth-century copy of the original list in the College of Arms: C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of London, c. 1240–1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, ed. by C. M. Barron and C. Burgess (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 117–42.

<sup>45</sup> F. J. West, 'Burgh, Hubert De, Earl of Kent (c.1170–1243)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3991>> [accessed 16 September 2009]; M. Howell, 'Eleanor (c.1223–1291)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8620>> [accessed 16 September 2009].

<sup>46</sup> BL, Additional 45131, ff. 82–3, 88.

<sup>47</sup> The figure of five graves from the nave includes what seem to be three graves dug up by contractors working at Apothecaries' Hall (APO81) before the archaeologists arrived.

<sup>48</sup> It is also possible that fragments of stone and brick foundation, found in the north-west corner of the church in excavations at Ludgate Broadway (LBY85), are also the remains of emptied tombs. They are, however, interpreted below as works associated with the conversion of the church into Cawarden's mansion: 'The Blackfriars estate granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden'.

<sup>49</sup> Two of the three burials described as 'in the last parte of the quire' were of people who died in the mid-thirteenth century (Hubert de Burgh and his wife Margaret) and must have been moved from the first Holborn friary: they are unlikely, therefore, to have been reburied in the fifteenth-century Lady chapel.

<sup>50</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 504; *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, to which is Appended God Spede the Plough*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 30 and 31 (London: K. Paul, 1867), pp. 7–8. The poem



description of the London Black Friars, the poet paints a striking portrait of a Dominican church, describing, for example, the stone carving picked out in gold:

Thanne y munte [hurried] me forth the mynstre to knowen,  
 And a-waytede [found it, i.e. the church] a woon wonderlie well y-beld  
 With arches on everiche half & belliche y-corven,  
 With crochetes on corners with knottes of golde.

He goes on to describe the windows – apparently forty-four (twice twenty-two) in number – noting the accompanying inscriptions and the arms of civic benefactors:

Wyde wyndowes y-wrought y-written full thikke  
 Schynen with schapen scheldes to schewen aboute  
 With merkes of marchauntes y-medled bytwene,  
 Mo than twenty and two twyes y-noubred.

He is also very impressed by the large number of lay monuments, comparing, in a rather daring metaphor, their occupants to saints:

Tombes opon tabernacles tyld [raised] opon lofte,  
 Housed in hirnes [placed in corners?] harde set abouten,  
 Of armede alabaustre clad for the nones.  
*[two lines in variant MS read:*  
 Made upon marbel in many maner wyse  
 Knyghtes in her conisantes [symbol or crest] clad for the nones.]  
 All it semed seyntes y-sacred opon erthe  
 And lovely ladies y-wrought leyen by her sydes  
 In many gay garmentes that weren gold-beten.

### **The main cloister**

The principal cloister lay to the south of the nave and construction probably began shortly before 1292 because in April that year timber for the cloister – presumably for the roofs of the nearly-finished buildings – was obtained from Essex.<sup>51</sup> The main buildings surrounding it were the guest wing and refectory that lay on the west side, the main dormitory on the south side, and a smaller dormitory and the chapter house on the east (Fig 9). In the middle lay the cloister garth, surrounded by an arcaded walkway. The 1550 grant to Thomas Cawarden gives the measurements of the cloister as 110 feet square, although it is not immediately clear if these measurements include the cloister walkway.<sup>52</sup> Limited evidence suggests that, unusually, the cloister walk was a single-storey covered passage (and not covered over by the

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is also printed, accompanied by a revised modern English text, in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 547–50.

<sup>51</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281–92*, p. 484.

<sup>52</sup> TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3.

cloister buildings): the 1550 grant to Cawarden mentions both ‘the lead of the whole south cloister’ and ‘the lead of the frater’ as though they had distinct roof spaces. The ‘Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede’ poet describes the carved and painted cloister in particularly evocative terms, specifically mentioning the ‘lead lowe to the stones’ (again, as though it was single storey), and going on to describe decorated brass lavers of water:

Thanne kam I to that cloister & gaped abouten  
Whough it was pilered and peynt & portred [carved] well clene  
All y-hyled with leed lowe to the stones  
And y-paved with peynt til iche poynte after other  
With kundites of clene tyn closed all aboute  
With lavoures of latun lovelyche y-greithed.<sup>53</sup>

**Fig 9 Black Friars: plan of the main cloister (scale 1:500)**

The western range of the cloister is the only friary building which, at least partly, survives today. This is largely due to the fact that the Apothecaries’ Company bought the buildings in 1632 and converted them for use as their company hall (below, ‘Lord Cobham’s property in the main cloister’). In post-Dissolution grants the northern part of this wing is described as a mansion, which had been leased before the Dissolution to Lady Jane Guildford and then transferred in 1536 to Lord Cobham.<sup>54</sup> Its original function is revealed in a 1559 inquisition post mortem where it is described as a hall ‘*quondam vocata Le porters Lodge*’.<sup>55</sup> The building clearly occupied a privileged position in the precinct and it even had a specially designed ‘closet wyndowe’, probably at first-floor level, looking into the south aisle of the church. The west end of the porter’s lodge, including the remains of a two-light window, was discovered in the 1910s in part of Apothecaries’ Hall (Fig 9; site PRG408).

The upper part of the wing, immediately south of the porter’s lodge, is consistently referred to in post-Dissolution grants and leases as a hall or *magna aula* and, fortunately, the internal measurements of the hall are recorded.<sup>56</sup> The hall was probably the monastic guest hall, although the only real evidence for this is found in the accounts of the visit of the Emperor Charles V to London in 1522. Charles himself seems to have stayed in this wing at Black Friars (perhaps sleeping in the

<sup>53</sup> *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, p. 8.

<sup>54</sup> TNA, E318/8/293, m. 3 [particulars] and C66/774, mm. 31–3 [grant].

<sup>55</sup> *Blackfriars Records*, p. 115.

<sup>56</sup> SHC, LM/347/4 [sale of 1554 with measurements]; FSL, Loseley MS L.b. 446.

porter's lodge mansion), which was connected to Henry VIII's accommodation suite at Bridewell Palace (the other side of the Fleet) by a sumptuous gallery hung with tapestries and some 250 feet (75m) long (below, 'The gallery and bridge').<sup>57</sup>

In a rare above-ground survival, medieval masonry has been recorded in the lower two or three feet of the north and east walls of Apothecaries' Hall (which was extensively rebuilt after the Great Fire).<sup>58</sup> Up to 0.75m of medieval wall survived in the elevation of the east wall and it was of an unusual construction, employing a technique known as galetting in which slivers of flint had been pressed into the mortar surrounding the main building stones (predominantly large ragstone blocks) in order create a decorative effect of 'circling' the white stones in black.

The next building south is described in the post-Dissolution sources as 'an olde butterye'. In fact, the term buttery must here indicate the principal storage building for the large amount of food and drink that the friary had to keep (and not just the room for the wine and beer butts). Its precise size is difficult to calculate: part of it was leased to Henry Kingston in 1540 and another part to Thomas Cawarden in 1548.<sup>59</sup> In the 1548 lease its dimensions are given as 96' by 36' but this probably included more than one room. The hall over the buttery was probably the monastic refectory: this would seem to be the simplest reading of the 1548 lease which includes:

An owlde buttery and an entrye or passage with a greate stayre therein with Sellers therunder with a hall place at the upper ende of the stayre and an entere there to the frater over the same buttery.<sup>60</sup>

The refectory is compared to a royal hall by the *Pierce the Ploughman* poet, who also notes the benches and the church-like windows.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Colvin, *King's Works*, iv (2), 55–7.

<sup>58</sup> Simon Bradley suggested that much of the north wall of the Hall, some 30 feet in elevation, is surviving medieval masonry, with the implication that other parts of the hall could preserve similar amounts of medieval fabric: S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London, The Buildings of England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 376. However, the information is based on an erroneous interpretation of the archaeological evidence by the Apothecaries' Company archivist, Charles O'Leary, in a letter to Bradley: Apothecaries' Company, 'secondary sources' file 'Hall redevelopment', letter of 6 April 1995 from O'Leary to Bradley. Even if the evidence shows that Apothecaries Hall was more extensively rebuilt after the Fire than had been assumed, it does still suggest that the seventeenth-century hall follows the basic plan of the medieval guest wing (and this deduction has been used, along with the documented measurements, in Fig 9).

<sup>59</sup> TNA, E315/191, f. 57 [1540 particulars]; E315/212, ff. 134v–135 [1540 lease]; E310/3/18 (no.61) [1548 particulars]; E315/219, ff. 20v–21 [1548 lease].

<sup>60</sup> *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 87–9. Alfred Clapham suggested that the frater was on the south side of the cloister: 'Topography', p. 75.

On the south side of the cloister lay the principal dormitory wing or dorter: it faced both north onto the main cloister (according to the evidence of the 1550 grant to Thomas Cawarden) and south onto the inner cloister (according to the 1540 lease to Henry Kingston).<sup>62</sup> There are, unfortunately, no measurements but an east–west ragstone wall observed in 1928 (site PRG411) may mark the southern edge of the building and would indicate a substantial block about 16m (54') wide externally (Fig 9).<sup>63</sup> According to the 1540 lease, the block contained a dormitory on the first floor with 'lodgynges' underneath, and an apparently separate hall, buttery and cellar.

To the east of the dorter lay the 'comon jakes' reredorter. We know from a grant of 1544 that this latrine block touched the provincial's chamber and – in order to allow the friars easy access to the lavatory facilities from the sleeping quarters – there must also have been a physical connection with both the main south dorter and (perhaps over the schoolhouse) the smaller east dorter.<sup>64</sup> The latrine block has thus been reconstructed on Fig 9 as an 'L'-shaped building linking the south dorter to the provincial's chamber.

In the south-east corner of the main cloister there was the 'scolehouse', the *studium provinciale* that trained Dominican friars for further study at Oxford, Cambridge or, on occasion, Paris. Friars would begin their education at the school, studying the arts (primarily logic and grammar) for two or three years, moving on to philosophy and science for another two or three years, before beginning their study of theology. Although theological study could be begun at the London school, the more able friars would continue their studies at Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>65</sup> The location of the London school is described in a 1544 grant and the building seems to have survived into the seventeenth century, where it can be traced in two post-Fire surveys by Mills and Oliver.<sup>66</sup> On its north side there was a passage leading from the cloister to the provincial's building, described as 'the Entre' in the 1544 grant (which includes

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<sup>61</sup> *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, p. 8; *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 549.

<sup>62</sup> Loseley copy of 1550 particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12); TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 grant]; TNA, E315/191, f. 57 [1540 particulars for lease].

<sup>63</sup> This width also agrees with seventeenth-century evidence for the location of the cloister walk of the inner cloister: below, 'The inner cloister'.

<sup>64</sup> TNA, E318/11/524 [particulars]; C66/749, mm. 22–3; E315/191, f. 58 [grant].

<sup>65</sup> Courtenay, *Schools & Scholars*, pp. 61–6.

<sup>66</sup> TNA, E318/11/524 [particulars]; C66/749, mm. 22–3; E315/191, f. 58) [grant]; Mills and Oliver, iii, 158; v, 82v.

measurements). The grant also states that there was a small garden in front of the school-house, probably on its east side.

Moving north along the east side of the cloister, we come to the east dormer and chapter house. The chapter house seems to have been built relatively early on: it was under construction in 1281.<sup>67</sup> Although its location is certain its exact size is less clear because after the Dissolution it seems to have been split into two parts, one granted in 1548 to Francis Bryan and the other granted to Thomas Cawarden in 1550.<sup>68</sup> Cawarden's part was adjacent to the cloister and may not have been the actual chapter house but another cloister building, probably a smaller first-floor dormer (it is noticeable that his part was 22' wide, the same width as the schoolhouse building to the south). To the east lay the chapter house proper that was granted to Bryan (together with the chamber under the dormer). The east wall of the chapter house was discovered in excavations on Friar Street (FRI88) and just enough of the elevation survived to reveal the position of two doors and a window. We have little certain information concerning the interior of the chapter house, although in the fourteenth-century poetic account it is portrayed with painted walls and (alluding to the new Westminster Hall?) what may be a carved hammer-beam roof:

Thanne was the chaptire-hous wrought as a greet chirche,  
Corven and covered and queyntliche entayled.  
With semlich selure [ceiling] y-set on lofte,  
As a Parlement-hous y-peynted aboute.<sup>69</sup>

### **The prior and provincial's buildings**

To the east of the main cloister lay another secluded garden surrounded by buildings, with the chapter house forming the west side and church choir to the north (Fig 10). The garden was probably reserved for the exclusive use of the prior and the provincial prior.

#### **Fig 10 Black Friars: plan of the prior and provincial prior's buildings (scale 1:500)**

On the south side of the garden there was a large building that had two or even three storeys, described in a grant of 1544 as the 'provyncyalles Chamber', the house

<sup>67</sup> A will of this date bequeaths a donation for the chapter house: Röhrkasten, p. 503.

<sup>68</sup> TNA, C66/814, m. 10 [1548 grant]; C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 grant]; Loseley copy of 1550 particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12.

<sup>69</sup> *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, p. 8.

used by the head of the English Dominican order.<sup>70</sup> During a remarkable rescue excavation here in 1900 a vaulted undercroft was discovered, with a surviving window, an *in situ* column, several responds and a complete arch spanning the undercroft (site PRG407). A detailed drawn record was made and was deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>71</sup> Ninety years later, other parts of the same building were recorded by the Museum of London (sites FRI88 and IDY93) and the combined records allow a confident reconstruction of the plan of the building (Fig 10). The undercroft was an impressive vaulted chamber, divided longitudinally into two aisles by a row of slender columns, across which ran a series of stone arches forming five bays. Three windows survived on the north wall, there could originally have been four, and one of these (in the second bay from the west) was remarkably well preserved – its interior elevation was drawn in 1900 and the corresponding exterior side in 1990 (Fig 11; the window has been preserved in the modern office block at 69 Carter Lane). The main walls of the hall were built from ragstone, with the window arches in Reigate stone and using Caen stone for the chamfered plinths on the buttresses that separated the windows. The floor above the undercroft housed the actual accommodation of the provincial prior and, according to the 1544 grant, it contained three chambers, two of which were heated with fireplaces. The provincial also had access to the ‘comon jakes’ latrine block, although he would have had his own private garderobe chamber. The house looked out onto gardens on all four sides and the south-facing view over the ‘hill garden’ was doubtless particularly attractive.

**Fig 11 Black Friars: exterior view of one of the windows on the north wall of the provincial prior’s building**

The prior’s lodging formed the east side of the small secluded garden. The building and garden were granted in 1548, along with a much larger garden to the east.<sup>72</sup> The grant describes the house in some detail: on the ground floor it had a ‘greate dynynge Chamber’ at one end and, moving north, a ‘bedde Chambre’ followed by a ‘parler’ (the latter adjacent to a chapel of the church choir). On the first floor there was large chamber, with ‘le lytle gallerie’ at the south end and ‘le gallerie’, presumably larger, at the north end. There was also a small chamber on the west side of the great chamber (although it is unclear if this refers to the ground floor

<sup>70</sup> TNA, E315/191, f. 58; C66/749, mm. 22–3 [grant]; E318/11/524 [particulars].

<sup>71</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints Drawings and Paintings, D.1291–1907.

<sup>72</sup> TNA, C66/814, m. 10.

dining chamber or the large chamber on the first floor); archaeological evidence of a privy pit suggests that this refers to a small garderobe wing on the south-west corner of the building.

The prior's lodging also had a separate kitchen, larder and cellar-buttery which, perhaps surprisingly, seem to have been sited on the other side of the chapter house, underneath the east dorter wing. The 1548 grant implies that access between the prior's kitchen and the house was along the south side of the choir, passing through a 'little chamber adjacent to the south side of the church' (*illam parvam cameram nostram ibidem adiacentem usque ad ecclesiam de le Blackefriers predictorum ex australi parte*), that is to say in between the church and chapter house, presumably passing under the night stairs. The prior's mansion faced west onto the small garden and east onto a large garden that extended all the way to the precinct wall, estimated in 1548 to contain an acre of land.

### **The inner cloister**

The open space to the south of the main cloister was described as 'le inner cloyster' in a lease of 1540.<sup>73</sup> Parts of the cloister walk survived as late as 1671: the annotation 'cloysters' (and a useful measurement of width) appear on one of Oliver's post-great Fire surveys, thus helping to fix the location of the northern arm.<sup>74</sup> The rather narrow cloister walk presumably continued around all four sides. On its north side lay the main dorter building, which fronted onto both the main and inner cloisters (Fig 12). The west side of the cloister can be reconstructed in outline, continuing southwards from the guest wing and buttery (the surviving Apothecaries' Hall buildings), but it is surprisingly difficult to work out the exact size of its various components. Part of the reason is that this huge north-south wing stepped downwards as it went south down the hill towards the Thames. We also know that the ground-floor layout was not replicated on the first floor and several parts overlapped others. Thus the first-floor guest hall seems to have overlain part of the ground-floor buttery (which in turn

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<sup>73</sup> TNA, E315/191, f. 57 [particulars] and E315/212, ff. 134v-135 [grant].

<sup>74</sup> Mills and Oliver, v, 123.

lay over a cellar) with the first-floor parliament hall being partly over the infirmary hall.<sup>75</sup>

**Fig 12 Black Friars: plan of the inner cloister (scale 1:500)**

In the north-west corner lay the monastic buttery below the dining hall (above, ‘The main cloister’). The next building to the south was one of the largest buildings in the whole precinct. It is described as the ‘upper frater’ in the 1548 lease to Cawarden, which also gives dimensions and which specifies there was a hall and parlour of the same dimensions below. The name given to the building is perhaps not very helpful: it seems very unlikely that there was another great refectory hall fronting onto this cloister (as well as the one fronting onto the main cloister to the north). This building must be the great parliament hall referred to in other documents, for example the ‘parlyament chamber’ sold in 1596 by Cawarden’s successor, William More.<sup>76</sup> The parliament hall was the only building besides the church and cloister whose roof was covered with lead (according to the 1550 grant to Cawarden and the 1596 sale of the building).<sup>77</sup> Irwin Smith attempted an ambitious reconstructed cross-section of the building, speculating that it had two tiers of galleries along the sides and a hammerbeam roof.<sup>78</sup> As Smith freely admitted, the reconstruction required a lot of speculation. An alternative reconstruction could postulate a slightly lower building with the roof supported by a two longitudinal rows of timber posts or even a single row of slender columns running lengthways down the middle of the hall (like the Provincial’s house, or the surviving Franciscan refectory in Paris); the latter hypothesis would have the advantage of tying in neatly with the documented longitudinal division of the hall after the Dissolution. The large gable end of a building with three tall windows is illustrated on the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s (Fig 13): might this be the southern end of the parliament hall where it abuts the infirmary? Even if the exact form of the hall will never be known we can note that it seems to have been the prestigious setting for several important events including the synod of 1382 – interrupted by an earthquake – that declared

<sup>75</sup> The following discussion largely follows the analysis by Irwin Smith who examined the guest hall, buttery and parliament hall buildings in some detail (being the site of the future Blackfriars theatres): *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 83–109, figures 17, 18.

<sup>76</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 471–5 and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 60–9.

<sup>77</sup> TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [grant]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12.

<sup>78</sup> *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, figure 18, p. 103.



many of John Wycliffe's views to be heretical and, a century and a half later, the ecclesiastical court hearing into the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.

**Fig 13 Black Friars: detail of the 'copperplate' map-view of the 1550s showing the friary shortly after the Dissolution**

Another document makes clear that the parliament hall sailed over part of the infirmary, the southernmost building of this range. The infirmary had two floors: an upper floor 'which was a lodgyng for those that were syck', presumably a ward of beds, and a lower floor that would have had a separate kitchen and a pharmacy room. There was also a cellar or undercroft under part of the ground floor. No dimensions are given for the infirmary but it was described as being about one third of the size of the parliament hall.<sup>79</sup> The fact that the infirmary is described as situated on the west side of the cloister (not the south) suggests that it ran westwards from the end of the Parliament Hall building. Three wall foundations observed in 1843 must be part of the east–west wing (site PRG308; Fig 12).

On the other side of the inner cloister lay the library wing, only a short distance from the schoolhouse. The library was on the upper floor and it had rooms described as the 'under lybrary' below. By the early sixteenth century this lower library was leased to lay tenants: the 1536 lease to Sir William Kingston mentions the former tenant Elizabeth Denton, a lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth of York and who was probably related to Kingston's wife Mary through the latter's first marriage.<sup>80</sup> The 1545 grant of the property to Kingston's widow makes clear that the under-library was divided into two rooms (with a cellar below part of the building) and this may have been an original arrangement.<sup>81</sup> Unfortunately, no measurements are recorded for the library but the northern part of the building seems to have survived into the seventeenth century: a survey of 1667 by Peter Mills describes the west wall of a Fire-damaged building as 'the Great Stone Wall'; the width of the building in the survey (43½', 13.3m) probably gives us the width of the library building.<sup>82</sup> Its length has to remain conjectural but is reconstructed in Fig 12 using the location of the south-east corner of the seventeenth-century Printing-House Yard as a guide. A surviving comparator is the library of Merton College, Oxford: in the 1370s the

<sup>79</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.426 (2).

<sup>80</sup> TNA, E303/9/180; S. Lehmborg, 'Kingston, Sir William (c. 1476–1540)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15628>> [accessed 29 September 2009].

<sup>81</sup> TNA, E318/14/662; SC12/11/18 [particulars]; C66/768, mm. 23–4 [lease].

<sup>82</sup> Mills and Oliver, ii, 45.

college was planning the enlargement of its library and the clerk of works John Bloxham and the mason William Humberville went on a fact-finding mission and inspected the library of the London Black Friars, as well as visiting those at Sherborne abbey, Salisbury cathedral and Winchester cathedral. The Merton library (which still retains some medieval features) may, therefore, provide some clues as to the arrangement of the Black Friars building. It had hard bench seating for about fifty readers, with the books chained at desks either side of a central aisle. Narrow lancet windows lit the library wings, which were on the upper floor of two sides of the cloister.<sup>83</sup>

There may have been a chapel on the south side of the inner cloister. The external elevation of what appears to be the wall of a chapel was recorded here in 1872 (site PRG406), showing four bays divided by responds. The remains were later published by Alfred Clapham who interpreted them, in a misunderstanding of the documentary evidence, as part of the chapel of St Ann (which was, in fact, a chapel in the main church).<sup>84</sup>

### **The kitchens and service courtyard**

The monastic buttery, as we have seen, lay on the west side of the main cloister and it formed part of a series of service wings between the cloister and Water Lane. A description of the northern parts of the kitchen complex is found in later rent collector's accounts (of 1552 when Lord Cobham was renting a block of land there). There was a kitchen building known as the 'ii larders' and a kitchen garden between it and his mansion, implying that the building fronted onto Water Lane (Fig 14).<sup>85</sup> The garden was the location of the main component of the monastic water supply: a lead conduit or cistern and a network of 'in' and 'out' pipes. The 1546 grant of this block of land describes it as: *totum plumbum & omnia les pypes per quem aqua & aquarum cursus ad dictam mansionem* (the 'said house' meaning Cobham's

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<sup>83</sup> G. H. Martin and J. R. L. Highfield, *A History of Merton College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 88–91.

<sup>84</sup> The engraving of the painting published by Clapham is captioned 'Blackfriars: remains of the chapel of St Anne, discovered in 1872' and is described as being in the Guildhall Museum collection (Clapham, 'Topography', plate XIII facing p. 78). Such a painting no longer appears to exist in the collections of the Museum of London, the Guildhall Art Gallery or the London Metropolitan Archive. I am grateful to Francis Marshall (Museum of London), Vivien Knight (Guildhall Art Gallery) and Jeremy Smith (London Metropolitan Archive) for their assistance in trying to track down this painting.

<sup>85</sup> TNA, SC6/EdwVI/297, mm. 12v–13v.

house).<sup>86</sup> A 1550 survey specifies that the conduit was covered with lead and part of this cistern or its supply is said to survive under the middle of the courtyard of Apothecaries' Hall.<sup>87</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that there was a large chalk-lined latrine pit in the garden, probably the monastic 'comon jakes' that Cobham later sold to Cawarden (in a part exchange deal of 1554).<sup>88</sup>

**Fig 14 Black Friars: the kitchens and service courtyard (scale 1:500)**

Further south, on the other side of a brick wall, a lease of 1548 describes a large kitchen yard and includes three measurements (Fig 14).<sup>89</sup> The lease also included an old kitchen, presumably the main monastic kitchen, and it too seems to have fronted onto Water Lane. The 1548 lease also describes several smaller service buildings further south along the lane including 'a litle Cuchen [kitchen]' and an adjacent chamber. Archaeological evidence from trenches dug as part of the Fleet Valley project (site VAL88) shows that a number of timber-framed buildings lay in this area. One of these probably is the 'little kitchen' while to the south others may have been part of the stables mentioned in a lease of 1540.<sup>90</sup> The more substantial masonry building to the east (site PRG308) is probably the remains of the bake-house and brew-house described in the same lease.

In between these areas of kitchen and service buildings lay two other buildings: one known as 'le Dutchie Chamber' and the other described as Mr Portinary's property (Fig 14). Mr Portinary was John or Giovanni Portinari, a Florentine engineer who had lived in England since the 1520s and worked on a number of military and civil projects for the Crown, including the demolition of Lewes priory in 1538, the siege of Boulogne in 1544 and, after being knighted by Elizabeth, the rebuilding of the defences of Berwick in the 1560s.<sup>91</sup> According to his own testimony some years later, he was a resident of Black Friars before the Dissolution and at the end of 1538 he became the official property guardian or caretaker on

<sup>86</sup> TNA, E318/8/293, m. 3 [particulars] and C66/774, mm. 31–3 [grant].

<sup>87</sup> TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 survey]; Apothecaries' Company, 'secondary sources' file 'Hall re-development', letter of 6 April 1995 from former archivist Charles O'Leary to Simon Bradley.

<sup>88</sup> SHC, LM/347/4. This 'comon jakes' is distinct from the larger latrine block on the other side of the main cloister.

<sup>89</sup> TNA, E310/3/18 (no.61) [particulars]; E315/219, ff. 20v–21 [lease].

<sup>90</sup> TNA, E315/191, f. 57 [particulars]; E315/212, ff. 134v–135 [grant].

<sup>91</sup> T. Beverley, 'Portinari, Sir Giovanni (*b. c.1502, d. in or after 1572*)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52154>> [accessed 13 October 2009].

behalf of the Crown.<sup>92</sup> There is no further detail on his house but it probably included a small garden as well. The building between Portinarty's house and the frater was described as 'le Dutchie Chamber' or the 'douche chamber' and it housed meetings of the important council that managed the king's revenues deriving from the huge estate of the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>93</sup> Administrative (but not judicial) meetings of the council seem to have been held at Black Friars – presumably in this chamber – before the annexation of the duchy's estates to the Crown in 1399 but the building may not have become the main administrative base for the council until after this date. The duchy paid the friars an annual rent of 20s for the use of the chamber.<sup>94</sup>

### **The gallery and bridge**

In 1522 the Emperor Charles V visited Henry VIII and he was housed in the guest lodging of the friary. Henry himself was staying on the other side of the Fleet in Bridewell Palace and he had a special connecting bridge and gallery built for the occasion. The main evidence for the bridge and gallery is found in the later accounts of the Surveyor of the King's Works for 1534, when the bridge and gallery had to be renovated in readiness for the visit of the French ambassador.<sup>95</sup> The bridge over the Fleet was timber-framed and seems to have been built between two towers: the eastern one must have been one of the new City wall towers built in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century when the precinct of Black Friars was laid out. A long gallery linked the tower at the east end of the bridge to the guest lodging of the friary, a distance of some 67 metres (nearly 220 feet). In 1522 the gallery had been lined with tapestries and in 1534 various repairs were carried out to the floors, walls and windows. Like the bridge, the gallery was timber-framed and it must have run from the wall tower at first-floor level, crossing over Water Lane and entering into the first floor of the guest lodging. The structure may well have been open for much of its ground level, although a lease of 1548 describes 'voyde romes [under the gallery] wheryn owlde tymber and carte wheles lyeth'.<sup>96</sup> The east end of the gallery survived into the 1630s and beyond: the west wing of Apothecaries' Hall probably

<sup>92</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 52.

<sup>93</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 54v.

<sup>94</sup> Somerville, 'Duchy of Lancaster', p. 172.

<sup>95</sup> Colvin, *King's Works*, iv (2), 55–6.

<sup>96</sup> TNA, E310/3/18 (no.61) [particulars] and E315/219, ff. 20v–21 [lease].

reused some of the surviving fabric and continued to be known as ‘the gallery’ after the great Fire (until it was rebuilt as the library in 1682).<sup>97</sup>

### **The churchyard**

We are fortunate that the 1550 grant of parts of the friary to Thomas Cawarden and a subsequent lease of 1553 have a number of measurements of the churchyard and some descriptions of its boundaries; these have been used in the reconstructed plan, Fig 15.<sup>98</sup> Part of the north side of the churchyard was bounded by a brick wall and the north-east side was bounded by the stone precinct wall. By the early sixteenth century there were tenements on the west and north sides and an east-west path running through the churchyard (which by the seventeenth century was known as Shoomaker Row). On the other side of the brick wall there seems to have been a separate burial space: a single grave was discovered in excavations in Ludgate Broadway (WAY83) and this could perhaps have been a lay cemetery for residents of the precinct. There is also slim but intriguing evidence for a building and associated burials near the northern precinct boundary: a grave and part of a wall arcade were recorded in 1882 by the reliable Victorian archaeologist Henry Hodge (site PRG431). It is difficult to interpret the fragmentary remains Hodge found but it is a distinct possibility that he recorded part of a cemetery chapel, conceivably one with a charnel crypt for the appropriate storage of disturbed human remains. This may be the chapel of St Mary, founded by John Cornewall, Baron Fanhope, in the fifteenth century.<sup>99</sup>

#### **Fig 15 Plan of the churchyard of Black Friars (1:500)**

Sixty burials were archaeologically excavated from the principal cemetery during the redevelopment of a site in Carter Lane (site PIC87) and this is the best archaeological assemblage of burials from a London friary.<sup>100</sup> There were nearly three times as many men as women in the assemblage (2.8 male:1 female) and there was a relatively low proportion (13%) of children and adolescents. Thirteen of the

<sup>97</sup> P. Hunting, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries* (London: Society of Apothecaries, 1998), pp. 76–7.

<sup>98</sup> Loseley copy of 1550 particulars printed in *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12; TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 grant]; SHC, LM/346/37 [1553 lease].

<sup>99</sup> Steer, ‘Royal and Noble Commemoration’, p. 120; *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. by N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London: Nichols, 1826), i, 246.

<sup>100</sup> R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), p. 241.

burials had been interred in a mass grave and this type of mass grave in the form of a trench seems, at least in London, to be typical of mid-fourteenth-century Black Death mass graves rather than thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century famine mass graves.<sup>101</sup> The single graves had been dug in neat rows and there was remarkably little ‘intercutting’, where a gravedigger at work disturbs an earlier grave. It is noticeable that the alignment of the graves was not truly west–east but was instead influenced by the adjacent precinct boundary wall. Over half the normal burials were interred in wooden coffins, a rather higher proportion than is normal in monastic cemeteries, and a few had other special treatment such as having a layer of ash at the base of the coffin (evoking the Cistercian tradition of burial in sackcloth and ashes), or having their coffins lined with lime.<sup>102</sup> Apart from the higher status of burial suggested by the prevalence of coffins (ordinary lay people were buried in shrouds) this group of burials is in many ways typical of a London monastic house: there are relatively high numbers of men interred as one would expect in a friary, but with enough women and children to show that the burial space was ‘mixed’, that is used for both religious and lay burials. Assuming that the density of burial found on this site was the same throughout the cemetery, we can estimate that about 450 people were buried in this part of the churchyard. If the cemetery originally extended from the end of the church choir to the postulated cemetery chapel by the city wall, as the evidence of a single burial found at site PRG431 might suggest, it could easily have contained 1000 burials. To these rough estimates we should of course add the numerous burials in the church and cloister, 103 of which had funerary monuments noted in the early sixteenth century (above, ‘The church’).

### **The gardens and waterfront**

The friary was probably the least built-up place in the whole medieval city: there were large areas of garden in the west, east and south of the precinct (Fig 6). The ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s shows surviving medieval gardens in the west and north-east of the precinct, although it exaggerates the amount of land on the west

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<sup>101</sup> Black Death trenches, admittedly much longer ones, have been excavated at the City’s eastern Black Death cemetery, the site of the later St Mary Grace’s abbey: I. Grainger and others, *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, MoLAS Monograph, 43 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2008), pp. 12–13. Mass graves of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century excavated at the priory and hospital of St Mary Spital tended to be six-foot square pits (observation by author).

<sup>102</sup> Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, pp. 120–3.

of the precinct between the city wall and Water Lane. The earlier evidence of Wyngaerde's view (Fig 8), conversely, underestimates the extent of the garden space, in large part because of what might be termed a 'stitching' error when he awkwardly joined up two separate 'view-perspectives' along the line of the Fleet and, in the process, lost most of the western part of Black Friars (as well as the Fleet itself). The eastern garden was known as 'le hill garden', running down the hill by the library.<sup>103</sup> North of this garden lay another two gardens by the prior's and provincial's houses and they may have been separately used by the two senior Dominicans. To the south-west of the church lay the kitchen garden and, on the other side of Water Lane, lay a number of other open spaces and garden areas, many of which seem to have been rented out to private tenants in the sixteenth century.

Unfortunately we have very little information about what the gardens were used for. The kitchen garden would have been horticultural and there may well have been a medicinal garden close to the infirmary. The prior's garden included an orchard, as did the hill garden further south (although the first reference to the latter orchard occurs in a lease of 1574).<sup>104</sup> Given the amount of space available it is likely that more animals were kept here than would be usual in an urban monastery: there was certainly room for poultry and pigs at the very least. The south-facing slopes of the hill garden would have been a good location for growing hops or vines: we know there was a brew-house but we might also imagine the production of Black Friars wine.

The strip of land to the west of Water Lane seems to have had an industrial or craft function, judging by the limited evidence from the Fleet Valley excavations (VAL88). Here the remains of a smithy building with a hearth were discovered and it may have stayed in use for quite some time during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries ('smithy' on Fig 6).<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> TNA, E318/14/662; SC12/11/18 [particulars]; C66/768, mm. 23–4 [lease].

<sup>104</sup> Loseley copy of 1550 particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12; TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 grant]; Norfolk Record Office, NROCAT catalogue, JER 245, 55X1 [lease of 1574].

<sup>105</sup> LAARC, site VAL88, 'Fleet Valley project, interim report', p. 101 and fig 42.

### The priory's tenements

The Dominicans did not own a large portfolio of properties in the normal monastic way (the Crossed Friars were the only friars who did) but they did own one or two properties outside the precinct and they certainly exploited the economic value of their own precinct by renting out properties to lay tenants. The first documented example of a tenement owned by the friary is in 1349 when two shops in the parish of St Martin Ludgate – almost certainly just outside the precinct on the main road by the city gate – are mentioned in a royal inquiry. The friary claimed that they were part of the original plot acquired by Archbishop Kilwardby and given to them in the 1270s.<sup>106</sup> By 1373 the priory rented out a house and garden within the precinct.<sup>107</sup> By the time of the Dissolution there were a large number of lay tenants living in the precinct and the rents that they paid brought in the welcome sum of £116 2s 0d a year to the friary: the Black Friars were thus the wealthiest of the London mendicant landlords.<sup>108</sup>

About half of the priory's properties were in the precinct and they were concentrated towards the north by Ludgate and along the west side of Water Lane (Fig 6). The priory also owned waterfront tenements just beyond the south-east corner of the precinct and, as we have seen, a few shops on the northern edge of the precinct by the city gate in Ludgate Hill.<sup>109</sup> The bulk of the friary's precinct tenements were houses with gardens that were probably built in former garden areas in the early sixteenth century, if not earlier. By the time of the Dissolution there were at least a dozen such properties and, since some of these consisted of more than one house, there were probably more than twenty houses (Table 15 in Appendix 1). To this must be added ten separately rented gardens. The houses and gardens together

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<sup>106</sup> The two shops were included in the mid-fourteenth-century royal inquiry into mendicant property: Röhrkasten, pp. 239–40; A. G. Little, 'A Royal Inquiry into Property Held by the Mendicant Friars in England in 1349 and 1350', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. by J. G. Edward, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester: 1933), pp. 181–3. The shops are almost certainly those granted in 1539 to William Taylour and the grant describes them as being on the main road and abutting the city gate to the west: TNA, C66/683, m. 21. It is unlikely that the walled friary precinct extended quite as far as the road and city gate.

<sup>107</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 240.

<sup>108</sup> This figure is the revised total of the rents given in the rent collector's accounts for the year ending September 1540 (£107 18s 0d), with corrected addition (making it £116 18s 3d) and some minor accounting amendments (subtracting 16s 3d). This revised total amends the figure of £102 3s 8d calculated by Röhrkasten (pp. 240–1). TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 54–55.

<sup>109</sup> Unless separately footnoted, sources and references for this and the following paragraph can be found in the footnotes that accompany Table 15 in Appendix 1.



brought in rents of over £68 a year. The waterfront properties to the south-east of the precinct (described as situated in the parish of St Andrew by the Wardrobe) were worth nearly £15 a year and the shops (and another large tenement by Ludgate prison) brought in over £11 a year.

There were also a number of monastic buildings that had been converted into private dwellings well before the Dissolution and which seem to have attracted rather higher status occupants. The former lady-in-waiting Elizabeth Denton had rented the under-library since the early sixteenth century (she is listed as a former tenant in a grant and she died *c.* 1516).<sup>110</sup> Sir William Parr, the future brother-in-law to the king, lived in an apartment in the main cloister by 1536, as did Lord Cobham (when they are listed in a parish tax survey).<sup>111</sup> Lady Jane Guildford seems to have lived in the monastic guest wing before Lord Cobham, probably before her marriage to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland.<sup>112</sup> These high-status properties raised over £20 a year for the priory, although several of the tenants were in arrears by the time of the Dissolution.

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<sup>110</sup> See footnote 80.

<sup>111</sup> S. E. James, 'Parr, William, Marquess of Northampton (1513–1571)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21405>> [accessed 26 October 2009].

<sup>112</sup> D. Loades, 'Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8156>> [accessed 25 October 2009].

### ***Black Friars after the Dissolution***

The precinct of Black Friars was divided and granted to several people in the 1540s. The main property blocks are mapped on Fig 16. The various grants and leases are discussed in more detail in the following sections. Two indoor theatres were established in succession in the former precinct: the first was relatively short-lived and unsuccessful, lasting from 1576 or 1577 until 1584. The second theatre operated from 1600 to 1642 and, from 1609, it was a particularly successful venue, celebrated in its day and famous ever since thanks to its links with William Shakespeare. ‘Shakespeare’s Blackfriars theatre’, as it has become known, has been studied in detail by a number of researchers and will not be examined in this thesis.<sup>113</sup>

**Fig 16 Map showing the principal properties in Blackfriars following the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)**

#### **The Blackfriars estate granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden**

Sir Thomas Cawarden was a courtier who had risen to some prominence in Henry’s court under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell. He became a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1539 or 1540, keeper of the tents and master of the revels in 1544 and he held several other posts in Edward VI’s reign.<sup>114</sup> In 1548 he was granted a twenty-one-year lease on several buildings and plots of land in the west of the former friary; two years later in March 1550 he was granted the freehold title of the land, together with a sizeable part of the former inner precinct, becoming therefore the largest individual landowner in the new liberty of Blackfriars.<sup>115</sup> After his death in 1559 his property passed to his widow Elizabeth and through her to his close friend and executor Sir William More, who was already renting a Blackfriars property as his London base.<sup>116</sup> More and Cawarden had moved in similar circles, being rising

<sup>113</sup> The contributions by Irwin Smith and Glynne Wickham are particularly authoritative: Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*; G. Wickham, H. Berry and W. Ingram, *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660*, *Theatre in Europe: a Documentary History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 388–403, 501–30.

<sup>114</sup> W. B. Robison, ‘Cawarden, Sir Thomas (c.1514–1559)’, *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37270>> [accessed 24 September 2009].

<sup>115</sup> TNA, E310/3/18 (no.61) [1548 particulars]; E315/219, ff. 20v–21 [1548 lease]; Loseley copy of 1550 particulars for grant printed in *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12; C66/831, mm. 32–3 [1550 grant].

<sup>116</sup> SHC, LM/348/2 (nos. 2a and 3); W. B. Robison, ‘More, Sir Christopher (b. in or before 1483, d. 1549)’, *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/77080>> [accessed 24 September

courtiers, administrators and Surrey landowners who shared similar evangelical views on religion. More held a number of posts under Elizabeth and amassed a sizeable personal fortune, keeping a London base at Blackfriars (and developing and renting out the properties he owned there) but reserving his main investment for the building of Loseley House in his principal country seat in Surrey. In the 1590s William More began to sell off his Blackfriars estate and after his death in 1600 this process was accelerated by his son: the last Blackfriars property was sold in 1609.<sup>117</sup> The Cawarden and More blocks of land in Blackfriars are illustrated in Fig 16.

*Cawarden and More's mansion (the former church)*

Several documents mention Thomas Cawarden's mansion in Blackfriars although there is at first sight rather little specific information since most documents in the Loseley collection relate to the houses or gardens that he is leasing to *other* people. One of those leases demonstrates by its description of abutments that Cawarden's mansion occupied the western part of the converted nave of the conventual church.<sup>118</sup> We also have a draft lease of 1560 in which Elizabeth Cawarden proposes to lease the mansion to Anthony Brown after her husband's death (the lease may never have been granted since Brown's name does not seem to crop up again).<sup>119</sup> This document describes the various rooms of 'the chefe mansion house':

the grete halle & the parlor... The kytchyn larders pastre houses & rome in the churche lyeng togyether toward the North from the seid halle... An entre lying bytween the seid kytchyn & chamberes & the too vawtes & romes under the seid too lytell chamberes togyther with a grete vawte or rome next the ground ajoynyng.

The document goes on to describe one great and two little chambers with windows looking into the great garden, and 'a grete darke gallerye' over the chambers. One more room is described, a 'grete rome or vawte next the ground next the entre in the west ende of the garden [...] wherin now the robes of the revelles do lye'. This reference to Cawarden's official post as master of the revels enables us to read a little more into the surviving accounts for the royal building project in which an old building at Blackfriars was adapted 'for the bestowing and saufe keping of his

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2009]. William More's father Christopher had acquired Philip Parris' lease of a property on the west side of Water Lane in 1540: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 107.

<sup>117</sup> SHC, Loseley catalogue, LM/349/63.

<sup>118</sup> SHC, LM/347/10.

<sup>119</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 117–18.

highnes Tentés, Hales, Pavilions and Revelles'. The building project began in 1545, went on for 191 days and cost £176 8s 6½d (the costs are summarised in Table 1).<sup>120</sup> This substantial building project was clearly not simply concerned with the construction of the single 'grete rome or vawte' just referred to: Cawarden was building a private mansion as part of the Crown construction project and he must have been expecting to live there himself (as has been stated, he was not actually granted this part of Blackfriars until March 1550). During Mary's reign Cawarden allowed the house to be used as a secret Protestant chapel.<sup>121</sup>

After Cawarden's death the mansion was probably occupied for a short while by his widow Elizabeth but she died in 1560. William More had the house after her death, certainly by 1567 when his servant drew up an inventory.<sup>122</sup> The inventory describes a similar series of rooms to the 1560 lease, with a kitchen wing, a hall, parlour and 'grand chamber', five or six chambers upstairs, as well as servants' rooms and garrets.

**Table 1 Summary of costs of the construction and conversion of the Revels building and Cawarden's house at Blackfriars (source: TNA, E351/3329)**

Trade	Task	Cost
carpenters	windows, doors, stairs, partitions	£22 3s 1d
bricklayers	demolition and building new walls	£9 18s 9d
masons and plasterers	new doors and windows; 'seeling' various chambers	£3 19s
tilers	roof work	£11 19s 2d
plumbers	taking down the lead of the steeple and mending various leads	£6 14s 4d
labourers		£43 7s
supervision		£28 13s
materials		£49 14s 2½d
	<b>Total</b>	<b>£176 8s 6½d</b>

Using the cited documentary evidence, Mills' and Oliver's post-Fire surveys and the archaeological evidence from excavations within the former church, an attempt has been made at a simple reconstruction of the plan of Cawarden's mansion of the

<sup>120</sup> TNA, E351/3329. The accounts are dated 1545–8 but do not give the dates of this construction project. However, the chronicle of the Grey Friars, which was continued for a few years after the Dissolution, records that the demolition of the Black Friars steeple took place in 1545, presumably the start of our construction project. The previous and subsequent entries refer to events in June, although that does not necessarily mean that the demolition took place that month. *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 4, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1858 and 1882), ii, 209.

<sup>121</sup> S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 601, 619.

<sup>122</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.434.

late 1540s (Fig 17).<sup>123</sup> The house seems to have been built on what might be termed an ‘inside out’ plan: parts of the nave were converted into open spaces while the bulk of the new house was formed from stretches of former aisle, the former single-storey aisles being extended upwards into two-storey wings (perhaps with garrets above). This type of conversion process was used at several London ex-monastic churches in the 1540s (Chapter 7: Conclusions, ‘From religious precincts to early modern neighbourhoods’). The 1560 lease would suggest that the great hall and parlour of Cawarden’s mansion were on the west wing, with the kitchen wing to the north presumably converted from the north aisle of the church. The ‘entre’ must be on the site of a seventeenth-century lane (leading into Flower-de-luce court) and it was probably a covered passage through an old doorway in the north aisle. The ‘grete darke gallerye’ over the three chambers clearly faced south onto the old cloister garth; the three chambers must have been built in the old south aisle of the church, with the gallery built above (perhaps with the old church clerestory windows looking north into the yard and newly-built rectangular gallery windows looking south into the cloister garth). The ‘grete rome or vawte’ used for storing the Revels equipment lay between the ‘entre’ and the west end of the garden (distinct from the great garden) and so it was probably an additional wing built from the vaulted north aisle.

**Fig 17 Blackfriars: reconstruction of Thomas Cawarden’s mansion in the former nave, combining documentary and archaeological evidence (scale 1:500)**

There is limited archaeological evidence for a small cellar under the service wing, which would presumably have served as a buttery or larder for the kitchen. The service wing also had a privy and two other privies were found in the north and south wings of the main house, together with a well in the south-west corner of the old church. Part of the wall separating the north wing from the central yard was found at site CTE96 and there were traces of a timber floor in that wing. The house is illustrated in a schematic form in the ‘copperplate’ map of the 1550s, which shows a tall building with a parapet (rather than a typical roof with eaves) and a second building with small gables – perhaps the converted south aisle – immediately south.

The evidence for Cawarden’s mansion suggests that it was an interesting type of hybrid house. The principal north and south walls must have reused the medieval stone church walls. We know from the construction accounts that there was quite a

<sup>123</sup> Mills and Oliver, iii, 50. The form of the seventeenth-century court probably represents the inner courtyard of the sixteenth-century mansion.

lot of brick in the new building and the ‘cross-walls’ of the house would probably have joined up the former bay or arcade lines by filling in the arched openings with brick. The aisle walls may have been raised with timber to form (on the south wall) a gallery overlooking the old cloister. The greatest cost of the new building was carpentry: there would have been a lot of good oak timbers from the nave to reuse but it would have been a labour-intensive process to dismantle the roof of the nave and build new frames for the north–south wings. The new roofs were clearly a mixture of lead and tile and we must also imagine some new chimneys rising above the roofs to heat all those chambers and parlours. The new stacks on the south and north walls could have functioned as combined garderobe/chimney stacks (although one might then have imagined the actual privy pit to have been dug just outside the main wall rather than just inside).

*Cawarden and More as landlords and developers*

The two grants of Blackfriars property turned Cawarden into a landlord since his new property included several tenements occupied by residents whose leases had been granted by the prior before the Dissolution. Cawarden must have immediately understood the potential for increasing the rental value of his land: he could convert suitable monastic buildings into private houses and he could build new tenements on the former monastic gardens. Approximately eighty-one post-Dissolution leases on Cawarden and More’s Blackfriars properties survive in the Loseley collection and they are summarised in Table 2. In addition, there are twenty-two surviving documents relating to Blackfriars properties owned and then sold by Cawarden and More.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Only a sample of these leases and sale documents have been examined; see footnote 15.

**Table 2 Types of leases issued (and properties sold) at Blackfriars by Thomas Cawarden and William and George More (source: catalogues of Surrey History Centre and Folger Shakespeare Library)**

Owner	Years	Number of leases issued	Types of lease	Length of lease	Number of properties sold
Thomas Cawarden	1550–59	22	15 are ‘new build’; 3 are monastic conversions; 1 is renewal of pre-Dissolution lease	21 years for ‘new build’; 59 to 70 years for conversions	2 (in 1554)
William More	1560–69	13	1 is ‘new build’; 1 is monastic conversion	21 years; one longer lease of 60 years (‘new build’?)	0
	1570–79	17	3 are ‘new build’; 3 are monastic conversion	21 years; one building lease of 50 years	0
	1580–89	8		21 years; one in perpetuity	0
	1590–99	21	1 is ‘new build’	21 years; one of 18 and one of 19 years	3 (in 1593 and 1596)
George More	1600–09	0			17

Cawarden’s first strategy was to develop the open spaces of his new property. In 1550 or 1551 he or a ‘developer-lessee’ built eight new houses on the lane leading to the bridge over the Fleet to Bridewell, together with another three houses on the west side of the old church. The eight houses were built on former monastic gardens and the three other houses were on what seems to have been a small open space between the west front of the church and the lane. A rental document of 1552 gives a high level of topographic detail about the properties and includes measurements of the houses and their gardens; the properties are mapped on Fig 18.<sup>125</sup> The new houses can be seen on the south side of the lane on the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s.

**Fig 18 Blackfriars: map showing Thomas Cawarden’s development of new houses in c. 1550 (scale 1:500)**

Although the leases for the new houses of 1550 or 1551 do not survive it is clear that Cawarden’s strategy was to issue relatively long building leases to trusted lessees who would in turn build houses and let them out. The advantage of this system (which reached its peak in the seventeenth century) is that there was little risk or outlay for the landlord: he would receive a regular rental income from the

<sup>125</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.185. The dating evidence is not conclusive but the document lists rents on the eleven properties received for the quarter ending Midsummer 1552 (the original leases do not survive). This block of land was first leased to Cawarden in 1548 (TNA, E315/219) and then granted freehold in 1550 (TNA, C66/831).

developer-lessee and, at the end of the lease, the landlord or his heir would recoup the land and its houses. In return the lessee had the prospect of quite large profits provided, of course, he could build the houses reasonably quickly, at the right cost and find decent tenants. In 1553 Cawarden let out a huge parcel to the vintner Ninian Saunders for a rent of £18 a year, and this included parcels of open land (much of the monastic cemetery) and buildings for conversion (a chapel and belfry of the church).<sup>126</sup> The following year Cawarden leased much of the church choir and another parcel of the cemetery to John and George Warren for £30 rent; they built a house and two tennis courts in the choir and several houses in the churchyard.<sup>127</sup>

Shortly before Thomas Cawarden died a detailed rental of his Blackfriars properties was drawn up.<sup>128</sup> By this time the estate had forty-six tenancies, not counting More's own mansion and the church, and was worth £123 7s 0d in annual rents (Table 16). Surprisingly few of these names can be traced in earlier or later leases, suggesting that there was a quite rapid turnover of tenants.

William More clearly continued Cawarden's strategy of development when he purchased the estate in 1560 (Table 2). His leases do not usually specify whether the property was a monastic conversion, a 'new build' or a new lease on an existing property but most seem to have been the latter two categories since nearly all the monastic buildings had already been converted and leased. More issued building leases to Richard Smythe in 1561, James Carter in 1560, Thomas Jones and Christopher Trotter in 1572, and Robert Dunkyn in 1594.<sup>129</sup> The leases generally have some clause regarding the type of building, its size or quality: all the houses described seem to be timber-framed rather than brick. For example, Richard Smythe was required to:

sett upp or cause to be made framed fully fynished and sett upp one good & sufficient howse or howses of good and sufficient tymber well wrought framed & made. Which house and houses to conteyne three sufficient stories one above an other... And shall lathe tyle plaster and fynishe the same in and by all

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<sup>126</sup> SHC, LM/346/37, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 444–6, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 110–12.

<sup>127</sup> SHC, LM/347/5 (no. 1).

<sup>128</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.416.

<sup>129</sup> SHC, LM/348/12 [Smythe]; /78 and /92 [Trotter]; /84 [Jones]; /236 [Dunkyn]; FSL, Loseley MS L.b.419 [Carter]. There are almost certainly other such building leases or leases of newly built property in the Loseley material.



things concernyng carpenters work masons work bricklayers work  
whatsoever.<sup>130</sup>

On at least one occasion there was disagreement between More and the developer-lessee. In about 1570 More was preparing for a legal battle with James Carter who, a decade earlier, had leased seven old houses and had agreed to demolish them and build seven new ones. More's notes on the forthcoming legal case reveal that Carter had only partly rebuilt the houses ('from the flower [floor] of the second storreye upwards') and he had used 'very warpe tymbyr'.<sup>131</sup>

In the late sixteenth century William More and his son George changed their attitude to the Blackfriars estate. The first parcel was sold in May 1596 for £250 to a group of Vintners, almost certainly acting on behalf of their Company.<sup>132</sup> After William More's death in 1600, George quickly sold off the remainder of the estate, with the final parcel – including the family's old Blackfriars mansion – sold for £1300 in June 1609.<sup>133</sup>

### **The church of St Ann Blackfriars**

The history of the parish of St Ann, co-terminous with post-Dissolution liberty of Blackfriars, has been rather difficult to trace and proved somewhat confusing to historians until Anthony House's work resolved most of the problems. He charts the history of the nascent parish, showing the negotiations and disputes between the residents and the main landowner, first Thomas Cawarden and then William More.<sup>134</sup> Both before and after the Dissolution the former monastic precinct was seen by some – but not all – as constituting a parish: in 1535–6 when a tax survey of London was conducted, the precinct was described as 'the parysshe of St Anne within the black freers' and the name of this parish must derive from the chapel of St Ann (in the monastic church) that was used by lay residents.<sup>135</sup> However, its exact legal status

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<sup>130</sup> SHC, LM/348/12.

<sup>131</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.419.

<sup>132</sup> SHC, Loseley catalogue, LM/348/258.

<sup>133</sup> SHC, Loseley catalogue, LM/349/63.

<sup>134</sup> House, 'Problem of the Liberties', pp. 119–22, 141–5. The generally well-researched history of The Times newspaper offices is an example of a work that fails to understand the complex relationship between the liberty, the parish and the various parish churches that were built here: *The Site of the Office of the Times* (London: privately printed, 1956), pp. 5–12.

<sup>135</sup> TNA, SP1/25, ff. 35–6, nos 222–3. The correct dating and interpretation of this document was recently established: J. Oldland, 'The Allocation of Merchant Capital in Early Tudor London', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), 1058–80 (p. 1060).

was not yet defined, for in 1535 the lay residents of the parish-cum-precinct wrote to Thomas Cromwell complaining about the tax survey and arguing that they lived in an extra-parochial area: ‘we beinge of noo parische neyther lybertie of any parische but beinge free within ourself’.<sup>136</sup>

For a few years after the Dissolution these free ‘parishioners’ could make use of the monastic church but, as we have seen, Thomas Cawarden converted it into a private mansion and a store for the Revels in 1545. Cawarden stated that he had provided a plot for a new church and some roof timber (in 1550 or 1551) but that the other freeholders had not built the walls as they had agreed; Anthony House charts the ensuing negotiations between the residents and Cawarden in the 1550s.<sup>137</sup> The new church was finished by about 1559 (when it is mentioned in a survey) and the first baptism was conducted here the following year, with the first marriage celebrated in 1562 and the first burial (presumably in the old friary churchyard) taking place four years later. A rising population meant that the church was increasingly busy over the next few years: baptisms increased from about seven a year in the 1560s to eighteen a year in the 1590s.<sup>138</sup> The church seems to have been situated in the churchyard, just to the north of the old monastic church but there is, unfortunately, no archaeological or plan evidence for this first parish church.<sup>139</sup> A larger parish church had to be built to accomodate the increasing numbers of parishioners and it was completed in 1597 at a cost of £1546, shared among the inhabitants.<sup>140</sup> This church was the converted monastic chapter house, a little to the south of the first parish church: a plan survives and part of it has been recorded by archaeological excavation.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> TNA, SP1/91, f. 175, no. 156.

<sup>137</sup> House, ‘Problem of the Liberties’, pp. 121–2; FSL, Loseley MS L.b.390. This document is not dated but it must be a reply to letters of 1554 or 1555 and it refers to the setting out of the new church plot four years earlier.

<sup>138</sup> Median decadal averages: 7.5 baptisms a year in 1560s, rising to 18.5 in 1590s; 9 marriages a year in 1560s rising to 10.5 in 1590s; 15 burials a year in 1560s rising to 31.5 in 1590s; Guildhall Library, MS 4508/1 [baptisms]; 4509/1 [marriages]; 4510/1 [burials].

<sup>139</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.399 [describes plot of church]; Loseley MS L.b.416 [1559 survey].

<sup>140</sup> Stow, i, p. 341; B. Burch, ‘The Parish of St. Anne’s Blackfriars, London, to 1665’, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 3.1 (1969), 11.

<sup>141</sup> Mills and Oliver, v, 133 [plan of church]; iii, 96; v, 82v [neighbouring surveys]. The eastern wall of the church was archaeologically recorded at site FRI88. The evidence of plan and excavation has been used in reconstructing the medieval chapter house, Fig 10.

### The ‘inner cloister’ property granted to Sir Henry Kingston

In 1536 the courtier and royal administrator Sir William Kingston leased from the prior the old ‘under lybrary’ and a house and garden.<sup>142</sup> After the Dissolution his widow Mary and her son Henry Jerningham were able to extend their holding by obtaining a twenty-one-year Crown lease of the whole ‘inner cloyster’ in 1540, which was subsequently granted as freehold in 1545 (Fig 16).<sup>143</sup> We do not have much information about what the family did with the property but they certainly held onto it for quite some time because in 1574 Jerningham’s widow Lady Frances Jerningham (who was also William Kingston’s granddaughter) leased most or all of the property to the royal servant Francis Kempe for an annual rent of £8.<sup>144</sup>

### Lord Cobham’s property in the main cloister

George Brooke, ninth Baron Cobham, was an aristocrat and soldier who had served Henry in his wars in France and who had jousting with the king at courtly displays.<sup>145</sup> He obtained an eighty-year lease on part of the west wing of the main monastic cloister in April 1536, at an annual rent of 106s 8d.<sup>146</sup> At the Dissolution the Crown became his landlord and the rent on his mansion and garden can be traced in the rent collector’s accounts.<sup>147</sup> After Cobham’s death in 1558 his son William Brooke, tenth Baron Cobham, continued to rent the property although by 1566 he was nearly £100 behind with the rent (the debt of £98 3s 4d was then reduced to £51 13s 4d).<sup>148</sup> A document listing the various parts of the property that Cobham rented provides useful detail on the house in the 1540s or ‘50s. Apart from a ‘greet hall’ and a ‘lees

<sup>142</sup> E303/9/180; Lehmborg, ‘Kingston, Sir William’; A. Weikel, ‘Jerningham, Sir Henry (1509/10–1572)’, *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14785>> [accessed 29 September 2009].

<sup>143</sup> TNA, E315/212, ff. 134v–135; E315/191, f. 57 [1540 lease and particulars]; C66/768, mm. 23–4; SC12/11/18 [1545 grant and particulars]. Note that the 1540 lease included the dorter on the north side of the cloister but the 1545 freehold did not. The freehold of the dorter was in fact granted to Sir Francis Bryan in 1548: TNA, C66/814, m. 10.

<sup>144</sup> Norfolk Record Office, NROCAT online catalogue, JER 245, 55X1 <<http://nrocat.norfolk.gov.uk/Dserve/public/searches/nroadvanced.htm>> [accessed 30 September 2009].

<sup>145</sup> C. S. Knighton, ‘Brooke, George, Ninth Baron Cobham (c. 1497–1558)’, *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70783>> [accessed 29 September 2009].

<sup>146</sup> The lease is cited in a post-Dissolution grant of 1546: TNA, C66/774, mm. 31–3.

<sup>147</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 54 [year ending September 1540]; SC6/EdwVI/297, m. 12v [year ending September 1552]. In the 1552 accounts the rent had reduced to 103s 4d.

<sup>148</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 459–60, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 14–15.

hall' there was a long gallery that must have been adapted from the western walk of the cloister, as well as a garden, wood-yard, coal-house and privy.<sup>149</sup>

Both George and William Brooke added to their Blackfriars estate in the decades following the Dissolution. In 1546 the Crown granted George Brooke the freehold of the northern part of the mansion and the former monastic kitchen yard (with access to its water supply), for which he paid £48.<sup>150</sup> In 1551 Brooke bought an adjacent messuage from Richard Tate (who had been granted it by the Crown).<sup>151</sup> In April 1554 Brooke agreed a part exchange deal with his neighbour Thomas Cawarden: Brooke granted Cawarden the kitchen yard and a couple of other buildings (that he had acquired in 1546) and Cawarden granted Brooke the freehold of the hall (probably the monastic guest hall that Brooke already occupied), which lay immediately south of Brooke's mansion.<sup>152</sup> This exchange was later to pose a problem for Brooke: by granting Cawarden the kitchen yard he lost his title to the water supply and he twice wrote to Cawarden's successor More in the 1570s and '80s asking for the water to be reconnected.<sup>153</sup> In 1571 William Brooke enlarged his Blackfriars property to the south by leasing six upper chambers and a new kitchen in the former buttery from William More.<sup>154</sup> Brooke subsequently purchased the kitchen (but not the chambers) for £50 in 1602.<sup>155</sup> There is a useful inventory of Lord Cobham's Blackfriars property drawn up in 1603 six years after his death.<sup>156</sup>

The Apothecaries' Company purchased the property in 1632 and the hall, rebuilt after the Great Fire, is still owned by the Company today.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 116. The document is undated but it must describe Cobham's property before he acquired the freehold from Cawarden in 1554.

<sup>150</sup> TNA, E318/8/293, m. 3 [particulars]; C66/774, mm. 31–3 [grant].

<sup>151</sup> TNA, E318/21/1091; C66/716, mm. 7–8 [particulars and grant to Tate]; C66/836, m. 39 [licence for Tate to grant messuage to Cobham].

<sup>152</sup> SHC, LM/347/4.

<sup>153</sup> Loseley letters LM/COR/3/221 [April 1576] and 6729/9/90 [April 1587], on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database. More declined the first request: LM/COR/3/642 [April 1576].

<sup>154</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 461–2, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 27–8.

<sup>155</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 88–91.

<sup>156</sup> BL, Lansdowne 168, ff. 175–176v.

<sup>157</sup> Hunting, *Society of Apothecaries*, pp. 80–1.

### **Sir Francis Bryan's property on the east of the main cloister**

The courtier Sir Francis Bryan acquired land and buildings on the east side of the main cloister by a Crown grant of December 1548.<sup>158</sup> After Bryan's death in 1550 the property was acquired by the royal administrator Sir Anthony Aucher and then sold on in 1552 to the ex-chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Edward North, and his relative (through marriage), Edward Murfyn.<sup>159</sup> The property consisted of a group of buildings arranged round a garden: the former provincial's building to the south, the former prior's lodging to the east, a chapel off the old choir to the north and the chapter house to the west. There is no further information on what North and Murfyn did with their property.

### **Property granted to Paul Gresham and Francis Boldero**

In 1544 a block of land on the south-east corner of the main monastic cloister was granted to Paul Gresham and Francis Boldero.<sup>160</sup> The block was sandwiched between the Kingstons' inner cloister property to the south and Sir Francis Bryan's property (Fig 16). Gresham and Boldero were granted three main buildings: the former schoolhouse and its garden, part of the building called the provincial's chamber (the lodging of the former head of the Dominican province) and a building called 'the entre', which seems to have been part of the cloister walk on the east side of the main cloister.

### **The buttery granted to Sir Thomas Cheyne**

Sir Thomas Cheyne, the administrator and diplomat, had kept a London house at Black Friars since at least 1536 (when he is listed in a tax survey).<sup>161</sup> He lived in part of the monastic buttery and he was granted the majority of the tenement in March 1540, although Thomas Cawarden was later to own part of the building (the ambiguity of ownership eventually leading to a court case in 1572).<sup>162</sup> Part of the

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<sup>158</sup> TNA, C66/814, m. 10.

<sup>159</sup> BL, Additional Charter 69209. North had married Alice, the widow of the London merchant Edward Murfyn in 1528; the Edward Murfyn who jointly acquired the Blackfriars property in 1552 was presumably Alice's son by that previous marriage: P. R. N. Carter, 'North, Edward, First Baron North (c.1504–1564)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20300>> [accessed 29 September 2009].

<sup>160</sup> TNA, E318/11/524 [particulars]; E315/191, f. 58; C66/749, mm. 22–3 [grant].

<sup>161</sup> TNA, SP1/25, ff. 35–6, nos 222–3.

<sup>162</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 35–53 [court case]; TNA, C66/691, mm. 29–30 [grant to Cawarden].

building was used as a store for the king's tents (in addition to the Revels store built by Thomas Cawarden in the former church) and in 1550 Cheyne received £5 rent from the Crown, backdated to 1545 when it was first used for this purpose.<sup>163</sup> By the time of the 1572 court case the property was in the hands of Sir Henry Poole and by 1585 his relative Margaret Poole (his widow?).<sup>164</sup> The building was later part of the first Blackfriars theatre.

### **Other grants of Blackfriars land**

In addition to the six large grants of the former friary (discussed above) the Crown made seventeen smaller grants of land. These grants were mostly of bundles of 'farms' of rents: the grantee acquired the right to the rents payable by the various lessees but would not be able to occupy the property until the term of the lease had expired. The locations of these smaller parcels cannot always be mapped but they are illustrated, where known, on Fig 16 and tabulated in Table 3. In three cases the grant specified a small continuing ground-rent payable to the Crown.

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<sup>163</sup> TNA, E315/105, f. 128.

<sup>164</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 469–70, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 55–60.

**Table 3 Crown grants of smaller properties in Blackfriars<sup>165</sup>**

Year	Grantee	Property	Rental value	Sale price	Ground-rent payable to Crown
1539	William Taylour and Anne	two tenements in parish of St Martin		£153	20s
1540	Richard Fulmerston	partial farm of rent on a tenement	13s 4d out of the 34s 6½d total		
1543	Walter Hendley and Margery	two tenements with gardens	£4 6s 8d	£58 10s	
1543	Richard Tate	3 tenements	40s		2s 2d
1544	Francis Picher	2 messuages and 4 gardens	£4 16s 8d		9s 8d
1544	Henry Cliderowe and John Doggett	tenement with garden	53s 4d		
1544	Robert Harrys	tenement and garden			
1544	Nicholas Cracheir	2 tenements	40s		
1544	Richard, Roger and Robert Taverner	tenement			
1544	Thomas Godwynne	'the Ancres lodgyng'			
1544	John Gates and Thomas Th[o]rogood	3 messuages and a shop			
1544	John Gates and Thomas Thorogood	shop next to the north gate	26s 8d	£9 6s 11d	
1544	Thomas Bocher	5 tenements	£9		
1545	Richard and Robert Taverner	1 mansion and 2 gardens	£4 10s 8d	£31 13s 8d	
1545	John Pope	7 messuages in parish of St Andrew			
c. 1545	Philip Parrys	2 tenements and a garden	£8	£108	
c. 1545	William Reskynner	building to north of church door	£4		

The Court of Augmentations also issued twelve leases on Blackfriars properties and at least half of these were made to existing tenants who already held leases

<sup>165</sup> TNA, C66/683, m. 21 [Taylour]; E318/11/460, m. 2; C66/788, mm. 41–3 [Fulmerston]; E318/12/560, mm. 3, 6; C66/729, mm. 3–4 [Hendley]; E318/21/1091; C66/716, mm. 7–8 [Tate]; C66/738, m. 37; LR2/108, f. 271 [Picher]; C66/740, m. 13 [Cliderowe and Doggett]; C66/748, mm. 18–19 [Harrys]; C66/757, m. 35 [Cracheir]; C66/761, mm. 33–4 [Taverners]; C66/762, mm. 38–9; C66/767, mm. 4–7 [Gates and Throgood]; E318/11/471, m. 6 [Gates and Thorogood]; E318/5/137; C66/745, m. 13 [Bocher]; E318/21/1096, mm. 25–7; C66/747, m. 51 [Taverners]; C66/765, m. 27 [Pope]; E318/17/842, m. 5 [Parrys]; TNA, E318/18/926 [Reskynner].

granted by the prior and convent. All but two of these new leases were granted for twenty-one years, in some cases after surrendering a monastic lease for life. One of the two new life leases was part of the generous pension settlement to the former prior and Cromwell ‘loyalist’ John Hilsey.<sup>166</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

This chapter has used mostly post-Dissolution sources to reconstruct for the first time the layout of the whole medieval friary (Fig 6), as well as to understand the pattern of land distribution in the 1540s (Fig 16). The pioneering work of Alfred Clapham and Joseph Adams, and the detailed subsequent work by the theatre scholar Irwin Smith and the historian Jens Röhrkasten, have all been drawn on. The use of historic map regression has enabled a more accurate reconstruction of the friary’s topography than Smith’s rather schematic reconstruction.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore the evidence of 150 years of archaeological excavation in the friary has been crucial, even if we might wish for more data from the south and north-west of the precinct. In the present study, the examination of the complete run of post-Dissolution Crown grants and of a sample of Loseley material has certainly revealed important additional documentary material. The landscape of the late medieval friary can now be glimpsed in its entirety for the first time, and it must have been a striking combination of grand architecture in the Decorated style and secluded open spaces. In addition to fifty or so friars and perhaps twice that number of servants by the early sixteenth century, it was home to perhaps a hundred lay residents living in the twenty or so buildings that the friary rented out. Having been refounded – and expensively re-sited – by Edward I in the late thirteenth century, the friary remained closely linked to successive monarchs. On occasion the priory even became a royal palace like Bridewell or Westminster in which the business of Crown and parliament could be conducted, within the city walls but physically and spiritually separated from the bustle of urban life.

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<sup>166</sup> TNA, E315/233, ff. 146v–147 [Hilsey]; E315/212, f. 11 [Hamond]; E315/235, f. 43v [Levesey]; E315/212, f. 100 [Lelowe]; E315/212, ff. 165v–166 [Stabuls]; E315/235, f. 91 [Reskymer]; E315/214, f. 10v [Haymond]; E315/214, ff. 123–4 [Halley]; E315/215, f. 57 [Saunders]; E315/216, f. 17 [Curson]; E315/216, f. 27v [Partyryche]; E315/236, ff. 18v–19; E40/15152 [de Millan].

<sup>167</sup> Clapham, ‘Topography’, pp. 57–84; J. Q. Adams, ‘The Conventual Buildings of Blackfriars, London, and the Playhouses Constructed Therein’, *Studies in Philology*, 14 (2) (1917), 64–87; Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse*, figure 16 on p. 67.



## Chapter 3: Grey Friars

### *Introduction*

The first Franciscans – a party of nine – arrived in England in September 1224. Four of them quickly made their way to London, staying initially with the newly established Dominicans and then at a house in Cornhill. The following year they moved to newly-granted premises in the parish of St Nicholas Shambles, near Newgate in the west of the city. Over the next 130 years the Franciscans acquired adjacent properties by purchase or donation (largely the latter), extending their holdings to end up with a precinct of four and a half acres (below; ‘The friary precinct and gates’). The final acquisition came in the early 1350s with a donation of land by Queen Isabella and two London citizens that must have completed the eastern side of the precinct. The forty-four individual donations (some of which were buying out rents due on land acquired earlier) are described in the valuable source known as the Grey Friars Register, and their approximate location can generally be understood thanks to a description of their parish or a nearby road. After the initial donations of land, the expansion of the precinct was broadly planned and managed by the Franciscan guardians with a long-term objective in mind.<sup>1</sup>

Within twenty or thirty years of their arrival in London, the Franciscans had completed their first church and accommodation, and work began on the water supply. The early buildings seem to have been characterised by architectural restraint, with some decorative aspects of the first church roof and the cloisters having to be changed to meet the accepted standard. The main cloister buildings were built in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, thanks to donations of money and new land by the Countess of Warwick and several London citizens.<sup>2</sup> Having finished their precinct, royal support allowed the friars to begin a major reconstruction programme of the church at the end of the century, under the

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<sup>1</sup> British Library (BL), Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 317–22 [Grey Friars Register, summary of early deeds], printed in C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London: Their History, with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922), pp. 146–57; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, *Vita Regularis*, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 43–51, 68 (hereafter cited as ‘Röhrkasten’).

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*, British Society of Franciscan Studies (Manchester: University press, 1937), pp. 177–8.

patronage of Edward I's second consort Margaret. The church was rebuilt on a much grander scale and, a century and a half after the arrival of the first Franciscans, was the second largest in London after St Paul's.

The numbers of London Franciscans quickly increased from that first group of the 1220s, reaching a peak of about ninety in the early fourteenth century. After this, numbers seem to have declined for the rest of the house's existence, with fewer than fifty residents by the late fourteenth century and thirty-five in 1460 (including the guardian and provincial prior). Twenty-seven friars remained in 1538 to sign the dissolution agreement.<sup>3</sup> Thomas of Eccleston's account shows that the early Franciscans were indeed living the mendicant ideal of a poor and simple life, accepting the bare minimum of three days' alms to eke out during a seven-day week, walking barefoot on a winter journey and huddling together to warm a sick friar.<sup>4</sup> An anecdote from nearly three centuries later suggests a rather different picture, with friar Geoffrey having a drink with the head of the brew-house in the buttery on a Sunday evening.<sup>5</sup> Of course, the two sources are rather different in nature and thus conform to the stereotypical picture of ascetic early monasticism contrasted with rather slacker later observance, but the emergence of the Observant movement confirms that there were strong elements of truth in this picture and that not all Franciscans were happy with the changing times.

Of all the London mendicants, the Franciscans had the least secure finances: they had a church and buildings second only to the Dominicans in terms of grandeur and extent, but they lacked their counterparts' regular royal income and large rental portfolio. They would have struggled to meet the annual living costs of some £50, just for feeding the friars, let alone paying for servants, repairs and the house's contribution to the province and prior general in Rome.<sup>6</sup>

The friary housed the English province's *studium generale*, training English and visiting students for higher education at Oxford, Cambridge or Paris. Although it did not receive this formal designation until 1336, it was already functioning as the main study centre in the thirteenth century, thanks to the efforts of its *lector* and chronicler

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<sup>3</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 74, 79–80.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 143–4; *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. by A. G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), pp. 7–8.

<sup>5</sup> The National Archives (TNA), E36/120, f. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 227–8, 245–7.

Thomas of Eccleston.<sup>7</sup> A separate library was constructed in the early fifteenth century, sponsored by mayor Richard Whittington and friar Thomas Wynchelsey (below, ‘The great cloister’). John Leland’s list of the library’s contents at the time of the Dissolution records forty-four books, with another four titles recorded in a different source, and there would presumably have been several others on loan to individual friars. In addition to books by English Franciscans and Dominicans, there were two chronicles and a copy of Aristotle’s *Rhetorica*.<sup>8</sup> Nine surviving library books have been traced, only one of which seems to occur on Leland’s list.<sup>9</sup>

The friary seems to have enjoyed consistently good relations with Londoners, receiving land donations in the early days of the friary and, later, attracting bequests and anniversary payments. Furthermore, to a greater extent than the Dominicans, the benefactors included ordinary Londoners as well as the civic elite.<sup>10</sup> The buildings of the convent were used on one or two occasions by royalty and government, for example for a meeting of the royal council in 1475. Rather more frequent use of the convent was made by London guilds and merchants, with the Plaisterers renting a hall in the sixteenth century and other companies and guild members on occasion using its buildings.<sup>11</sup> In 1443, the friary served as the base for a conspiratorial meeting of disaffected members of several artisan Companies – particularly the Tailors – who met here to plan a rebellion under the leadership of Ralph Holland.<sup>12</sup> Rather more positive relations with the city are demonstrated by the annual civic procession to the friary on St Francis’ day, begun in the early sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1520s and ‘30s the friary’s officers aligned the house with Crown policy, largely supporting the religious changes, in marked contrast to the opposition shown by their Observant brethren in Greenwich. The last two guardians, Thomas Cudnor

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<sup>7</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 487.

<sup>8</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 481–2; K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990), pp. 217–23.

<sup>9</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 44–8, 265–76, 449–50.

<sup>11</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 516–17; TNA, E163/8/36 [council meeting of 1475]; for the Plaisterers, see ‘The little cloister’, below.

<sup>12</sup> C. M. Barron, ‘Ralph Holland and the London Radicals, 1438–1444’, in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, ed. by R. Holt and G. Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), p. 176.

<sup>13</sup> C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), pp. 125–6.

and Thomas Chapman, were supporters of Thomas Cromwell and there is surviving correspondence from Chapman denouncing the Observant friar John Forest and planning the closure of the London house.<sup>14</sup> The suppression document was duly signed by Chapman and twenty-six friars on 12 November 1538. Parcels of the convent were sold off to investors (and some of the existing tenants) in the 1540s, with the friary church granted by the Crown to serve as the centre of a newly-created parish, Christ Church, and the cloisters given over for a new secular orphanage and school, Christ's Hospital.

### *Sources*

The Franciscan house is the best documented of the five London friaries, principally thanks to an account of the convent's early history and the remarkable survival of their Register, an early sixteenth-century document that was used and maintained by the friary right up to the Dissolution. The latter book contains a calendar of their property deeds (which would probably have acted as a summary of a now lost cartulary, as well as of the original documents that they held), and notes on the building history of the friary (recording which donors gave what and when).<sup>15</sup> The Register is clearly a working document from the archive of the London house, summarising and (in effect) indexing two important categories of primary documentation: property deeds and lay donations. The Register is, therefore, both a material history of the convent's deeds and building projects, as well as a spiritual history of its benefactors. An important unpublished post-Dissolution source is the 'particulars' or survey that accompanied the grant of much of the friary to Christ's Hospital in 1547. The grant itself was printed by Charles Kingsford but the particulars document has much more topographic detail and its importance was first recognised by Frances Maggs.<sup>16</sup> The visual sources for Grey Friars are also particularly strong, notably two seventeenth-century pre-Great Fire plans that,

<sup>14</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 568–9; Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 126.

<sup>15</sup> Little, *Frater Thomas de Eccleston; The Coming of the Friars Minor to England & Germany. Being the Chronicles of Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano*, ed. by E. G. Salter (London and Toronto: Dent, 1926); BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii [Grey Friars register], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 70–177.

<sup>16</sup> St Bartholomew's Hospital archive (SBH), HC 3, m. 4 [1546 particulars for grant of 1546]; TNA, C66/790, mm. 53, 56 [1547 grant]. Frances Maggs used a later copy of the particulars document (SBH, HC 19, ff. 4v–5v) but the identification of the original (HC 3, m. 4) as a 'particulars for grant', and its consequent relationship with the grant itself, is made here for the first time: F. Maggs, 'Londoners and the London House of the Greyfriars' (unpublished MA thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996).

between them, map virtually the entire precinct area.<sup>17</sup> Conversely, the archaeological evidence for the Franciscan house is the weakest of the five London friaries (Fig 19), in large part due to the rapid and highly mechanised demolition of the old Christ's Hospital buildings in 1905 and the construction of the new General Post Office buildings: the archaeologists Philip Norman and Francis Reader made valiant efforts to record what they could but met with limited success.<sup>18</sup> When, in turn, the General Post Office buildings were pulled down nearly a century later, very little of the friary survived for the next generation of archaeologists to discover (site KEW98 on Fig 19).

**Fig 19 Map showing areas of archaeological excavation and recording in Grey Friars (scale 1:1000)**

### *The medieval friary*

#### **The friary precinct and gates**

In common with the other four London friaries, land for the Grey Friars was acquired in a series of donations, in this case between the 1220s and the 1350s. The precinct, at its largest, occupied an area of over four and a half acres (1.9ha). However, in the second half of the fourteenth century (in 1368 and 1398) the friary gave away two strips of land along its Newgate Street frontage to the City, to be administered by the Bridge House Estates who looked after London Bridge (Fig 20). The financial details of this transaction are not recorded but the friary would, presumably, have expected some reward for this valuable land along the busy main road between Newgate and the meat shambles.<sup>19</sup> The final, slightly reduced, precinct thus occupied just less than four and a half acres (1.8ha).

**Fig 20 Reconstructed plan of the precinct of Grey Friars (scale 1:1000)**

The boundary of the precinct can be traced with considerable confidence, thanks in large part to the detective work of Marjorie Honeybourne.<sup>20</sup> She used the early

<sup>17</sup> SBH, HC 19, f. 59; London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), COLLAGE 21718; reproduced here as Fig 21 and Fig 22.

<sup>18</sup> P. Norman and F. W. Reader, 'Further Discoveries Relating to Roman London, 1906–12', *Archaeologia*, 63 (1912), 274–6.

<sup>19</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to south of church to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7.

<sup>20</sup> M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Precinct of the Grey Friars, with some Account of the Adjoining Property, Including the Church of St Nicholas Shambles, its Parsonage (the Butchers' Hall) and the Earl of Northumberland's Inn (the Bull and Mouth Inn)', *London Topographical Record*, 16 (1932), 9–51.

seventeenth-century ‘Plat of the Graye Friers’ (Fig 21) and traced the precinct boundary in relation to the friary’s neighbours: the city wall to the north, a large tenement called the Swan to the west, the Bridge House rents and the church of St Nicholas Shambles to the south, and Northumberland Place to the east. The reconstruction of the precinct in Fig 20 largely follows Honeybourne’s work, although the technique of digital map regression used here allows some of the complexities of the boundary to be drawn with a little more accuracy. Furthermore, the mid-seventeenth-century survey of Christ’s Hospital (Fig 22) and a 1668 survey of Northumberland Place (not illustrated) allow the eastern side of the precinct to be drawn in greater detail.<sup>21</sup> The very north-eastern corner of the friary seems only to have been added in the sixteenth century: in a court case of 1550 a former friar gave evidence stating that it had been rented from the mayor and citizens for about thirty years (Fig 35).<sup>22</sup> The precinct can also be seen in the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s, with the church, great cloister and eastern gardens clearly identifiable (Fig 23).

**Fig 21 Plan of the western part of the former Grey Friars entitled ‘The Plat of the Graye Friers’, drawn by Martin Llewellyn around the second decade of the seventeenth century (SBH, HC 19, f. 59)**

**Fig 22 Grey Friars: plan of the eastern part of Christ’s Hospital (and its rented tenements), surveyed in 1656 (LMA, COLLAGE 21718)**

**Fig 23 Detail of the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s showing Grey Friars shortly after the Dissolution**

The early friary of the mid-thirteenth century was unenclosed: when questioned about this shortcoming, the English provincial prior, brother William, replied tartly ‘I did not join the order to build walls’.<sup>23</sup> Part or all of the precinct was probably enclosed in the ensuing half century and the final parts of the boundary wall would have been completed in the mid-fourteenth century after the last land donation. It was almost certainly built of stone and so the new late-fourteenth-century stretch of wall (necessitated by the 1398 grant of land to the Bridge House estate) was similarly to be of stone and was to be built eleven feet (3.4m) high.<sup>24</sup> In 1436 the precinct wall

<sup>21</sup> Both of these surveys include measurements and can therefore be located with some confidence in relation to later, more accurate mapping. The 1668 survey of part of Northumberland Place is a framed plan in Nomura House, described in the appendix (‘Appendix 3: catalogue of sources’).

<sup>22</sup> TNA, E321/46/51.

<sup>23</sup> *Fratris Thomae De Eccleston*, p. 45; *The Coming of the Friars Minor*, p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7.

surrounding the gardens in the south-east corner of the friary was described as a stone wall (*murum lapideum gardini fratrum minorum*).<sup>25</sup> However, between this garden wall and the westernmost Bridge House tenements, at least one part of the boundary wall was built in brick by the sixteenth century: a lease of 1531 refers to the 'bryke wall' on the south side of the old churchyard (i.e. the narrow churchyard to the south of the church).<sup>26</sup>

The principal access to the friary was via the main gate in Newgate Street, opposite Warwick Lane, whose location is clearly marked on the 'Plat of the Graye Friars'. The gate led into a yard and the adjacent cemetery, with the church a short distance further east (Fig 20). According to the 1398 agreement between the friary and the City, the gate was to be rebuilt at the City's expense as part of the land deal: 'the wych shall be of new edified'.<sup>27</sup> The main gate was, therefore, a new build of c. 1400, although it is quite possible that it incorporated elements of an earlier gatehouse. According to the elevation on the 'Plat of the Graye Friars', it had three storeys with battlements on the top: the double-height arched gateway itself was offset to the west (Fig 24). Leases of 1584 and 1608 indicate that there was a room on the ground floor (a shop by 1608), another chamber above (both of these occupying the east side of the gatehouse), with three rooms across the second floor: a 'greate hall' as well as 'two chambers ... with a chimney, a glasse wyndowe and a dore into the saide chambers'.<sup>28</sup> Part of the gatehouse was leased as early as the 1440s (below, 'The rented tenements').

**Fig 24 Grey Friars: details of the friary gates (SBH, HC 19, f. 59)**

Moving anti-clockwise around the precinct boundary, there was a porch that led directly into the south-west corner of the nave, probably built in the second half of the fourteenth century (although the evidence in the Register is not specific) thanks to the bequests of friar Thomas de Feltham (Fig 24).<sup>29</sup> There was another gate further

<sup>25</sup> TNA, C66/439, m. 15.

<sup>26</sup> TNA, E315/214, ff. 111–12, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 212.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7 (quotation on p. 174). The full reading of the text is 'the wych shall be of new edified *toward the West*' (my italics), although the cardinal point seems merely to relate to the topographic description of the strip of land, not to an intention to rebuild one side of the gatehouse only.

<sup>28</sup> SBH, HC 1/3903 [1584]; HC 1/3905 [1608].

<sup>29</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8. In the following section of the Register (f. 322v, pp. 158–9) de Feltham's works seem to be dated before a subsequent entry of 1422.

east, this one giving more restricted access – through the ‘walking place’ between the nave and choir – to the great cloister behind. Like the main gatehouse, this gateway was built by the mayor as part of the fourteenth-century land donation to the Bridge House estate, in this case in 1368 or soon after and (at least by the seventeenth century) it was a two-storey building with a room over the arched opening (Fig 20, Fig 24).<sup>30</sup> Another gatehouse up Stinking Lane controlled access to the choir end of the church and the precinct’s eastern gardens: this had been demolished by the seventeenth century but a gate up Stinking Lane is mentioned in a dispute of 1422 in the Mayor’s Court.<sup>31</sup> There was probably a minor gate at the end of Pentecost Lane leading into one of the friary’s garden plots and a postern gate had been cut through the city wall in the north of the precinct by the sixteenth century, connecting the friary to St Bartholomew’s Hospital.<sup>32</sup>

### The church

When the first London friars moved to Newgate in 1225, building a church or chapel would have been one of their first priorities. There were several donations of land in the second half of the 1220s and the City merchant and mayor William Joyner began giving money towards the construction of the chapel in 1228, giving £200 in his lifetime according to the Grey Friars Register.<sup>33</sup> The first church and some basic accommodation buildings must have been completed by the 1240s or ‘50s when work started on the water supply.<sup>34</sup> After slight modification, the church adhered to the restrained architectural principles of the early Franciscan movement: in the middle of the century the provincial prior William of Nottingham ordered that the roof be ‘rearranged’ (*tectum ecclesie Londonie fecit disponi*) and that the embellishments (bosses?) should be removed from the cloister walk (*incastraturas*

<sup>30</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7. In a rare error of judgement, Honeybourne was almost certainly incorrect to assert that this secondary gatehouse was only built after the Dissolution: Honeybourne, ‘Precinct of the Grey Friars’, pp. 12–13; Martin, *Franciscan Architecture*, p. 182 and footnote 4.

<sup>31</sup> LMA, CLA/024/01/02/51 (Plea and Memoranda Roll A 50), m. 10v; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, iv [1413–37], pp. 147–8.

<sup>32</sup> The earliest evidence for the postern gate seems to be its illustration in the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s (Fig 23).

<sup>33</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8; Röhrkasten, pp. 413–15.

<sup>34</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322v [Grey Friars Register, the history of the water supply], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 158–9.



*claustrum iussit abradi*).<sup>35</sup> The Grey Friars Register gives us some useful information on the location of the early chapel, noting that it was ‘afterwards the great part of the choir’ (*que postmodum facta est magna pars chori*), presumably indicating that the thirteenth-century church was incorporated in and formed a sizeable part of the fourteenth-century choir. There is a little archaeological evidence for this early church: two sets of excavations within Christ Church Newgate Street (Wren’s rebuilding of the original medieval friary choir, now a walled garden following bomb damage in the Second World War) revealed evidence for chalk wall foundations that were clearly earlier than the fourteenth-century choir. The evidence is far from conclusive but suggests an early church occupying the choir and perhaps the north aisle of the later church, with some early claustral buildings to the south.

The fourteenth-century church is much better documented: according to the Register, the rebuilding was initiated by Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I, and work began with the laying of a foundation stone in 1306; the total cost of the new church was at least £2647.<sup>36</sup> However, in a separate part of the Register, the influential merchant and three-times mayor Henry le Waleys is described as a sponsor of the new nave.<sup>37</sup> The fact that he died in 1302 would seem to suggest that this was a different project from that of Queen Margaret: historians have understandably had different opinions as to the relationship between the various builds. Charles Kingsford argued that le Waleys built the nave and Margaret then added the choir; Martin argued instead that Margaret’s project involved extending or even demolishing le Waleys’ nave.<sup>38</sup> Hilda Johnstone’s work may suggest a way out of the conundrum; she shows that Margaret’s involvement in the project began *before* 1306 because royal wardrobe accounts list expenditure on a chapel of St Louis (who was Margaret’s grandfather) between 1299 and 1301.<sup>39</sup> We do not, unfortunately, know where this chapel was (the fact that the expenses included

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<sup>35</sup> *Fratris Thomae De Eccleston*, p. 45; Martin, *Franciscan Architecture*, p. 177.

<sup>36</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 324 [Grey Friars Register, list of founders of new church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 163–5.

<sup>37</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 158.

<sup>38</sup> Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, 35; Martin, *Franciscan Architecture*, pp. 178–9. Maggs gives a useful summary of the various views: ‘Greyfriars’, pp. 26–30.

<sup>39</sup> H. Johnstone, ‘The Chapel of St. Louis, Greyfriars, London’, *English Historical Review*, 56 (1941), 447–50; TNA, E101/507/5 [expenses ‘claim’ for chapel]; BL, Additional MS 7966A, f. 40v [corresponding entry in Wardrobe accounts].

lengthening window openings would suggest that it was part of the mid-thirteenth-century church that was being enlarged or improved) but the early date suggests an overlap between le Waleys' and Margaret's works on the church. Given le Waleys' close links with Edward I it seems quite likely that the former was one of the masterminds behind the new church, enlisting royal support and working in co-operation with the king and queen: this was just what he was doing at this time planning a large new civic chapel to be built onto the Guildhall.<sup>40</sup> Margaret's involvement in the reconstruction of Grey Friars also formed a nice counterpart to her husband's role three decades before in refounding the Dominican friary; if Black Friars was 'his' friary, then Grey Friars was hers and she was buried before its high altar in 1318.<sup>41</sup> The lead mason on the project was master Walter de Hereford, a veteran of royal projects such as Caernarvon castle and Vale Royal abbey.<sup>42</sup> The Grey Friars church can therefore be seen as a grand design of the very end of the thirteenth century, a co-operative project between friary, City and Crown that was executed over the following half century.

How long did this great construction project take? The answer is not as clear cut as we might like: the Register tells us that the works took twenty-one years but then goes on to give an alternative start date, 1327 rather than 1306. Of course, as Kingsford suggests, 1327 might simply be a scribal error for the *completion*- rather than start-date since it is twenty-one years after 1306.<sup>43</sup> However, even if a first phase of works did end in 1327, the church was certainly not finished. A later donor to the project was Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III. She paid one sum specified as for the roof the church – presumably after her marriage in 1328 – and this could indicate the closing stages of the project, perhaps roofing the enlarged nave. Kingsford's analysis of the donors of the windows, all individually recorded in the

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<sup>40</sup> D. Bowsher and others, *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times*, MoLAS Monograph, 36 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), i, 139; ii, 359.

<sup>41</sup> C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of London, c. 1240–1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, ed. by C. M. Barron and C. Burgess, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 20 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 117–42 (p. 119).

<sup>42</sup> *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, ed. by A. H. Thomas, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924–32), p. 251; H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963–82), i, 205–6; J. Harvey and A. Oswald, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), pp. 136–7.

<sup>43</sup> Confusingly, John Stow records the start- or end-date as 1337, although he is clearly quoting from the Register document and he may simply have made a mistake in his notes: Stow, i, 317.

Register, shows that the choir windows were glazed in the second or third decade of the fourteenth century, whereas those of the nave seem to have been completed slightly later, with the two westernmost (and perhaps latest) aisle windows sponsored by Henry of Lancaster (who died in 1345) and the former sheriff Walter Mordon (died 1351).<sup>44</sup> With these dates in mind it is possible to re-read the text in the Register and suggest that a second phase of works on the nave finished in 1348, twenty-one years after they recommenced in 1327. However, even this may not mark the absolute end of construction: works recommenced in 1350 after the Black Death when the friars sent servants 'with ships, boats and carriages to diverse parts of the realm to buy stone, timber and other things required for the fabric of their church and the repair and improvement of their houses'.<sup>45</sup> One late fourteenth-century source noted that the church had still not been re-dedicated in 1358 when Queen Isabella (consort of Edward II and another donor) was buried here.<sup>46</sup> The church was, however, completed and, one assumes, dedicated soon afterwards because in 1363 the main west window had to be repaired after a storm, thanks to a donation by Edward III: this is the only window donation described as a *repair* and the west end of the nave must therefore have been finished before this.<sup>47</sup>

Alterations and improvements to the church continued to be made in the following two centuries. In about 1380 Margaret Brotherton, duchess of Norfolk, gave 350 marks for some choir stalls (and, like many benefactors, she later chose the friary as her place of burial). Friar Thomas Wynchelsey then gave 200 marks towards decorative stonework or woodwork in the choir in 1420 (with another donation of 50 marks spent on painting).<sup>48</sup> Further substantial works – whether in the nave or choir is unspecified – were carried out in the late 1450s, when William Cantelowe gave

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<sup>44</sup> Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 36–8.

<sup>45</sup> *Cum navibus batellis & aliis cariagiis... ad diversas partes regni... pro petra maeremio & aliis necessariis pro fabrica ecclesie sue & reparatione & emendatione domorum suarum*: TNA, C66/230, m. 4.

<sup>46</sup> The church is described as *nondum dedicata* at the time of her burial on 27 November 1358: *Chronicon Angliae, ab anno domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, ed. by E. M. Thompson, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 64 (London: Longman, 1874), p. 38.

<sup>47</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 325–6 [Grey Friars Register, list of sponsors of windows of new church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 167.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

£200 (as part of a deal purchasing chantry masses).<sup>49</sup> Various chapels were added, converted and repaired in the two centuries following the completion of the church, although the exact dates are only known if the works are specified in a will. For example in 1470, William Chamberleyn bequeathed £5 for the works on (*ad fabricam*) the chapel of St Mary in the choir.<sup>50</sup> In 1486 Henry VII granted four oaks for further, unspecified works in the church.<sup>51</sup>

The archaeological evidence for the church is somewhat disappointing. Fragments of the deep chalk and ragstone foundations of the church have, fortunately, been recorded in a few locations, thus fixing the location of the west wall of the nave (including an external buttress marking the line of the southern arcade: site KEW98 on Fig 25), the south and east walls of the choir (sites GF73 and CHR76) and the southern arcade of the choir (site GF73). Excavations within Christ Church Newgate Street (sites GF73 and CHR76) have shown that the bay and aisle divisions of Wren's church correspond closely with those of its medieval predecessor, the friary choir: Wren's seventeenth-century columns sit on medieval foundations and Wren's rebuilt south wall incorporates remains of two medieval buttresses. The 'walking place' separating the choir and nave can be fixed thanks to the level of detail on the 1656 plan of Christ's Hospital: the eastern cloister walk leads to the north door of the church.<sup>52</sup> There is little physical evidence for the layout of the nave but the section of the Grey Friars Register dealing with the donors of windows makes clear that it, like the choir, had seven bays.<sup>53</sup> The church was second only in size to St Paul's cathedral: our reconstruction reveals that it measured an astonishing 299' feet in length and was 90' wide (91.1m by 27.4m; the internal measurements are 293' by 84' or 89.3m by 25.6m). These reconstructed measurements correspond quite closely to the measurements recorded in the early sixteenth-century Register (300' by 89') and in a post-Dissolution survey (280' by 90').<sup>54</sup> The Register also gives the height of the church as measuring 64' from floor to roof, presumably an internal measurement up

<sup>49</sup> TNA, E40/11314, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 208–11, and Kingsford, 'Additional Material', pp. 145–7.

<sup>50</sup> PCC will cited by Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 104–5.

<sup>51</sup> Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 238.

<sup>52</sup> LMA, COLLAGE 21718.

<sup>53</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 325–6 [Grey Friars Register, list of sponsors of windows of new church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 165–9.

<sup>54</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 326v [Grey Friars Register, dimensions of church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 169–70; SBH, HC 19, f. 5v [particulars of 1546].

to the underside of the timber roof).<sup>55</sup> The bays of the medieval nave are approximately 20' wide (6.1m; measured centre-to-centre), with those of the choir having the slightly smaller module of 19' (5.8m). The 'walking place' is thus a fifteenth bay (also about 20' wide), separating the nave from the choir and allowing communication between the cloister and the street.

**Fig 25 Archaeological and documentary evidence for the medieval church of Grey Friars (scale 1:500)**

The limited evidence suggests that the church followed the typical medieval London pattern of construction: deep, arched, chalk and ragstone foundations supporting walls of coursed ragstone with Reigate stone quoins and windows. Most of the detail of the church's architecture and its internal fixtures is sadly lost to us today. The early seventeenth-century plan of Christ's Hospital illustrates the church as a combined plan-elevation: the end windows seem to be tall Perpendicular rather than Decorated windows although the artist (Martin Llewellyn) may be indicating a Decorated rose design in the upper part of the main west window (Edward III's window of *c.* 1363), with stone mouldings in the spandrels on either side (Fig 26). The gables of the two end windows are each capped with an iron or timber cross and the aisle windows are shown with pairs of lights, matched by the shorter clerestory windows above. On Wyngaerde's view of *c.* 1544, the choir has three aisles of the same height whereas the nave is shown slightly taller, with a lower south aisle visible in the foreground. The porch in the south-west corner is just visible, as is a long and slender south transept (for which there is no other evidence). The squat tower has two stages, with the upper considerably smaller than the lower. The overall breadth of the tower is almost certainly exaggerated and the 'copperplate' view of the 1550s shows instead a smaller tower with a short spire or fleche capped with a cross (Fig 23). The central tower was built over the 'walking place' between the nave and the choir.

**Fig 26 Early seventeenth-century plan-elevation of the Grey Friars church by Martin Llewellyn (SBH, HC 19, f. 59)**

**Fig 27 Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church of Grey Friars in *c.* 1544**

Inside, the church must have been an impressive space and its huge nave would have seemed particularly striking to contemporaries. A rare description of the inside is given in the post-Dissolution 'particulars' that were drawn up in 1546 prior to its

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<sup>55</sup> Stow specifies the remarkably precise measurement of 64' 2": Stow, i, 318.

sale.<sup>56</sup> The document describes the nave as 'all covered with leade & paved with stoun' and even records the rather sad remains of '4 olde frontes of Awters with Imagery gyltted and one tumbre envyronned with strakes of iron'. The choir was similarly roofed and had 'dyvers paretycions of tymber worke, two payre of olde Organs, one deske and 2 greate candelstyckes of latten'.

A more productive description of the internal layout of the church lies in the section of the sixteenth-century Register describing the 680 or so tombs in the church. The list seems to be a working document recording who was buried where (and, by implication, where spaces remained), and it describes the tombs with reference to windows, chapels, columns and screens.<sup>57</sup> The topographic information contained in this survey is complemented by requests made in wills for a particular place of burial within the church. (The will evidence has been collated by Charles Kingsford and Jens Röhrkasten and is tabulated in Table 4 and illustrated in Fig 28.) Unfortunately, the combination of Dissolution, Great Fire and Blitz has ensured that no tombs or monuments have survived, although the late thirteenth-century indent of Bernat de Jambe is recorded in a brass-rubbing, and a seventeenth-century sketch may show part of the tomb of the former mayor Sir John Philpott (died 1384).<sup>58</sup>

**Fig 28 Reconstructed plan of the church of Grey Friars (scale 1:500)**

The main processional entrance to the church was a central door on the western wall, accessed by an internal lane within the southern part of the precinct (described in 1544 as 'the way leading from the great gate to the church'; *regia via ibidem ducen[s] a le greate gate predicta usque ad ecclesiam*).<sup>59</sup> The majority of lay visitors would presumably have come in through a smaller entrance porch on Newgate Street giving access to the nave through the westernmost bay. A more restricted entrance led from Newgate Street into the walking place bay between the nave and the choir, and on into the cloister. There would also have been an adjacent set of night stairs leading down from the dormitory into the choir.

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<sup>56</sup> SBH, HC 19, f. 5v.

<sup>57</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 274–316 [Grey Friars Register, list of monuments], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 70–133. A remarkable reconstruction of the layout of the church burials was carried out by E. B. S. Shepherd: 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London', *Archaeological Journal*, 59 (1902), 238–87.

<sup>58</sup> Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', plate 25 [de Jambe]; BL, Egerton 3310 A, f. 24 [Philpott].

<sup>59</sup> TNA, C66/757, m. 21.

Table 4 Topographic information on Grey Friars church

Place	Evidence	Earliest mention	Source	Citation
<b>Chapels</b>				
St Louis	account of construction	c. 1300	TNA, E101/507/5; BL, Additional MS 7966A (f 40v)	
St Bernadine of Siena	Thomas Battell requested burial <i>in capella ex parte boreali chori... coram ymagine sancti Bernardini</i> ; later will specifies that this is a separate 'chapell of S. Barnadyne within the covent church'	1468 and 1492	Commissary Court and PCC will	Röhrkasten, p. 506
St Mary	description of burial location	1526	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 80
Apostles	description of burial location	1526	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 88
St Francis	John Baldewyne requested burial in chapel of St Francis	1469	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 104
All Hallows, also known as 'Vestry Chapell'	Richard Hastings, lord Willoughby, requested burial 'within the qwere or within the Vestry Chapell'; he was buried in All Hallows Chapel	1510	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 128
<b>Altars</b>				
Holy Cross (at E end of nave)	will of Nicholas Uske specifies burial 'under the cross' before the altar of the Holy Cross	1403	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 83
'Hatton Aweter' (in chapel of St Francis in choir)	will of John Bailley requested burial <i>coram altari vocato Hatton Aweter</i> ; he was buried two bays from Thomas Hatton's tomb in chapel of St Francis	1420	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 90
St Clement (at E of nave, perhaps N side or N aisle)	John Lethum requested burial 'afore the aulter of Saint Clement'; he was buried by altar of St Mary. Kingsford suggests that this was an altar used by the confraternity of Bakers	1478	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 66 and 109
'the Common Awter' (at E end of nave)	William Brereton requested burial by 'the Common Awter'	1488	Commissary Court will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 111–12
'altar of Jesus' (at E end of nave)	<i>altare Jhesu</i>	16th C	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 105
altar of the Blessed Mary, with adjacent <i>sedilia</i> (at E end of nave)	<i>altaris ... Beate Marie</i>	16th C	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 107
St Michael	William Kebyll requested burial 'bifore the aulter of seynt Michell on the south side of the same covent church within the parclose there redy made of tymber and pyked with yron pykes'; Edward Assheley's will of 1518 describes it as 'Saint Mighell awter, otherwise called the Comyn awter'	1509 and 1518	PCC wills	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 124–5 and 129
'morow messe aulter'	Alice Lewcas requested burial to the right of the 'morow messe aulter'; she was buried in the second bay of the N aisle of the nave	1524	Commissary Court will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 133

<b>Images</b>				
St Christopher (painted window in N aisle of nave)	will of Richard Covyntre, skinner, requests burial by the 'ymaginem sancti Christofori'. the image may be the window of the fifth bay of N aisle of nave: Richard Hallam, buried there, had requested burial <i>ex opposito fenestre Sancti Christofori ex parte boriali</i>	1405 and 1419	Archdeaconry Court will; PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 85 and 89
St Mary (in screen between nave and S aisle, at E end)	David Bardevyle requested burial <i>coram imagine beate Marie in parte australi dicte ecclesie</i> ; it was later described as 'the ymage of our Lady within the valens of the said church' in Margaret Yonge's will	1411 and 1497	Archdeaconry Court and PCC wills	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 87 and 119–20
statue of St Mary (in chapel of St Mary in choir)	Joan Elveden bequeathed a necklace to adorn the Virgin in her will	1421	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 90
St Mary and St James (in N aisle of nave)	William Hoton requested burial <i>in Aleya Boreali nave ejusdem ecclesie coram ymaginibus beate Marie et sancti Jacobi</i> ; he was buried in third bay. The image of Mary was later described as 'our Lady of Pitie' in Gilbert Belamy's will, and as a painted window in Register	1445 and 1498	Commissary Court and PCC wills; Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 96–7 and 118; <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 119
St Erasmus (W end of N aisle of nave): alabaster tablet?	Thomas Dagworthe requested burial 'on the north syde... affore the ymage off Seint Erasmus'; Thomas Hewett requested burial 'where as is a table hangyng of Saincte Erasmus in the north syde as you come oute of the west doore'	1474 and 1532	Commissary Court and PCC wills	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 107–8 and 139–40
St Mary Magdalene (in chapel of St Francis)	Hugh Acton requested burial 'before the pyctour of Seint Mary Magdaleyn standyng in the South Ile of the quere'; he was buried in the chapel of St Francis	1530	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 138
St Francis (by high altar in choir)	Eleanor Stafford, duchess of Buckingham, requested burial 'before the image of Saint Frauncis'; she was buried by the high altar of the choir	1528	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 139
<b>other details</b>				
screen or 'bars'	will of William Asshe mentions 'bars' (a screen?), apparently separating nave and S aisle: he requests burial <i>in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum ex parte australi extra barras</i>	1406	Archdeaconry Court will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 85
high cross (in N aisle of nave)	Walter Potter, goldsmith, requested burial <i>coram alta cruce ibidem</i> ; he was buried in third bay of N aisle	1459	Commissary Court will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 101
organs	Nicholas Pembyrton requested burial 'on the north syde of the quere yn the lytyll chapell cawlyd our lady chapell by the organs'	1519	Commissary Court will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', pp. 129–30
pulpit (N of nave between second and third bays)	Thomas Roos requested burial 'nyh unto the pulpytt'; he was buried in the nave near the column separating second and third bays	1529	PCC will	Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 136
lectern (in middle of choir)		16th C	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 73
<i>piscina</i> (on S side of chapel of All Saints)		16th C	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , p. 76
stalls (in choir)		16th C	Grey Friars Register	Kingsford, <i>Grey Friars</i> , pp 74–5



### The cemetery

There is little evidence for the friary's cemetery other than occasional requests in wills for burial there; no archaeological evidence for graves has so far been discovered. However, the fourteenth-century land grants by the friary to the City (for the Bridge House estate) refer to the churchyard on the south side of the church; it is quite likely, therefore, that the friary sold off some of the cemetery to the Bridge House (Fig 20).<sup>60</sup> The open space to the west of the church was almost certainly part of the cemetery and this is illustrated as a walled garden in the early seventeenth-century 'Plat of the Graye Friers' (where it is captioned 'Doctor Doos garden'; Fig 21). Looking at the reconstructed plan (Fig 20) we can see that the original cemetery was divided into two much smaller graveyards by the fourteenth-century grant to the Bridge House, with the remaining western plot a prominent open preaching space in front of the nave (and accessible from Newgate Street), and the eastern plot a more secluded burial space. The area available for outside burial thus reduced from about a third of an acre (1500m<sup>2</sup>) to less than a sixth of an acre (600m<sup>2</sup>). The cemetery had a statue of St Francis (*ymagin[a] sancti Francisci*) by the early fifteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

### The great cloister

The principal cloister is described as 'le greate Cloyster' in the post-Dissolution grant of 1547 and this medieval name remained in use when it was the great cloister of Christ's Hospital.<sup>62</sup> The cloister is shown in some detail in the drawn survey of 1656 (Fig 22), as well as in the better-known and slightly earlier 'plat of the Graye Friers' plan (Fig 21). The cloister walk was abutted and covered over by the principal claustral buildings on three sides: the surviving medieval cloister walk with the library above can be seen in an engraving of 1825 (Fig 29; the upper floors of the west (left) side had been rebuilt by then). The walk was lit by three-light Decorated windows separated by buttresses. The south cloister walk had no claustral building behind, although it was itself a two-storey building with 'eight lyttle roomes ...

<sup>60</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7.

<sup>61</sup> Will of 1406 cited by Kingsford, 'Additional material', p. 85.

<sup>62</sup> TNA, C66/790, mm. 53 and 56, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 229–31; the exact same term and spelling is used, for example, in the seventeenth-century plan of Christ's Hospital (SBH, HC 19, f. 59).

above'.<sup>63</sup> Behind it lay a long thin yard with the north-facing buttresses of the church nave (Fig 30). In the middle of the cloister lay the grassed garth, with a single mature tree in the middle according to the 'copperplate' view (Fig 23).

**Fig 29 Grey Friars: view looking north in the great cloister of Christ's Hospital in 1825: the medieval library is on the second floor on the far side of the cloister (LMA, COLLAGE 1332)**

**Fig 30 Grey Friars: reconstructed plan of the great cloister (scale 1:500)**

According to the 1546 'particulars for grant' document, the chapter house and dormitory were situated on the east side of the cloister.<sup>64</sup> By matching the measurements given in the document (60' by 27') with the plan of 1656, we can see that the chapter house was the large north–south chamber occupying much of the ground floor of the east wing of the cloister, and it was entered by a door at its north end (Fig 30). The chapter house was built in the last quarter of the thirteenth century with a donation from the sometime City sheriff, Walter le Potter. The rest of the east wing is described as 'dyvers lytle romes above in the Dorter', presumably indicating that the once-open upper dormitory had been partitioned off into a number of private cells for the friars. The dormitory was begun in 1279 with financial support from Gregory de Rokesle, a City merchant and mayor; he also paid for the friars' beds.<sup>65</sup>

The library occupied the main part of the north wing of the cloister (Fig 29). The north wing was presumably first built in the late thirteenth century – and the original library may well have been here – but it is the fifteenth-century library that is one of the best known buildings of the friary. The wealthy City merchant and mayor Richard Whittington contributed £400 (friar Thomas Wynchelsey paid the remaining costs of £56 16s 8d) and he laid the foundation stone in October 1411. The structure of the building was finished at the end of the following year and over the next three years it was 'rendered, plastered, glazed, decorated with galleries, benches and carved woodwork, and stocked with books' (*fuit terrata dealbata vitriata ambulacionibus scannis et celatura ornata et libris instaurata*). The north wing was a three-storey building: on the ground floor was the cloister walk with narrow undercroft rooms behind. On the first floor lay the study rooms, described in 1546 as '12 litle romes on either side with partycions as mucche as lettell studies, nowe beyng decayed': this presumably means two rows of small carrels either side of a

<sup>63</sup> SBH, HC 19, f. 5.

<sup>64</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4; HC 19, f. 5.

<sup>65</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8.

corridor (the lancet windows lighting the cloister-side rooms can be seen on Fig 29). The grand library itself – some 128' (39.0m) long – occupied the second floor and was lit by twelve tall Perpendicular windows.<sup>66</sup> Whittington probably only rebuilt the actual library floor: the module of the library storey (twelve bays of about 8' 8" width, plus one unlit bay at each end behind the west and east sides of the cloister) does not match the module of the cloister walk below (*ten* bays of about 10' 5"). The 1546 survey records the internal arrangements: '28 desks and 28 doble settels all of wanscote', presumably laid out with one desk on each side of the fourteen (twelve plus two) bays. By the time of this survey, the remaining contents of this one-time centre of London's intellectual life (above, 'Introduction') could be dismissed with the following note: 'And also there be certayn olde bookes upon the saide desks'.

Tucked into the north-east corner between the library and chapter house wings lay some rooms which, by the time of the Dissolution, had been let as a private apartment furnished 'with a lytle hall and 2 chambers with chymneys, one buttry, one coolhouse, one kytchen'. The function of this apartment prior to the 1530s is not clear, although it could have been used by the Master of studies: his room or suite was refurbished in 1423.<sup>67</sup>

On the west side of the cloister lay the refectory hall, situated over the cloister walk and some long narrow ground-floor rooms. The refectory must have been the largest room in the friary (excepting the church): it was some 140' long and 36' wide and in 1546 it still had several 'settels and 9 tables all of wanscote & of joynours worke'.<sup>68</sup> The lower part of the medieval fabric survived into the nineteenth century – the medieval window openings of the ground-floor cloister walk can be seen on the left of Fig 29 (partly bricked and barred) – and the post-Dissolution 'old hall' of Christ's Hospital almost certainly incorporated much of the fabric of the medieval refectory.<sup>69</sup> According to the Register, the refectory wing was built with donations

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<sup>66</sup> This internal measurement is based on the reconstructed mapping, in particular the 'best fit' of the 1656 survey of Christ's Hospital (LMA, COLLAGE 21718); the 1546 'particulars' give the length as 129' and the breadth as 21' (SBH, HC 3, m. 4).

<sup>67</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4; BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 326v–7 [Grey Friars Register, foundation of library], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 170–1.

<sup>68</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4.

<sup>69</sup> W. Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital* (London: W. Pickering, 1834), p. 347; E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (London: Methuen, 1901), plate in between pp. 50–1.

from Bartholomew de Castro, an alderman and wool merchant, probably in the last quarter of the thirteenth or the early fourteenth century (he died before 1312).<sup>70</sup>

### **The little cloister**

The little cloister, like the great cloister, is included in the 1546 ‘particulars’ but it is not shown in the 1656 Christ Church survey, only in the less detailed St Bartholomew’s plan. Furthermore, identifying the various buildings is rendered harder by the ambiguities inherent in the 1546 document: reference to the situation of a particular building as being on the west or the east side of the cloister is not as clear as it should be given that the two cloisters are side by side (the east side of the little cloister is, in effect, the west side of the great cloister).<sup>71</sup> The cloister walk of the little cloister enclosed a central garth and was a vaulted corridor covered by the claustral buildings: its buttresses are illustrated on the seventeenth-century ‘Plat of the Graye Friars’ and are referred to in a document of the 1540s.<sup>72</sup>

The friary kitchen was a large building on the north side of the little cloister (Fig 31). There is, unfortunately, little evidence for the building: it is, rather unhelpfully, described simply as ‘the comen kytchen also decayed’ in the 1546 particulars. A plan of the St Bartholomew’s precinct in the early seventeenth century includes a north-facing elevation of the city wall; the former Grey Friars kitchen block (by then part of Christ’s Hospital) can be seen protruding above the city wall. The kitchen wing would therefore have been two storeys high with garret rooms above. The kitchen had its own yard to the north and one of the gardens in the east of the precinct would have served as the kitchen garden. The friary buttery lay just east of the kitchen. A dining parlour was added in the first half of the fourteenth century: a separate dining room without the dietary restrictions imposed on the meat-free refectory was no doubt a popular addition, to this and many other monastic houses.<sup>73</sup> Its location cannot be fixed but a likely spot is between the kitchen and the refectory proper (Fig 31).

<sup>70</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8; Röhrkasten, pp. 422–3.

<sup>71</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4 [1546 particulars]; LMA, COLLAGE 21718 [1656 survey]; SBH, HC 19, f. 59 [early seventeenth-century plan].

<sup>72</sup> TNA, STAC 3/4/49.

<sup>73</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 323 [Grey Friars Register, list of donations towards infirmary and school], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 161–2; B. F. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: the Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 41–2.

**Fig 31 Grey Friars: reconstructed plan of the little cloister (scale 1:500)**

On the east side of the cloister lay a wing described in another post-Dissolution document as the ‘hall called the playsterers hall’.<sup>74</sup> This must have been leased to the Plaisterers’ Company, who were first incorporated in 1502 and who did not acquire their own building until the late 1540s.<sup>75</sup> The hall and its kitchen occupied the first floor and had a buttery and two cellars below, with at least one garret room above. An ‘old auncient paire of staires made of free stone’ allowed access to the hall from the south-east corner of the cloister.<sup>76</sup> There was a small garden separating the hall from the refectory to the east: the garden is not specified in any of the post-Dissolution grants (it is illustrated on the ‘Plat of the Graye Friers’ plan) but it may well have been part of the Playsterers’ hall property.

The south side of the cloister had several separate buildings rather than a single claustral range. In the south-east corner lay a large house complete with its own small chapel and altar, which was probably used by the friary’s guardian or the provincial prior. A passage ran through the house giving access to the main cloister (‘the waie in to S cloyster’ on Fig 21). Parts of the house are described in a legal case of the late 1540s (when there was a dispute between its then owner and the owner of Plaisterers’ hall); the northern part was separately leased by the friary to Lady Rose Walloppe and it seems to have continued under Plaisterers’ hall.<sup>77</sup> It had a ‘kychyn, entre, parlar, with the aulter there, the old garett above the said parlar, a Chamber called a study with the lead above, and the stayers lying within the precincte of the Grey frieres agaynst the second cloyster’. There was also a cellar, perhaps underneath Plaisterers’ hall.<sup>78</sup> The seventeenth-century ‘Plat of the Graye Friers’ shows two other buildings on the south side of the little cloister and these were, by the sixteenth century, rented tenements (below, ‘The rented tenements’).

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<sup>74</sup> TNA, E315/191, f. 60 [particulars]; E315/236, f. 7 [grant].

<sup>75</sup> W. C. Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London: Their Origin, Character, Development, and Social and Political Importance* (London: Sonnenschein, 1892), pp. 590–3.

<sup>76</sup> TNA, STAC 3/4/49.

<sup>77</sup> The house is referred to as ‘Doctur Vaughans Lodgyng’ in a legal case of 1545, with William Vaughan being described as a deceased clerk; two ex-friars were questioned about the status of the house: TNA, E321/12/35; E321/37/18; STAC 3/4/49. However, no guardian or provincial prior called William Vaughan has been traced.

<sup>78</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 62.

### The infirmary court

On the west side of the little cloister lay the infirmary, which had its own courtyard and garden behind. The infirmary can be identified thanks to a post-Dissolution lease of 1539 which names the purchaser as William Bolton; fortunately for us the garden on the west side of the little cloister has the caption ‘Boltons Garden now Mallowes’ on the early seventeenth-century ‘Plat of the Graye Friars’ (Fig 21).<sup>79</sup> With further good fortune, a seventeenth-century drawn survey of the building survives (presumably once attached to a lease), which includes details such as windows, fireplaces and doors (Fig 32).<sup>80</sup> The Grey Friars Register records a donation from Peter de Elilant in the 1230s towards the construction of the original infirmary, and from Walter le Potter around the 1270s, presumably for its enlargement or replacement. Fifty or so years later, friar Richard Knotte paid for the extension of the infirmary with an adjacent *hospicium*.<sup>81</sup> While recognising that many of the internal features shown on the seventeenth-century survey are, of course, post-Dissolution, the building appears to be medieval in origin, judging by the large mullions and the thickness of the walls. It is suggested here that the eastern part of the building – forming the west wing of the little cloister – is the 1270s infirmary, with the southern wing forming the fourteenth-century *hospicium* (the first infirmary of the 1230s was probably situated further east, closer to the original church). This interpretation is illustrated in Fig 33, which also shows a single surviving fragment of deep medieval foundation recorded on site KEW98. The building sailed over the cloister walk on the east side, with smaller parlour and service rooms (including a cellar) to the west; the main infirmary hall would have been on the first floor. The chimneys could have been a late medieval addition.

We rarely learn the names of the obedientaries who managed the various friary buildings but in a letter of 1534, friar Feeld is described as the infirmarer.<sup>82</sup>

**Fig 32 Grey Friars: early seventeenth-century plan of the infirmary (Nomura, unnumbered loose plan)**

<sup>79</sup> TNA, E315/233, ff. 338v–9.

<sup>80</sup> Nomura, loose plan in private collection. The lease to which it was attached may well be Guildhall Library (GL), MS 39254 (dated 1608) or MS 39246 (dated 1639), both of which were donated to the library by Nomura.

<sup>81</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 415, 417–8; BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322 [Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings] and f. 323 [list of donations towards infirmary and school], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8, 161–2.

<sup>82</sup> TNA, SP1/86, f. 91, no. 91.

**Fig 33 Grey Friars: reconstructed plan of the medieval infirmary court, largely based on seventeenth-century plan (Fig 32) (scale 1:500)**

### **The service court**

In the south-west corner of the precinct, fronting onto Newgate, lay the friary's service court with a bake-house, brew-house and mill-house. The three buildings are illustrated and identified on the seventeenth-century 'Plat of the Graye Friers' plan (Fig 21) and are also documented in post-Dissolution grants. A number of detailed measurements of the buildings are given on the plan, as well as in later leases and sale documents (Fig 34).<sup>83</sup> The bake-house is first documented in 1421, when it was the subject of legal action in the Mayor's Court: 'all the sheds in front of the bake-house of Grey Friars' ('toutz les scheddes devant la pestrine dez freres menours') were said to be causing a public nuisance. The bake-house seems, therefore, to have been in the same location at this early stage, close to the friary gate on Newgate Street.<sup>84</sup> The bake-house is illustrated as a generic two-storey building on the 'Plat of the Graye Friers' and, unfortunately, we have little further detail on its layout or construction. Archaeological excavation in the King Edwards Buildings site (KEW98) found a stone-lined late medieval latrine here; this could well have been a garderobe pit at the rear of the bake-house, thus indicating the depth of the building back from the street frontage (Fig 34). Part of the remarkably well-preserved bake-house and brew-house complex of Holywell priory has recently been excavated and should provide useful information on the layout and fittings of these facilities in London monastic houses.<sup>85</sup>

**Fig 34 Grey Friars: reconstructed map of the service court (scale 1:500)**

To the rear of the bake-house lay the friary mill, labelled 'mille howse' on the seventeenth-century plan and described as a *domu[s] molendinari[a] vocata a milhowse* in a post-Dissolution lease of 1540.<sup>86</sup> At this distance from the Thames (some 500m) it can hardly have been a tide mill, nor could the friary's piped water supply have been anywhere near powerful enough to run a water mill, and so it was presumably a horse-mill or even a windmill. The latter, particularly the post-mill

<sup>83</sup> SBH, HC 1/3907 [1609 sale of brew-house tenement with dimensions]; HC 1/3903 [1584 lease of gatehouse with internal dimensions]; other dimensions shown on Fig 34 are noted on the 'Plat of the Graye Friers' plan (Fig 21).

<sup>84</sup> LMA, CLA/024/01/02/51 (Plea and Memoranda Roll A 50), m. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Information from David Saxby, Museum of London Archaeology. The site was excavated in August 2010.

<sup>86</sup> TNA, E315/22, ff. 91v–92.

type, must have been relatively common around the fringes of late medieval London and several are illustrated on the ‘copperplate’ and ‘Agas’ maps of the 1550s and ‘60s.<sup>87</sup>

On the east side of the bake-house lay the friary’s brew-house. Again, it would be good to know more of the layout and workings of the brew-house but little detail has survived. The brew-house tenement was described in c. 1550 as ‘twoo houses or tenementes containyng certain chambris and a brewing west wharde of the tenement, with also certaine chambris and schoppis or sheddis’, thus fixing the location of the actual brew-house as situated on the west of the property, adjacent to the bake-house.<sup>88</sup> The brew-house was a timber-framed rather than masonry building: viewers’ certificates of 1547 and 1549 refer to the repair of the ‘principalls’ (main structural timbers) and describe the kitchen chimney and the latrine.<sup>89</sup> An investigation into alleged slander at the friary just before the Dissolution reveals, incidentally, the name of the brewer, William Pykering, ‘bruer servant to the house or companye of grae friers in London’ (he was called to give evidence).<sup>90</sup>

### **The friary gardens**

The friary had quite extensive gardens within the precinct, just over an acre in total (0.4ha), most of which lay on the east side of Stinking Lane. We have little information on their use but, in a court case of 1550, a former friar gave evidence and recalled that ‘one Walter Roben beyng a fryer of the seid hows was keper of the seid garden duryng the seid 30 yeres’ (i.e. the thirty years prior to the Dissolution).<sup>91</sup> This particular garden, in the north-east of the precinct, seems only to have been leased from the City in the sixteenth century and it may therefore indicate a late expansion of the friary precinct. At least three garden plots had been leased out to private tenants before the Dissolution and the seventeenth-century ‘Plat of the Graye Friers’ shows a number of such plots (by then owned and leased out by Christ’s

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<sup>87</sup> *The Archaeology of Greater London: An Assessment of Archaeological Evidence for Human Presence in the Area Now Covered by Greater London*, ed. by T. Brigham and others (London: Museum of London, 2000), p. 228.

<sup>88</sup> TNA, C1/1275/26.

<sup>89</sup> *London viewers and their certificates, 1508–1558: Certificates of the sworn viewers of the City of London*, ed. by J. S. Loengard, London Record Society, 26 (London: London Record Society, 1989), pp. 85–6, 98 (nos 206, 244).

<sup>90</sup> TNA, E36/120, f. 42.

<sup>91</sup> TNA, E321/46/51.



Hospital), surrounded by brick walls and laid out with paths and knots (Fig 21).<sup>92</sup> These garden plots have been reconstructed in Fig 35 using the more accurate surveying of the 1656 plan (Fig 22).

**Fig 35 Grey Friars: plan showing the gardens and tenements in the east of the precinct (scale 1:500)**

A medieval well in one of the gardens was archaeologically excavated (at site POM79) and formed the subject of a detailed research and publication programme.<sup>93</sup> The chalk-lined well had gone out of use and had been filled with rubbish shortly before the Dissolution, in c. 1500. The authors looked at the animal bones discarded in the well and drew quite detailed inferences about monastic diet shortly before the Dissolution. They noted the dominance of cattle bones and suggested that this represented a monastic diet high in relatively cheap cuts of beef and topped up with ordinary fish such as herring and eel, and trapped or purchased birds like jackdaw. While the scientific analysis and dietary interpretation is clearly sound, the well was situated about two hundred yards' walk (185m) from the friary kitchen – rather a long way to carry a bucket of rubbish – and the food waste is almost certainly nothing to do with the friary kitchen or refectory. Nearly a century earlier the Franciscan guardian had complained to the mayor about waste from the meat shambles being dumped at this end of the friary and it seems more likely that the material in our well came from a fast-food cook-shop by the market (fifty yards away) or from a tenement just inside or outside the friary precinct.<sup>94</sup>

### **The rented tenements**

Like all London's monastic houses, Grey Friars rented out some tenements within its precinct, although rather fewer than the other friaries. This could be a reflection of the Order's continuing attachment to the ideals of poverty established by their saintly founder. It is certainly interesting to note that, at least for the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century land donations to the London house, the recipient was usually not the house itself but the mayor and commonalty of London, who were to hold the land

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<sup>92</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 62.

<sup>93</sup> P. Armitage and B. West, 'Faunal Evidence from a Late Medieval Garden Well of the Greyfriars, London', *TLAMAS*, 36 (1985), 107–36.

<sup>94</sup> *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, iv, pp. 147–8 [Mayor's Court case of 1422].

on trust for the house.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, in the fourteenth century the friary actually relinquished a strip of land between the church and Newgate Street to the Bridge House estate, who administered London Bridge. Although we do not know what financial benefits the friary received in return for this deal, it seems likely that the other London friaries would simply have developed the land themselves and rented out their own tenements.

By the time of the Dissolution, the total income raised from rents was only £23 0s 8d, a fifth that of Black Friars (the tenements are tabulated on Table 2 in Appendix 1 and their location is illustrated on Fig 20). Only two pre-Dissolution leases have been traced: one for the room above the gatehouse to a certain William and his wife Elizabeth in 1440 (for which Elizabeth had to wash the altar cloths, but for which no rent was payable), and a second of a garden in 1531 to Nicholas Pynchyn and his wife Agnes (who rented an adjacent house on Newgate Street from the Bridge House estate). The highest ranking tenant was the widowed Lady Rose Wallop, probably a member of the Wallop family of Hampshire gentry, at least two of whom served in Henry's administration.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 317–22 [Grey Friars Register, summary of early deeds], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 146–57.

<sup>96</sup> A. Bryson, 'Wallop, Sir John (*b.* before 1492, *d.* 1551)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28581>> [accessed 17 September 2010].

### ***Grey Friars after the Dissolution***

On 12 November 1538 the Franciscan guardian Thomas Chapman – three months after he had written to the archbishop of Canterbury’s steward enthusing that ‘we all long to change our coats’ – signed the surrender document and was finally able to relinquish his friar’s habit.<sup>97</sup> John Wyseman, a naval commander, was appointed temporary guardian of the bulk of the inner precinct buildings, for which he paid a reduced rent of £3 13s 4d.<sup>98</sup> The existing lay tenants continued to live in their houses, some going on to buy their properties, but the structures of ownership began to change in the 1540s as the Crown sold life leases and freeholds to raise cash. The bulk of the friary was acquired by Christ’s Hospital and we will examine that institution first before turning to the other post-Dissolution landowners. The various freehold sales of the 1540s are mapped on Fig 36.

**Fig 36 Map showing the properties in Grey Friars sold by the Crown in the 1540s (scale 1:1000)**

#### **Christ’s Hospital**

Christ’s Hospital was a civic orphanage and poor-school, whose first intake of children arrived in late 1552, although the institution had been planned for nearly a decade before this. Against a background of rising population (with a concomitant increase in poverty and vagrancy), and with the closure of London’s monastic institutions in the late 1530s (the city’s leading charitable providers), both Crown and City perceived a pressing need for new forms of charitable intervention. The new royal hospitals have been described as a targeted ‘mechanism for social change through education and hard work’, created by a ‘fortunate convergence of Protestant piety and efficient municipal administration’.<sup>99</sup> With an explicit division into the worthy and unworthy poor, Bridewell was set up as a workhouse to provide a useful social outlet for able-bodied beggars and prostitutes; at the more ‘worthy’ end of the spectrum, St Thomas’ was to look after widows, the sick and disabled, and Christ’s Hospital to educate and house orphans and poor children. Slightly earlier, the monastic hospital of St Bartholomew’s had been converted into a secular institution.

<sup>97</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xiii (2), no. 251.

<sup>98</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 62.

<sup>99</sup> C. K. Manziane, *Christ’s Hospital of London, 1552–1598: “a Passing Deed of Pity”* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1995), pp. 9–30 (quotations from pp. 23–4).

The lands for these institutions were surveyed and then granted by the Crown to the City in late 1546.<sup>100</sup> For another five years the old Franciscan cloisters remained largely silent but in 1552 the former mayor Sir Richard Dodd and a committee of aldermen and citizens began fundraising, collecting over £6000 in a year and a half. The repairs and adaptations began in that spring and the first 340 boys and girls were welcomed in November. Right at the end of Edward VI's reign, in June 1553, the official Letters Patent establishing the new Christ's Hospital were sealed.<sup>101</sup>

The new hospital was granted an acre of the friary (0.4ha) – comprising the majority of the two cloisters – but the governors clearly had ambitions to increase the size of their institution. By buying and being given other parcels of friary land, they eventually acquired the majority of the old monastic precinct (Fig 37). The alderman Sir Martin Bowes granted them an old friary garden in 1565 (which he must have bought from Thomas Bochier or a later owner) and the governors seem to have bought the former infirmary court and another small property from the property speculators Bochier and Hugh Losse. Losse's superior at the Court of Augmentations, Edward North (in partnership with another reforming administrator, John Williams) had also bought two large parcels on the east of the friary which were duly acquired by Christ's Hospital (although exactly when is unclear).<sup>102</sup> By about 1600, if not much earlier, the school had a precinct of some 1¾ acres (0.7ha), together with another acre of land (0.4ha) to the east on which they built tenements to rent.

**Fig 37 Greyfriars: map showing the post-Dissolution properties acquired by Christ's Hospital (scale 1:1000)**

While there seems to be little surviving information on just how and when the hospital converted the friary buildings, we can now understand a little more of the layout of the early hospital. Using two seventeenth-century surveys (Fig 21 Fig 22) and a more schematic plan of the early seventeenth century (Fig 38) we can understand the function of the majority of the hospital buildings – at least at ground-

<sup>100</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4; HC 19, ff. 4v–5v [particulars for grant, damaged original and later copy]; TNA, C66/790, mm. 53 and 56 [grant].

<sup>101</sup> Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 30–3; Trollope, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 34–41.

<sup>102</sup> Martin Bowes' grant is the only sale of property to the hospital that has been traced: GL, MS 12949. The other parts of their lands can, however, be mapped with some precision thanks to a plan of 1656 (Fig 22). The post-Dissolution grants to the original purchasers (not including the foundation grant, cited in footnote 100) are: TNA, C66/745, mm. 12–13 [Bochier]; C66/757, m. 6 [Losse and Bochier]; C66/720, mm. 29–30 [Williams and North].

floor level – in the early seventeenth century and perhaps in the century before. A reconstructed ground-floor plan is shown in Fig 39. The school kept the basic arrangement of the friary, with the main buildings fronting onto the old great cloister, including the great hall or dining hall to the west, the library and school rooms to the north, and dormitory rooms over a large grammar schoolroom to the east. To the west, the service buildings remained grouped around the little cloister, although a new infirmary seems to have been built (perhaps because the old monastic infirmary was not acquired until later in the sixteenth century). The school built several new buildings in the former gardens to the east of the cloister, the majority of which seem to have been for staff accommodation. Access to the school was through the old monastic gatehouse to the south-west, which led into a yard known as ‘Graye Friers’, or from the south-east via Stinking Lane, now known as ‘Fowle Lane’.

**Fig 38 Greyfriars: plan of Christ’s Hospital in the early seventeenth century (GL, MS 22637/02)**

**Fig 39 Greyfriars: reconstructed map showing the principal school buildings of Christ’s Hospital in the late sixteenth century (scale 1:500)**

### **Christ Church**

The former friary church was presumably looked after by the caretaker John Wyseman, along with the cloister buildings. Stow records how the old church was ‘used as a Store house of goods, taken prises from the French’, presumably in 1544 when the Austin Friars church was similarly used.<sup>103</sup> The church was granted to the City for use as a parish church at the end of 1546: it was to be called ‘the church of Christ within Newgate’ (*ecclesi[a] Christi infra Newgate*), amalgamating the old parishes of St Nicholas and St Audoen, and including the intra-mural land of St Sepulchre, as well as the former Grey Friars precinct. Thomas Byrkehed was to be the first vicar and the records of St Bartholomew make it clear that this institution held the advowson of the new parish.<sup>104</sup> The earliest extant churchwardens’ accounts cover the period September 1546 to September 1548 but the account opens with the substantial sum of £16 3s 7½d ‘retheyned of their predecessors’, i.e. brought forward from an earlier account; Stow states that the re-opening of the church took place on 3

<sup>103</sup> Stow, i, 318; *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 4, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1858 and 1882), ii, 208.

<sup>104</sup> TNA, C66/790, mm. 53, 56, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 229–31. The Board of Governors of St Bartholomew’s Hospital had on occasion to make decisions concerning Christ Church: see SBH, HC 27/4.

January 1546.<sup>105</sup> In the opposite manner to Austin Friars, where the nave became the Dutch Church, here it was the choir that was converted to the new parish church. Most of the monuments were sold and the nave was rented out: on the 1656 plan the nave is marked ‘old church’ and there is a wall – apparently the east side of the old ‘walking space’ – dividing the former church space from the parish church. It seems likely that the nave roof had been taken down by then, leaving a large walled churchyard: this may be what was meant by the phrase ‘the lower church of Christs Church’, used in 1669 to describe this Fire-damaged property.<sup>106</sup>

### **Gates and Thorogood property in former service court**

John Gates and Thomas Thorogood were granted the majority of the former service court in 1544, as part of a large bundle of London ex-monastic properties for which they paid the Crown the very large sum of £1263 10s 4d.<sup>107</sup> They were clearly only interested in the various properties as a bundle of rented tenements for immediate resale; they probably did not have £1200 cash to give the Crown. In normal circumstances it would be virtually impossible to track the subsequent sales of these tenements but a Chancery case of the late 1540s reveals that the Grey Friars properties changed hands several times in just three or four years. Gates and Thorogood sold the freehold of part of their Grey Friars bundle to Richard Tredrey (who already had the right to its rental income for life) who then sold it on to John Wylbrokes and a Mr Betenson, from whom John Vandernoott bought it by 1547.<sup>108</sup> Another of Gates and Thorogood’s Grey Friars tenements – the brew-house – ended up in the ownership of St Bartholomew’s Hospital by 1555.<sup>109</sup>

### **Thomas Percy’s property (the former guardian’s house)**

Thomas Persse or Percy bought a bundle of life-grants of ex-monastic property in 1544, including the former guardian’s house in Grey Friars (he was, therefore, the freeholder, even if someone else had the right through a life-grant to collect the tenant’s rent).<sup>110</sup> Like Gates and Thorogood, Percy probably did not have the £138 6s

<sup>105</sup> SBH, HA 1/1, f. 96; Stow, i, 318.

<sup>106</sup> J. G. Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 53 (London: Camden Society, 1852), p. 54, xviii; Mills and Oliver, iii, 156v.

<sup>107</sup> TNA, E318/11/471, mm. 6–7 and 11 [particulars for grant]; C66/767, mm. 6–7 [grant].

<sup>108</sup> TNA, C1/1165/34–36 [Chancery case]; E315/235, f. 69 [life grant to Tredrey].

<sup>109</sup> SBH, HC 1/3896.

<sup>110</sup> TNA, C66/757, m. 21.

8d that he paid for the properties in cash, and he may have sold most of them straight away. Thanks to the rather litigious nature of the purchaser, John Vandernoot (who also bought some of the Gates and Thorogood property), we know that Percy had sold the Grey Friars house by 1545.<sup>111</sup> Vandernoot and his family lived in the house for some years: nearly a decade later he was involved in another court case, this time against the civic authorities. Vandernoot and some City workmen and officers had come to blows when the men were converting part of the old friary into Christ's Hospital in 1552. Vandernoot alleged that the City men had 'with force and armes brake down a gate standing upon the freholde of your poor supplicant, and did carrie the same unlauffullie awaie'; the City men replied that they had only wanted to whitewash a wall and so had temporarily taken down Vandernoot's sign. Further accusations and counter-accusations flew: he alleged that his wife had been beaten 'blake and blew' but an officer explained that she had tried to pull his ladder from under him when he was whitewashing the wall! He had, therefore, 'losed her handes & thruste her from hym as lauffull was for hym to do'.<sup>112</sup> It is hard now to be certain of the rights and wrongs of the case but we might note that Vandernoot was involved in a series of other disputes with neighbours: with Hugh Willoughby concerning access to Rose Wallop's old apartment to the north, with William Haselwood and Thomas Ayer concerning the service court properties, as well as with Hugh Losse concerning the old brew-house.<sup>113</sup> Vandernoot was clearly not the ideal neighbour.

### **Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier's property**

Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier bought a bundle of ex-monastic properties in 1544 including nine tenements or gardens scattered within the Grey Friars precinct (Fig 36; one of the bundles was in both their names and the other just in Bochier's).<sup>114</sup> The total price they paid was just under £1664 and, again, the purchase appears to have been property speculation for quick profit. Only one sale document has been traced and, in this, they sold the main gatehouse property to John Norrys the year

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<sup>111</sup> TNA, E321/12/35; E321/37/18.

<sup>112</sup> TNA, STAC 3/1/83.

<sup>113</sup> TNA, E321/12/35; E321/37/18; STAC 3/4/49 [case concerning Willoughby]; C1/1165/34–36; C1/1185/47 [vs Haselwood and Ayer]; C1/1244/50; C1/1275/26–29; C1/1275/30–32 [vs Hugh Losse].

<sup>114</sup> TNA, E318/15/730, mm. 5, 7 [particulars]; C66/757, m. 6 [grant to Losse and Bochier]; E318/5/137, mm. 11, 13 [particulars]; C66/745, mm. 12–13 [grant to Bochier].

after they bought it.<sup>115</sup> The gatehouse was sold to St Bartholomew's Hospital for £110 in 1571 and it became part of their rental portfolio.<sup>116</sup>

### **Other properties**

John Williams and Edward North purchased the eastern part of the precinct in 1543 and seem to have sold it to Christ's Hospital (above; 'Christ's Hospital'). The last ex-friary property to be dealt with is the garden in the north-east corner of the precinct (Fig 36). In a court case of 1550 it is described as having been leased by the City to the friary, although by then the Earl of Northumberland was claiming the land.<sup>117</sup> It was in private hands by the mid-seventeenth century when it was sold for £360.<sup>118</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This study of the topography of the Franciscan friary has built on earlier work by a number of researchers. The new reconstruction of the church of Grey Friars (Fig 28) is a little more accurate than earlier attempts but it does not radically revise the striking work by E. B. S. Shepherd and Charles Kingsford. However, this chapter's analysis of the medieval friary, while building on the work of Marjorie Honeybourne, has led to a more accurate and complete reconstruction of the whole friary precinct (Fig 20), helped in no small part by the discovery of an unpublished plan of the precinct of Christ's Hospital (Fig 22). Other 'lost' medieval buildings such the infirmary have been reconstructed here for the first time (Fig 33). The friary was compact and rather crowded compared to the other London friaries, with the main buildings tightly packed in the western half of the precinct. Those buildings were, however, some of the largest in London: a huge church that must have been one of the gems of London Decorated architecture and some claustral buildings designed on a similarly grand scale, particularly the library of 1411–14 and, a century earlier, the great refectory. In addition to this architectural splendour – perhaps somewhat at odds with the spirit of their founder's teaching – the Franciscans had enough space at their disposal to follow the monastic tradition of open space and gardening: the east of their valuable urban landholding was reserved for 1½ acres (0.6ha) of gardens. Grey Friars was the only London friary where some

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<sup>115</sup> SBH, HC 1/3895.

<sup>116</sup> SBH, HC 1/3897, 3898, 3899 and 3900.

<sup>117</sup> TNA, E321/46/51.

<sup>118</sup> GL, MS 39192.



form of communal life continued after the Dissolution: although the friars themselves left in 1538, they were soon replaced by the poor scholars and orphans of Christ's Hospital and this study has also been able to reconstruct the layout and extent of the sixteenth-century school (Fig 39).

## Chapter 4: White Friars

### *Introduction*

The dispersal of Carmelite hermits from the Holy Land – the result of the gradual Mamluk reconquest of the Crusader kingdom of Outremer – allowed the formation of new Carmelite provinces in Cyprus, Sicily and England, the latter in 1242.<sup>1</sup> After founding rural hermitages in Hulne and Aylesford, the Order set up its first urban friary in England, on land between Westminster and London, just south of Fleet Street. This probably took place in the late 1240s, on a parcel of land donated, or at least paid for, by Sir Richard de Grey.<sup>2</sup> It was situated by the Thames, a short distance to the west of its confluence with the River Fleet, and lay immediately east of the house of the Knights Templar. The Carmelites did not at this stage own the whole block of land down to the river bank and they consolidated and expanded their precinct over the next century and a half, culminating in a major project of land reclamation from the Thames at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> By the early part of that century there were, at times, up to eighty friars living in the house, although the number was usually about sixty. Unusually among London's monastic houses, the numbers seem to have recovered quickly after the Black Death with seventy-eight friars identified here at the end of the century. By the fifteenth century the priory may even have overtaken the Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian houses in terms of the numbers of brethren, although not in income. Even though the numbers had dropped to twenty-nine friars by the early sixteenth century, this is still a fairly respectable figure compared to the other London convents at that time.<sup>4</sup>

The Fleet Street convent was the head of one of the English order's four geographical 'distinctions' (the others being Oxford, Norwich and York) and it was

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<sup>1</sup> F. Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Monastic Orders (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 14–15.

<sup>2</sup> J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 51–2 (hereafter cited as 'Röhrkasten'). Note that both Röhrkasten and Richard Copley suggest this slightly later foundation date, arguing that the date of 1241 given by John Bale is too early: R. Copley, 'The Medieval Carmelite Priory at London, a Chronology' (London: unpublished typescript, 2008), pp. 3–4.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 51–4, 229, 243, 294, 367, 374, 404. Archaeological evidence for this land reclamation was found at site WFT99.

<sup>4</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 82–3, 243–5; V. Davis, 'Mendicants in London in the Reign of Richard II', *London Journal*, 25.2 (2000), 1–12 (pp. 7–9); Copley, 'Chronology', pp. 11–17.

in effect the senior Carmelite house in England as it housed the Order's provincial governor as well as the principal school or *studium generale*, which sent Carmelite students to the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Paris, and received visiting friars from the continent (with foreign friars probably accounting for over a quarter of the London house). The intellectual and spiritual life of the house clearly necessitated a substantial holding of books and the London library seems to have been impressive, both in terms of the number of books held and the size of the building.<sup>5</sup>

The Carmelites never managed to gain the levels of royal support enjoyed by the Dominicans, nor aristocratic support on a par with the Franciscan nunnery of the Minoreesses, but on several occasions they benefited from substantial donations of land and money, particularly in the early years of the house. They also seem to have had consistent good relations with, and help from, London citizens. Citizens gave donations of money, had fraternities based at the convent and at least three guilds actively supported the house.<sup>6</sup> The Carmelites' income from bequests and payments for posthumous spiritual services was broadly comparable with Grey Friars and Austin Friars and was greater than that of the Crossed Friars (at least before the latter's sixteenth-century revival). The convent's churchyard was also a popular choice of burial location, and the evidence of wills shows that large numbers of ordinary Londoners chose to be buried here, in addition to members of the merchant elite and aristocracy whose presence here is evidenced by the lists of burial monuments made in the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

The Carmelites did not have nearly the same degree of involvement in national politics as the Dominicans, although senior White friars were on occasion involved in events such as John Latimer's strange role in a plot against John of Gaunt in 1384, or Thomas Netter's diplomatic mission to the Baltic in 1419. The friary housed the Chancery and royal council on several occasions in the fourteenth century, although this convent was not used as an administrative centre nearly as often as the Black

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<sup>5</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 484, 536; K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990), pp. 177–88.

<sup>6</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 431–46, 473–4; Copsey, 'Chronology', p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 264–73, 466–70.

Friars (which was also easily accessible by river).<sup>8</sup> Two Carmelites also played a role in the theological clash of the fifteenth century between the London mendicants and the secular church concerning poverty and the payment of tithes. However, the relations between the mendicants and the secular clergy were generally much more harmonious (as evidenced by the bequests of London clergy to mendicant houses) and the Carmelites certainly played an important role in preaching to, and receiving confession from, Londoners.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1530s the Carmelites seemed to accept the rapid and perhaps conflicting developments of the day, acceding to the royal supremacy in 1534, while continuing to participate in traditional ceremonies and occasions such as royal processions. The house was dissolved on 10 November 1538, in an agreement signed by the prior, John Gybbes, and twelve friars in the presence of the royal commissioner, Thomas Legh.<sup>10</sup> After the Dissolution, the house was divided into several property blocks in a series of royal grants, most of which date to the years 1540–5. These property blocks were then developed and subdivided into rented tenements.

### **Sources**

The majority of the surviving records relate to two post-Dissolution private properties in the former friary: the estate of the Morrison/Capel family (whose archive was donated to the British Museum in the early twentieth century) and the smaller estate owned by the Clothworkers' Company. A nineteenth-century copy of an early seventeenth-century plan of the Morrison/Capel estate is very valuable evidence for the layout of the friary cloister.<sup>11</sup> Apart from a few pre-Dissolution leases that were copied into the records of the Court of Augmentations, the medieval

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<sup>8</sup> J. Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses of the Mendicant Priors of Medieval London', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by P. Trio and M. de Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 135–51.

<sup>9</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 310–13, 324–30, 538–9, 545–6; C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), p. 130.

<sup>10</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 566; Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 131; *Letters and Papers*, xiii (2), no. 788.

<sup>11</sup> The copy of a now-lost seventeenth-century estate map, probably of c. 1627, is British Library (BL), Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no.104. The original survey was listed in the British Museum catalogue (*Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum*, ed. by J. Holmes and F. Madden, 2 vols (London: British Museum, 1844) [pasted slip in vol. ii facing p. 25 in British Library Department of Maps copy]). However, it cannot now be traced in the British Library (Departments of Maps and Manuscripts), nor in the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings). I am grateful to Peter Barber (BL, Department of Maps) and Kim Sloan (BM, Department of Prints and Drawings) for their efforts, so far unsuccessful, to track down the original.

friary remains poorly documented. The area of the White Friars precinct has seen some archaeological excavation; the various sites are illustrated on Fig 40 and are individually listed in the appendix. In addition to various archaeological investigations of parts of the former church, the most impressive discovery occurred at the end of the nineteenth century when a complete vaulted undercroft – almost certainly part of the prior’s house – was discovered under Britton’s Court; the chamber was preserved and has been re-investigated on a number of occasions, most recently in the 1980s when it was physically lifted up and put back during the construction of the new building!<sup>12</sup>

**Fig 40 Map showing location of archaeological sites in White Friars (scale 1:1250)**

### ***The medieval friary***

#### **The precinct and gates**

The Carmelites enlarged their precinct in the fourteenth century, both by grants of new land and by land reclamation from the Thames. Archaeological excavations at Tudor Street (site WFT99) revealed two successive fourteenth-century waterfronts that demonstrate this process of reclamation and expansion (Fig 41). In both cases a new stone river wall was built out on the river foreshore and large amounts of earth and refuse were dumped between the old and new waterfronts to create the newly reclaimed land. The waterfronts were able to be dated quite closely thanks to the pottery and other finds forming a closely datable assemblage. The first recorded extension seems to have taken place in the mid-fourteenth century, around the time that the friary was granted Crokers Lane by the City (1349) and the strip of land to the west by Hugh Courtenay (1350).<sup>13</sup> Adding the westward and southward expansions together, we can see that the area of the friary was thus increased from 1.3ha (3¼ acres) to 1.6ha (4 acres), an increase of about 18%. The second expansion took place at the end of the fourteenth century: two royal grants of 1396 licensed the friary to reclaim 200’ from the Thames and the archaeological evidence of a new

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<sup>12</sup> The undercroft therefore forms part of two archaeological sites in the catalogue of sources: NOW87 and PRG112.

<sup>13</sup> Pre-Construct Archaeology, site WFT99, D. Killock, ‘An archaeological excavation at Whitefriars, City of London’ (unpublished Pre-Construct Archaeology report, 2002); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1348–1350*, pp. 298, 512.

stone river wall confirms this (Fig 41).<sup>14</sup> This time the surface area of the precinct was enlarged by a third (34%) to 2.1ha (5¼ acres).

**Fig 41 Map showing the expansion of the White Friars precinct in the fourteenth century (scale 1:1250)**

The enlarged medieval precinct was accessed by means of three land gates and one water gate (Fig 42). Road access from Fleet Street was through the north-western gate, referred to as ‘Sergeanntes Ingate’ in 1541, or through the north-eastern gate, still known as ‘whitefryers gate’ in the seventeenth century. There was also a gate on Water Lane, called simply ‘le estgate’ in 1541.<sup>15</sup> The friary’s water stair is probably the one shown at the south end of Water Lane as ‘White Fryers stayers’ on Leeke’s plan of 1666.<sup>16</sup> A second water stair, perhaps in the garden to the east, was built shortly before Dissolution: an agreement of 1527 between the prior and the Countess of Kent permitted her to insert an opening in the stone wall on the waterfront ‘as shalbe convenient for a dore to be opened and closed at the pleasure of the same Countes and hir assignes and there to make a staire in to the water’.<sup>17</sup>

**Fig 42 Map reconstructing the medieval precinct of White Friars (scale 1:1000)**

### The church

The church of White Friars was the product of three, conceivably four, bouts of construction over three centuries. When the Carmelites arrived in c. 1250 one of their first tasks would have been to build a small chapel for their new precinct and it is possible that traces of this early chapel were preserved in the later fabric. In the 1260s and 1270s, records of several royal donations of timber and cash show that the friars were building their main conventual church, presumably beginning at the choir end.<sup>18</sup> In 1349, with the Black Death still not yet passed, the friars began a major reconstruction of their church, facilitated by the City’s donation of a north–south lane off Fleet Street called ‘Crokereslane’ (later known as White Friars), which allowed a westward expansion of the precinct as far as the Temple.<sup>19</sup> Work on a new choir

<sup>14</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1391–1396*, p. 658.

<sup>15</sup> The National Archives (TNA), SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–9; C66/708, m. 35; Mills and Oliver, iii, 98v.

<sup>16</sup> BL, Add MS 5415.art.56.

<sup>17</sup> BL, Harley charters 79.F.32. The document continues (implying, surely incorrectly, that there was no existing water stair): ‘untill suche tyme as the said prior & convent or their successors do make a comon staire in to the water’.

<sup>18</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 345.

<sup>19</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 508.

began the following year, supported by the wealthy peer Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon.<sup>20</sup> The third main phase of construction took place in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century when a new choir and steeple were built, with the financial support of the Carmelite bishop of Hereford, William Mascall or Marshall (Stow also notes the contribution of Sir Robert Knollys in the late fourteenth century, which could mark either the end of the campaign of the 1350s or the beginning of the new choir).<sup>21</sup> As we shall see, the original thirteenth-century choir seems to have been retained, giving the church an unusual double-choir structure (in contrast, the fourteenth-century choir may not have survived, although it could simply have been extended by the fifteenth-century choir). As Clapham observes, the church thus ended up with an Early English old choir, a Decorated nave and a Perpendicular new choir.<sup>22</sup>

The archaeological evidence from 10 Bouverie Street (site BOV95, Fig 43) shows that the foundations for the south wall of the mid-fourteenth-century nave were dug through some existing burials. Does this indicate that the thirteenth-century church was relatively small, with a churchyard at its western end? It is surprisingly difficult to reconstruct the layout of the church in the sixteenth century; Clapham's reconstruction of 1910 remains an inspired deduction from the few facts that were available to him and, two decades later, Martin was able to improve on it with his archaeological discovery of the east end of the choir.<sup>23</sup> Clapham and Martin's reconstructions can now be improved upon thanks to the discovery of a crucial document and some more recent archaeological work (Fig 43). The main documentary evidence for the size of the church can be found in an internal Court of Augmentations note of c. 1544, part of the papers of the Court's auditor Thomas Mildmay, recording the weight of lead stripped from the church roofs.<sup>24</sup> Very fortunately, Mildmay or another London-based officer (Hugh Losse or Nicholas Sutton?), noted the length and breadth of the nave and recorded the width of its aisles. Using these figures, the internal dimensions of the mid-fourteenth-century

<sup>20</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 508; Stow, ii, 46.

<sup>21</sup> Stow, ii, 46; J. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments* (London: W. Tooke, 1767), p. 220.

<sup>22</sup> A. W. Clapham, 'The Topography of the Carmelite Priory of London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 17 (1910), 22.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, plan between pp. 16 and 17; W. Martin, 'The Excavation at Whitefriars, Fleet Street, 1927–8: Report of Committee', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 30 (1927), sheet 1.

<sup>24</sup> TNA, E314/54 [piece indexed as 'London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at'].

nave are 44 yards by 18 yards (40.2m x 16.5m). Although these dimensions are all given in yards – and cannot therefore be more accurate than within a foot or two – the length of 44 yards (40.2m) agrees very closely with the distance between a medieval wall return discovered by Clapham (and interpreted as the north-east corner of the nave) and the line of ‘Crokereslane’, later White Friars (40.5m). The newly acquired road of 1349 was presumably retained in order to enhance circulation within the precinct since the enlarged church would otherwise cut the precinct in two.

**Fig 43 Reconstruction of White Friars church in the sixteenth century (scale 1:500)**

To Clapham’s north-east corner of the nave we can now add the results of excavations at 10 Bouverie Street (site BOV95). Here, a line of four roughly square chalk foundation ‘piers’ were tentatively interpreted by the excavator, following Clapham and Martin’s plans, as the foundations for the arcade separating the nave from the south aisle.<sup>25</sup> However, by projecting the alignment of the two parallel walls (Clapham’s wall at site PRG114 and the BOV95 wall; Fig 43), we can see that they are about 16.3m apart. Using the *c.* 1544 measurement of the internal width of the church – 18 yards or 16.5m – as our guide, we can see that the two walls are, respectively, fragments of the north and south walls of the nave. The chalk piers (of site BOV95) would therefore be the truncated remains of a typical medieval arched foundation (with the upper parts of the foundation arches removed by later basements) rather than freestanding foundation piers for an arcade.<sup>26</sup> The body of the church can be seen in the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s: it appears to show four bays of the nave or south aisle separated by massive buttresses, with two rows of windows and a door at the west end (Fig 44).

**Fig 44 Detail of the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s showing White Friars shortly after the Dissolution**

Unfortunately, the reconstruction of the choir or choirs remains difficult. Martin’s medieval wall found under the pavement of modern Water Lane suggests a choir of a surprising length, some 30.5m internally. However, Martin may well have been correct because in one of Mills’ and Oliver’s surveys after the Great Fire, the north wall of a property is, unusually, described as a stone wall (and likely therefore

<sup>25</sup> LAARC, BOV95, ‘10 Bouverie Street, London EC4, an archaeological excavation and watching brief’, B. Barber (unpublished Museum of London report, 1997), pp. 10–11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.



to be medieval), and its independently-reconstructed location would seem to unite the two masonry fragments of the north wall of the choir discovered by Martin (Fig 43).<sup>27</sup> The width of the choir requires some guesswork. Clapham and Martin both reconstruct the choir with the same width as their naves but, having now reduced the width of the nave to seven yards (6.4m), it would surely be unlikely to postulate a choir like a railway carriage, some thirty metres long and only six metres wide! Presuming that the builders of the early fifteenth-century choir would want to have a greater bay width for their impressive new Perpendicular choir, our best option is to note Martin's observation that his wall represented 'the whole length of the east end' and reconstruct an internal width of 9.3m.<sup>28</sup>

We now come to the problem of the old choir. A post-Dissolution grant of 1540 refers to 'le olde Quere' but not the church itself (which was only granted later in 1544 or 1547).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the 1540 grant specifically includes land lying between (*iacentem & existentem in longitudinem*) the church and the old choir. Clapham and Martin, understandably, both interpret this as a narrow east–west strip between two choirs, the old (thirteenth-century) and the new (fifteenth-century). There seem to be two problems with this interpretation: firstly, Martin's reconstructed strip (amended to fit the newer archaeological evidence) is only six or seven feet wide – hardly wide enough to walk down once you factor in the opposing pairs of buttresses protruding from the two buildings. Secondly, the length of the old choir reconstructed by Martin, 60' or 18.3m, seems too big for its thirteenth-century date. It is therefore proposed here that Martin's more southerly wall – interpreted by him as the east wall of the old choir – is in fact the wall of a chapel on the south side of the new choir (Fig 43). This could be one of several chapels attested by the documentary evidence, including chapels dedicated to the Virgin and to Saints Fabian and Sebastian.<sup>30</sup> The old choir can then be reconstructed as a more modest building on the north-east corner of the cloister. The church also had a bell tower (probably part of the fifteenth-century building campaign) situated between the old and new choirs and the nave (Fig 43). The 1544 survey of the church lead specifies

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<sup>27</sup> Mills and Oliver, iii, 105v.

<sup>28</sup> Martin, 'Excavation at Whitefriars', p. 316.

<sup>29</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 34 [1540 grant of old choir]; E314/69 (no. 29) [1544 particulars for grant]; E305/13/F29 [1547 grant].

<sup>30</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 509.

that the tower was capped by a steeple – covered with an estimated five fothers of lead – but neither tower nor steeple survived by the time of the ‘copperplate’ map of the 1550s (Fig 44).<sup>31</sup> The survey also mentions a porch and ‘lytle tower’ (distinct from the steeple), presumably at the west end of the nave giving lay access from the north.

Several altars are attested in wills, such as those dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Trinity, St Ann and St Catherine, and testators also referred to other artworks inside the church including statues of the Virgin, St Ann, St Anthony, St Gratian and an unidentified ‘seynt Gastayne’, as well as a wall painting of St Christopher.<sup>32</sup> In 1544 the carpenter William Collyng was commissioned by the Court of Augmentations to give a valuation of the timberwork left in the main church (the old choir had been sold by then) and he noted several items including a rood screen with its Last Judgement scene above: ‘the particion in the bodie of the churche [rood screen], two pewes, 4 deskes, the stalles in the quere and the cros over the same [Last Judgement over the screen?] and 2 dores’.<sup>33</sup> About eighty burial monuments were recorded around this time by John Bale, John Stow and other early antiquarians.<sup>34</sup> The west window of the nave and the east window of the new choir were both restored in the early sixteenth century with funding from chantry bequests.<sup>35</sup>

### **The cemetery**

The cemetery lay to the north of the church but there is, unfortunately, little archaeological or documentary information about its exact size or layout. Evidence for the churchyard ‘ought’ to have been found in the excavation at 4 Bouverie Street (BVS97) but no traces were observed in the small test pits. The churchyard survived as an open space to the south of Fleet Street for most of the sixteenth century: it can be seen in Hogenberg’s map of 1572 as a sort of early town square surrounded by houses (not illustrated).

<sup>31</sup> TNA, E314/54 [piece indexed as ‘London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at’].

<sup>32</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 508–9.

<sup>33</sup> TNA, E314/69, no. 29.

<sup>34</sup> Information from Christian Steer; see Chapter 1: Introduction, footnote 48.

<sup>35</sup> TNA, E328/274; Röhrkasten, p. 509.

## The cloisters

Of all the former monastic buildings in the precinct, the cloisters probably have the best surviving evidence. The seventeenth-century survey of the Morrison property, probably commissioned by Arthur Capel soon after 1627, shows the medieval cloisters in some detail (Fig 45). Most of the four sides of the cloister walk survived at that time, along with parts of the adjoining west and east building ranges. Part of the eastern cloister range was excavated by Martin and the two sets of evidence, cartographic and archaeological, can be married quite easily (Fig 46). Most of the cloister range was two storeys high (the survey refers to ‘all the buildings that was over the Cloysters’) but the northern cloister walk may only have had a single storey since an upper storey would have reduced light in the old choir. The reference on the seventeenth-century survey to construction work taking place over the north cloister walk (in the present tense) would also imply that this part of the medieval walk was single-storey.<sup>36</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that the cloister walk was paved with plain red tiles (site PRG112) and the seventeenth-century map details a single quadripartite roof vault on an eleven-foot module (measured north–south along the cloister walk), presumably indicating that all four cloister walks were similarly vaulted.

**Fig 45** Nineteenth-century copy of a survey of c. 1627 showing the area of the White Friars cloister (scale 1:500) (BL, Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no. 104)

**Fig 46** Reconstruction of the cloister of White Friars in the early sixteenth century (scale 1:500)

The sextry or sacrist’s office was probably in the building adjoining the east cloister walk (it is specified in a 1540 grant) and its floor was paved with stone slabs. The chapter house lay to the east of the cloisters (again, it formed part of the 1540 grant); it probably abutted the east range at right angles and it is tentatively reconstructed in this manner on Fig 46 (using in part the evidence of a house to the south later surveyed by Mills and Oliver).<sup>37</sup> The southern range of the cloister probably housed the refectory or frater, with the kitchen and principal latrine situated in the west range, according to the description in a 1541 grant.<sup>38</sup> This in turn might suggest that the dormitory lay over the south range, close to the main latrine (the fairly frequent post-Dissolution references to the dorter are somewhat confusing as

<sup>36</sup> ‘The peese that is speced [i.e. in dotted lines] my lord doth build over’: BL, Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no.104.

<sup>37</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 34; site PRG112; Mills and Oliver, iii, 65v.

<sup>38</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 11.

the term is clearly used as a synonym for the cloister buildings more generally, as well as the dormitory building itself).<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the dormitory could have been in the east range since there was a set of covered night stairs near the north-east corner of the cloister, connecting the upper floor to the church (perhaps to the old choir), allowing the friars a slightly easier journey when roused from their beds for the night-time services of Matins or Lauds.<sup>40</sup>

The building identified by Clapham as the prior's lodging has a long historiography. The building's medieval undercroft was first reported in *The Builder* in 1895, although the writer of the short article noted that 'the existence of this crypt or sub-vault has long been known to a few antiquaries'.<sup>41</sup> The undercroft was subsequently described in Clapham's survey of the friary, and was reinvestigated in 1928 and 1987.<sup>42</sup> Unsurprisingly, as a rare survival of a medieval London building, it has been reported on in a number of publications including a special guide published by The News of the World, under whose 1930s building the crypt lay.<sup>43</sup> The chamber was clearly the undercroft of a house above. It was a vaulted chamber about twelve feet square (3.5m x 3.8m), with eight limestone ribs that supported a chalk or clunch vault: a late fourteenth-century date is the most likely. The ribs sprung from the sides and corners and met at a central boss decorated with a figure enclosed by a rose (Fig 47). A doorway with chamfered moulding in the south wall led to a second chamber, none of which has survived. There was also a short set of spiral stairs rising to the west and joining the east range of the cloisters. The chamber was probably part of the undercroft of the prior's lodging, known to have lain to the east of the cloisters

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<sup>39</sup> For example, in BL, Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30: 'thre parte of the Dorter, the weste part the northe parte and the southe parte'; clearly indicates the three ranges of cloister buildings in the Morrison property.

<sup>40</sup> 'Here was a passage through a yard to a pare of staires that went up to the buldings over the cloysters': BL, Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no. 104.

<sup>41</sup> *The Builder*, Nov. 1895, p. 356.

<sup>42</sup> Clapham, 'Carmelite Priory', pp. 30–1; Martin, 'Excavation at Whitefriars', pp. 308, 315; S. Toy, 'The Crypt at Whitefriars, London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 37 (1932), 334–6; LAARC, site NOW87, two large film drawings entitled 'EH London Division 1987, dwg LD 3617/1 and /3'. There does not appear to be a surviving report by Wittrick in the LAARC archive, nor can one be traced in English Heritage's records (neither in English Heritage registry file AA053413/2, nor in the formerly separate archive of the National Monuments Record).

<sup>43</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 5 vols (London: HMSO, 1924–30), iv, 160–1; S. Toy, *Building Report by Mr. Sidney Toy, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., on the Excavations at Whitefriars, Fleet Street, 1927–8, London* (London: The News of the World, n. d. [1930s?]). Sadly, the News of the World no longer gives away free copies of this guide!

thanks to its inclusion in a grant of 1540.<sup>44</sup> The discovery of a connecting door on the south side of the chamber suggests that the house above was on a north–south axis, rather than the east–west alignment of earlier reconstructions.<sup>45</sup> Documentary evidence does not add much to our understanding of the building other than the fact that it had a garden, probably to the east, adjacent to a wood-yard.

**Fig 47 White Friars: detailed plan and elevation of the undercroft of the prior’s lodging (scale of plan 1:200; scale of elevation 1:100)**

The Provincial prior’s lodging house is also described in the same 1540 grant: this house had a garden and orchard, with a later grant of 1545 also mentioning a stable.<sup>46</sup> There is, unfortunately, no evidence as to where it was situated but it was probably close to the prior’s house.

### **The library**

On the seventeenth-century plan of the Morrison property in White Friars (Fig 45) there is a long stone building called ‘the hale’ (hall) joining the cloisters to the western boundary of the precinct. Walls from this building were discovered in the 1920s and the excavator interpreted the building as the guest hall. However, there is evidence that suggests that the main function of this building was in fact the library (although it could also have housed the guest hall). We know that the library was included in a grant of 1541 and was near the west side of the cloister.<sup>47</sup> Secondly, a 1544 note recording the lead removed from the friary includes the ‘husse called the Lyberary covered with leade’, noting its length (probably internal) as 32 yards (29.3m), a figure which agrees closely with the seventeenth-century survey of the hall (29.6m).<sup>48</sup> The library was one of the buildings in a poor state of repair that were repaired in 1507 thanks to a donation from Robert Rede.<sup>49</sup> The library seems to have held an impressive book collection: John Leland listed sixty-one volumes and to these we can add another three in Cardinal Sirleto’s list (preserved in the Vatican library) and two more noted by Thomas Gascoigne.<sup>50</sup> In addition to these books we

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<sup>44</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 34.

<sup>45</sup> Toy, *Crypt at Whitefriars*, pp. 334–6.

<sup>46</sup> TNA, E315/235, f. 37v [1540]; E318/18/876, m. 4 [1545].

<sup>47</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 11.

<sup>48</sup> TNA, E314/54 (‘London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at’).

<sup>49</sup> TNA, E328/274.

<sup>50</sup> Humphreys, *Friars’ Libraries*, pp. 177–88; note that Sirleto records four books from the London Carmelites but one of these, a work of Anselm of Canterbury, is also recorded by Leland.

must make allowance for nineteen surviving manuscripts formerly belonging to the London White Friars, the majority of which do not seem to be recorded in these three lists.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, this list of eighty or so books is unlikely to represent the full contents of the library since a surviving library catalogue of 1366 from the smaller Carmelite house at Hulne lists ninety-seven volumes.<sup>52</sup> The London house probably had a similar classification scheme to the better documented Hulne library since several of the surviving London manuscripts have pressmarks such as ‘F 15<sup>m</sup>’ (indicating book fifteen in class F, ‘early church fathers’).<sup>53</sup> The London books include some historical works such as Gerald of Wales and Ranulf Higden’s ‘Polychronicon’ as well as the more numerous theological works.<sup>54</sup>

The evidence of the seventeenth-century survey would suggest that the library formed the north side of an open space, with the kitchen on the east side; the central area may therefore have been a kitchen garden (Fig 45). Furthermore, ‘the newe way’ shown on this plan looks as if has been cut through the garden space, and the path has a dog-leg where it turns south, probably following an earlier building. If this hypothesis is correct, the earlier building could be the chapel of St Nicholas which seems to have lain in this area, towards the north of the plot leased to Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, in June 1538.<sup>55</sup>

### **The infirmary and school**

In 1923 Alfred Clapham observed traces of a medieval building to the south of the cloisters during demolition of the Victorian glass-works; in his earlier study of the topography of White Friars he had postulated this area as the location of the infirmary.<sup>56</sup> Clapham’s surmise of 1910 can now be backed up by a lease of 1536 relating to the Clothworkers’ Company’s almshouses in which the north side of the houses is described as abutting onto the south part of ‘the fermory’, thus giving us

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<sup>51</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 484; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 124–5; A. G. Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books. Supplement to the second edition* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> Humphreys, *Friars’ Libraries*, pp. 167–77.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xv–xvi.

<sup>54</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 484.

<sup>55</sup> TNA, E303/9, no.175.

<sup>56</sup> Martin, ‘Excavation at Whitefriars’, p. 317; Clapham, ‘Carmelite Priory’, p. 31.

the location of the infirmary.<sup>57</sup> The old infirmary property was later bought by the Clothworkers in 1654 and, very fortunately, the 1653 Parliamentary survey of the property (it seems to have been confiscated from its previous owner) sheds some light on the building, albeit in its post-Dissolution form. The building had three storeys: a ground floor consisting of a large hall (described in 1653 as ‘now divided’), a kitchen and larder; a first floor containing a dining room and four chambers; and an upper storey of seven garrett rooms. There was also a cellar and a yard with a covered privy.<sup>58</sup> If we now examine Clapham’s archaeological evidence of 1923 in the light of these two documents, we can see that the building was a substantial north–south aligned building, probably extending as far south as the boundary wall of the almshouses. The two chambers at the north of the building recorded by Clapham may be the kitchen and larder, with the large hall lying to the south. The Clothworkers’ Company’s records also have some detail of the infirmary property’s boundaries, which may well correspond with an infirmary garden (Fig 42).<sup>59</sup> The 1536 document shows that the occupants of the almshouses had access to the cloister and church to the north ‘through the doore under the fermory’, perhaps via the infirmary garden (which had a water pump) or a covered passage along the west side of the infirmary.<sup>60</sup>

The location of the Carmelite school or *studium generale* remains uncertain but it seems to have been located by the infirmary, perhaps in an adjacent wing to the south. The evidence comes from the 1536 lease of the Clothworkers’ almshouses where the site is called the ‘gardeyne grounde and place sometyne called the skollers gardeyne’: it seems likely that this scholars’ garden was adjacent to the school itself.<sup>61</sup> In the fourteenth century the school may have had as many as fifty students preparing for university study, as well as the more senior bachelors, a master of students and the master of the school. The syllabus covered philosophy as well as

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<sup>57</sup> Clothworkers’ Company (CC), MS CL/A/4/4 (‘Book of Deeds and Wills’), p. 51.

<sup>58</sup> TNA, E317/Middx/15.

<sup>59</sup> CC, CL4/A/4/9 (‘Register for the Year 1841 of the Trusts and Charities...’), pp. 18–20; ‘Report on the Charities of the Clothworkers’ Company: Part I’, *City of London Livery Companies Commission Report; Volume 4* (1884), pp. 572–99, <[http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=69737&strquery=countess of kent almshouse](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=69737&strquery=countess%20of%20kent%20almshouse)> [accessed 16 September 2008].

<sup>60</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 52; TNA, E317/Middx/15.

<sup>61</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 51. In the uncatalogued original indenture in the Company archives the spelling is ‘scolers garden’.

theology and there may also have been a few lay students among the English and visiting continental friars.<sup>62</sup>

### Service buildings

The south-east corner of the precinct seems to have been the service court of the friary although the only building we know about is the friary brewery. The brew-house was there by the early sixteenth century because in 1522 it was leased to Hilary Warner, brewer, and the lease names Anthony Kyngyngge and Michael Buck, also brewers, as Warner's predecessors.<sup>63</sup> Warner seems to have enlarged the brewery at this time: a later grant of 1541 notes 'the houses and buildings that Hilary [Warner] built' near the brewery and these may be three adjacent houses later surveyed by Mills and Oliver, traces of which have been discovered in archaeological excavation at site WFT99 (Fig 48).<sup>64</sup>

#### **Fig 48 Reconstructed map of the service court and Hilary Warner's brew-house in the south-east of White Friars (scale 1:500)**

The 1541 grant included a house above a mill next to a lane or passage leading to the brew-house (*domo supra molendum ducentem iuxta introitum sive le entre abinde ducentem usque le brewhouse*). The mill is not explicitly included in the grant but its Thames-side location suggests that it was a tide mill. The inlet at the south-east of the precinct (known in the early seventeenth century as 'the dock at waterlane') is therefore likely to have originated as a mill pond and race.<sup>65</sup> The river at high tide would have filled the upper (north) part of the inlet, the changing tide would then have caused a lock-gate to close nearer the head of the inlet. The mill-wheel, housed in a building extending over all or part of the inlet head close to the Thames, could then have been powered by the potential energy stored in the upper part of the inlet, the mill pond. Unfortunately, little archaeological evidence of the mill was found on the Tudor Street (WFT99) excavation, although some timber piles and planks seen near the masonry wall of the inlet could be reinterpreted as traces of the mill

<sup>62</sup> Courtenay, *Schools & Scholars*, pp. 70–2; M. Poskitt, 'The English Carmelite Province: 15th Century', in *Carmel in Britain: Essays on the Medieval English Carmelite Province. Volume 1, People and Places*, ed. by P. Fitzgerald-Lombard and R. Copesey (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), pp. 151–2; Röhrkasten, p. 98.

<sup>63</sup> TNA, E315/191, no. 63 [second item] [1522 lease cited in 1541 particulars for grant]; C66/708, m. 35 [1541 grant].

<sup>64</sup> Mills and Oliver, ii, 58v; iii, 158v; iii, 10v.

<sup>65</sup> London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), CLA/008/EM/02/01/001 (City Lands grant book 1), f. 125v; BL, Additional MS 5415.art.56.



superstructure (Fig 48).<sup>66</sup> A stone- and brick-lined tank immediately to the west may also be a surviving part of the mill. The archaeologists also found an unusual sixteenth-century building immediately north-west of the possible mill. It was founded on arched brick foundations and we can probably interpret it as an outbuilding of the mill. The use of substantial brick and stone foundation arches suggest a two-storey building with a brick superstructure.<sup>67</sup> The building was later surveyed by Mills and Oliver.<sup>68</sup>

The house immediately west of the brew house – perhaps another of Warner’s new buildings of *c.* 1522 – is described in a schedule attached to a much later lease of 1658.<sup>69</sup> It was a fair sized three-storey house with a parlour, kitchen and buttery on the ground floor, two chambers on the first floor and another two, including the ‘greate chamber’, on the second floor. The schedule records some interesting details such as the iron bar or spit in the kitchen fireplace, the wainscotting in the parlour, a ‘portall’ or door-case made of deal in most of the chambers and the painted cloths hanging in two of the chambers, with one set described as ‘painted cloath forrest worke’, apparently referring to the design. There was, by the seventeenth century, a brick privy and a coal shed in the yard.

The mill and brewery complex are shown in the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s, which shows three north–south aligned gabled buildings near the waterfront, with two smaller buildings to the north-west (Fig 44). The inlet is also suggested, where Water Lane seems to merge with the Thames. Both the documentary and archaeological evidence suggest, therefore, that an existing medieval brewery was extensively rebuilt in the 1520s by the friary (with its brewer Hilary Warner), including the construction of a tide mill and mansion house.

### **The gardens**

In contrast, the south-west corner of the precinct must have been a calmer place for the friars because it was the site of the friary’s extensive gardens. These included the main friary garden (‘le covent garden’), another garden described in 1541 as *le*

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<sup>66</sup> PCA, site WFT99, ‘An archaeological watching brief at Whitefriars, City of London’, by D. Killock (unpublished report, 2002), pp. 10–11, fig 11.

<sup>67</sup> A comparator of *c.* 1600 was discovered in the former precinct of St Mary Bishopsgate (personal observation by author).

<sup>68</sup> Mills and Oliver, v, 162.

<sup>69</sup> Guildhall Library (GL), MS 20548.

*covent garden propter Thamesiam*), as well as ‘other gardens lienge betwene the Theames the Temple the high waye and my lord Della wares gardeyne’.<sup>70</sup> By 1527 the friars even had their own summer-house or ‘pleasure house’, to use a seventeenth-century term, down by the banks of the Thames: ‘a littell house made upon the waters syde used for the recreacion and comfort of the freers’.<sup>71</sup> The ‘Cooke’s gardine’ lay just to the east, probably between the convent garden and the brewhouse, according to a 1541 document.<sup>72</sup>

### **Tenements in the medieval friary**

The early Carmelites had fairly strict rules forbidding property ownership but by the fourteenth century, presumably responding to economic pressures, the priory owned several tenements outside their precinct (on Fleet Street adjacent to their precinct) as well as renting out tenements in the precinct itself.<sup>73</sup> The earliest named tenant is Matilda de Well who in 1385 was granted a licence to crenellate her house in the precinct – presumably an impressive one.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the Crossed Friars, the friary did not hold a large portfolio of properties in the City: the Carmelites’ tenements outside their own precinct were all situated on the frontage of Fleet Street, immediately adjacent to the friary. The friary seems to have increased the number of rented tenements within the precinct in the sixteenth century. By the time of the Dissolution, the friary had nine properties along Fleet Street, from the tenement with shops (later called The Green Dragon inn) by the north-west gate into the precinct, to the Boar’s Head inn on the corner of Water Lane (Table 18 in Appendix 1). In addition, there were thirty leased properties within the precinct, not including three separately leased gardens. Together, the tenements brought in £76 1s 8d.

The grandest tenements in the precinct were those leased by Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, and Margaret, Countess of Kent. Both lay towards the south of the precinct and were almost certainly sited so as to have views over the convent gardens towards the Thames: a comparable situation survives today just next door to

<sup>70</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–59; BL, Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30.

<sup>71</sup> BL, Harley charters 79.F.32.

<sup>72</sup> TNA, E315/191, no. 63 [second item].

<sup>73</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 221–4, 243–5 and 280–3.

<sup>74</sup> TNA, C66/320, m. 22; C. Coulson, ‘Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation: An Essay in the Sociology and Metaphysics of Medieval Fortification’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1982), 69–100 (p. 76).

Whitefriars at the Temple where one can look south over the Inns' terraced gardens with a more or less uninterrupted view down towards the Thames (ignoring, if one can, the busy modern road of the Embankment). Elements of Thomas West's mansion, surveyed in 1617 (below, 'The property of Thomas West, Baron de la Warr'), may have been the late medieval house he built shortly before the Dissolution.

### ***White Friars during and after the Dissolution***

Two years before the Dissolution of the friary, a small row of almshouses was built in a partnership between the prior, the countess of Kent and the Clothworkers' Company. They remained until their destruction in the Great Fire of 1666. Following the friary's Dissolution in November 1538 the profound changes experienced by the remaining friars may not have been shared by the lay residents of the precinct, by then rather more numerous than the religious occupants. Most of the named tenants living within the precinct before Dissolution seem to have remained there, at least for the next decade. For example, Margaret, Countess of Kent (first recorded as a tenant in 1527), Thomas West, lord de la Warr (a tenant in 1537) and Andrew Barnard, gentleman (1536) all appear in the Court of Augmentations' post-Dissolution accounts of the 1540s.<sup>75</sup> The first ex-friary properties were sold in 1540 and this grant was soon followed by several larger parcels of the former friary (Fig 49). In the following section the new purchasers will be examined in more detail.

**Fig 49 Map showing the principal properties carved out of the former White Friars following the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)**

#### **The Clothworkers' almshouses**

A row of almshouses was built by the Countess of Kent for the Clothworkers' Company just before the Dissolution, probably in 1536. The almshouses were for poor Clothworkers' widows and were built on land leased by the friary to Margaret, Countess of Kent (the widow of Richard Grey, Earl of Kent), in partnership with the Clothworkers' Company, on a generous ninety-nine-year lease at an annual rent of 10s. Margaret was widowed on three occasions and, at least after the first two, she was able to make judicious remarriages. Before being Lady Margaret, she was Mrs Margaret Dawes and married to a Clothworker (perhaps the alderman and sheriff John Dawes); she seems to have retained her links with the Company after her subsequent marriage to Richard Grey.<sup>76</sup> In 1612 the Company commissioned Ralph

<sup>75</sup> BL, Harley charters 79.F.32 [Countess of Kent]; TNA, E315/94, ff. 220–221 [Barnard]; E315/212, f. 160v–1v [Lawarre]; SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–59 [accounts for 1540–1]; SC12/11/17 [accounts of Edward VI's reign].

<sup>76</sup> G. W. Bernard, 'Grey, Richard, Third Earl of Kent (b. in Or before 1478, d. 1524)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58355>> [accessed 14 October 2008]; C. M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 350. Sheriff John Dawes is a likely candidate for Margaret's previous husband as he died in

Treswell to survey the houses (along with its other properties) and the survey survives in the Company's records (Fig 50).<sup>77</sup> The almshouses were a short row of five small adjoining houses. They were two-storey timber-framed buildings forming what we would today call bedsits; a timber gallery at the rear gave access to the upper five (separately occupied) chambers. The ten flats or bedsits were each heated by a fireplace, with the chimneys straddling three of the four party walls. Each flat, unusually, had its own privy, tucked behind the fireplace. The almshouses were financially supported by Margaret's bequest of her London properties (yielding rents of £6 18s 4d) and by her donation to the Company of £300.<sup>78</sup> However, the outgoings of the almshouses were substantial because, in addition to any necessary repairs, the almswomen received a weekly allowance of 7½d each and the almshouse porter was paid an annual stipend of 20s, resulting in total annual expenses of £16 2s 6d.<sup>79</sup>

**Fig 50 Ralph Treswell's 1512 survey of the Clothworkers' Company almshouses at White Friars**

### **The Fleet Street tenements**

The fee simple of three of the Fleet Street tenements was granted to Thomas Broke in 1544 (see tenements 3, 4 and 5 on Fig 42 and in Table 18 in Appendix 1).<sup>80</sup> Broke paid what was presumably a full market price of £384 2s for the three tenements, generating an annual income of £8 16s 8d (which would rise to £9 in 1553 thanks to the rent increase included in the lease on Tenement 5). The resulting 2% annual

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1514 but he is recorded as a Grocer. Dame Anne Pakington, the widow of Sir John Pakington, was probably another benefactor or a co-founder of the almshouses: Stow describes her as the founder but she is not named in the Clothworkers' Company documents cited above. Strype's edition of Stow (although mentioning almshouses in the index reference to her) refers only to her endowment of anniversary sermons (via the Clothworkers): Stow, i, p. 310; J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 2 vols (London: A. Churchill and others, 1720), ii (book 5), p. 71; J. H. Baker, 'Pakington, Sir John (b. in or before 1477, d. 1551)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21143>> [accessed 19 November 2008].

<sup>77</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 51–4 [lease]; J. Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, London Topographical Society, 135 (London: London Topographical Society, 1987), pp. 129–30 (no. 44). Note that the lease of October 1536 shows that the almshouses were built slightly earlier than Schofield suggests. In addition to the cited document, the Company's half of the original indenture survives: CC, uncatalogued MS [incorrectly labelled as 1537].

<sup>78</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 59–69. The original intention was to grant £350 but the Countess' will makes clear that £50 of this sum remained unpaid (*ibid*, p. 69).

<sup>79</sup> CC, MS CL/A/G/7/3 (Rental: Bequests and Leases 1574), ff. 13–14. Note that the annual expenditure total includes 10s reserved rent paid to James Marcaby. It is also calculated on the basis that there were nine almswomen, not the seven envisaged by the bequest (the later evidence cited by Schofield shows that all ten flats were separately occupied). The total annual cost given in the document is £12 17s 7d.

<sup>80</sup> TNA, C66/731, m. 16.

return on the investment seems low: a typical medieval yield would be 5%, since a fee simple value was often calculated as twenty years' of rental income. A further two tenements (nos 1 and 2 on Fig 42 and in Table 18 in Appendix 1) were granted to Alexander Hudson the same year.<sup>81</sup> He paid £152, although this included a third tenement elsewhere on Fleet Street (and not formerly owned by White Friars) and his annual return on the investment was a more typical 5%.

The tenants of the friary's Fleet Street properties must have experienced very little disruption at the Dissolution: lying outside the precinct on Fleet Street itself they would barely have noticed the change in landlord, apart from having their payments collected four times a year by the new rent collector Hugh Losse. The occupants hardly changed between the 1530s and 1550: three tenancies had changed by 1540 but all the other tenants were still there in 1550 (Table 18).

The 'farm' of four of the rents (on Tenements 1, 5, 7 and 8) was granted in 1540 for life to John Gylmyn, Sergeant of the royal woodyard, and his wife Susanna, a lady-in-waiting to Anne of Cleves and a celebrated court painter (the daughter of the Flemish artist Gerard Horenbout).<sup>82</sup> This arrangement appears to have been a reward for good service: Gylmyn would receive the £10 10s of rents for life without any purchase cost or any rent due to the Crown.<sup>83</sup> The farm of the rent on the Bolt and Tun inn (Tenement 8) was subsequently granted to Sir George Blage, knight, and Richard Goodrick in 1550, presumably following the death of John Gylmyn.<sup>84</sup>

### **Houses on the west of the churchyard granted to William Butts**

In June 1540, the farm of rents of three houses to the west of the churchyard was granted for life to Cornelius Symondson, the King's locksmith; four years later he was the craftsman employed by the Court of Augmentations to value the ironwork in

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<sup>81</sup> TNA, C66/767, m. 21–2.

<sup>82</sup> I am grateful to Pat Naylor for pointing out the artistic career of Susan Horenbout/Gylmyn, one of the subjects of her paper given at the Medieval and Tudor London seminar series at the Institute of Historical Research ('Flemish painters at the court of Henry VIII: the Horenbout family in London', 11 June 2009).

<sup>83</sup> TNA, E315/235, f. 28v.

<sup>84</sup> TNA, E318/25, no. 1425.

the old church.<sup>85</sup> In 1545 the fee simple of the three properties was granted to Sir William Butts, who already owned several properties in the precinct.<sup>86</sup>

### **Thomas Butcher's property**

Thomas Butcher (or Bochier) was granted the fee simple of a single tenement in the precinct by a royal grant of 1544.<sup>87</sup> The tenement was in the occupation of John Drayne, who owed an annual rent of 26s 8d. There is no evidence for its location but it appears in a list of *c.* 1550 in between the Fleet Street tenements and those on the west side of the old churchyard. It is suggested here, therefore, that the tenement was located on the west side of White Friars lane. The same year Butcher was also, together with Hugh Losse, granted a single Fleet Street tenement in the tenancy of Parker Broderer, who paid 40s a year.<sup>88</sup> This tenement may have lain slightly to the north, near but not on Fleet Street: its location seems to have caused some confusion to the Court of Augmentations officials as it is variously referred to as within the former precinct or in the parish of St Dunstan in the West.<sup>89</sup>

### **The church and churchyard (John Hales)**

The church and churchyard seem to have remained unused, in Crown hands, for a few years after the Dissolution. In July 1544 the Court of Augmentations drew up particulars for grant (the valuation document which would accompany a sale) for the church and churchyard, valuing the parcel itself (apparently referring only to the church) as worth 20s a year rent, and separately calculating the value of the timberwork (£40 17s 7d), the masonry (£29 6s 8d) and the ironwork (108s). The sale price was £95 12s 3d: the timber, stone and iron values, added to a freehold value calculated as twenty years of rental income.<sup>90</sup> The prospective purchaser was John Hales, a scholar who had enjoyed the patronage of Cromwell and who occupied several government posts in the 1530s and 1540s. Like many government officials, he personally profited from the Dissolution, although he also used his Coventry

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<sup>85</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–59; E314/69, no. 29.

<sup>86</sup> TNA, E318/6/215 [unnumbered].

<sup>87</sup> TNA, C66/745, mm. 11–14.

<sup>88</sup> TNA, C66/757, mm. 5–9.

<sup>89</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2385, ff. 13–14 [described as in the precinct]; C66/757, mm. 5–9 [described as in the parish].

<sup>90</sup> TNA, E314/69, no. 29.

acquisitions to found a grammar school.<sup>91</sup> In January 1546 he completed the London White Friars transaction, paying, in fact, £125 12s 4d. He seems to have paid the extra £30 (and 1d) for the church's choir or chancel, although he never actually ended up with the chancel and the £30 was eventually refunded in 1550.<sup>92</sup> Neither sale price included the lead on the church roof, which had been retained by the Crown, with the surveyors estimating its weight, rather precisely, as 54 fothers 13 loads 12lbs (approximately 54.5 tonnes), although a second, more detailed, survey reduced this figure to 48 fothers (47.5 tonnes).<sup>93</sup> The roof of the church was demolished in early 1545 although only four of the forty-eight fothers of White Friars lead were actually delivered to the Tower in February.<sup>94</sup>

No specific evidence such as rentals seems to have survived but we can be fairly certain that Hales divided his new property into a number of tenements. The evidence of Mills' and Oliver's surveys, combined with archaeological excavations in Bouverie Street (BOV95), suggest that Hales (or a later purchaser) built new cross-walls within the church enclosing two to three bays at the west end of the nave and another two bays at the east end to create four new houses (Fig 51; the irregular shape of the north-western house is suggested by one of the seventeenth-century surveys).<sup>95</sup> The three central bays seem to have been demolished, leaving the principal external walls standing and thus creating a walled open space – probably a garden – in between the four converted tenements. This open space was described as Dogwell Court in one of Mills' and Oliver's surveys after the Fire.<sup>96</sup> The evidence from site BOV95 shows that the new south-western house of the old nave was floored in brick and that a new brick house (or an extension to the new tenement) was built on the south side of the church. The less certain evidence from Martin's excavations (site PRG112) suggests that the new walls of the south-eastern tenement

<sup>91</sup> B. Lowe, 'Hales, John (1516?–1572)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11913>> [accessed 15 September 2008]; C. Woodfield, *The Church of our Lady of Mount Carmel and some Conventual Buildings at the Whitefriars, Coventry*, British Archaeological Reports (British series), 389 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 9–10.

<sup>92</sup> TNA, E315/105, f. 120.

<sup>93</sup> TNA, E314/69, no. 29; E314/54 ['London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at'].

<sup>94</sup> *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 4, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1858 and 1882), ii, p. 209 [demolition of church in 1545]; TNA, E117/13/96 [delivery of lead]. The sense of the latter document is not entirely clear; it is possible that the Augmentations official Sir Thomas Pope was involved in some sort of 'bonus scheme' here since he also received £16 in the same transaction.

<sup>95</sup> Mills and Oliver, ii, 83v; iii, 87v; v, 81v; v, 137v.

<sup>96</sup> Mills and Oliver, v, 137v.



were built from recycled monastic stone rather than brick (although the recycled stone may only have been employed in the foundations).<sup>97</sup> The works could have been carried out immediately after Hales' acquisition of the site in 1546 but, given the uncertainty surrounding his ownership of the chancel, and his various political problems at home and abroad (he was in the Tower in 1549 and lived in exile in Frankfurt in the 1550s) it is quite possible that the church remained as a roofless shell until after his return to London in 1559.<sup>98</sup>

**Fig 51 Whitefriars: map showing the new tenements created from the partly demolished church after Dissolution (scale 1:500)**

### **The church choir**

The fate of the chancel or choir is slightly less clear. As has been stated John Hales was due to have this in conjunction with the rest of the church but he seems to have been beaten to it by his colleague Sir Ralph Sadler, another of Cromwell's educated and ambitious protégés. In a document of 1547, confirming an earlier document that may be a grant of August 1544, Sadler was apparently granted 'the bodie of the churche & churchyarde of the late white friers in fletestrete', although the subsequent Hales documents make no mention of this (and the situation is complicated by the fact that the Sadler document also deals with his acquisition of the White Friars church at Coventry).<sup>99</sup> The most likely explanation is that Sadler was actually granted the *choir* in 1544, rather than the nave, leaving Hales free to purchase the nave, aisles and churchyard in 1546. It is not absolutely clear what Sadler did with the choir, assuming our interpretation to be correct, although a later note added to a 1544 valuation of the church mentions Sir William Butts' name in connection with a £30 transaction, perhaps involving the chancel.<sup>100</sup> By the time of Mills' and Oliver's surveys, the choir parcel certainly formed part of the property block previously acquired by Butts.<sup>101</sup> We can perhaps assume that Sadler or Butts simply walled up

<sup>97</sup> Martin, 'Excavation at Whitefriars', p. 316.

<sup>98</sup> Lowe, 'Hales, John'; G. T. Peck, 'John Hales and the Puritans during the Marian Exile', *Church History*, 10.2 (1941), 159–177.

<sup>99</sup> TNA, E305/13/F29; see also Woodfield, *Whitefriars, Coventry*, p. 8. The relevant entry in the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations' accounts does not clarify the situation (TNA, E323/3, mm. 74v–5).

<sup>100</sup> The rather scruffy additional note is made even harder to read by a fold; TNA, E314/69, no. 29.

<sup>101</sup> Mills and Oliver, iii, 105v. Butts was certainly adding to his existing White Friars property portfolio in 1545: TNA, E318/6/215 [unnumbered].

the west end of the choir (if Hales had not already done so), creating a sizeable and well-lit stone mansion.

### **Richard Morrison's property: the cloisters and the area to the west**

Richard Morrison's property in the White Friars precinct is the best documented of the post-Dissolution properties, largely thanks to the acquisition of the family archive of the Morrison and Capel families by the British Museum in 1922.<sup>102</sup> Richard Morrison was, like John Hales and Ralph Sadler, a successful protégé of Thomas Cromwell who managed to survive his master's downfall. In March 1541 he was rewarded for his service to the Crown with a grant of a large part of the former priory, the largest of the property blocks granted after Dissolution. The grant included most of the monastic cloisters, the library, the kitchen and a large parcel of gardens in the south-west corner of the precinct (separately discussed, below).<sup>103</sup> Seven months later, perhaps after carrying out some initial conversion work, Morrison leased most of the property to Lucy Harper.<sup>104</sup> There was both a family and business connection between Morrison and Harper, through John Hales (the new owner of the church): the Hales and Harper families were related by marriage, as were the Hales and Morrison families, and in 1545 Richard Morrison continued his relationship with both Hales and Harper when he granted them, in succession, the manor of Snitterfield in Warwickshire.<sup>105</sup> Morrison's ninety-nine-year lease to Harper of the White Friars properties was certainly on favourable terms: the annual rent was only 40s and the lease specifically included a clause (reminiscent of seventeenth-century building leases) allowing Harper to redevelop the site for profit with new tenements:

It is also further agreed that duringe the whole terme of 99 yeres it be lafull for the said Lucye and her assignes to alter to bulde to sett upp to pull downe for her and her moste advantage soe that at thende of the foresaid yeres she leave howses or an howse that may amounte to the yerelye value of £8 rente.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Relevant estate records included BL, Additional charter 65740; Additional MS 40627, f. 165; Additional MS 40630, ff. 165–7; Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30.

<sup>103</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 11.

<sup>104</sup> BL, Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30.

<sup>105</sup> 'Parishes: Snitterfield', *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 3: Barlichway hundred* (1945), pp. 167–172 <[http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57005&strquery=Lucy Harper](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57005&strquery=Lucy+Harper)> [accessed 15 September 2008]; Peck, 'John Hales', p. 166.

<sup>106</sup> BL, Additional MS 40631A, f. 30.

Lucy Harper seems to have converted the west and south sides of the cloister into a two-winged hall with the cloister garth as its garden. To the south of the cloister lay several small brick tenements (Fig 52), presumably erected by Harper under the terms of her lease. The property also included a tenement to the south of the cloister and a stable to the east on Water Lane (the latter not illustrated on Fig 52).

**Fig 52 Whitefriars: map of the former cloisters after the Dissolution, showing the new properties converted or built by Richard Morrison and Lucy Harper (scale 1:500)**

The north and east ranges of the cloister also seem to have been sold or transferred by Morrison quite quickly: they feature in a property exchange between the king and Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester, whereby the king granted them to Heath in March 1547, who later granted them back to the king in 1549.<sup>107</sup>

The one part of Morrison's property that was not in the lease to Harper was the former library and the annotation 'the hale' (hall) on the seventeenth-century survey may well indicate Morrison's own house, with a garden to the south.<sup>108</sup>

### **The buildings to the east of the cloisters granted to Sir William Butts**

In July 1540 the king's physician Sir William Butts was granted a large block of the former convent, principally the eastern range of the cloister, the adjacent chapter house, the prior's lodging and the 'olde quere' (the thirteenth-century choir rather than its fifteenth-century replacement). The grant also included four open spaces: the cloister garth, a parcel between the chapter house and Water Lane, another called 'le woodyarde' and a fourth between the church and the old choir.<sup>109</sup>

### **Land to the south of the cloisters granted to Hugh Losse and Sir William Butts**

In two grants of 1544 (in April and July) the king granted a substantial block of land firstly to Hugh Losse and Thomas Butcher and then to Losse and Sir William Butts; the exact nature of this change in business partnership is impossible to ascertain.<sup>110</sup> Butts, as we have seen, was the king's physician and had earlier been granted several of the buildings on the east side of the cloisters. Hugh Losse was one of the Court of Augmentations' fourteen rent collectors for London, probably

<sup>107</sup> TNA, E305/15/F39 [1547]; E305/19/G11 [1549].

<sup>108</sup> TNA SP12/137/74, f. 52, no. 141.

<sup>109</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 34.

<sup>110</sup> TNA, E318/15/730, mm. 4–5; C66/757, mm. 5–9.

appointed soon after the Dissolution, if not before.<sup>111</sup> The tenement contained the Clothworkers' Company almshouses, which fronted south onto the street later known as Cross Street (above, 'The Clothworkers' almshouses'). The Clothworkers' Company later bought the freehold of the property in 1577 by means of an exchange with James Marcaby, joiner, who must have acquired it from Hugh Losse and William Butts.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to the almshouses, the property included the infirmary and six rented tenements, including a house with a garden and stables built in c. 1527 when Margaret, Countess of Kent came to an unusual financial arrangement with the friary. She lent the prior the sum of £60 to enable the friary to complete a house and stables ('to accomplishe and fynishe the bilding') which, once completed, she was to live in on a thirty-year lease paying £4 annual rent, reduced to £2 as long as the loan remained unpaid.<sup>113</sup> The Clothworkers' Company was bequeathed the lease of the building in the Countess of Kent's will but they seem to have disposed of the property soon afterwards, perhaps in 1549.<sup>114</sup> No further details have been found concerning the building but its garden lay to the east of the Clothworkers' almshouses, presumably with the house itself set back to the north.<sup>115</sup>

### **The property of Thomas West, Baron de la Warr**

Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, was a soldier and courtier, and a member of the conservative 'party' at Henry's court.<sup>116</sup> In June 1538, just five months before the friary's dissolution, prior John Gybbes signed an agreement with West granting him for life the house he and his wife lived in, together with the chapel of St Nicholas and two other rented tenements, at an annual rent of £6 13s 4d.<sup>117</sup> The lease was reissued by the Court of Augmentations in 1540 at the same rent, although the term was reduced to twenty years (and the clause allowing the survivor to continue living in

<sup>111</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xiv (2), no. 298; TNA, E314/54 [piece entitled 'The kalendar of accomptunes...']; SC6/HenVIII/2427; *Letters and Papers*, xxi (1), no. 1538.

<sup>112</sup> CC, CL4/G/7/4 (Rental: Bequests and Leases c. 1605–1612), f. 1.

<sup>113</sup> BL, Harley charters 79.F.32. A rent of 40s duly appears in the rent collector's accounts of 1540–1 (TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–9) and in the grant to Losse and Butcher (E318/15/730, mm. 4–5).

<sup>114</sup> CC, CL4/A/4/9 ('Register for the year 1841...'), pp. 18–20; CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills) p. 69.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>116</sup> M. Riordan, 'West, Thomas, Eighth Baron West and Ninth Baron De La Warr (1472–1554)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29099>> [accessed 16 September 2008].

<sup>117</sup> TNA, E303/9, no.175.

the house for another thirty years was removed).<sup>118</sup> In 1544 West managed to purchase the fee simple of this property for £78 (a figure based on a rate of thirteen times the annual rent, net of tithe obligations).<sup>119</sup> The second lease mentions a stable with de la Warr's house, and 'other houses and lodgynges whiche thesaid Lorde Lawarre nowe of late hath newe buylded and repayred' since the 1538 lease.<sup>120</sup> The house can probably be identified with a mansion in this location surveyed in 1617.<sup>121</sup> The house (then the property of William Chaderton, bishop of Lincoln) was described as 'White Fryars House' and it had three storeys, five cellars and a stable and coach house. The house was clearly substantial: the survey describes in detail forty-eight separately numbered rooms (the numbers perhaps cross-referring to a now-lost plan) including a parlour, kitchen, larder and pantry on the ground floor, a withdrawing room and principal bedroom on the first floor, and a gallery together with numerous small chambers, garrets and lofts on the second floor.<sup>122</sup>

### **Nicholas Kratzer's property**

Nicholas (Nicolaus) Kratzer was a German-born scientific instrument maker working in London and was the king's astronomer. He was granted four tenements by a royal grant of July 1544.<sup>123</sup> The location of these properties is not explicitly described but they appear in the 1540–1 and c. 1550 accounts in a group next to the tenements granted to Losse and Butts; they therefore seem to fit spatially in the gap on Water Lane between the Losse/Butts group of tenements (south of the cloisters on Cross Lane) and the Butts group (east of the cloisters on Water Lane).<sup>124</sup>

<sup>118</sup> TNA, E315/212, ff. 160v–161v.

<sup>119</sup> TNA, C66/740, m. 29.

<sup>120</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 51.

<sup>121</sup> BL, Egerton 2623, no.16, ff. 26–8 [consulted as microfilm M982/13].

<sup>122</sup> The 1617 survey was carried out for an unnamed bishop. The mansion of William, bishop of Lincoln is mentioned as an abutment in a grant of a neighbouring property in 1596 (GL, MS 7439) and so this William must presumably be William Chaderton, bishop of Lincoln from 1595–1608: C. Haigh, 'Chaderton, William (d. 1608)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5011>> [accessed 21 November 2008].

<sup>123</sup> G. Oestmann, 'Kratzer, Nicolaus (b. 1486/7, d. After 1550)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15808>> [accessed 14 December 2010]; TNA, C66/757, m. 35; LR15/146; *Letters and Papers*, xix (2), no. 340 (13).

<sup>124</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–9; SC12/11/17.

### **Richard Morrison's property: the south-west of the precinct**

The substantial grant of 1541 to Richard Morrison included, in addition to the cloisters already discussed, a large block of land in the south-west corner of the precinct. This can be seen in the seventeenth-century survey and is also illustrated in the reconstructed map of the area, Fig 49. In 1541 the area was almost certainly less built up than the seventeenth-century survey: the document lists 'le covent gardeyn', three tenements with gardens and a catch-all clause referring to the other gardens here.<sup>125</sup> Morrison or Lucy Harper built a number of new tenements in the former garden.<sup>126</sup>

### **The waterfront area granted to Erasmus Kirkener**

In 1541 Erasmus Kirkener, the king's armourer, and his wife Agnes paid £50 for the other waterfront land parcel at White Friars, the service court and brewery.<sup>127</sup> Agnes, a widow by 1569, together with her daughters and their husbands, then sold the property to Robert Wingfelde of London and his wife Elizabeth for a mere 44s 5d, the low price perhaps indicating a sale to a family member.<sup>128</sup>

### **Other post-Dissolution holdings**

An entry in the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations' accounts for September 1543 to 1544 notes that a John Broxholme paid £1122 15s 6d for a bundle of ex-monastic properties including unspecified property in the precinct of White Friars.<sup>129</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has reconstructed the precinct of the Carmelite friary, drawing on the remarkable research of Alfred Clapham and William Martin in the early twentieth century. The present study has had particular success in examining the south of the precinct, much less well understood in the earlier studies. New archaeological

<sup>125</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 11.

<sup>126</sup> BL, Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30; Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no. 104 (the newly built tenements are illustrated on this plan but they are not shown on the portion reproduced here as Fig 45).

<sup>127</sup> TNA, E315/191, no.63 [particulars for grant]; C66/708, m. 35 [grant]; E323/2b/part 1 [Treasurer's accounts stating price paid].

<sup>128</sup> 'London and Middlesex Fines: 1–12 Elizabeth', *A Calendar to the Feet of Fines for London & Middlesex: volume 2, Henry VII – 12 Elizabeth* (1893), pp. 105–59, <[http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=78846&strquery=erasmus crykener](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=78846&strquery=erasmus+crykener)> [accessed 18 September 2008].

<sup>129</sup> TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 18v.

evidence has fixed the size of this end of the precinct (as well as demonstrating two phases of land reclamation from the Thames) and the combination of archaeological and documentary evidence suggests a major redevelopment of this area in the early sixteenth century, with the construction of a new brew-house and tide mill, apparently as ‘joint venture’ by the friary and its brewer Hilary Warner. Several other medieval buildings have been identified or planned for the first time, including the library and infirmary. Our understanding of the medieval church has also been improved although the exact layout of the church, particularly the spatial relationship between the old and new choirs and the cloister, remains uncertain. Of the post-Dissolution property owners, the redevelopment works of Richard Morrison and John Hales – two writers active in the service of the Crown and of the ‘new learning’ – have been mapped out for the first time.

## Chapter 5: Austin Friars

### *Introduction*

Tuscan hermits following the Rule of St Augustine had arrived in England by 1249 and the Order's first English house was probably at Clare in Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> The London house of Augustinian friars was founded in Broad Street, towards the north of the city, in the 1260s, very soon after the unification in 1256 of various hermit groups to form the Order of Augustinian Hermits.<sup>2</sup> The Order and the house came to be known in England as the Augustine Friars, sometimes abbreviated to Austin Friars.<sup>3</sup> John Stow names Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, as the founder of the friary and he also made substantial gifts of land to other religious houses in England and Wales. One might speculate that he founded the London house in or soon after 1265 when he was the royalist keeper of the City of London (against a potential attack by Simon de Montfort and the barons).<sup>4</sup>

Before the friars came to the area there were two parish churches along this part of Broad Street: St Peter and St Olave, both described with the suffix 'Broad Street'. The medieval church of St Peter Broad Street later formed the south aisle of the choir of Austin Friars (below, 'The friary church'). St Olave Broad Street is harder to locate but it may have been demolished to make way for the new friary: a document of 1271 records the annual payment of 3s by the friars to the Archdeacon of St Paul's as compensation 'for the land and appurtenances where the parish church of St Olave Broad Street, which had been granted to us [i.e. to Archdeacon], used to be' (*pro area & pertinentiis, ubi consuevit esse parochialis ecclesia sancti Olavi in*

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<sup>1</sup> F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249–1538*, Cassiciacum, 6 and 7, 2 vols (New York: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1961–6), i, 18–22, 259–60; F. Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Monastic Orders (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 101–2.

<sup>2</sup> Röhrkasten argues that the foundation date of 1253 given by Stow is incorrect: J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 54–5 (hereafter cited as 'Röhrkasten').

<sup>3</sup> The shortened version was in fact rarely used before the Dissolution; an example is 'fryer austins' (referring to the institution) in 1535: The National Archives (TNA), SP1/96, ff. 238–9, nos 217–18.

<sup>4</sup> C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), pp. 133–6; N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV) de, Second Earl of Hereford and Seventh Earl of Essex (d. 1275)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2775>> [accessed 14 April 2010].



*Bradestrete nobis concessa*).<sup>5</sup> The excavations at 109–118 Broad Street (site OBE96) provide a little evidence to back up this hypothesis: two fragments of medieval chalk foundation seem to predate the foundations for the arcade of the friary choir and they might be remains of the demolished parish church of St Olave.<sup>6</sup> The archaeological evidence is far from conclusive but it must have been around this time that the parish was amalgamated with the adjacent parish of St Peter, thus forming one of the largest parishes within the city walls.

Land for the friary precinct was gradually acquired for about a century after the initial donation of the 1260s, with the acquisition of additional parcels documented in the 1320s, 1330s and 1340s.<sup>7</sup> Construction work on the church and other buildings also took place gradually: the nave of the church and the full suite of claustral buildings may not have been finished until the second half of the fourteenth century. The enlarged fourteenth-century precinct occupied over five and a half acres (2.3ha) in the north of the city, where the church was a prominent physical and spiritual London landmark. A series of fires in London affected the friary in 1503 although there is no evidence for the extent of the damage.<sup>8</sup> The friary housed about sixty friars by the end of the thirteenth century and, although fluctuating and temporarily declining as a result of the Black Death, the numbers were broadly maintained throughout the fourteenth century but declined in the fifteenth century. The friary was probably reasonably financially stable, having a rental income of nearly £60 by the sixteenth century, and receiving good support in the bequests given by Londoners in their wills.<sup>9</sup> Unique among the London friaries, there is a surviving page of sixteenth-century accounts listing the money given by the province to the Order's prior general in Rome and this source will be examined in the concluding chapter (Chapter 7: Conclusions, 'The economy of the friaries').

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<sup>5</sup> Guildhall Library (GL), MS 25121/1590, printed in Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 42.

<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis, not explored in detail in this thesis, is based on a reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence presented in the excavation report: LAARC, site OBE96, G. Bruce, 'An archaeological excavation and watching brief on the site of 109–118 Old Broad Street, City of London EC2' (unpublished AOC report, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> TNA, LR14/85; C66/184, m. 21; Drapers' Company (DC), A I 34 [mortmain licence and grant of 1334]; TNA, C66/213, m. 17; DC, A I 44 and 45 [mortmain licence and grant of 1345]; TNA, C66/267, m. 20 [retrospective mortmain licence for grants of land in 1320s and 1330s]; Röhrkasten, pp. 54–6.

<sup>8</sup> *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 4, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1858 and 1882), ii, 185.

<sup>9</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 80–2, 257–78; Roth, *English Austin Friars*, i, 289; V. Davis, 'Mendicants in London in the Reign of Richard II', *London Journal*, 25.2 (2000), 1–12 (pp. 8–9).

Like the other mendicant orders, the London house was the head of the English province and also housed a *studium generale* that prepared students for study at Oxford, Cambridge or a continental university.<sup>10</sup> The library and school were obviously closely related parts of the priory and a set of new rules issued in 1456 – perhaps marking the completion of the new library – specified that a friar holding a doctorate should alternate as regent of the London school one year and guardian of its library the following. The rules also forbade borrowing of books, unless they were duplicate texts, except by a master or bachelor preparing for university (and even then only up to a month).<sup>11</sup> John Leland only described thirteen books when he visited the library in the sixteenth century; just eight or nine books survive today.<sup>12</sup>

The friary had close relations with some of London's alien populations, particularly the Italians (most of whom lived in the north-east of the city) and, to a lesser extent, the Germans.<sup>13</sup> The fact that alien friars came to England to study was a key factor because such native speakers often stayed in London and acted as confessors and preachers to their own countrymen. In 1427 John Frederici was given permission by the prior general to leave Oxford (where he was studying) during two academic vacations and go to London to preach to and to hear confession from Germans and Flemings.<sup>14</sup>

The friary was not extensively used by the Crown, as the Dominican house was, but it did on occasion house sittings of the Commissary Court, as well as being rented to lay bodies for guild and fraternity meetings such as the annual feast of the Pewterers' Company.<sup>15</sup>

If the Dominican friary housed one of the crucial stages on which the English Reformation began (the setting for the Cardinals' hearing into the proposed divorce of Henry and Catherine in 1529), Austin Friars was the location of Act 2 of the

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<sup>10</sup> Roth notes, however, that the London convent never seems to have been formally described as the *conventus generalis*: *English Austin Friars*, i, 147–8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, no. 839.

<sup>12</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 125; K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990), pp. 7–9.

<sup>13</sup> H. L. Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London 1350–1450' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17–20, 30, 43–4, 54–5.

<sup>14</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 747.

<sup>15</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, nos 948, 973.

drama. From the 1520s the friary was the London home of Wolsey's and then Henry's rising administrator Thomas Cromwell. In a sense, therefore, draft bills for the Reformation Parliament of 1529–36 had their origin in Austin Friars, as did the emerging plans for the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the second half of the decade. The prior George Brown (later prior provincial) was an ally of Cromwell and he was one of the commissioners appointed to visit the English mendicant houses in 1534.<sup>16</sup> Two leading Reformers of the Order spent time in the London house in the 1520s and 1530s, Robert Barnes and Miles Coverdale.<sup>17</sup>

The house surrendered in November 1538 and the precinct was divided into various plots for lease and sale. Thomas Cromwell's property was eventually purchased by the Drapers' Company (who still own the land) while the courtier William Paulet consolidated his own and his brother's plots, ending up with the majority of the former precinct by 1550.

### *Sources*

Austin Friars is one of the better documented London friaries, in large part thanks to the work of Francis Roth who combed the Order's archive in Rome for documents and references relating to the English province: his printed edition of these documents is a major resource for any study of the English Augustinian friars.<sup>18</sup> A number of archaeological excavations have taken place within the friary precinct and these have particularly helped our understanding of the layout of the choir and cloisters (Fig 53). This friary also has, or rather had, a superb piece of surviving friary architecture: the nave of the friary church (granted to a group of German and Dutch religious exiles in 1550 as a nonconformist church) survived the Great Fire and centuries of redevelopment, only to be destroyed in the Second World War. Fortunately, the church had been surveyed and described on a number of occasions before its destruction (below, 'The friary church'). A handful of the friary's medieval property records survive in the archive of the Drapers' Company, who purchased part of the friary in 1543, and the Company also holds particularly informative records

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<sup>16</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 1090; *Letters and Papers*, vii (1), no. 587 (18).

<sup>17</sup> W. A. Cater, 'The Priory of Austin Friars, London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 18 (1912), 62–7; S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 159.

<sup>18</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*.

relating to the mansion that Thomas Cromwell built just before the Dissolution (below, ‘Thomas Cromwell’s property’).

**Fig 53 Map showing location of archaeological sites in Austin Friars (scale 1:1250)**

### *The medieval friary*

#### **The friary precinct and gates**

The friary, like virtually every urban monastery, was surrounded by precinct walls to ensure privacy and security. Its boundary can be traced with reasonable confidence: on the east side it fronted onto Broad Street with London Wall to the north (Fig 55). The north-western boundary can be traced on Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676 (the northern part of Winchester Place, turning west then south to meet Drapers Gardens; Fig 54) and the south-western and much of the southern boundary are visible on a mid-seventeenth-century Drapers’ Company plan.<sup>19</sup> The south-east corner of the precinct would have skirted round the small church and churchyard of St Peter, although the odd angles shown in Ogilby and Morgan’s map make it difficult to be certain of the exact line. Of course, this is the latest and largest version of the friary precinct: the wall would have had to have been rebuilt on more than one occasion in the early years of the friary as the precinct area was expanded. The large-scale construction of the precinct wall – probably the final version – seems to have taken place in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. The London eyre of 1321 records encroachments made by the friary in 1306 and 1315: in the former instance the disputed portion of wall was 200’ long and in the latter 150’.<sup>20</sup> The case must have gone against the friars because they quickly had to muster royal support, obtaining, in July 1321, an injunction that the city sheriffs should stop the demolition of the new walls.<sup>21</sup>

Unsurprisingly, most of the precinct wall was built in stone: along Broad Street it was a *muru[s] lapiden[s]*, along London Wall it was ‘the stone walle on the north’ and along the western boundary it was the ‘Stone Wall’.<sup>22</sup> Between the church and

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<sup>19</sup> DC, A XII 121.

<sup>20</sup> TNA, JUST 1/547A, m. 34.

<sup>21</sup> TNA, C54/138, m. 1.

<sup>22</sup> TNA, C66/704, m. 1; LR14/86; will of William Cony, printed in *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. by B. Marsh and J. Ainsworth, 7 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913–68), ii, 256–7.

Throgmorton Street the precinct wall seems to have been newer and built of brick, being described as ‘the Brekewall whiche encloseth the churchyard or close lyeng on the South syde of the said churche’, with the wall by the main gate on Throgmorton Street similarly described as ‘le brikewall’.<sup>23</sup>

**Fig 54 Austin Friars: detail from Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676 showing the area of the medieval friary**

**Fig 55 Reconstructed plan of the medieval precinct of Austin Friars in c. 1530 (scale 1:1000)**

There were at least three gates to the priory, the principal gate being located to the south on Throgmorton Street and allowing access to the church and churchyard (Fig 55). This was described shortly after the Dissolution as ‘le Gatehouse’ or the ‘wide gate called the Augustine Friars gate’ (*lat[a] port[a] vocat the augustyne friers gate*), with its width specified as 12 feet (presumably referring to the width of the carriageway).<sup>24</sup> Along Broad Street there was a back gate (‘le Bakegate’) to the north of the choir, probably reserved for the prior and his servants.<sup>25</sup> On the northern boundary wall there was a gate called ‘the alye gate’ and a reference to the narrow lane here called ‘the new alye’ makes clear that this meant the alley or minor gate.<sup>26</sup> Finally, there was probably a small postern gate right in the south-west corner of the precinct, at the end of ‘Swanne Aley’ and linking the tenements there to Throgmorton Street.<sup>27</sup>

### The friary church

The first friars may have had access to one or other of the Broad Street parish churches but a separate church for the friars would clearly have been a priority. The new choir was almost certainly under construction in 1277 when six oaks from Windsor Forest were given by the Crown to the friary, and this could well have been for the roof.<sup>28</sup> The limited documentary evidence suggests that a second building campaign, presumably on the nave, had begun by the second quarter of the fourteenth century: a will of 1343 bequeathed money for ‘the works on the church of

<sup>23</sup> TNA, LR14/129; C66/727, mm. 18–19; DC, charter X.

<sup>24</sup> DC, charter X.

<sup>25</sup> TNA, E318/13/577. Cater interpreted this as the bakery gate rather than the back gate (‘Austin Friary’, pp. 215–16) but the alternative name of *posteri[or] port[a]* is given in a slightly earlier version of these particulars for grant: E318/16/755, m. 18.

<sup>26</sup> TNA, E318/16/772 [‘alye gate’]; LR14/86 [‘new alye’].

<sup>27</sup> TNA, SP2/L, ff. 205–210, nos 183–8; DC, A I 61.

<sup>28</sup> TNA, C54/94, m. 6.

Austin Friars' (*operi ecclesie fratrum sancti Augustinini*) and an agreement concerning tithes was made with the rector of St Peter in 1349.<sup>29</sup> The building campaign must have restarted after the Black Death: a descendant of the original founder, the sixth earl of Hereford also called Humphrey de Bohun, gave money for the building in 1354 or 1355. Although the chronicler Fabyan, writing a century and half later, describes the church as finished at about that time, other references suggest that the building campaign on the nave continued for another decade or so, into the 1360s and early 1370s.<sup>30</sup> De Bohun bequeathed another 300 marks in his will of 1361 and the central steeple was rebuilt the following year (although this was after storm damage, not as a planned construction).<sup>31</sup> Wills of 1369 and 1371 record bequests for windows (usually one of the last jobs in a construction project) and the will of 1371 is particularly useful since the intended window was to be 'next to the tomb of Sir Peter de Keer'. Using a sixteenth-century herald's description of the tombs as our guide, we can locate both tomb and window in the middle of the south aisle of the nave.<sup>32</sup> The next reference to construction work in the church dates from over a century later: a case in Chancery in the 1520s refers back to an unfulfilled agreement of 1483 to donate £200 towards rebuilding the choir.<sup>33</sup> The prior Edmund Bellond was the subject of an investigation by the provincial chapter for his excessive spending on rebuilding in the second decade of the sixteenth century and this probably included the church. One accuser alleged, perhaps metaphorically rather than literally, he had needlessly turned square buildings into round ones (*mutans quadrata rotundis*)!<sup>34</sup>

Austin Friars has, or rather had, the best physical evidence for any friary church in England: the nave survived until the London Blitz of 1940, having been converted in 1550 to a church for aliens from the Low Countries and Germany. Fortunately, the church was surveyed before its destruction by the Royal Commission on Historic

<sup>29</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 510 and footnote 2312 [quoting will of 1343]; Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 381 [agreement of 1349].

<sup>30</sup> Stow, i, 177; R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. by H. Ellis, 2 vols (London: Rivington, 1811), p. 464; Cater, 'Austin Friars', p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 465; Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 134; J. S. Hamilton, 'Bohun, Humphrey (VII) de, Fourth Earl of Hereford and Ninth Earl of Essex (c.1276–1322)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2777>> [accessed 14 April 2010].

<sup>32</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 510 [quoting will of 1371]; British Library (BL), Harley MS 6033, ff. 31–2.

<sup>33</sup> The chancery case concerns the non-payment of the promised money and so the intended building works might never have taken place: TNA, C1/547/10.

<sup>34</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 1041.

Monuments (England) and it appears in their 1929 *London* volume.<sup>35</sup> An account of the renovation work carried out in the 1860s by Edward I'Anson is also vital for an understanding of the original form of the nave, as is a slightly earlier architectural description.<sup>36</sup> So, using a combination of this evidence, as well as an accurate large-scale survey of the bomb-damaged church (carried out by the architects of the second restoration in 1950) we can reconstruct the nave in some detail (Fig 56).<sup>37</sup> However, previous attempts at understanding the church have tended to ignore the choir (assuming it was completely demolished in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century), or simply extend the form of the nave so that the east end touches Broad Street. In fact, the evidence of Rocque's map of 1746 strongly suggests that the parish church of St Peter the Poor occupied part of the site of the choir of Austin Friars (Fig 57). Very fortunately, St Peter's was surveyed in the 1790s before it was rebuilt and the drawing clearly shows that the central part of the church had medieval windows, with the north and south aisles added in the sixteenth or seventeenth century (Fig 58). The unusually shaped east end clearly fronts onto an angle of Broad Street and its location is thus quite accurately fixed, a position which is confirmed by foundations of the post-Dissolution aisle excavated on site OBE96 (not illustrated). It then becomes apparent that the medieval part of the church was the south aisle of the friary choir (Fig 56). Furthermore, the presence of a medieval window at the *west* end of this aisle of the parish church demonstrates that the choir/parish church did not have a continuous south aisle.

**Fig 56 Reconstruction of the church of Austin Friars (scale 1:500)**

**Fig 57 Austin Friars: Rocque's map of 1746 showing the parish church of St Peter the Poor a short distance east of the Dutch Church: both must be surviving parts of the medieval friary church**

**Fig 58 Survey of St Peter the Poor shortly before its demolition in the 1790s (south is at the top of the drawing) (LMA, COLLAGE 5470)**

The construction and fabric of the main body of the friary church was entirely typical for London: it was built in Kentish ragstone, with occasional decorative flint

<sup>35</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 5 vols (London: HMSO, 1924–30), iv, 32–4 and plate 217.

<sup>36</sup> T. Hugo, 'Austin Friars', *TLAMAS*, 2 (1864), 1–24; E. I'Anson, 'Account of the Restoration of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars', *Papers Read at the Royal Institute of British Architects*, (1866), 67–75.

<sup>37</sup> LAARC, site WFG50.

courses on the external walls, and using Reigate stone for the mouldings.<sup>38</sup> Building works in 1910 exposed some of the arched chalk foundations that supported the south aisle (site PRG1019). In terms of its plan, the church was rather more unusual, having a three-aisled nave and a two-aisled choir, with a parish chapel forming a partial third aisle on the south side of the choir. There was also a two- or three-bay chapel, presumably a chantry chapel, attached to the south aisle.<sup>39</sup> The large nave had nine bays and measured an impressive 149' by 83' internally (45.3 x 25.2m). Lay access to the nave would have been through the main western door, probably with a lesser door on the south side entered from the cemetery.<sup>40</sup> The floor of the nave was in Purbeck marble, recorded in the 1860s.<sup>41</sup> The aisle windows were in a Decorated style of the fourteenth-century, with four lights terminating in a two-centred arch filled with complex tracery. The west window was a seven-light window of similar date, with a six-petal rose below the apex of the arch (Fig 59). Some of the medieval stained glass seems to have survived into the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup> The internal arcades had probably been rebuilt in the fifteenth century, with Purbeck marble piers formed of four engaged shafts supporting the arches. The main lay altar would have been sited at the east end of the nave and behind that was a tall arched opening that would have been largely blocked at ground level by a wooden screen (with a smaller screened arch in both of the aisles). Behind the screened arches lay a bay described as 'le cross Ile' in a post-Dissolution grant: this was the bay separating the nave from the choir and which allowed the friars to go from the cloister to the cemetery.<sup>43</sup> The evidence of Wyngaerde's view and the 'copperplate' map-view would suggest that it was more like a normal transept, being wider and taller than the simple 'walking place' bay of other friary churches (Fig 60 Fig 61). The crossing was the base of the tower with its tall fourteenth-century spire for which the church was famed: Stow

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<sup>38</sup> Edward I'Anson also identified some mouldings as Aubigny stone, a high quality limestone freestone found in Aubigny (Yonne, France), a not entirely convincing suggestion: 'Dutch Church', p. 69.

<sup>39</sup> The evidence was recorded by Philip Norman, 'Recent Discoveries of Medieval Remains in London', *Archaeologia*, 67 (1916), 1–26 (pp. 7–10); site PRG1019.

<sup>40</sup> A 1543 document mentions a porch (*vestibulum*) on the south side of the church, probably at its west end: TNA, C66/727, m. 18; DC, charter X.

<sup>41</sup> The following description is based on the accounts of Thomas Hugo, Edward I'Anson and the RCHME, cited in footnotes 35 and 36.

<sup>42</sup> Cater, 'Austin Friars', p. 32. No surviving medieval glass is mentioned by Hugo writing in the 1850s, nor by I'Anson a decade later.

<sup>43</sup> TNA, C66/834, mm. 24–5.



described it as ‘a most fine spired steeple, small, high, and streight, I have not seene the like’.<sup>44</sup> In the ‘copperplate’ map-view the tower – hexagonal or octagonal – rises from the middle of the roof, with a polygonal spire above that (Fig 60); there was also a smaller stair-tower in the north-west corner of the church (Fig 61).

**Fig 59 Austin Friars: external view of the fourteenth-century west window and an aisle window, drawn in c. 1860 before restoration (from Thomas Hugo, ‘Austin Friars’)**

**Fig 60 Detail from the ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s showing Austin Friars shortly after the Dissolution**

**Fig 61 Detail of Wyngaerde’s view of London showing the church of Austin Friars in c. 1544**

Using the spacing of the medieval part of St Peter the Poor as a guide we can see that the medieval friary choir had two aisles and six bays, measuring about 96’ by 57’ (29.2m x 17.4m). The position of the arcade separating the two aisles of the choir can be located approximately by surviving fragments of chalk foundation discovered in the excavation at 109–118 Old Broad Street (site OBE96, Fig 56). The precise above-ground form represented by these foundations is hard to understand: they might suggest an internal dividing wall or even the position of an earlier and shorter choir. The same excavation also produced a few medieval architectural fragments including elements of a window or windows, probably dating to the mid-fourteenth century, while part of a rib seems to be a century older and could therefore have formed part of the original vaulting of the choir.<sup>45</sup> The friars’ high altar lay at the east end of the main aisle of the choir.

The parish chapel or church of St Peter the Poor formed a discontinuous south aisle of the choir: the two would have been completely separated by a stone wall, or at the very least by a masonry arcade and timber screen. The west and east windows of the chapel were drawn by Robert Schnebbelie in 1789, shortly before the demolition of the old church: they were tall, five-light, Perpendicular windows of the fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The chapel was quite large, 61 feet (18.7m) long, but still relatively small given its function as a parish church. The entrance to the chapel

<sup>44</sup> Stow, i, 177. It is not certain that the tower and spire were in the centre of the cross-aisle but Edward I’Anson noted that the central arch at the east end of the nave had been strengthened with an inner arch, probably in the 1360s when the spire was repaired after a storm of 1362: ‘Dutch Church’, p. 71.

<sup>45</sup> LAARC, site OBE96, J. Ashbee, ‘Architectural stone’ in, ‘An archaeological excavation and watching brief on the site of 109–118 Old Broad Street, City of London EC2’, ed. by G. Bruce (unpublished AOC report, 1997), pp. 61–3.

<sup>46</sup> London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), COLLAGE 5466.

would have been from Broad Street to the south rather than through the friary precinct.

Bringing together the documentary, architectural and archaeological evidence we can suggest that the friars took over the existing parish church of St Olave when they acquired the site in the 1260s, demolishing it soon afterwards in order to build a twin-aisled choir in the 1260s and 1270s. The new friary church was adjacent to the other parish church of St Peter (which formed a partial third aisle on the south side of the friary choir) and we can assume that the two parishes were united as St Peter Broad Street. Work on the large three-aisled preaching nave may not have begun until the fourteenth century, perhaps as late as the second quarter, and bequests for windows in the early 1370s might mark the end of this building campaign. A further campaign of renovation took place in the fifteenth century, perhaps the last quarter, when the internal arcades of the nave were rebuilt (as part of the construction of a higher clerestory above?).

The high altar of the friary church seems to have been dedicated to St Augustine himself: this was common in Augustinian friars' churches but at least one Augustinian church was dedicated to Mary.<sup>47</sup> Testators mention several chapels and altars in their wills (Table 5).

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<sup>47</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 877; Andrews, *Other Friars*, pp. 117, 158.

**Table 5 Information on chapels, altars and images in the church of Austin Friars**

Saint	Evidence	Date	Reference
<b>Chapels</b>			
Thomas	herald's visitation; probably in N aisle of choir	early 16th C	BL, Harley MS 6033 (ff 31–2)
John the Baptist	herald's visitation; probably in N aisle of choir	early 16th C	BL, Harley MS 6033 (ff 31–2)
Katharine (on S of church)	will in Archdeacon's Court	early 15th C	data from Robert Wood; will cited by Bradley, 'Italian merchants', p. 19
Mary	chantry agreement of 1490 describes location of adjacent altars of our Lady and St James; herald's visitation fixes location; altar of Virgin mentioned in PCC will of 1378.	1490 (1378?)	wills cited by Röhrkasten, p. 510; LR 14/87
duke's	post-Dissolution grant	by 1538	TNA, C66/797, m. 23
<b>Altars</b>			
James	wills in Husting and PCC	1472	Röhrkasten, p. 510
Nicholas/Sebastian	agreement with fraternity of St Sebastian, changing dedication of existing altar of St Nicholas	1496	TNA, LR15/13
Roche	will in PCC	1492	Röhrkasten, p. 511
(Pouchmakers' altar)	agreement with Pouchmakers' guild to maintain altar by a tomb (the tomb can be located in the herald's visitation)	1482	TNA, LR15/12
<b>Images</b>			
Mary (in nave)	'greatt image' in Husting will	1498	Röhrkasten, p. 511; Bradley, 'Italian merchants', p. 19

### The cemetery

Abutments given in several documents relating to the friary's tenements show that the cemetery lay on the south side of the church, set back from Throgmorton Street behind the rented tenements (Fig 56). Unfortunately we have remarkably little other information concerning the cemetery. Excavations at the Dutch Church in 1950 (site WFG50, Fig 56) revealed the remains of two pits immediately south of the church that could well have been the bases of graves (truncated by later activity). A large-scale excavation here in 1910 had failed to find the graves that one would expect (site PRG1019).

Two early-fifteenth century London testators requested burial by the cross in the churchyard, clearly referring to a prominent physical and spiritual landmark.<sup>48</sup> The cross was presumably the location of an external preaching pulpit by the sixteenth century: a case heard in Chancery in the 1530s concerned the friar John Thomson who had commissioned the construction of a new pulpit but who had been robbed.

<sup>48</sup> Archdeaconry Court wills; information kindly provided by Robert Wood from his database, part of his PhD thesis in progress (Royal Holloway, University of London).

The robber eventually repaid £6 13s 8d but the original commission seems to have been for 45½ marks, suggesting that the proposal was for quite a substantial covered pulpit-cross, perhaps built in stone and timber.<sup>49</sup> An abutment recorded in a conventual lease of 1532 shows that the pulpit (and cross) were on the western side of the churchyard.<sup>50</sup>

### **The cloisters**

The basic layout of the two cloisters can be traced thanks to the recording work carried out by the London County Council architect working on a new building in Great Winchester Street in 1909 (site PRG1020); the site was re-excavated by the Museum of London eighty years later although rather less survived at this later date (site GWS89).<sup>51</sup> The excavations recovered extensive remains of the chalk and ragstone arched foundations, in particular those for the central building that linked the two cloisters (Fig 62). Walls and boundaries drawn on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 help to complete the plan of the cloisters (although care has to be taken with this source as much of what survived then had been rebuilt by William Paulet after the friary's dissolution). The 1909 excavations also revealed traces of an earlier layout of the cloister – apparently with slightly narrower buildings – but the surviving information does not, unfortunately, permit an accurate reconstruction of this earlier phase.<sup>52</sup> Documentary evidence confirms the archaeological record: the length of the western wing of the cloisters (including the central building) is recorded in a post-Dissolution grant as being 126' (38.4m), closely matching the archaeological evidence (38.2m, measured from central building to church buttress).<sup>53</sup>

#### **Fig 62 Map showing the two cloisters of Austin Friars (scale 1:500)**

The task of identifying the various components of the two cloisters relies on their respective descriptions in post-Dissolution grants. The main cloister was bought by two purchasers in November 1546 and the Crown grant and the corresponding

<sup>49</sup> TNA, C1/1515/25.

<sup>50</sup> TNA, SP2/L, f. 205, no. 183 [draft lease]; DC, A I 61 [actual lease].

<sup>51</sup> The excavations are described and illustrated in two articles: Cater, 'Austin Friars', pp. 27–30; W. A. Cater, 'Further Notes on the Austin Friary of London', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 21 (1915), 205–30 (pp. 214–18).

<sup>52</sup> The central building of the late-medieval cloisters, illustrated on Fig 62, clearly incorporated at least two building phases: note the odd alignment of its south wall.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, E318/13/577.

particulars break it down into several components.<sup>54</sup> It had both a great and a small chapter house (*magn[a] domus capitularis; parv[a] domus capitularis*) and these were probably on the north-east corner of the cloister: the archaeological evidence for a building protruding to the east is presumably part of the main chapter house and we can guess that the smaller adjacent room was the lesser chapter house. The document also lists a dormitory over rooms called 'thostrye' (hostry), as well as vestry rooms ('le Vestryes') and what appears to be a separate dorter on the cloister's west wing. No other cardinal points are given, unfortunately, but it seems likely that there was one dormitory occupying the upper floor on the east side of the cloister – thus giving the friars direct access to the choir – with the second upper dormitory on the west side. Part or all of the dormitory had been divided into separate cells by the late fourteenth century: in 1388 a note was made in the Order's register of the priors general, recording a change in occupancy of a room in the London house from the lector John Sombori to the master regent.<sup>55</sup> The visitors' hall or hostry would probably be on the ground floor of the west wing, with access controlled by a porter's lodge ('le porters lodge') just to the north. The vestry rooms would occupy two floors in the east wing, apparently close to the chapel in the north aisle of the choir called 'the dukes chapell' (above, 'The friary church').

No specific name for the northern cloister survives; the equivalent cloister at other London friaries was known as the inner cloister. The identification of the medieval buildings relies on two sets of post-Dissolution grants: the north and east wings were granted to Richard Rich in July 1539, with the west wing granted to William Paulet in April the following year.<sup>56</sup> We are also helped by the survival of a conventual lease of part of the cloister to Rich, issued in May 1536 shortly before the friary's dissolution.<sup>57</sup> The northern block housed the 'fermery' (infirmary) on the ground floor, with 'the brade (broad) chamber' and a refectory called 'the brade dynyng chamber' situated on the first floor. The infirmary, and perhaps the whole cloister,

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid. [particulars for grant]; C66/797, m. 23 [grant]. There are also two earlier sets of particulars (of May 1544 and February 1545) for unissued grants of the same property: E318/16/755, m. 18; E318/21/1096, mm. 26–7.

<sup>55</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 593. The register contains later references to individual rooms, such as one belonging to friar Berford William in 1419 (ii, no. 713).

<sup>56</sup> TNA, C66/686, m. 11; E315/103, ff. 27–28v [Richard Rich]; C66/690, m. 8 [William Paulet]. The grant to Paulet is dated 22 April 31 Henry VIII, i.e. 1539: note, however, that the adjacent entries are dated early and mid-April at the *end* of the regnal year 31 Henry VIII, i.e. 1540, suggesting that this one too is probably April 1540 (22 April being the 'changeover' day of Henry's regnal years).

<sup>57</sup> TNA, LR14/86.

seems to have been built in the early fifteenth century: permission for the construction project was granted by the prior general in 1419 (the old infirmary lay in the north-west of the precinct: 'Northern service wing').<sup>58</sup> The kitchen lay on the east side, together with a bake-house (*pistrin[a]*) and stable that presumably lay between the cloister and Broad Street. The original function of the western block is not, unfortunately, specified in the grant to Paulet but an abutment (recorded in the 1546 grant of the principal cloister) describes the wing as 'the staple hall'. The most probable identification of the building is the library, the main 'missing' item in the cloister buildings so far identified. A library is first mentioned in 1422 and was enlarged or rebuilt around the mid-fifteenth century by the provincial prior and bishop of Rochester, John Lowe (it was completed by 1456 when a new set of rules was approved). When John Bale visited in the early sixteenth century, he described it as 'magnificent'.<sup>59</sup> The name 'staple hall' is interesting: in this context the phrase cannot apply to wool storage but may well indicate a partly timber-framed building with some kind of open floor with timber columns or 'staples'. The evidence of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century views of Winchester House would, however, suggest that at least part of the ground floor of the building was built of stone, with two apparently medieval masonry arches allowing access to the interior of the cloister (Fig 73). Was this 'staple hall' partly open at ground floor level, with a timber-framed library hall above? It would be unusual but not impossible for part of an original timber monastic cloister to have survived up to the Dissolution; if much of the wing was built of timber it might explain Paulet's decision to rebuild it in brick after the Dissolution (below, 'William Paulet's property').

### **The prior's house**

The prior's accommodation is included in the 1546 grant of the principal cloister, where it is described as 'the prior's chamber and garden, formerly of Doctor Bolland, lying on the south side of the choir, being by the chapel of St John the Baptist' (*the priors chamber nuper doctori boland cum gardino iacenti ex australi parte chori ibidem existenti a capella sancti johannis Baptiste*).<sup>60</sup> However, it would be virtually impossible to fit the prior's accommodation to the *south* of the choir (where there was

<sup>58</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 713.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, no. 713 [1422]; ii, no. 839 [rules of 1456]; i, 106–7, 289, 374 [mid-fifteenth-century enlargement and sixteenth-century description].

<sup>60</sup> TNA, E318/13/577 [particulars for grant]; C66/797, m. 23 [grant].

the friary cemetery and the parish church of St Peter) and we must therefore place it on the opposing side (a location that also fits better with its stated proximity to the chapel of St John).<sup>61</sup> The ‘chamber’ could well be the rather large house shown in this location on Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676, and the small outbuilding on its south side could be a private entrance to the choir (Fig 62). The prior’s house seems to have been built, or at least enlarged, in the mid-1380s by the then prior John Causton.<sup>62</sup> The house may have been divided into two chambers, one for the prior and the other for the prior provincial, although an alternative location for the prior provincial’s house would be to the north of the northern cloister where a second garden was described as ‘the Priours Garden’ (in a conventual lease of 1536).<sup>63</sup> The prior’s house by the choir had its own private back entrance on Broad Street, described as ‘le Bakegate’. The ‘Doctor Bolland’ named in the post-Dissolution grant is presumably Edmund Bolland, who was prior by 1510 and provincial prior by 1519.<sup>64</sup> The survival of the personal name Bolland as the name of the house is probably because former priors and priors provincial were allowed to keep their chambers even if they left the house or went on to other service: in 1433 prior provincial John Lowe had permission to keep his chamber and possessions in the London house even if he were appointed bishop.<sup>65</sup> In October 1537 the main prior’s house was rented to a lay couple, the dyer Thomas Geffery and his wife Agnes, and the lease specifies that the building is where ‘the said prior nowe lyeth’, emphasising that the lease of the building to a lay person was quite new.<sup>66</sup>

### **Northern service wing**

There was a wing or cluster of friary buildings right at the north-west of the precinct, alongside a lane called ‘the new alye’. The limited evidence for these buildings is primarily to be found in a conventual lease of 1533, in which the prior leased to William Sherland (one of the queen’s ushers) two tenements called ‘the olde fermery’, which were situated between the friary’s bake-house and stables to the

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<sup>61</sup> The sequence of monuments and tombs recorded in the early sixteenth-century herald’s visitation to the church suggests that a chapel of St John lay on the cloister side, i.e. north, of the choir: BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 31–2.

<sup>62</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 576.

<sup>63</sup> TNA, LR14/86.

<sup>64</sup> TNA, LR14/129; LR14/491.

<sup>65</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 768.

<sup>66</sup> TNA, LR14/708.

north and a tenement rented to Roger More to the south.<sup>67</sup> Although the lease does not specify the location of these buildings, they can be situated thanks to the abutments and dimensions given in the later grant of Roger More's property.<sup>68</sup> The buildings seem to have survived into the seventeenth century and their outlines (derived from Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676) are shown on Fig 63. The northermost building, right by the alley gate ('aylye gate') on the northern boundary wall must have been the bake-house and stables, with the old infirmary building the next one south. This infirmary was presumably the one whose construction was planned in 1358 by the prior John de Arderne, and part of which fell down and had to be repaired in 1391 due to poor workmanship.<sup>69</sup> Roger More's property consisted of two tenements, rented, at some point before 1533, to John Morton, gentleman, and Agnes Haynes, a widow. It is quite possible that the buildings had originally been part of the friary proper, before being rented out. There may well have been other service buildings in this area: the 1546 grant of this part of the precinct specifies a brew-house (not a bake-house).<sup>70</sup>

**Fig 63 Austin Friars: service buildings in the north-west of the friary (scale 1:500)**

### **Other monastic buildings**

We know virtually nothing about the friary's other monastic buildings: there must, for example, have been some workshops such as a smithy or a lead-shop. The *studium generale* would also have needed a separate chamber or building; we know that a building to house the student lecturers ('domu[s] lectorum') was authorised in 1419.<sup>71</sup> There was a friary prison – the only recorded prison among the London friaries – the scene of an unfortunate death in 1525 that resulted in the subsequent arrest of several friars, a penitential procession and a stern statement from the prior general.<sup>72</sup> A rather different building is mentioned in an agreement of 1482 between the priory and the fraternity of Pouchmakers, which gives the fraternity access to 'a

<sup>67</sup> TNA, LR14/86 ['new alye']; LR14/787 [lease to Sherland]. The main infirmary was also leased before the Dissolution (LR14/86) and the description makes clear that it was part of the northern cloister, some distance from this old infirmary.

<sup>68</sup> TNA, E318/16/772.

<sup>69</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 438 [1358]; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, ed. by A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926–61), iii, 178 [1391 repairs].

<sup>70</sup> TNA, C66/787, m. 17.

<sup>71</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 713.

<sup>72</sup> *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii, 191; Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 1058.



convenient place within the said hous of freres Augustines, that is to say [a] parlor kechen and Botery' and it would be interesting to know where in the friary this fraternity hall lay.<sup>73</sup> The Pewterers also rented office space in the friary, as well as using the dining hall for their annual feast (until the completion of their company hall in 1486).<sup>74</sup> Other fraternities such as the 'maisters of the brethern and susters of the fraternite of seint Sebastian', a German fraternity, had arrangements with the friary (made, in their case, in 1496) and they too may have had designated buildings or rooms.<sup>75</sup>

### **The friary gardens**

In addition to a private garden next to the prior's mansion (above; 'The prior's house'), the friary had a number of other gardens, concentrated in the north of the precinct. The principal garden seems to have extended along most of the friary's eastern side and it was described in 1537 as 'the greate or comen Gardeyn'.<sup>76</sup> There was a second, equally large 'great garden' (*magnum gardinum*) along the western side of the precinct and by the time of the Dissolution it was 388' (118m) long, although the 1542 grant document notes that it was formerly divided into two gardens.<sup>77</sup> The prior had a second garden adjoining London Wall, with the adjacent 'Staple halle garden' situated on the west side of the northern cloister.<sup>78</sup> There is, unfortunately, little detail on what the gardens were used for but one may imagine at the very least a kitchen garden and an infirmary garden. We do know that the main eastern garden had fruit trees because a conventual lease of 1537 included the right to enter and 'gether fruet'.<sup>79</sup>

### **The friary's tenements**

Like the majority of London's monastic houses, the Augustinian friars owned and rented out London property, including several tenements within their precinct. This seems to have been the case quite soon after their arrival in London: at an inquisition

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<sup>73</sup> TNA, LR15/12. The fraternity had apparently moved from St Mary Bethlehem and St Paul's, where they were based in the fourteenth century: C. M. Barron and L. Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108-45 (p. 140).

<sup>74</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 948.

<sup>75</sup> TNA, LR15/13.

<sup>76</sup> TNA, LR14/708.

<sup>77</sup> TNA, C66/704, m. 1.

<sup>78</sup> TNA, LR14/86.

<sup>79</sup> TNA, LR14/708.

in the early fourteenth century they were found to have acquired a messuage in the parish of St Benet Fink before the statute of mortmain, presumably therefore in the 1260s or 1270s.<sup>80</sup> Compared to most monastic houses they had a rather small property portfolio but they owned a broadly similar group of properties to the other London friaries, although with rather fewer lay residents within the precinct compared to the Dominicans. By 1533 their rental income was just under £60, although this had dropped to about £40 by the time of their dissolution because they had sold some tenements (Table 19 in Appendix 1). Two or three rather luxurious tenements were built by the friars in the second decade of the sixteenth century and their tenants included the rising official Thomas Cromwell and the wealthy Italian merchant John (Giovanni) Cavalcanti, the latter's presence perhaps reflecting the connections between the friary and communities of alien merchants such as Italians and Germans.

By the 1530s, it is clear that the priors George Brown and Thomas Hamond had adopted a definite policy of renting tenements in the precinct to important officials, presumably as a way of securing influence and in an attempt to guarantee the friary's future. As well as Cromwell, the tenants included Thomas Paulet (brother of the courtier William Paulet), Richard Morrison and Richard Rich (both rising protégés of Cromwell at the new Court of Augmentations) and the Emperor's ambassador to England, Eustace Chapuys (Table 19 in Appendix 1). The French ambassador lodged here in 1522 as had Erasmus (without paying his bill!) in 1511.<sup>81</sup> The friary also owned several properties adjacent to their precinct, fronting onto Throgmorton Street (Fig 55). These were leased to a variety of people including the Master of the Revels Thomas Cawarden, although the buildings on the street seem to have been a more typical mix of London properties including two probable inns, the Swanne and the Bell.

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<sup>80</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 40.

<sup>81</sup> Roth, *English Austin Friars*, i, p. 292.

**Table 6 Summary of the rented properties of Austin Friars**

<b>Location of tenements</b>	<b>Number of tenements</b>	<b>Rent received by priory</b>
precinct	6	£22 9s 4d
adjacent to friary in Throgmorton Street	6	£14 13s 4d
other London tenements	12	£21 18s 8d
<b>Total in 1533</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>£59 1s 4d</b>
monastic buildings converted before Dissolution	4	£5 16s 8d
<b>Corrected total in 1538<sup>82</sup></b>	<b>23</b>	<b>£40</b>

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<sup>82</sup> The nominal total figure for 1538, £64 18s 0d, has to be corrected since by this date the friary had sold several tenements to Thomas Cromwell and one to Thomas Paulet. Deducting an estimated £16 rent for the four tenements bought by Cromwell and £8 13s 4d for the Paulet property (see Table 19), we arrive at the approximate figure of £40. Similarly, the corrected total number of rented properties at this date is twenty-three rather than twenty-eight.

### *Austin Friars during and after the Dissolution*

In the 1520s an ambitious servant of Henry VIII's minister Cardinal Wolsey rented a tenement in the precinct of Austin Friars. Just over a decade later that servant, Thomas Cromwell, had himself become England's first minister. The story of the dissolution of Austin Friars is thus tied up with Thomas Cromwell's extensive land holding in and beside the friary. In this section, therefore, the 'post-dissolution' account of the friary will begin in the 1520s, nearly two decades before its actual dissolution, starting with Thomas Cromwell's property and moving onto other post-Dissolution properties carved out of the friary.

**Fig 64 Map showing the division of Austin Friars into various properties after the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)**

#### **Thomas Cromwell's property**

##### *Cromwell's first house in Austin Friars*

The earliest reference to Thomas Cromwell renting a property in or by Austin Friars occurs in November 1525 when he sent a letter there to his wife Elizabeth (Cromwell seems the ideal husband, sending both news and a freshly killed doe for venison).<sup>83</sup> However, he attended the wardmote meeting for Broad Street ward in December 1522 as though he were already living in the area.<sup>84</sup> The house is described in various letters as 'by' or 'against' the friary, with one letter of 1531 describing his address as 'dwelling at the Freare Awstens gate'.<sup>85</sup> A more detailed description of its location is given in the earliest surviving lease (of 1532; the original lease does not survive): it lay west of the friary's churchyard and (although this abutment is less clear) to the north of a tenement and warehouse formerly occupied by the Italian merchant John Cavalcanti.<sup>86</sup> The house (along with all Cromwell's acquisitions in Austin Friars) was later purchased by the Drapers' Company and much of it seems to

<sup>83</sup> R. B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), i, 314. The first letter addressed to Cromwell at Austin Friars is from August 1526: *Letters and Papers*, Addenda, i (1), no. 490.

<sup>84</sup> TNA, SP1/29, f. 120, no. 122.

<sup>85</sup> *Letters and Papers*, v, no. 174 [letter of April 1531]; *Letters and Papers*, iv (2), no. 3675; iv (3), no. 6754; Addenda, i (1) nos 490, 494, 602, 604, 606, 608, 633, 646, 653 [other letters of 1526 to 1530 describing property as 'by' or 'against' the friary].

<sup>86</sup> TNA, SP2/L, ff. 205–10, nos 183–8 [draft lease]; DC, A I 61 [Cromwell's copy of actual lease of June 1532].

have survived long enough to be illustrated on a survey drawn for the Company in the 1640s or 1650s. By comparing the seventeenth-century plan with two written descriptions of the house – an inventory of 1527 and a survey of 1543 – we can gain some impression of the arrangement and contents of the house.<sup>87</sup>

**Fig 65 Thomas Cromwell's first house in Austin Friars (based on seventeenth-century survey) (scale 1:250)**

The house had fourteen rooms arranged over three storeys with, in addition, at least one cellar and some garret rooms in the roof. The house was arranged in three wings, with the principal rooms at the front (on the east side, facing the churchyard) with a hall and gallery at the side forming the link to the service wing at the rear (Fig 65). The ground-floor parlour in particular seems to have been an impressive room, carpeted and fitted with a long table and a screen. In the carpeted hall – entered through a ‘portal’ or grand doorway – were several tables and chairs and a mirror. The private chambers were on the first floor, with the bedrooms on the second floor and the servants’ garrets above that. The inventory offers a fascinating glimpse into the religious and aesthetic tastes of Cromwell just before he rose to the highest office. Both the hall and parlour were decorated with a series of religious images including two representations of the pre-Christian ‘proto-saint’ Lucretia Romana.<sup>88</sup> There were several conventional items of religious paraphernalia in the house including an altar decorated with the Three Kings, another with a Nativity scene, and a set of six silver spoons with engravings of the Apostles. Cromwell demonstrated his personal loyalty with two separate painted panels of Cardinal Wolsey’s arms (a canvas one in the hall and a wooden one in the parlour); perhaps surprisingly, he had a painting of the Emperor Charles V but not one of Henry. His experience of travel is surely indicated by his ownership of two world maps (one on paper, the other on canvas) and it is certainly tempting to see his personal moral outlook in his choice of decorative tapestry: ‘a border of arras work with a picture of occupation and Idylnes’.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> TNA, SP1/42, ff. 104–16, nos 101–13 [1527 inventory]; DC, M B 1c (Minute Book), p. 759, section entitled ‘Pethis hous’ [1543 written survey].

<sup>88</sup> One wonders whether the legend of the virtuous Lucretia and the sexually rapacious prince Tarquin (who brings about the downfall of the Roman monarchy through his behaviour) was entirely appropriate given Cromwell’s later master: perhaps he took these paintings down in the 1530s when he was working for Henry!

<sup>89</sup> TNA, SP1/42, f. 106, no. 103.

The inventory also lists a good collection of silver and gilt plate including a set of twelve goblets, as well as describing some twenty-eight rings owned by Cromwell (three of which he was wearing), with a value of over £60.<sup>90</sup> There are very few other references to possessions in Cromwell's house, although we know that Cromwell's Antwerp-based contact Stephen Vaughan procured a secure iron chain for the house in 1528 and a strong iron chest for storing valuable items.<sup>91</sup>

The small garden (one twentieth of an acre or 220m<sup>2</sup>) lay just to the north of the house and may have been laid out as shown in the seventeenth-century survey with two square knots surrounded by gravel paths. Some sort of arched bower structure is indicated in the north-east corner of the garden.

#### *Cromwell's second house in Austin Friars*

In 1532 Cromwell began to expand his Austin Friars holding, presumably with the intention of building a newer and larger house more appropriate to his rapidly rising status at Court: he was, by this point, Henry's principal secretary in effect if not in name.<sup>92</sup> In June he obtained a ninety-nine-year conventual lease of his current house and garden, together with the adjacent house and warehouse (also within the friary precinct) and a property further south called The Swanne that fronted onto Throgmorton Street (owned by the friary but outside the friary precinct).<sup>93</sup> Two years later in May 1534 Cromwell purchased the property from the friary for £200.<sup>94</sup> Cromwell then consolidated and enlarged his holding, buying the adjacent plot on the street frontage (to the west) from the Italian merchant Anthony Vivaldi in July 1534, later buying out the remaining term from Vivaldi's lessee and purchasing the quitrent due on the property.<sup>95</sup> Cromwell also created a huge garden space to the rear of his property, buying one garden in October 1534 and greatly increasing its size by buying out George Eglyffeld's lease on a large property owned by the Bridge House

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<sup>90</sup> The total of £65 1s 0d includes the twenty-eight rings and a gold image of the Agnus Dei, but does not include the silver plate.

<sup>91</sup> Merriman, *Life and Letters*, i, 52, 85. The letter regarding the iron chest is undated and so could refer to either of Cromwell's houses at Austin Friars.

<sup>92</sup> G. R. Elton, *Thomas Cromwell* (Bangor: Headstart History, 1991), p. 12.

<sup>93</sup> See Footnote 86.

<sup>94</sup> LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/241 (Husting Roll 241/15); DC, A I 64.

<sup>95</sup> DC, A I 67, 68, and 69 [purchase of Vivaldi property in July 1534]; A I 70 [buying remaining term of lease in July 1534]; A I 75 [purchasing quitrent due on Vivaldi property].

estate.<sup>96</sup> In a memorable passage John Stow records how Cromwell seems to have gone rather beyond legal means of enlarging his garden, marking out and confiscating a twenty-two-foot strip of land to the north of his property and even moving one house on rollers! Unfortunately for Cromwell's reputation, one of the affected landowners was John Stow's father, and the son records Cromwell's misdemeanour in his *Survey of London*, adding the personal observation: 'Thus much of mine owne knowledge have I thought good to note, that the suddaine rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves'.<sup>97</sup> The various plots, and the measurements given in the accompanying sale documents, are mapped on Fig 66.<sup>98</sup> Having paid about £550 for the plots, including the costs of buying out leases and a quitrent, Cromwell ended up with one of the largest pre-Dissolution private properties in London, owning  $2\frac{1}{3}$  acres of land (0.9ha), including a  $1\frac{1}{4}$ -acre (0.5ha) 'greater garden' (*major ortu[s]*) and a quarter-acre (0.1ha) 'lesser gardeyn'.<sup>99</sup>

**Fig 66 Austin Friars: map showing the plots acquired by Thomas Cromwell in the 1520s and 1530s (scale 1:1000)**

Beginning in July 1535 and in a programme lasting four years, Cromwell built one of the grandest private houses in London, with the construction project proceeding as he acquired successive plots of ground. In total he spent over £1000 on the project and this is certainly an underestimate as we do not have a complete set of building accounts.<sup>100</sup> The construction project was a large undertaking: in August 1536 the site employed ninety-eight workers, the majority of whom were carpenters, and this number was probably exceeded in the following summer (when figures for the total expenditure survive, but not for the number of workers). Like most building projects, there were delays and hitches, as in October 1536 when Cromwell's nephew Richard took the whole site team of eighty workers to Yorkshire, along with a batch of military equipment, to help Thomas Howard against the rebels of the Pilgrimage of

<sup>96</sup> DC, A I 71 [purchase of garden plot in Swan Alley]; TNA, E36/153, f. 21 [1534 letter recommending purchase of Bridge House garden]; SP1/105, f. 208 [1536 letter of complaint from former Bridge House lessor]; LMA, CLA/007/FN/02/006, ff. 238v, 256v) [Bridge wardens' accounts noting Eglyffeld as lessor in 1538 but naming Cromwell in 1539].

<sup>97</sup> Stow, i, 179.

<sup>98</sup> The references to the documents purchased or leased by Cromwell are in the preceding footnotes. The Drapers' Company purchase document is TNA, C66/727, mm. 18–19; DC, charter X.

<sup>99</sup> TNA, C66/727, m. 18 [Latin quotation]; DC, charter X [English quotation].

<sup>100</sup> The figure is an estimate based on the incomplete figures given in TNA, SP1/94, f. 236, no. 193; SP1/95, ff. 71, 141, nos 63, 129; SP1/96, ff. 74, 218, nos 65, 199; SP1/105, f. 144; SP1/106, ff. 30, 172; E36/256, ff. 87–168v.

Grace.<sup>101</sup> The architect or supervisor of the building project was a certain ‘sir John’, who is mentioned in the records at least three times between 1536 and July 1539 when the mansion was completed. The fact that this John was absent – and construction seems to have halted – for the whole of 1538 may be significant: this was just when the Italian military engineer John (Giovanni) Portinari was working for Cromwell dismantling the dissolved priory at Lewes. If this attribution is correct, it would be one of John Portinari’s first architectural designs; he later went on to build major fortifications such as at Piedmont for the French in the 1550s and at Berwick for the English in the 1560s.<sup>102</sup>

The construction accounts we have examined tell us quite a lot about the materials used in Cromwell’s mansion; there are, happily, two other important surviving documents that tell us far more about the house. The most important of these is a detailed survey drawn for the Drapers’ Company in the 1640s or 1650s, a century after they had purchased the property from the Crown in 1543 (Fig 67).<sup>103</sup> This survey can, with a little patience, be correlated with a description of the properties drawn up for the Drapers’ Company immediately after the purchase: we can thus deduce a room-by-room description of Cromwell’s mansion, as well as being able to redraw a highly detailed scale plan of the ground floor of the mansion (Fig 68).<sup>104</sup> The ground-floor plan can then be adapted with the aid of the room-by-room description in order to reconstruct simple plans of the first and second floors of the house (Fig 69). Finally, using all this evidence and reconstruction work, we can deduce the likely appearance of the mansion along its Throgmorton Street frontage;

<sup>101</sup> R. Hutchinson, *Thomas Cromwell: The Rise and Fall of Henry VIII’s most Notorious Minister* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007), p. 113.

<sup>102</sup> T. Beverley, ‘Portinari, Sir Giovanni (b. c. 1502, d. in or after 1572)’, *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52154>> [accessed 13 October 2009].

<sup>103</sup> DC, A XII 121. It is worth noting that the minutes of the Company record virtually no *structural* expenditure on the ex-Cromwell property in the intervening century, suggesting that the seventeenth-century plan records the mansion in a largely sixteenth-century state: A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914–22), ii, 67, 80, 84, 223, iii, 107.

<sup>104</sup> The room by room reconstructed description is not given here but will be separately published. DC, M B 1c (Minute Book), pp. 759–62. The relevant entries describing Cromwell’s mansion are ‘Mr Roches hous’ (p. 761; mostly on the west side of the principal courtyard) and ‘the hall’ (p. 762; the east side of the courtyard). Previous discussions of Cromwell’s mansion have only examined the section entitled ‘the hall’ and have thus missed out one half of the mansion: W. P. Sawyer, ‘The Drapers’ Company’, *TLAMAS*, 7 [bound with vol. 6] (1890), 59–61; Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 278–87; W. Archer-Thomson, *Drapers’ Company: History of the Company’s Properties & Trusts*, 2 vols (London: Drapers’ Company, 1940), i, 149.



the evidence of the ‘copperplate’ map-view is particularly important here (Fig 60 Fig 70).

**Fig 67 Austin Friars: detail of a survey of the former Cromwell property drawn for the Drapers’ Company in the mid-seventeenth century (DC, A XII 121)**

**Fig 68 Austin Friars: detailed ground-floor plan of Thomas Cromwell’s mansion, redrawn from the Drapers’ Company plan (Fig 67) (scale 1:250)**

**Fig 69 Austin Friars: simple ground-, first- and second-floor plans of Thomas Cromwell’s mansion (scale 1:500)**

**Fig 70 Austin Friars: reconstructed elevation of Thomas Cromwell’s mansion, Throgmorton Street frontage (scale 1:250)**

The mansion had two main storeys, with a third storey along the street frontage and garrets above that (Fig 69). There were also a number of storage cellars for wine and beer. Much of the house was built in brick, certainly along the street frontage and on the east side of the principal courtyard where the walls were two feet thick. Other walls are much thinner, about one foot thick, and those parts of the mansion must have been timber-framed, with the walls and their wattle-and-daub infill covered with off-white render. The boundary wall on the north side was the old friary precinct wall and would most likely have been built in Kentish ragstone. The windows were built in freestone, perhaps green-tinged Reigate stone from Surrey. The roofs were tiled, almost certainly with red London roof tiles. The ‘copperplate’ map-view of the 1550s (Fig 60) illustrates the Cromwell mansion, showing, in particular, three projecting oriel windows spanning the first and second floors and situated over a large gateway. There seems to be a courtyard to the rear. While this map-view cannot be relied on for absolute accuracy, it is clear that the artist was paying particular attention to the form of this house (in contrast, the neighbouring houses are much closer to the ‘standard copperplate’ house, usually of two storeys with a gable and two windows per floor). The oriel windows were most probably built as projecting timber turrets and they appear to be polygonal.

The house was arranged around three courtyards and had over fifty rooms, probably with another dozen garrets in the roof spaces. The main entrance was by a gate leading into the principal central courtyard and the main service wing occupied the east side of the yard, with extensive kitchens and storage rooms on the ground floor. On the west side lay a chapel and hall, as well as a secondary kitchen. Prestigious visitors would have been guided up the large stair tower to one of the first-floor halls (rooms 33 and 42 on Fig 69), the parlour (room 36) or the ladies’

parlour (room 35). The halls in particular must have been spectacular: the one on the street frontage was heated and is described as having ‘iiij bay glas windowes’, presumably the three oriel window on the south side and a fourth oriel or large window on the north side looking down into the principal courtyard. The other hall was even larger and faced west onto the courtyard; this too may have had oriel windows. The halls would have been decorated with tapestry hangings such as the ‘arras’ or Flemish work portraying the Virgin and child – ‘Our ladye hir sonne and another woman having a peare in hir hand’ (Eve?) – later confiscated by the king after Cromwell’s downfall.<sup>105</sup>

A series of galleries with windows looking down on the courtyard connected the west and east wings of the mansion at first-floor level (rooms 43 and 44 on Fig 69). Cromwell’s private and family chambers were probably situated on the first floor in the north-west part of the house and included chambers with views of the gardens towards the north and with lockable cupboards (‘two ammeres [ambries] with dures of waynscott’; rooms 45 and 46), and the family apartment even included a separate bathroom with a plaster ceiling (a chamber that ‘hath a closet and a Stew therin the Stew being syled’; in one of rooms 47–51). A series of bedchambers were situated along the street frontage on the second floor, probably for Cromwell’s staff such as Ralph Sadler or for senior household servants such as Thomas Thacker. There were also smaller garret rooms for the domestic servants above the second floor street frontage and there would have been other garrets over the first floor chambers elsewhere in the mansion.

It would be fascinating to know more about the internal decoration of the house but there does not appear to be a surviving inventory. Cromwell would certainly have brought with him many of the possessions from his old house, but his new wealth and power would presumably have allowed, if not required, him to acquire grander and more impressive possessions. It would be interesting to know, for example, if Cromwell moved the painted panel with Cardinal Wolsey’s arms to his new hall: did his celebrated loyalty to his old master continue some five years after Wolsey’s death? The limited detail we do have for the new house comes from an inventory of Henry VIII’s possessions drawn up soon after the king’s death, which includes a

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<sup>105</sup> *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419*, ed. by D. Starkey and P. Ward (London: Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries, 1998), p. 181 (no. 9015).

section on bedding removed from Cromwell's house at Austin Friars after his arrest in June 1540. The material includes a bed, three bedsteads, nine sets of bed linen (nearly every one with a canopy, head cloth and valances), two quilts and four other bed canopies. Every item is in luxury cloth such as cloth of gold, damask or velvet. The inventory includes at least fourteen other items that formerly belonged to Cromwell, including the tapestry already mentioned and a 'paire of [silver] gilt pottes' with Cromwell's arms. However, unlike the batch of confiscated bedding, we do not know which of Cromwell's houses they came from, or whether they were gifts.<sup>106</sup>

The mansion was completed by a detached garden set back some fifty yards (44m) from the house. The seventeenth-century Drapers' Company plan is our main evidence for the garden and, as for the house, we have to decide which of the illustrated features date from the second half of the sixteenth century after the Company acquired the property. The plan illustrates a 1¼-acre garden divided into a series of square knots or beds, separated by a regular series of 'walks' or paths. There are buildings in three of the four corners, including a stable in the north-east, a house in the south-east and a 'diceing house' in the south-west. There are four structures that look like arbours or small, timber summer houses, situated to give views along the paths. Along the western side of the garden there is a 'boulung alley'. Much of this layout seems to have been designed in the 1540s after the acquisition of the garden by the Drapers' Company – accounts of these garden works survive – but some elements were probably laid out for Cromwell in the 1530s.<sup>107</sup> A stable and a bowling alley were certainly planned when this plot was being bought in 1534: Cromwell's servant wrote to his master about the large plot, 'Sir ther you maye have a fayer stabell mayd and ther you maye have mayd a fayer tennys playe and a close Bowlyng alle with a gallere over it'.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately it is not clear if the tennis court was ever built. Could the maze shown on the plan have been laid out for Cromwell? It is certainly possible, particularly if the famous seventeenth-century Hampton Court maze was a replacement for a sixteenth-century original designed for Cromwell's former master Wolsey. Some of the hedged knot-gardens and at least one of the arbours would seem to date to the 1530s because in June and July 1540 two male

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 189–90 [bed linen; nos 9172–86], p. 34 [gilt pots; no. 904].

<sup>107</sup> Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 67–9.

<sup>108</sup> TNA, E36/153, f. 21.

gardeners and six women weeders were employed here to maintain the garden features: ‘as well for setting of knottes hedgys aleyes and the erber, as in wedyng of the stinis [stones, i.e. gravel paths]’.<sup>109</sup>

The mansion would have been one of the most spectacular private houses in London and features such as the two first-floor halls with their oriel windows and the large garden with its knots and (possible) maze would have particularly impressed contemporaries. Cromwell was clearly interested in architecture and, as Bernard Beckingsale has pointed out, he probably acquired his interest from Wolsey.<sup>110</sup> Cromwell oversaw the construction of Wolsey’s Cardinal College, Oxford, in 1528 and this would have honed his architectural interest, not to mention the management skills necessary to the successful completion of any building project.<sup>111</sup> A few years later, Cromwell supervised or ‘project managed’ several Crown building projects, in particular the improvement works to the Tower of London in 1532–3, and he also took an active interest in the fortification works at Calais in 1536–7.<sup>112</sup> On his own building projects, in addition to his principal London residence at Austin Friars, Cromwell carried out rebuilding and conversion works at various houses he bought and sold in the London area: in Clapton, Stepney, Canonbury, Mortlake and Wimbledon, as well as at the Rolls house that came with the office of Master of the Rolls (held by Cromwell from October 1534 to July 1536).<sup>113</sup> The best documented of these houses is Brooke House in Clapton, rebuilt in 1535 as a sort of private-Crown partnership, apparently by Cromwell on Henry’s behalf.<sup>114</sup> The only surviving house is the one at Canonbury and, disappointingly, this does not seem to have been the subject of a detailed study.<sup>115</sup> The rationale behind most of these

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<sup>109</sup> BL, Royal MS Appendix 89, f. 70. The fact that the male gardeners were only employed for a week and a half would suggest that this was merely regular maintenance, not the original setting out of the features.

<sup>110</sup> B. W. Beckingsale, *Thomas Cromwell, Tudor Minister* (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 5.

<sup>111</sup> H. Leithead, ‘Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex (b. in or before 1485, d. 1540)’, *ODNB*, (May 2009) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6769>> [accessed 18 March 2010].

<sup>112</sup> H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, 6 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963–82), iii (1), 264–9, 348–53.

<sup>113</sup> M. L. Robertson, ‘Profit and Purpose in the Development of Thomas Cromwell’s Landed Estates’, *The Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), 317–46 (pp. 321–2 and footnote 10).

<sup>114</sup> M. P. G. Draper and others, *Parish of Hackney (Part 1): Brooke House*, Survey of London, 28 (London: Athlone Press for London County Council, 1960), pp. 70–3.

<sup>115</sup> The house is described in W. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, 6 vols (London: 1878), ii, 269–73; B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *London 4: North*, Buildings of England (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 687–8.

building projects was generally one of property development: buying, improving and then leasing or selling the finished house for profit; the exceptions to this are Cromwell's principal London residence at Austin Friars and his (intended) country seat at Lewes.<sup>116</sup>

At Austin Friars, then, Cromwell built a private mansion that combined a number of functions: a family residence, an administrative base for him and his staff, and a moderately sized urban palace where he could entertain important visitors in an appropriate manner. As Beckingsale argues, the house was never intended to be in the top rank of aristocratic architecture but it was designed so that Cromwell could at least keep up with Henry's other advisors, particularly ecclesiastical men like Stephen Gardiner.<sup>117</sup> Cromwell may even have been anticipating (or fearing) a proper visit from the King, who had come uninvited to the old Austin Friars house in April 1535 when Cromwell was very ill at home.<sup>118</sup>

#### *The sale of Cromwell's property to the Drapers' Company*

On the day of Cromwell's arrest in June 1540 members of the king's household took possession of the Austin Friars mansion – clearly in a planned move – and it remained under royal administration (but largely unused) for three years.<sup>119</sup> In June some gardeners were brought in to tidy up the knot gardens and paths and in August a caretaker was appointed to look after the house on behalf of the Crown.<sup>120</sup> A batch of Cromwell's furniture was removed from the house that month to be given as a divorce present for Anne of Cleves (or, more strictly, as part of the annulment settlement): this was more than a day's work so the royal servants clearly took more than just the odd tapestry.<sup>121</sup>

The Drapers' Company seem to have begun negotiations to buy the house in March 1542 when they appointed a deputation to inspect the property and agreed (among themselves) a maximum price of 1600 marks, with a subsequent decision to raise this to 1800 marks. One of the Company's conditions was that the property

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<sup>116</sup> Robertson, 'Profit and Purpose', pp. 317–46.

<sup>117</sup> Beckingsale, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> Hutchinson, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 130.

<sup>119</sup> Elton, *Thomas Cromwell*, pp. 38–39; Beckingsale, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 141.

<sup>120</sup> BL, Royal MS Appendix 89, f. 70 [gardeners]; TNA, C66/698, m. 29 [appointment of caretaker].

<sup>121</sup> Four men spent four days moving furniture from Austin Friars, the Tower and the Palace of Westminster: BL, Arundel MS 97, f. 142v.

came with the monastic water supply and with access rights along the lane leading from the old gatehouse. On 19 July they took possession of the property.<sup>122</sup> The total price paid is unclear: the Treasurer's accounts of the Court of Augmentations record a payment that year of £666 13s 4d (1000 marks) but the Company may well have made an additional payment of 800 marks, bringing the total price to £1200.<sup>123</sup> Part of the mansion was used as the new company hall, with the wings (converted into separate houses) and adjoining tenements rented to the Company's wardens and master at 'a reasonable yerely rentte'.<sup>124</sup> Cromwell's gardens were partly replanted by the Company and were used by members, with the master and wardens having the right to the fruit and herbs, and non-members able to pay an annual fee for the use of the garden: John Cease paid £3 a year for the privilege in 1551.<sup>125</sup>

### **William Paulet's property**

The Paulets were associated with Austin Friars before the dissolution of the friary: Thomas Paulet, most probably William's younger brother, had been granted a lease on a large part of the friary in 1531. The property included a house (formerly occupied by the king's surgeon Marcellus de la More) as well as the friary's 'great garden'.<sup>126</sup> The great garden was huge: it was originally 398' (121m) long alongside the stone wall that marked the western boundary of the friary. In addition to measurements given in the lease, further dimensions are recorded as abutments in the 1543 grant of Thomas Cromwell's property to the Drapers' Company (Fig 71).<sup>127</sup> Five years later in 1536 Thomas Paulet was able to buy the freehold of the plot, although this did not include the separately rented northern part of the garden.<sup>128</sup> Soon after the dissolution of the friary, Thomas' brother William, one of Henry's inner circle of courtiers and advisors, was granted part of the friary's northern cloister and the adjoining garden. The purchase price is not stated but it may have

<sup>122</sup> DC, M B 1b, (Minute Book), pp. 724–6; Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 64–7.

<sup>123</sup> TNA, E323/2b/part 1, m. 98; Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 80.

<sup>124</sup> DC, M B 1c (Minute Book), p. 759; Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 66.

<sup>125</sup> Johnson, *Drapers*, ii, 67–9; Sawyer, 'Drapers' Company', p. 62.

<sup>126</sup> TNA, LR14/88 [purchase contract of March 1536 citing lease of March 1531]. For the assertion that this Thomas Poulet is William's younger brother, see L. L. Ford, 'Paulet, William, First Marquess of Winchester (1474/5?–1572)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21622>> [accessed 29 March 2010]; S. W. May, 'Puttenham, George (1529–1590/91)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22913>> [accessed 29 March 2010].

<sup>127</sup> TNA, C66/727, mm. 18–19; DC, charter X.

<sup>128</sup> See footnote 126.

been without fee since an annual rent to the Crown of £11 12s 5d remained on the property.<sup>129</sup> The Austin Friars property was described in the grant as a ‘great messuage, newly built’ (*illud magnum mesuagium per ipsum dominum Seyntjohn nuper edificatum & constructum*). Paulet had been made Baron St John in March 1539 and would become marquess of Winchester in Edward VI’s reign.<sup>130</sup>

#### **Fig 71 William Paulet’s property in Austin Friars**

The Paulets’ property was soon augmented with several further acquisitions and it became William (and Thomas’) principal London residence. In January 1541 William Paulet bought another parcel of the friary that lay to the north (which had originally been granted to Richard Rich), in March 1542 the title to the great walled garden was confirmed and in 1546 he bought the main friary cloister for £52 6s 8d. Finally, in 1550 he was granted the choir of the friary church and a purchase clause required him to repair the nave of the church (which he was not granted) ready for its use by the new Dutch church.<sup>131</sup> Paulet thus ended up with nearly three-quarters of the former friary precinct, a sizeable landholding of just over four acres (1.7ha). He held onto the majority of the land, selling only the westernmost block (the plot acquired before the Dissolution by his brother) to Christopher Hatton.<sup>132</sup>

Beginning almost immediately after the Dissolution (the 1540 grant of the great messuage describes it as ‘newly built’) Paulet set about converting the northern and southern cloisters into a grand London palace that came to be known as Winchester House, after his title of marquess of Winchester. Archaeological evidence from sites PRG1020 and GWS89 demonstrates that Paulet kept the southern cloister largely unchanged but rebuilt the northern cloister to form an ‘H’-shaped mansion with up-to-date facades in the northern wings (Fig 72). The full outline of the palace can be reconstructed by combining the archaeological evidence with the simple plan of the building on Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676. There are five surviving plans relating to the Paulet estate (drawn for the Clitherow family who purchased it in the

<sup>129</sup> TNA, C66/690, m. 8. The grant is dated 22 April 31 Henry VIII (i.e. 1539); note, however, that the adjacent entries are dated early and mid-April at the end of regnal year 31 Henry VIII, suggesting that this one too is probably from April 1540.

<sup>130</sup> Ford, ‘Paulet, William’.

<sup>131</sup> TNA, C66/698, m. 29; C66/700, m. 7 [January 1541 grant]; C66/704, m. 1 [March 1542]; E318/13/577; C66/797, m. 23 [1546 purchase by Paulet’s servants Herwarde and Tenante]; C66/834, mm. 24–5 [July 1550].

<sup>132</sup> *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the City of London*, ed. by W. Phillimore, G. S. Frye and E. A. Fry, 3 vols (London: British Record Society, 1896–1908), iii, 283–6.

seventeenth century) but these mostly date to the nineteenth century. A massive chimney stack shown in a plan of Winchester House of 1817 is, however, almost certainly a Tudor feature (and is therefore shown on Fig 72).<sup>133</sup> We also know a little about the external and internal appearance of the palace because the north-west wing was drawn or painted by a number of artists in the early nineteenth century. The most reliable views seem to be an engraving of 1800 by John Smith (not illustrated; LMA, COLLAGE 6931) and a watercolour of 1839 by Robert Schnebbelie (Fig 73): the former shows the house behind a stone boundary wall, with the latter (painted during the demolition of the house) showing greater detail of the ground-floor storey.

**Fig 72 Austin Friars: map showing the adaptations William Paulet made to the medieval cloisters in the 1540s, creating Winchester House (scale 1:500)**

**Fig 73 Austin Friars: watercolour by Robert Schnebbelie of the west façade of the north wing of Winchester House during its demolition in 1839 (LMA, COLLAGE 18532)**

The building was an interesting hybrid of medieval and early modern design. It was founded on deep chalk and rubble piers (some of which were reused from the medieval cloister), linked by below ground foundation arches. However, in a departure from the medieval technique, the linking arches at Winchester House were made from brick rather than chalk. The majority of the above-ground walls were also in brick, although stretches of the stone wall of the north cloister were retained (and can be seen on the right of Fig 73). The building had two or three stories, with slightly projecting bays on the west façade marked by stone quoins. The ground and first floors were well lit, having large windows of up to twelve lights with stone mullions and transoms. A second storey appears to have been added in the seventeenth century, judging by its casement windows and roof cornice. The interior was certainly extensively remodelled in that century: surviving illustrations show late Elizabethan or Jacobean panelling, perhaps installed by William Paulet's grandson or great-grandson (respectively the third and fourth marquess of Winchester, both called William).<sup>134</sup> To the north and east lay Paulet's extensive gardens – the prior's garden and the old common garden.

<sup>133</sup> LMA, ACC/1360/287 [piece 3 is the 1817 plan]; ACC/1360/288; ACC/1360/289.

<sup>134</sup> H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Paulet, William, Third Marquess of Winchester (c.1532–1598)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21623>> [accessed 1 April 2010]; R. Hutton, 'Paulet, John, Fifth Marquess of Winchester (1598?–1675)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21621>> [accessed 1 April 2010]. Late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century panelling and a timber overmantel are illustrated on a watercolour of c. 1830: LMA, COLLAGE 6943.



Before it was granted to Paulet, the friary church had been used by the Crown as a temporary storage facility for wine and fish captured from the French in late 1544.<sup>135</sup> The temporary arrangement was then formalised: the church – perhaps just the choir end – was converted by the Crown in 1546 for use as a warehouse for the storage of much-needed alum. The fixing agent was used by the woollen cloth industry but the traditional supply routes from the Papal States had been suspended following Henry's reforms: this batch of alum was procured from Spanish merchants in exchange for lead (almost certainly lead stripped from monasteries and friaries). The works cost £38 13s 9½d – mainly spent on brickwork – much of which would have been the construction of a huge dividing wall to separate the choir and nave.<sup>136</sup> In the 1550s and '60s William Paulet used the converted choir as his private warehouse for 'corne, coale, and other things' and Paulet's son John seems to have begun dismantling it in the 1570s: John Stow records how he stripped and sold the old church monuments and the paving stone for £100, and that he replaced the lead on the roof with cheaper tile.<sup>137</sup> The steeple was demolished in the early seventeenth century, in spite of protests by the mayor and the parishioners of St Peter in 1600.<sup>138</sup> The whole choir must have been demolished by the second decade of the seventeenth century when the adjacent parish church of St Peter was enlarged on its north side.<sup>139</sup>

### **The Dutch Church**

The City authorities had attempted to buy the four main friary churches from the Crown in 1539 and again in 1546 but their offers were refused.<sup>140</sup> In July 1550 the nave of the great friary church was granted to a community of 'Germans and other strangers' (*germanorum aliorumque peregrinorum*) to use as their church. It was to be called 'the Temple of the Lord Jesus' (*Templum domini Jesu*), a title recorded in painted inscriptions on the easternmost windows of both aisles, one of which bore

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<sup>135</sup> *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii, 208. The entry follows one for January 1545 but seems to refer back to December 1544.

<sup>136</sup> TNA, E351/3329. The account is dated 1545–8 but the fact that a refund on the building expenses incurred by Hugh Losse was made in early 1547 (E315/254, f. 93) and that alum was stored here in 1547 (C66/802, rear of mm. 27–8) suggest that the works took place in 1546.

<sup>137</sup> Stow, i, 176–7. This stripping and sale presumably occurred in the 1570s, after the death of William Paulet in 1572 but before John's death in 1576.

<sup>138</sup> Strype, *Survey*, i (book 2), 114; Hugo, 'Austin Friars', pp. 17–18.

<sup>139</sup> Strype, *Survey*, i (book 2), 112.

<sup>140</sup> Cater, 'Further notes', p. 229.

the date 1550.<sup>141</sup> The 1550 grant did not specifically include the cemetery to the south but the contemporary grant of the choir to William Paulet included the condition that Paulet should repair the church *and* cemetery, as though the latter was included in the new church's property.<sup>142</sup> The Polish-born reformer John à Lasco was named as the first minister and in the early days of the church it catered for religious exiles from France as well as Frisia (where Lasco had been the religious superintendent). Lasco and his congregation returned to Emden in Frisia at the succession of Mary in 1553 and the church became part of William Paulet's property, briefly serving as a Catholic chapel for Italians. The Dutch congregation came back to London in February 1560 (Lasco's death a month earlier prevented his return). The church is particularly significant in English religious history as the first official nonconformist chapel; such legal sanction for nonconformity was of course not yet extended to English citizens.<sup>143</sup> The conversion of the friars' preaching nave to a Protestant church is in one sense a vivid symbol of the changes of the Reformation but there is also an element of continuity in that the friary had long had a special relationship with London's alien community, particularly Italians and Germans.<sup>144</sup> Although Lasco's original congregation was based in east Frisia (in modern Germany), the Frisian connection meant that the church has long been known as the Dutch Church (west Frisia is today a province of Holland) and it still uses the Dutch language for services.

### **Other properties in Austin Friars**

Compared to the properties owned by William Paulet and Thomas Cromwell, the other post-Dissolution plots of land were rather small. In April 1540 Roger More purchased a bundle of ex-monastic property, principally in Oxfordshire but also including two messuages with large gardens in the north-west of the London Austin Friars (Fig 64).<sup>145</sup> Four years later the friary's rented tenements just outside the

<sup>141</sup> TNA, C66/830, m. 42; RCHME, *London*, iv, 34.

<sup>142</sup> TNA, C66/834, mm. 24–5; A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), p. 36.

<sup>143</sup> *The Dutch Church* (London: Dutch Church, 1986); D. W. Rodgers, 'À Lasco [Laski], John (1499–1560)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16081>> [accessed 7 April 2010]; Pettegree, *Protestant Communities*, pp. 137, 143–4.

<sup>144</sup> An example of the link to Germans is the 1496 agreement between the priory and the 'alman' fraternity of St Sebastian: TNA, LR15/13.

<sup>145</sup> TNA, E318/16/772 [particulars for grant] and C66/699, m. 13 [grant]. The measurements in the grant have been used in Fig 64.

precinct on Throgmorton Street were sold in two packages: two were bought by Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier in July 1544 and one (with a garden and stable) by Thomas Godwyne in September; again, both of these purchases were part of much larger bundles of ex-monastic property.<sup>146</sup> The same month Cyryack Pettyte bought a tenement to the rear of the street frontage within the friary precinct, one that had probably earlier been built in the cemetery.<sup>147</sup>

The parish church and churchyard of St Peter the Poor are not mentioned in any of the post-Dissolution grants of Austin Friars: in spite of the physical proximity of the parish church to the friary's choir the ownership of the former must never have been in question. The parish's portion of the great choir was thus retained after the friary's dissolution and the church does not seem to have been altered until the early seventeenth century when new aisles were added on the north and south sides.<sup>148</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

Drawing on the earlier work of Francis Roth, William Cater and others, this chapter presents a fuller reconstruction of the Austin Friars church, reuniting the nave (which survived until 1940) with the vanished choir, the latter revealed through a combination of archaeological and cartographic evidence. An accurate plan of the double cloister is also reconstructed for the first time, along with the large area of gardens and the service court at the north of the precinct. This friary had a slightly different fate to the other London friaries in the 1530s, experiencing a 'long Dissolution' that began in about 1532 when Thomas Cromwell started acquiring friary property with a view to building his new house. His great new mansion of fifty rooms or more was begun in June 1535 and finally completed four years later – after the friary's closure – in July 1539. Shifting domestic and international alliances, not to mention his master's unpredictable marital affairs, prevented Cromwell from making the most of his remarkable London palace: he was arrested in June the following year and executed at the end of July. Fortunately for us, the property was bought by the Drapers' Company, whose extensive records have enabled a reconstruction of this remarkable house.

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<sup>146</sup> TNA, C66/757, m. 5 [Losse and Bochier]; C66/762, m. 39 [Godwyne].

<sup>147</sup> TNA, E318/17/861, m. 6 [particulars for grant]; C66/755, m. 3 [grant].

<sup>148</sup> Strype, *Survey*, i (book 2), 112.

## Chapter 6: Crossed Friars

### *Introduction*

The London house of the Crossed Friars was probably founded near the Tower in the second half of the 1260s following the issue of a letter of protection to the Order by Henry III in 1265. Stow names Ralph Hosiar and William Sabernes as the priory's founders but they are more likely to be later benefactors as he dates the foundation to 1298.<sup>1</sup> The Order originated in Flanders in the first half of the thirteenth century but our understanding of its early history is fraught with problems, in no small part due to the ambiguity of their name: several early groups of canons and friars shared the rather vague attribution as *cruciferi* (crossed) or *de sancte crucis* (of the holy cross), usually describing a coloured cross on their habit or a carved cross on their staff. Michael Hayden is the most important English-language historian of the Order and he has argued that the Order began at Clairlieu in *c.* 1216 as a group of regular canons and laymen running a small hospice. The canons then set up a few other hospices in France and England, with the earliest English house established at Whaplode in Lincolnshire by the 1240s or, less certainly, at Ospringe near Canterbury as early as 1234. It is possible that they founded a short-lived hospice in London in the 1240s.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, in the Low Countries, the small group was crystallising into a more formal order of regular canons, broadly following Dominican statutes but not adopting the mendicant ideal of poverty; they were therefore unaffected by the decision of the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 to suppress the smaller mendicant orders.<sup>3</sup> Their houses were owned by the Order and they followed conventional religious orders in owning other property to provide

<sup>1</sup> J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), p. 62 (hereafter cited as 'Röhrkasten'); Stow, i, 147.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of an early London house of Crossed Friars was separately postulated by David Knowles and Louis Salzman: D. Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940), p. 117; Victoria County History, *Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, 9 vols (various publishers, 1938–89), ii (ed. by L. F. Salzman, 1948), p. 291. However, closer reading of the cited entry in Matthew Paris' *Chronica majora* does not reveal any evidence for a London house at this date: *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 64, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872–83), iv, 393–4. The suggestion of an early London house was rejected by H. F. Chettle ('The Friars of the Holy Cross in England', *History*, 34 (1949), 204–20 (p. 212)) and later by Knowles (D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 209).

<sup>3</sup> M. Hayden, 'The Crosiers in England and France', *Clairlieu*, 22 (1964), 91–109 (pp. 92–6); M. Hayden, 'The Crutched Friars in England', *Clairlieu*, 47 (1989), 145–75 (pp. 146–53).

rental income. By the time of the foundation (refoundation?) of their London house in the 1260s they were an order of friar-like preaching canons, no longer involved in hospice work, but they were consistently referred to as *fratres* or friars in England. Here, they will be referred to as Crossed friars, the translation of the Latin *fratres cruciferi*, and the name they seem to have called themselves judging by the draft of a letter written by the London prior to the king in the 1530s, one of the few surviving pieces of their archive:

In most humble wise bisechith your most exellent highnes your devowt orators and conteneuall bedmen, the prior and convent of the religious hows of crossid freers of London by side your towre, first founded and edifyed and of long tyme mayntaynnyd by the charyete of your most famous and noble progenetors.<sup>4</sup>

Influenced by the English pronunciation of the Latin *cruciferi*, they were often called crouched or crutched friars: by the early fourteenth century the part of Hart Street to the north of their precinct was known as *Crouchefrerstrete*, surviving today as Crutched Friars.<sup>5</sup> The Order survives in continental Europe, America and beyond as the Crosiers, or canons regular of the Holy Cross.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence of the Order's early land acquisition to the north-west of the Tower (first pieced together by Marjorie Honeybourne and later developed by Jens Röhrkasten) suggests that, like the other houses of London friars, they had a long-term plan to accumulate adjoining property in order to create an appropriately sized precinct. The priory successfully negotiated a programme of expansion in the first half of the fourteenth century, particularly in the 1320s, acquiring land from its neighbours in order to enlarge the precinct towards the west (towards Seething Lane).<sup>7</sup> By the mid-fourteenth century the process seems to have been completed and they owned a fair-sized part of the land bounded by Hart Street to the north (this part of which is now called Crutched Friars), Woodroffe Lane to the east (now Cooper's Row) and Seething Lane to the west.

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<sup>4</sup> The National Archives (TNA), E314/76 ('London: Crutched Friars').

<sup>5</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> 'Crosiers', <<https://www.crosier.org/default.cfm?pid=1>> [accessed 4 March 2009].

<sup>7</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 62–3, 247–8; M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (Including the Prebends of St. Paul's and St. Martin's-Le-Grand), the Inns of the Bishops and Abbots, and the Churches and Churchyards, before the Dissolution of the Monasteries' (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1929), pp. 215–37.

The Crossed friars were always the smallest of the five main London friars' houses (although probably more numerous than the short-lived Pied friars). In the late thirteenth century they numbered twenty-nine, half the number of White friars and only a third of the size of the Black friars. Their numbers had halved by the late fourteenth century as a result of the Black Death, but recruitment seems to have been increasing by the end of the century, with numbers restored to thirty or forty by the late fifteenth century (although only six friars held out until the day of Dissolution in November 1538).<sup>8</sup> The house was also the smallest London friary when measured in terms of its annual running costs (which can be estimated at between £19 and £42) and, for much of its history, in terms of its annual receipts from bequests.<sup>9</sup> However, its official non-mendicant status meant that it was reasonably economically secure since it could rely on its property portfolio: by the time of the Dissolution its annual rental income was over £40 (below; 'The priory's tenements').

The London house was the principal house of the English province, which by the sixteenth century consisted of only four other houses at Barham, Colchester and Welnetham in East Anglia, and Donnington in Berkshire (at least another four houses had closed earlier).<sup>10</sup> The lodging house of the Order's provincial head was also situated in London: the first post-Dissolution accounts refer to 'le pryncypalls chambre'.<sup>11</sup> For a while the Order had a house of studies in Oxford and it is therefore quite likely that there was some sort of school at the London house.<sup>12</sup> The London library never rivalled that of the Franciscans or Dominicans but it certainly had a small collection of books by the sixteenth century: an inscription of 1496 in a surviving library book (a copy of Lanfrancus de Oriano's *Repetitiones* printed in 1488) records that it was part of a donation of at least thirty-one books to the house by a Master Gerard, perhaps the Crossed friar Gerardus Venlowe who was ordained in 1524.<sup>13</sup> Six of the seven surviving library books are printed books including a

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<sup>8</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 83–4; M. Hayden, 'Religious Reform and Religious Orders in England, 1490–1540: The Case of the Crutched Friars', *Catholic Historical Review*, 86 (2000), 420–38 (pp. 425–6); V. Davis, 'Mendicants in London in the Reign of Richard II', *London Journal*, 25.2 (2000), 1–12 (p. 7).

<sup>9</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 230–1, 247–50, 265–73.

<sup>10</sup> Hayden, 'Crutched Friars in England', map on p. 147.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 63.

<sup>12</sup> M. Hayden, 'The Crutched Friars Revisited', *Clairlieu*, 53 (1995), 64–85 (pp. 82–3).

<sup>13</sup> K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990), p. 242; Hayden, 'Crutched Friars Revisited', p. 80.

copy of Durandus' work on the liturgy, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, but there was at least one manuscript, a sixteenth-century priest's manual.<sup>14</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the priory and the Order never had the degree of prominence achieved by the larger orders of friars. Its members played little part in national politics or in London events, nor in the higher levels of the Church (unlike the Dominicans for example). The house did not attract the patronage of royalty or aristocracy (the history of royal support expressed in the letter to the king, quoted above, was certainly something of an exaggeration) but it does seem to have attracted particular support from London citizens.<sup>15</sup> The house certainly experienced something of a revival in its final years as it went through a process of reform initiated by the Order's leaders in the Low Countries and carried out by the charismatic London prior William Bowry.<sup>16</sup> The house had particular connections with members of London's alien communities, especially the Flemish and Dutch, reflecting the origins of the Order and of many of its London brothers. The Crossed friars could therefore provide tailored spiritual services to alien merchants: confession in their native tongues, a meeting place for several alien fraternities (the Holy Blood of Jesus in the fifteenth century, for example) and a place of burial.<sup>17</sup>

The Crossed Friars experienced a certain amount of scandal in the years leading up to Dissolution, including the unwelcome interest of Thomas Cromwell in the prior John Dryver. Dryver had rather too openly expressed his views about the king, satirically describing the supposed *defensor fidei* as *destructor fidei* in 1532.<sup>18</sup> Dryver's successor Robert Ball was then caught up in a scandal when he was blackmailed in 1535, with allegations that he was caught with a prostitute or mistress, but his earlier role as a witness against Dryver probably saved him. When the house was dissolved on 12 November 1538, Ball was no longer there and the

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<sup>14</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 125; Röhrkasten, p. 484; M. S. G. McLeod, K. I. James and D. J. Shaw, *The Cathedral Libraries Catalogue: Books Printed before 1701 in the Libraries of the Anglican Cathedrals of England and Wales*, 3 vols (London: British Library and Bibliographical Society, 1984–98), ii, 495.

<sup>15</sup> C. Steer, '“Better in remembrance”: Medieval Commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), 36–57 (pp. 41–2, 46–7).

<sup>16</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 366–7, 407–8, 470–1, 555–9.

<sup>17</sup> J. Colson, 'Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London' (unpublished MA thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2007), pp. 16–22, 28–34; Röhrkasten, pp. 470, 474–5.

<sup>18</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vii, 665.

surrender was therefore signed by the sub-prior Ralph Turner and the five remaining friars.<sup>19</sup>

## ***Sources***

A few pre-Dissolution documents of the Crossed friars survive including an original draft letter of the 1530s from the prior, a rare surviving fragment of the friary's own archive (quoted above; the sources discussed here can be found below in the form of a calendar in Appendix 3). Unlike the other friaries that were split up into a number of private property holdings at Dissolution, the Crossed Friars precinct was sold as a single grant. The post-Dissolution history of the friary is therefore easier to understand than the other houses, although with the corollary that the consequent lack of documentation casts less light on the layout of the medieval house. The most important archaeological excavation on the Crossed Friars site is also the most recent, taking place in 2008 after the demolition of the 1950s office block known as Mariner House (site MCF06; the various sites are illustrated on Fig 74). Because Crossed Friars lay outside the area of the Great Fire, it does not appear in the post-Fire surveys of Peter Mills and John Oliver. Conversely, there are some useful pictorial records of one late-medieval building that survived into the nineteenth century, the almshouses founded by John Milbourne.

**Fig 74 Map showing location of archaeological sites in Crossed Friars (scale 1:1000)**

## ***The medieval friary***

### **The friary precinct and gates**

Marjorie Honeybourne's investigation of the precinct of Crossed Friars is an inspired piece of historical research and it has been heavily drawn on in this chapter.<sup>20</sup> She showed that the northern boundary of the precinct followed Hart Street (this part of which quickly became known as Crutched Friars), with the eastern boundary formed by Woodroffe Lane (modern Cooper's Row). She noted a reference to a 'mud wall' on the north side of Tower Hill (on a plan of the Tower and its liberties of 1597) but

<sup>19</sup> Note that the name of the prior is not given in the blackmail letter; it could in fact be Edmund Stretam rather than Robert Ball: T. Wright, *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 26 (London: Camden Society, 1843), pp. 59–60; C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), p. 141; *Letters and Papers*, ix, no. 1092; xiii (2), no. 807.

<sup>20</sup> It is one of the most detailed sections in her work – she clearly sensed the lack of knowledge about the layout of this religious house and rose to the challenge.



she did not, perhaps, arrive at quite the right conclusion, suggesting this lay outside the Crossed Friars precinct. In fact, the 1539 grant of this property to Thomas Wyatt specifies that the land was formerly owned by the prior and the description ‘mud wall’ must refer to an earthen bank with its accompanying ditch, a boundary feature used in the outer precincts of urban monastic houses such as at St Mary Bishopsgate.<sup>21</sup> The western part of the precinct is the hardest boundary to reconstruct. Honeybourne argued, convincingly, that the precinct never extended as far west as the frontage of Seething Lane. She pieced together several fourteenth-century deeds and bequests relating to properties acquired by Crossed Friars and situated well beyond the east frontage of Syvedon Lane (modern Seething Lane). The western boundary was probably, therefore, on the line of the seventeenth-century lane Three Colt Yard (or Burnt Yard), which ran south from Crutched Friars/Hart Street.

If the outer precinct had an earthen bank, the inner precinct was probably bounded by a stone wall. A wall in what appears to be the north-west corner of the Crossed Friars precinct is visible on the mural depicting the 1547 coronation procession of Edward VI (which only survives in an eighteenth-century copy; not reproduced here).<sup>22</sup> More convincingly, the lower courses of the façade of the sixteenth-century Milbourne almshouses were in stone rather than brick, as though they were simply built on an existing precinct wall. There is little information about the priory’s gates; the principal gate was probably on Hart Street to the north and led into the nave of the church (Fig 75). The evidence of the sixteenth-century almshouses suggests that there was a side gate along Woodroffe Lane, whose location was preserved in the northern end of the houses. A gateway leading from the outer precinct to Tower Hill is shown on a plan-view of the Tower of 1597: it may well be a medieval gate at the west end of the ‘New Brick Wall’ that replaced the former earthen bank (Fig 76).

**Fig 75 Reconstructed plan of the precinct of Crossed Friars in the early sixteenth century (scale 1:1000)**

**Fig 76 Crossed Friars: eighteenth-century copy of a plan-view of the Tower of 1597: the gateway on the north-west side of Tower Hill may be medieval**

<sup>21</sup> TNA, E40/12598; Honeybourne, ‘Religious houses’, pp. 223–4. The map of 1597 survives in a number of later copies: A. Keay, *The Elizabethan Tower of London: The Haiward and Gascoyne Plan of 1597*, London Topographical Society, 158 (London: London Topographical Society, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> The eighteenth-century copy is reproduced in P. Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (London: British Library, 2006), p. 208.

## The church

The friary church is first mentioned in 1268 when it was damaged in a storm and repaired thanks to a royal grant.<sup>23</sup> A 1320 rental agreement (between prior Adam of Crossed Friars and his counterpart at Holy Trinity) casts some light on the layout of the early church and convent: the friars leased their land from Holy Trinity and paid 13s 8d rent. The document reveals that the church was then being rebuilt but was not quite ready to be dedicated. The rental agreement also includes measurements of the early church and churchyard, with the former being 26¼ ells long by 9¼ ells wide (98' by 35'; 30m by 11m).<sup>24</sup> In 1350 the alderman John de Causton endowed the church with property to support two perpetual chantries, confirmed in his will of 1353, although these bequests were intended to enhance the convent church's spiritual rather than physical attributes.<sup>25</sup> At the same time a Lady Chapel was begun: friar Elias Belhomme was given royal protection to travel through England to collect alms for the 'uncompleted and very costly work of the blessed virgin Mary' (*superonerosae operationi beati marie virginis... inchoate*); he was still collecting in 1360 although the work seems to have been finished by 1364.<sup>26</sup> The reconstruction of the church continued after the Black Death for in 1387 two bequests were made 'for the new work' (*pro novo opere*). The cloister was rebuilt in the early fifteenth century: a will of 1411 specifies funds for that project. The choir seems to have been subject to almost continuous alterations and enlargement from the 1450s up to the 1520s or 1530s. A bequest was made 'for the construction of the new choir (*ad novum chorum fabricandum*) in 1455, with a further bequest for new choir stalls in 1469 suggesting that it was nearly finished.<sup>27</sup> However, in 1491 disaster struck: a surviving printed 'broadside' indulgence (for those giving alms for the rebuilding of the priory) reveals that a fire broke out damaging much of the priory and causing the

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<sup>23</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> TNA, E40/2666; G. A. J. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, London Record Society, 7 (London: London Record Society, 1971), pp. 29–30, 234–5.

<sup>25</sup> Barron, *Religious Houses*, p. 140. I am grateful to Ann Causton for showing me her translation of the priory's chantry agreement of 1350 (Westminster Abbey Muniments, MS 13431) and of de Causton's will of 1353 (London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), Husting Roll 81/71).

<sup>26</sup> TNA, C66/229, m. 3; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1358–61*, p. 319; Röhrkasten, p. 512 (who notes the first mention of the chapel in a will enrolled in 1364).

<sup>27</sup> Wills cited by Röhrkasten, p. 512. In his will of 1470 the skinner William Narborough bequeathed £10 to the building of the choir, as though it was not fully finished: Steer, 'Better in remembrance', p. 47; I am grateful to Christian Steer for supplying further information on this will.

Dutch fraternity based here to move to Austin Friars.<sup>28</sup> The churchwardens' accounts of the neighbouring parish of St Dunstan in the East show that parishioners contributed small sums towards the rebuilding of Crossed Friars in the 1490s, apparently by arrangement with the king, for example in 1496–7: 'Item. Paid to the King for the Aid at Crotched Friars, 6d'.<sup>29</sup> Even though the 1491 indulgence and a later one of 1514 specify that the church was undamaged, at least one source refers to the poor state of the church fabric in the 1520s, as though some damage had been done in the earlier fire.<sup>30</sup> Some reconstruction or new building work certainly seems to have taken place in the choir around the first decade of the sixteenth century: a will of 1507 notes 'the newe quere there' (discussed below). In 1521 the City Corporation granted the friary a strip of common land 'for the enlargement of their church' (*pro elargande ecclesie sue*): this presumably indicates that the friary wanted to enlarge the north aisle or the choir and required part of Hart Street to do it.<sup>31</sup> Two years later a parishioner of St Dunstan in the East gave 10s 'towards the building and edifications of the work of the same new church'.<sup>32</sup> The building campaign was presumably continuing in 1526 when the church was 'yn such extreme ruyn and decay that hit was lyke to falle to the ground', according to the prior William Bowry, and around 1535 his successor (probably Robert Ball) was writing to the king for alms stating that 'of late as well the churche as the hows of the same pore place was browght in to gret ruyn and lyke to have fallen down decayen'.<sup>33</sup> The rebuilding campaign of the early sixteenth century, whatever its exact nature, seems to have ruined the friary financially: there are several recorded chancery cases concerning unpaid bonds and loans given to the priory, as well as correspondence concerning the disputed property rights of corrodians and other benefactors.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> British Library (BL), IA.55480 (incunabula, Department of Rare Books). The date 'Mydsomer evyn last past' could refer to 1490 or 1491 but Justin Colson uses other evidence to argue the latter date: 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *London Journal*, 35.2 (2010), 111–43 (p. 118).

<sup>29</sup> Guildhall Library (GL), MS 4887, f. 21. I am grateful to Jennifer Ledfors for this reference.

<sup>30</sup> *Leonis X. pontificis maximi regesta*, ed. by J. A. G. Hergenroether, 6 vols (Freiburg: Sumpibus Herder, 1884–8), v/vi, no. 13403 (p. 805) [papal indulgence]; TNA, C1/534, nos 4 and 5 [Chancery case of 1527 x 1529, citing document of 1526].

<sup>31</sup> LMA, COL/CA/01/01/004 (Repertory Book 4), f. 122v.

<sup>32</sup> 1524 PCC will of Joan Harvey; I am grateful to Jennifer Ledfors for this reference.

<sup>33</sup> TNA, C1/534, no.5; E314/76 ['London: Crutched Friars'].

<sup>34</sup> Chancery cases: TNA, C1/486, no. 4 [1525?]; C1/534, nos 4 and 5 [refer to bond of 1526]; C1/767, no. 6; C1/832, no.19 [refer to loan of 1534]. Other evidence: TNA, SP1/89, f. 134, no. 114 [refers to corrody-type gift of money in 1518]; BL, Additional charter 24490 [bond of 1527].

In summary, the documentary evidence would suggest a long building history for the church. By the time of the Dissolution it probably had an early fourteenth-century nave, a late fourteenth-century Lady chapel and a fifteenth-century choir (perhaps with some surviving thirteenth-century elements). There was also an unfinished ‘retro-choir’, still under construction in 1538.

The three principal sources for reconstructing the layout of the church are a 1549 royal grant of the precinct, the evidence of archaeological excavations on either side of the modern road Savage Gardens and Marjorie Honeybourne’s interpretation of the seventeenth-century street layout.<sup>35</sup> Honeybourne’s surmise that ‘Burnt Yard’ on Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676 represents the old cloister garth now seems particularly convincing in the light of the 1549 grant (the dimensions closely match). The seventeenth-century lane Three Colt Yard probably represents the main entrance into the precinct and it may well fix the west end of the church, sited therefore to the north of the cloister. The 1549 grant includes several measurements of the former church: the north aisle is 180’ long (54.9m) and this figure is very close to the distance between Three Colt Yard and the north–south wall seen in the excavations on Savage Gardens (53.7m; Fig 78, sites ARC81 and SEN91).<sup>36</sup> The next piece of evidence is the north–south line of foundation pier bases excavated at the Mariner House site (MCF06); the northernmost surviving pier seems to have a return to the west, thus defining the line of the north arcade. The two north–south walls are parallel and 14.8m apart: they probably define the fifteenth-century church choir. The documentary evidence of the 1521 grant by the City Corporation would suggest that we have to add a sixteenth-century extension of the choir to the east; the evidence of a 1534 grant (of the almshouses plot) shows that the new choir reached or nearly reached Woodroffe Lane.<sup>37</sup> We now have the basic outline of the church: its external dimensions seem to have been 55.6m by 21.1m (183’ by 69’) and the sixteenth-century extension, had it been completed, would have increased the length to some 77 metres or 250 feet.

**Fig 77 Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church and precinct of Crossed Friars in c. 1544**

<sup>35</sup> TNA, C66/815, m. 16; excavations at sites MCF06, ARC81 and SEN91 (further details given in Appendix); Honeybourne, ‘Religious houses’, plan following p. 237. Post-excavation work on site MCF06 is likely to reveal further evidence of the church.

<sup>36</sup> Wall foundations seen at sites ARC81 and SEN91.

<sup>37</sup> LMA, COL/CA/01/01/004 (Repertory Book 4), f. 122v; Drapers’ Company (DC), A VII, 48.

**Fig 78 Reconstruction of the medieval church of Crossed Friars (scale 1:500)**

Even though our understanding of the internal layout is hampered by the lack of archaeological evidence, the dimensions included in the 1549 grant have proved very informative. The width of the north aisle is given as 27' (8.2m), which seems quite wide: it is suggested here that this measurement was an internal measurement taken at the east end and that it includes the fourteenth-century Lady chapel. It is then possible to make sense of a will of 1507 which specifies a certain amount of internal reorganisation of the chapel:

In the chapell where the ymage of our lady of pitie there nowe stondesth on the south side of the same chapell next the south wall there afore the ymage and awter of our said lady of petye whiche ymage and awter is entended to be turned and sette byneth a perlose purposed there to be made for the closinge of the newe quere there.<sup>38</sup>

The statue (or painting) and altar of the Virgin, formerly on the south wall of the Lady chapel, was to be moved to a new screen on the east side of the chapel, which would close off (but presumably allow visual access to) the new choir.

The south aisle remains harder to understand. The combined width of the 'bodye and Southisle' is given as 60' (18.3m), a figure that seems to suggest an additional aisle running east from the cloister, perhaps as far as the nave (one could, alternatively, postulate a short south transept to account for the 60' measurement). The length of the south aisle is given as 80' (24.4m) but it is difficult to fit this measurement into our reconstruction.

A few further details of the internal layout can be pieced together from the documentary evidence. We have already learned something of the arrangement of the Lady chapel and Michael Hayden notes the particular devotion of the English order to the Virgin in the fourteenth century.<sup>39</sup> There was also a separate altar to the Virgin outside the chapel, which was to be the location of the two chantries set up by John de Causton in 1350.<sup>40</sup> Several other features of the church are mentioned in wills including images – whether in the form of statues, paintings or stained glass – of St James and the Trinity as well as an altar of *scala coeli*.<sup>41</sup> The latter must refer to a

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<sup>38</sup> Will quoted by Röhrkasten, p. 512.

<sup>39</sup> Will of 1507 cited by Röhrkasten, p. 512; Hayden, 'The Crutched Friars Revisited', pp. 83–4.

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 25.

<sup>41</sup> Wills cited by Röhrkasten, p. 512; Steer, 'Better in Remembrance', pp. 45–50; Hayden, 'Crutched Friars in England', p. 162.

chapel, or an area within an existing chapel, to which the pope granted the right to conduct special *scala coeli* masses. These masses, conducted under licence from the church of S. Maria Scala Coeli at Rome where St Bernard had a vision of souls ascending to heaven on the strength of his prayers, carried a guaranteed indulgence for any souls prayed for at the mass: unsurprisingly the locations of these *scala coeli* masses became popular places for the living to pray and the dead to be buried.<sup>42</sup> The exact date of the establishment of the *scala coeli* mass at Crossed Friars remains uncertain but must date from between about 1476 (when Edward IV set up the first English one in Westminster) and 1519 (when a will mentions one at Crossed Friars): it is possible that it was granted in a papal indulgence of 1514 (although the calendar summary of this indulgence does not mention it).<sup>43</sup> The new altar at Crossed Friars could well have been accompanied by an image of the ladder, with mortal souls replacing the angels that feature on images of Jacob's ladder.

Nine regularly spaced graves have been excavated within the fifteenth-century choir, with a single grave located to the east (probably originally outside, but within the area of the sixteenth-century extension; Fig 78). It is unfortunate that no graves survived within the fourteenth-century Lady chapel, which seems to have been a particularly popular place for burial judging by the will evidence.<sup>44</sup> Twenty-six burials with funerary monuments are recorded in the sixteenth-century heralds' visitations.<sup>45</sup> Christian Steer suggests that the alabaster tomb of Sir Richard Cholmeley, now in the chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, might well have been moved from Crossed Friars at the time of the Dissolution by Sir Richard's widow, dame Elizabeth: this tomb would therefore be the sole surviving funerary monument from a London friary (Fig 89).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 375–6.

<sup>43</sup> *Leonis X. pontificis*, v/vi, no. 13403 (p. 805); N. Morgan, 'The Scala Coeli Indulgence and the Royal Chapels', in *The Reign of Henry VII*, ed. by B. Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 82–103 (p. 89).

<sup>44</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 512; Steer, 'Better in Remembrance', p. 53.

<sup>45</sup> Stow, i, 147; Steer, 'Royal and noble tomb commemoration', table 1 on p. 127.

<sup>46</sup> Steer, 'Better in Remembrance', pp. 51–2.

### **The cemetery**

In 1320 the cemetery was situated beside the church and it was an irregularly shaped plot that measured 25 ells by 16 ells at its greatest (29m x 18m, 94' x 60').<sup>47</sup> The archaeological evidence of site ARC81 suggests that the cemetery plot was to the east of the church: a single burial here was discovered beyond the east end of the church. The cemetery does not feature in any of the post-Dissolution descriptions of the priory, perhaps because by then it had been swallowed up by the unfinished construction of the new choir in the early sixteenth century.

### **The inner precinct**

Unfortunately, information about the various buildings of the inner precinct is rather sparse: the precinct was granted as a single property after Dissolution and there is a concomitant lack of detailed individual property descriptions. As we have seen, the cloister was being rebuilt in the early fifteenth century and was situated to the south of the church, at its west end. The dimensions given in the grant of 1549 show that it was rather small, with the garth only measuring 48' by 42' (14.6m x 12.8m). The dormitory and the prior's lodging were probably part of the cloister buildings, since all three are included in the post-Dissolution tenement of Lionel Martyn.<sup>48</sup> The dormitory may have been situated on the first floor along the east side of the cloister buildings to allow night-time access to the church, with the prior's lodging and the refectory occupying the west and south wings. The chapter house would probably have been sited a little to the east of the cloister. A substantial north–south building shown on the Ogilby and Morgan plan of 1676 lies further east: this might well be a surviving medieval building such as the kitchen or refectory. Further east, recent excavations at Mariner House have uncovered a square cellar, of a similar size to the undercroft of the prior's lodging at White Friars. As we situate the 'prior's lodging' in the cloister and the 'prior's chamber' further south (below), might this undercroft be part of 'le pryncypalls chambre' for the head of the English province?<sup>49</sup> Moving further east, we know from the grant of the Milbourne almshouses that the convent garden lay to the rear. Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 shows a medieval-looking range of buildings around a yard or garden so we could have evidence for buildings

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<sup>47</sup> TNA, E40/2666; *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, pp. 29–30, 234–5.

<sup>48</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 63.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

such as a library or school ranged around the west and south sides of the convent garden (with the almshouses occupying the north and east sides).

John Stow states that Jacob Verzelini's glasshouse was formerly the 'Fryers hall'.<sup>50</sup> The location of the glasshouse (below, 'Jacob Verzelini's glasshouse') would seem to be too far from the church or cloister to be the friars' refectory; might this hall therefore be a guest hall? The rent collector's accounts of 1540 refer to 'seynt barbara hall', lying next to the prior's chamber (and clearly distinct from the prior's lodging), and this may be the same building.<sup>51</sup> The name of the hall could be related to its use by a religious fraternity: there is no documented fraternity of St Barbara at Crossed Friars although there was one with a largely Flemish membership at Black Friars and another with an unusually high-status English membership at St Katharine's Hospital.<sup>52</sup>

### **The outer precinct**

The large area to the south (just before the open area of Tower Hill) was probably an outer precinct. It is not described as such but its situation beyond the built up area of the core monastic buildings, and its boundary of an earthen bank (the 'mud wall' discussed above; 'The friary precinct and gates'), suggest this function. John Martin (or Marton) had acquired this block of land before the dissolution of the priory: when he sold it in 1539 it was described as 'formerly of Edmund Stretham prior of Crossed Friars and of the convent'.<sup>53</sup> It seems quite likely that the priory sold off this surplus land in the 1520s or 1530s when they were trying to raise money for the repair and enlargement of the church, perhaps in 1534 when they sold another strip of land to John Milbourne (below; 'John Milbourne's almshouses'). In fact, it may not have been Martin who originally purchased the land since it had acquired the name 'Pekes gardeyn' by 1539. There is very little evidence of what the land was used for, although a typical outer precinct might have a garden for private contemplation, as well as more practical elements such as a horticultural garden, a fish pond and workshops. We know that an access road ran along the west side of the precinct,

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<sup>50</sup> Stow, i, 148.

<sup>51</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 63.

<sup>52</sup> C. M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, ed. by C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1985), p. 30; Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities', p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, E40/12598.



leading from Tower Hill to the cloister: in 1538 it was bounded by a brick wall and was seven feet wide.<sup>54</sup>

### **The priory's tenements**

There were a number of tenements within the precinct, in addition to the tenements that the priory owned on the other side of Hart Street and elsewhere in London and beyond. At least one of these was, in effect, a corrodian's tenement, that of Peter and Margaret Johnson who had granted sums of money (presumably substantial) in 1512 and 1518. In return they had a newly built house for life and an annuity of £3 6s 8d (with additional benefits of 20s and 46s 8d due to their children after their deaths).<sup>55</sup> Their tenement is specifically described in 1536 as located within the precinct and, in 1544, as located in Hart Street.<sup>56</sup> The only place where both these descriptions can apply is in the north-east corner of the precinct, between the new choir and the road. This all seems to ring true: the Johnsons made their donations when the new choir was being built in the early sixteenth century and it is quite likely that this development included a revenue-raising element of private housing (to use modern terminology). Prior William Bowry was clearly financially aware, although not quite astute enough to prevent a number of later Chancery cases arising from his money-raising activities.<sup>57</sup> The 1544 document shows that the Johnsons occupied one of three tenements here, with William Valentyne and John Snowe the other tenants (the former is mentioned in the rent collector's accounts of 1540 and may therefore be another donor-corrodian). The 1521 grant by the City Corporation of a long and narrow strip of Hart Street 'for the enlargement of their church' is therefore only partly true since the land was actually used for the new tenements.<sup>58</sup> In the 1530s several other tenements within the precinct were let out, including 'seynt barbara hall', 'le pryncypalls chambre' and a tenement to Leonard Dult, perhaps located in the outer precinct (Table 20 in Appendix 1).

The priory held two blocks of tenements just outside the precinct on the north side of Hart Street. In 1526 John Canuncle, the king's 'yoman of the pastry' and his wife

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<sup>54</sup> TNA, E40/5521.

<sup>55</sup> TNA, E315/100, f. 123; SP1/89, ff. 132, 134, nos 113–114.

<sup>56</sup> TNA, SP1/89, f. 132, no. 113 [1536]; C66/753, m. 9 [1544].

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>58</sup> LMA, COL/CA/01/01/004 (Repertory Book 4), f. 122v.

Joan lent prior William Bowry the sum of £165. In return Bowry granted the Canuncles four tenements for a term of twenty years, at a peppercorn rent. Two of these tenements were described as ‘late buyldyd’.<sup>59</sup> Like the Johnsons, they were donor-corrodians, living in one of their four tenements. Later references to the four tenements show that they were adjacent properties on Hart Street, situated opposite the church.<sup>60</sup> By the 1530s the loan had increased to £260 6s 8d but the Canuncles and the priory became involved in a complex series of Chancery cases, precipitated by the financial hardship of both parties: John Canuncle had borrowed money from two people using the Hart Street properties as security, but the prior could not afford to repay the original loan to Canuncle.<sup>61</sup>

The second block of Hart Street tenements lay further east and is first documented in the rent collector’s accounts for the year ending September 1540. The property was a group of six separate tenements and most of the tenants named in the accounts probably had pre-Dissolution leases (although none is cited). Each property is described as a tenement and garden, with rents ranging from 12s to 20s.

The priory held a number of other tenements in London and a manor in Suffolk (as has been stated, the Order was not strictly mendicant and the ‘friars’ were in fact canons). The values of these properties at the time of the friary’s dissolution amounted to £40 8s 8d and the rental values are tabulated in Table 7.

**Table 7 Value of the Crossed Friars tenements at Dissolution (source: rent collector’s account)<sup>62</sup>**

Location of tenements	Number of tenements	Rent received by priory
Precinct	7	£6 18s 4d
Hart Street, opposite priory	10	£4 4s
Parish of St Olave	7	£6 8s
London	c. 20	£19 8s
Suffolk	1 (manor)	£3 10s 4d
<b>Total</b>		<b>£40 8s 8d</b>

<sup>59</sup> TNA, E315/96, ff. 54–55.

<sup>60</sup> The 1526 document ambiguously describes the houses as ‘ayenst’ the church but a grant of 1543 describes them more precisely as *ex opposito ecclesiam conventualem*: TNA, C66/733, m. 12.

<sup>61</sup> TNA, C1/767, no. 6; C1/832, no. 19.

<sup>62</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 63–66v.

### *Crossed Friars during and after the Dissolution*

Just four years before the Dissolution the former mayor Sir John Milbourne founded some almshouses in Crossed Friars and the houses survived the Dissolution and remained there for three centuries. The rest of the priory was acquired by the poet and diplomat Thomas Wyatt almost immediately after the Dissolution.

#### **John Milbourne's almshouses**

The former mayor of London Sir John Milbourne founded almshouses at Crossed Friars in 1534–5. The story of their foundation (and the accompanying property endowment) is somewhat complex and Stow tripped up on some of the details, including the date of their foundation, leading subsequent writers to follow his error.<sup>63</sup> The most thorough account of the foundation of the almshouses was written by a Master of the Drapers' Company, William Archer-Thomson, who carefully studied the Company's records.<sup>64</sup>

In November 1534 the former mayor Sir John Milbourne purchased a plot of land from the prior and convent of Crossed Friars, which was situated to the south of the church choir.<sup>65</sup> In the following March Milbourne granted the property, on which he had already built thirteen almshouses, to his fellow draper William Dolphyne who, by his will of 24 March, bequeathed them to the Drapers' Company to manage.<sup>66</sup> In a separate arrangement, the precise details of which do not survive, Milbourne granted money and property to support the almsmen and houses.<sup>67</sup> Archer-Thomson notes

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<sup>63</sup> Stow, i, 148; J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 2 vols (London: A. Churchill and others, 1720), ii (book 4), 78–9; T. Milbourn, 'The Milbourne Alms-Houses, and a Brief Account of the Founder and His Family', *TLAMAS*, 3 (1870), 138–52; Honeybourne, 'Religious houses', pp. 220–1; W. P. Sawyer, 'The Drapers' Company', *TLAMAS*, 7 [bound with vol. 6] (1890), 37–64 (pp. 51–3).

<sup>64</sup> Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 104–5, 130–5.

<sup>65</sup> DC, A VII 48 (the deed has a series of very useful measurements). The transaction was confirmed by two depositions at the Court of Husting in January and February 1535: Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 104–5.

<sup>66</sup> DC, A VII 45; the will is printed in W. Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company: History of the Company's Properties & Trusts*, 2 vols (London: Drapers' Company, 1940), i, 109–16.

<sup>67</sup> The property endowment is the issue that confused John Stow. The properties listed by Milbourne in an unproved will were never granted to the Company; in fact the properties that funded the almsmen were bought by the Company for cash, presumably using Milbourne's money: Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 132–3.

that the means to pay for the almshouses may largely have come from Milbourne's wife Joan, who had acquired considerable wealth through two previous marriages.

The almshouses were to house thirteen deserving members of the Company and their wives, or appropriate parishioners of St Edmund's Lombard Street and St Bartholomew the Little. The almsmen and women were to live rent free and receive a stipend of 2s 4d monthly; the funding for this came from a portfolio of twenty-three messuages and eighteen garden plots. By Stow's time an additional house had been added, allowing fourteen almsmen to be housed. The thirteen original almsmen were required to attend a daily chantry service at Milbourne's tomb in the priory church; the attendance requirement may have been moved (along with his tomb) to St Edmund's Lombard Street after the dissolution of the house.<sup>68</sup> The almshouses survived until the 1860s, when they were replaced by new Drapers' Company almshouses in Bruce Grove, Tottenham.

The location of the almshouses is specified in the 1534 grant: they were arranged in two perpendicular rows, east–west alongside the church choir and north–south along Woodroffe Lane (Fig 75). The almshouses were surveyed in the nineteenth century and recorded in a number of topographical views before their demolition, including a pair of pencil drawings by Thomas Shepherd (one of which is reproduced in Fig 79), a watercolour by John Wykeham and a pencil drawing by J Whichelo in the Sir John Soane Museum.<sup>69</sup> The houses were mostly of brick, although the front rested on a three-foot high stone wall (quite possibly the remains of the former precinct wall). They had two storeys, with garret rooms above and cellars below. The 'high-pitched roof of red tiles' described in 1870 may have been original.<sup>70</sup> The doors and windows had stone jambs, with the cellar windows protected by iron grilles and those on the ground floor by wooden shutters. The garrets were lit by small dormer windows. The almshouses were arranged as two rows of 'one up, one down' houses, with cellar below and garret above (Fig 88). Stow describes the almshouses as built of brick and timber and so the rear elevation may well have been

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<sup>68</sup> I am grateful to Christian Steer for this suggestion.

<sup>69</sup> DC, Plan Book ('A Survey of the several estates...'), f. 1; J. A. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), fig 64 [Whichelo drawing]; LMA, COLLAGE 1964 [Wykeham watercolour].

<sup>70</sup> Milbourn, 'Milbourne Alms-Houses', p. 138.

timber framed, perhaps with an infill of brick noggin: there is at least one structural timber visible in a drawing of the rear elevation.<sup>71</sup>

**Fig 79 Crossed Friars: view of 1852 looking south-west down Woodroffe Lane (Cooper's Row) at the Drapers almshouses (Thomas Shepherd; GL, COLLAGE 1805)**

The gate at the northern end of the row led through to the rear row of houses and a shared garden. It was built on a fairly monumental scale, perhaps nine or ten feet high, with a four-centred arch at the top and a hood moulding above. The gate was surmounted by a relief sculpture of the Assumption of the Virgin, surrounded by the arms of Sir John, his wife Joan Hill, the Drapers Company and the Merchants of the Staple. A panel between the gate and the sculpture bore a Latin inscription recording the founding of the almshouses by Milbourne.<sup>72</sup>

### **Thomas Wyatt's property (the inner and outer precincts)**

The diplomat and poet Thomas Wyatt purchased part of what must have been the outer precinct of the friary from John and Sybill Marton in October 1539 (below, 'Thomas Wyatt and John Lumley's mansion').<sup>73</sup> Intriguingly, the property was described as 'formerly of the mayor and commonalty of the City of London and of Edmund Stretham prior of Crossed Friars and of the convent' (*nuper s...[?] maioris et communitatis civitatis London & Edmundi Stretham nuper prioris fratrum ordinis sancti crucis iuxta turri London et eiusdem loci conventus*). There clearly had been some sort of financial deal between the priory and the City, presumably in 1533 or 1534 when Streatham was prior, perhaps at the same time as the sale of inner precinct land to John Milbourne (above, 'John Milbourne's almshouses'). The whole of the rest of the priory (with the exception of the almshouses) was granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt in June and July 1540.<sup>74</sup> The month of June had seen the downfall of Wyatt's patron Thomas Cromwell and so the grant must, in a certain sense, be seen as an expression of confidence by the king in his courtier (even if the process of the sale had been set in train a month or more before when Cromwell was still in power). Colin Burrow argues that there was a special bond between Henry and Wyatt, rather fortunately for the latter since he found himself on the wrong political side on a couple of occasions (being associated with the Boleyns as well as

<sup>71</sup> LMA, COLLAGE 1806.

<sup>72</sup> LMA, COLLAGE 1964; Milbourn, 'Milbourne Alms-Houses'.

<sup>73</sup> TNA, E40/12598.

<sup>74</sup> TNA, E305/2/A55 [original grant, dated 14 June]; C66/694, m. 14 [enrolled grant, 10 July].

Cromwell), and given that his diplomatic career had several failures (such as the mission in 1537 to arrange the marriage of princess Mary and the infante of Portugal).<sup>75</sup>

Thomas Wyatt's property passed to his son Thomas on his father's death in 1542; in 1547 Thomas junior then granted the land to Thomas Seymour (Protector Seymour's younger brother) and the royal servant Sir William Sharrington (who was also a fraudster with whom Seymour was improperly involved).<sup>76</sup> Following the arrest and execution of Seymour in 1548 (when the embezzlement of Seymour and Sharrington was revealed) and the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of Sharrington in 1549, the confiscated property was granted, apparently without fee, to Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. The property passed, through the marriage of Fitzalan's daughter Jane, to John Lumley, the recusant conspirator involved in the Ridolfi Plot of 1571.<sup>77</sup>

#### *Thomas Wyatt and John Lumley's mansion*

The house right in the south-east corner of the Crossed Friars precinct is first referred to in 1534 when it is described as the 'the newe hous or buylding there of John Martyn'.<sup>78</sup> Martyn may well have purchased the house and adjacent garden from the friary before its dissolution (as John Milbourne had done with the almshouses property) since no post-Dissolution royal grant appears to have survived. When Thomas Wyatt purchased the property in October 1539, it was described as a principal messuage and garden with, in addition, a plot of land formerly called 'Pekes gardeyn' with two tenements built behind it (*totam terram nuper vocatam pekes gardeyn & duo tenementa desuper constructa*).<sup>79</sup> Wyatt seems to have spent little time in his new London house, preferring his main residence in Allington, Kent – he may well have stayed more nights just over the road in the Tower where he was imprisoned from January to March 1541.<sup>80</sup> As has been described, the house passed

<sup>75</sup> C. Burrow, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas (c.1503–1542)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30111>> [accessed 7 April 2009].

<sup>76</sup> TNA, C66/700, m. 10; C. E. Challis, 'Sharrington, Sir William (c.1495–1553)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25205>> [accessed 7 April 2009].

<sup>77</sup> TNA, C66/815, m. 16; J. Lock, 'Fitzalan, Henry, Twelfth Earl of Arundel (1512–1580)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9530>> [accessed 7 April 2009].

<sup>78</sup> DC, A VII 48.

<sup>79</sup> TNA, E40/12598.

<sup>80</sup> Burrow, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas'.

(along with the rest of the precinct) to Sir William Sharington, then to Henry Fitzalan and then to John Lumley, first Baron Lumley, who had married Fitzalan's daughter Jane.

Most of the inner precinct was leased to various tenants by John Lumley but he retained the house in the south-east corner – with a view of the Tower – for his principal London residence and the Lumleys kept the property until the early seventeenth century. Given Lumley's well documented tastes in book and art collecting, architecture (particularly at Lumley Castle in County Durham) and garden design (Nonsuch Palace), it would be fascinating to know more about his London house.<sup>81</sup> A search for a plan, drawing or other documentation about the house among the Lumley papers has so far proved unsuccessful.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, the perspective of views such as Hollar's view of 1647 makes it hard to identify the house. An inventory of Lumley's possessions in 1590, and the 1616 will of Lumley's second wife, Elizabeth, do make reference to the London house (although the former does not distinguish between Lumley's various houses). Mary Hervey examined this and other Lumley inventories and argued that five of Lumley's Holbein paintings were hanging in his Crossed Friars house: the portraits of the Duchess of Milan, Thomas Wyatt, Sir Henry Guildford, his wife Lady Guildford and Erasmus.<sup>83</sup> The 1616 will mentions a coach-house to the rear of the house and an armour room.<sup>84</sup>

There is a little archaeological evidence for the mansion house, from the 1995 excavations at Colchester House (sitecode PEP89). A foundation trench (or perhaps a 'robbing' trench from the time of the house's demolition) gives us the line of the west wall, with evidence for a brick-floored cellar in the south-west corner and a second cellar along the east frontage (Fig 80). Two pits in the middle of the house suggest an internal yard area, hinting at a three-winged construction (although the pits could be slightly earlier than the house); Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676

<sup>81</sup> K. Barron, 'Lumley, John, First Baron Lumley (c.1533–1609)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17179>> [accessed 28 April 2009].

<sup>82</sup> Searches in Access to Archives website, National Archives online catalogue and British Library online manuscript catalogue.

<sup>83</sup> M. Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', *Walpole Society*, 6 (1918), 38–40. The portrait of Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan, is National Gallery NG2475. The Wyatt portrait could be the poet father or the rebel son; both were former residents of the house. The portrait of Henry Guildford is presumably that in the Royal Collection (RCIN 400046), with the contemporary painting of his wife that in the Saint Louis City Art Museum (1:1943).

<sup>84</sup> E. Milner, *Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle*, ed. by E. Benham (London: Bell, 1904), pp. 97–9.

shows the house with a large square footprint. To the rear of the house was a well, with an icehouse further west. The dating of all these features is problematic (little work was done on the ‘post-Roman’ finds) and some of these features, particularly the icehouse, are likely to date to the seventeenth century and therefore after the period of the Lumleys’ ownership.

**Fig 80 Crossed Friars: archaeological and documentary evidence for Lumley House (scale 1:500)**

*The old church and cloister*

The 1540 grant to Wyatt included the friary church and cloister but specified that all the valuable church materials – including not just the lead but the glass, iron and timber, as well as ‘lez free stones’ and ‘lez pavyng stones’ – were reserved for the Crown.<sup>85</sup> The church may, in fact, have been left empty and standing for some years: in October 1539 Cromwell recommended using some church stone to rebuild the lieutenant’s lodging in the Tower but in January 1546 an instruction was issued to use stone, lead and iron from Crossed Friars in new buildings at Westminster, quite probably work on the palace of Whitehall.<sup>86</sup> Even if the first instruction was not carried out, the second one was because by 1549 the church was an empty parcel of land, presumably still enclosed by what remained of the walls (*totum solum vacue pecie terre quondam existentem ecclesie nuper fratrum cruciferorum*). The church was still an empty shell in 1586, when it was described as the ‘parcell of grounde or greate yarde late the ground of the dissolved churche’.<sup>87</sup>

*Jacob Verzelini’s glasshouse*

The Venetian glassmaker Jacob Verzelini had arrived in London in 1565 and was involved in importing glass vessels from Venice and Antwerp. In 1574 he received a licence to manufacture Venetian glass in London under a twenty-one-year monopoly, one of the conditions specifying that he was to train English apprentices in the skills required. He was not the very first Venetian glass manufacturer to arrive: Iseppo Casseler and seven other glassmakers from Murano had worked in London from 1549; whereas the other glassmakers returned home in 1551, Casseler stayed and

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<sup>85</sup> TNA, C66/694, m. 14.

<sup>86</sup> TNA, SP1/153, f. 219, no. 171; SP4/1, f. 35, no. 73; H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, 6 vols (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963–82), iv, 312–13.

<sup>87</sup> LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/266 (Husting Roll 267/77).



worked in partnership with a glassmaker from Antwerp. Venetian crystal ware was a luxury commodity, its clear translucent finish quite distinct from both the traditional green glass produced in England and from the newer glass products being made by immigrants from Lorraine. The manufacturing process involved specialist techniques and materials, including crushed flint, imported sodium-rich plant ash and manganese.<sup>88</sup>

Verzelini's new glasshouse of the early 1570s was built in part of the former Crossed Friars, close to Verzelini's London house in the parish of St Olave.<sup>89</sup> Research by Anne Sutton and James Sewell in the records of the Corporation of London unearthed several documents which illuminate our understanding of the glasshouse.<sup>90</sup> An order of the Court of Aldermen dated 2 November 1579 required an inspection of 'the glasse house lately erected by Jacob Verselyn' estraunger [of] Crooked Fryers': this must be the new glasshouse, a replacement for the previous one which had burnt down in 1575 (and for the temporary glassworks he had built in Newgate).<sup>91</sup>

The most significant document for our purposes is the lease (enrolled in the Court of Husting in October 1586) issued to Verzelini by Lord and Lady Lumley for a £200 fee and £33 10s annual rent.<sup>92</sup> The lease contains a great deal of topographic detail and includes some measurements (although none, unfortunately, relating to the glasshouse itself) and it can be used to reconstruct the layout of the 1579 glasshouse and several other parts of the eastern side of the former precinct. The glasshouse evidently lay just to the north or north-west of the Lumleys' mansion and its description in the lease implies it had a cellar below and other rooms above (assuming the terms are not used here as catch-all standard descriptions of a house): 'one greate rome nowe used for a glashouse or the makinge of Glasse, and all romes cellars sollers & waschowses aswell under the sayde glashouse as above or over the

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<sup>88</sup> H. J. Powell, *Glass-Making in England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), pp. 26–31; D. W. Crossley, *Post-Medieval Archaeology in Britain* (Leicester: University Press, 1990), pp. 228–32; A. McConnell, 'Verzelini, Jacob (1522–1607)', *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52157>> [accessed 7 April 2009].

<sup>89</sup> Powell states that Casseler and the other Venetian glassmakers may have been based at Crossed Friars, but he provides no evidence; *Glass-Making in England*, pp. 27–9.

<sup>90</sup> A. F. Sutton and J. R. Sewell, 'Jacob Verzelini and the City of London', *Glass Technology*, 21 (1980), 190–2.

<sup>91</sup> LMA, COL/CA/01/01/022 (Repertory Book 20), f. 1; Stow, i, 148.

<sup>92</sup> LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/266 (Husting Roll 267/77).

same'. John Stow states that the glasshouse was 'the Fryers hall' and it may therefore be the building identified as 'seynt barbara hall' (Fig 75).<sup>93</sup>

The lease included a small adjoining building to the north ('thre little romes with a garrett without the wall of the same glashouse towardes the northe') and a second much more substantial building to the south – quite probably Verzelini's own house – which had a hall, parlour, kitchen and buttery on the ground floor, a cellar below the kitchen, and an upper floor with a garret above. The garden also included two privies on its south side (one for Verzelini and a second for the Lumleys), and had at least three houses on its north side. There was also a yard on the west side of Verzelini's house and glasshouse: its size is not specified (nor can it be seen on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676) but it is described as abutting the Lumley property to the south and west. Unfortunately, little archaeological trace of the London glasshouse has been found: Verzelini's house and part of his glasshouse must have lain inside the Colchester House site excavated in 1992 (PEP89) but there was a double basement in this location which had truncated all archaeological remains.

### ***Conclusion***

The priory of the Crossed Friars remains the least well understood of the five London friaries: not only does little of their archive survive but, unlike the other houses, the fact that the friary was granted to a single person at Dissolution means that there is a lack of mid-sixteenth-century surveys and other documentation in the records of the Court of Augmentations. Marjorie Honeybourne's work – the main source for the reconstruction of the friary in Lobel's atlas – has been built on in this chapter but not superseded. The new archaeological evidence has, however, permitted a more accurate reconstruction of the friary church, along with some of the conventual buildings and the location of the cemetery. John Lumley's mansion – no doubt a luxurious house with a plethora of Renaissance details inside and out – is brought a little closer into focus but remains, frustratingly, beyond our grasp. More positively, some further information on Jacob Verzelini's innovative glasshouse of the 1570s has been discovered.

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<sup>93</sup> Stow, i, 148; TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 63.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

### *The medieval friaries*

#### **The friary churches**

The friary church – the setting for the daily prayer cycle, as well as for public preaching – remained the physical and spiritual heart of the mendicant houses. Because of a lack of extensive ‘open-area’ archaeological excavation within the friary churches, it has not proved possible to put together authoritative chronological plans of the conventual churches, showing their development as a series of snapshots or ‘phases’ over their three hundred-year histories. More positively, the combination of archaeological, documentary and cartographic information has allowed us to reconstruct the church plans at the time of the Dissolution. If we cannot, then, manage a full archaeological analysis of the churches, we can, however, imagine ourselves as a sixteenth-century visitor – perhaps John Leland on one of his visits in the mid-1530s – and offer some art-historical comment on the impressive variety of the five friary churches. At the time of the Dissolution, the churches were the result of over three centuries of construction, alteration and repairs and they must have formed a gallery of the great styles of medieval church architecture (Fig 81). Of the very first friary church of the mid-1220s, the Dominicans’ chapel in Holborn, there was probably no trace by the sixteenth century since the land of the first friary had been sold in 1278 after the friars had moved to their new site, the soon-to-be eponymous Blackfriars. However, the time of the earliest English friars was represented by the surviving elements of the original Franciscan chapel of the late 1220s, at least partly preserved in the north aisle of their later choir. This part of Grey Friars and the early choirs of White Friars (built in the 1260s and ‘70s), Black Friars (the 1270s and ‘80s) and Austin Friars (about the same time) must all have been largely Early English in style: relatively small windows, clustered columns supporting early Gothic pointed arches and perhaps timber rather than vaulted ceilings. The size of these great friary choirs was to some extent dictated by the numbers of religious: the Black Friars church had to accommodate nearly one hundred friars at prayer and song, but there were far fewer Crossed friars. However, the scale of the buildings clearly went beyond the basic need for space, particularly

the huge choirs of Austin and Grey Friars; they carried the bold message to Londoners ‘we are here to stay’.

The ambitious late thirteenth-century priors and their obedientaries would probably have turned for inspiration to recent and ongoing examples of major cathedral and abbey construction, such as Salisbury cathedral (completed *c.* 1275) and Ely cathedral (new choir built in second quarter of thirteenth century). Closer to home, they would surely have been very familiar with the works at Westminster Abbey (the extensive rebuilding of the east end and part of the nave in the third quarter of thirteenth century) and at St Paul’s cathedral (the ‘New Work’ of the enlarged east end in the second half of the thirteenth century).<sup>1</sup> However, their direct models would have been more modest, but still impressive buildings such as the Augustinian canons’ churches of the thirteenth century: St Mary Spital (a building campaign of the second quarter of the century), St Mary Overie in Southwark (a campaign lasting much of the century) or St Mary Merton in Surrey (the second and third quarters of the century).<sup>2</sup> Remembering the stern instructions of the thirteenth-century Franciscan provincial prior to remove the excessive ornament from the ceiling of Grey Friars, we should, however, picture a relatively restrained amount of internal sculpture and painted decoration in the thirteenth-century friary choirs (‘Grey Friars’, ‘The church’). However, in the ensuing centuries the choirs would have been enriched with more numerous frescoes, statues and furnishings; surviving fragments scattered in England and the Continent hint at the richness of a typical late medieval decorative scheme. We must therefore imagine something like the fourteenth-century Thornham Parva retable with its crucifixion scene flanked by saints as the backdrop to the high altars, as it once was in the Norwich or Thetford Black Friars. We should also visualise the friars’ richly decorated oak choir stalls at the west end of the choirs, like the Coventry White Friars stalls (now in the city’s old Grammar School

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<sup>1</sup> R. Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church, 600–1540* (London: Dent, 1979), pp. 194–218, 251, 269, 274–5; C. D. Cragoe, ‘Fabric, Tombs and Precinct, 1087–1540’, in *St Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. by D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 136–9.

<sup>2</sup> D. Divers and others, *A New Millennium at Southwark Cathedral: Investigations into the First Two Thousand Years*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph, 8 (London: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2009), pp. 41–2, 50–1, 60–2, 71–5; C. Thomas, B. Sloane and C. Phillpotts, *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London*, MoLAS Monograph, 1 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1997), pp. 26–35, 41; P. Miller and D. Saxby, *The Augustinian Priory of St Mary Merton, Surrey: Excavations 1976–90*, MoLAS Monograph, 34 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), pp. 34–41.

building at St John's hospital) with the arms of their lay benefactors. We could also imagine painted walls – such as the fifteenth-century fresco cycle on the life of St Catherine of Alexandria in the Franciscan church in Borgo San Sepolcro – or stained glass like the ‘wyde wyndowes y-wrought y-written full thikke’ satirised by the Pierce the Ploughman poet.<sup>3</sup> We must also remember the fixed liturgical furnishings such as the piscina and sedilia, which survive in a fragmentary condition in extant friary churches such as at Brecon, Chichester or Elgin, as well as the large quantities of plate and vestments, the remnants of which were rounded up at the Dissolution.<sup>4</sup>

**Fig 81 Comparative plan of the five friary churches at the time of the Dissolution, showing external lengths and approximate dates of construction (scale 1:800)**

If the late thirteenth century was the time when the friars built their first great churches (their choirs), the greatest construction period of the London friaries was undoubtedly the first half of the fourteenth century when massive naves were added by the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Austin friars and – most impressive of all – the Franciscans. The nave of the Crossed Friars was also enlarged at this time. These huge spaces were clearly an expression of one of the *raisons d'être* of the friars: preaching to the laity. The large sums of money raised for their construction shows that many Londoners in turn appreciated the friars' spiritual contribution to London life. It is also worth noting that these internal preaching spaces were matched by external counterparts, the friary cemeteries, several of which had open-air preaching crosses by the fourteenth century. Although the largest church was at Grey Friars, the longest nave was that built by the Austin Friars in the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century, measuring an impressive 149' by 83' (45.3m by 25.2m;

<sup>3</sup> N. Rogers, 'The Provenance of the Thornham Parva Retable', in *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 185–93; C. Tracy, 'Choir-Stalls from the 14th-Century Whitefriars Church in Coventry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 150 (1997), 76–95; D. Cooper and J. R. Banker, 'The Church of Borgo San Sepolcro in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance', in *Sassetta: The Borgo San Sepolcro Altarpiece*, ed. by M. Israels, 2 vols, (Leiden and Florence: Primavera Press/Villa I Tatti, 2009), i, 53–85; ii, 585–9; *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, to which is Appended God Spede the Plough*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 30 and 31 (London: K. Paul, 1867), pp. 7–8. We may also note the surviving fragments of wall paintings of friars in parish churches such as that of St Francis receiving the stigmata at Slapton in Northamptonshire: A. G. Little, *Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 19 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> L. Butler, 'The Houses of the Mendicant Orders in Britain: Recent Archaeological Work', in *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M. W. Barley*, ed. by P. Addyman and V. E. Black (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1984), pp. 123–36 (p. 131). Over 300lb of plate, along with just two mitres and a single crosier, were collected from the London friaries in November 1538: *Account of the Monastic Treasures Confiscated at the Dissolution of the Various Houses in England*, ed. by W. Turnbull (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1836), pp. 18–19.

internal measurements). This nave is also our best guide to the medieval appearance of a friary church because it survived for four centuries after the Dissolution (sadly, it was destroyed by enemy bombing in 1940). Built in the more ornate Decorated style, clustered piers of Purbeck marble supported the arcades (although the upper part of the arcades was rebuilt in the fifteenth century) and the west window had seven lights capped by a large rose below its apex. Behind the main nave altar at the east end there would have been timber screens dividing the lay part of the church from the friars' choir to the east. To this friary nave we should also add the evidence of the London Franciscans, whose 'register' demonstrates the variety of partly screened chapels, statues and altars that occupied the majority of the north and south aisles. Although the friary naves are sometimes compared to barns, they would in fact have seemed much taller and narrower with light flooding down from the high clerestory windows, and timber screens along many of the arcades allowing glimpses of the colourful aisle windows and statues in the aisle chapels, and framing a long view of the nave altars and rood screen at the east end. These chapels were the location for the friars' commemorative services that they offered (and sold) to Londoners: daily chantry masses, trentals of masses and annual anniversary celebrations.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, even less of the furnishing of mendicant naves has survived than of choirs. The documentary evidence from the London Grey Friars – backed up by the physical evidence from East Anglia and the satirical description of a London friary by Meed the Maid in Langland's *Piers Plowman* – suggest that the aisle windows of the friaries featured the images, arms and names of lay donors almost as much as those of saints.<sup>6</sup> The lay donors and patrons would have been even more prominently displayed in the floor slabs, chest tombs and wall monuments that filled the mendicant churches (nave and choir): well over a thousand people must have been buried in the Franciscan church, judging by the 791 names recorded in the 680 tombs

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<sup>5</sup> For rare surviving contracts for the performance of chantry masses, trentalls and anniversary services, see The National Archives (TNA), LR14/87; LR14/91; LR14/129; LR14/488.

<sup>6</sup> D. King, 'Mendicant Glass in East Anglia', in *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 169–84; Little, *Franciscan History and Legend*, pp. 27–8, 31; *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-Text*, W. Langland, ed. by D. Pearsall (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2008), pp. 82–3 (Passus III, lines 50–76). The evidence for the London Grey Friars suggests an unusually high number of aristocratic sponsors: British Library (BL), Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 325–6 [Grey Friars register, list of sponsors of windows of new church], printed in *The Grey Friars of London: Their History, with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 6 (Aberdeen: British Society of Franciscan Studies, 1915), pp. 165–9.

that were still visible in the 1530s.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of surviving mendicant examples, we must simply imagine the huge rood screen and arch above with their crucifixion and judgement scenes. The various chapels off the nave would have been richly decorated with a variety of sculptures, altars and hangings: there may well be some surviving embroidered or woven altar hangings from Austin Friars in a church in Genoa: in May 1542 the secretary of the Genovese ambassador in London wrote to the governor of Genoa informing him that ‘tapezzerie’ removed from the church (perhaps belonging to an Italian fraternity?) were being shipped back to Italy.<sup>8</sup>

By the second half of the fourteenth century, therefore, the priors had largely realised their long-term plans. Their friary churches may not have been quite on the scale of the great thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century secular cathedrals like St Paul’s or Salisbury (respectively 575’ and 450’, 175m and 137m, long), or the largest Benedictine abbeys such as Westminster and Ely (both about 500’, 152m), but they were very substantial buildings, all the more remarkable given that the friars had carved these huge monuments into the densely occupied London landscape, and within a century or so of their arrival. In scale and, to a lesser extent, design, they are comparable to the wealthier Augustinian urban churches that were being completed around the same time (Table 8). The friary churches would have dwarfed their neighbours, mere hundred-foot long parish churches such as St Nicholas Shambles (next to Grey Friars) or St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (by Black Friars).

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<sup>7</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 274–316 [Grey Friars register, list of monuments], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 70–133; see also C. Steer, ‘Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of London, c. 1240–1540’, in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, ed. by C. M. Barron and C. Burgess, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 20 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 117–42.

<sup>8</sup> F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, 6 vols (Genoa: Sambolino, 1870–80), ii, 485–6, 560.

**Table 8 The lengths of friars' churches and other London-area churches in the fourteenth century<sup>9</sup>**

Church	Length	Completed
<i>Great churches</i>		
St Paul's (secular cathedral)	175m, 574'	1327
Westminster (Benedictine abbey)	154m, 505'	1269
<i>Friaries and Augustinian priories</i>		
St Mary Merton, Surrey (Augustinian priory)	96m, 315'	c. 1340
Grey Friars	91m, 299'	c. 1360
Austin Friars	84m, 277'	c. 1371
St Mary Overie (Augustinian priory)	79m, 260'	c. 1300
Holy Trinity (Augustinian priory)	77m, 254'	c. 1300
Black Friars	74m, 243'	1320s?
White Friars	56m, 182'? <sup>10</sup>	1360s?
St Mary Spital (Augustinian hospital)	52m, 171'	c. 1320
<i>Parish churches</i>		
St Nicholas Shambles	29m, 95'	
St Laurence Jewry	27m, 90'	

Given this investment in friary architecture in the fourteenth century it is not surprising that the churches underwent relatively little change and reconstruction in the following century. The two significant examples of Perpendicular friary architecture were the new choir of White Friars (begun in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and the Lady Chapel added to the choir of Black Friars in the 1430s. We have, unfortunately, little evidence for their appearance but we should certainly expect them to be tall and well-lit spaces with characteristic large windows divided by grid-like transoms and mullions. The Lady chapel at Black Friars would presumably have had a spectacular fan-vaulted stone roof, given its date and the wealth of its sponsor, Sir John Cornwall (the recently ennobled Lord Fanhope).<sup>11</sup> The London friaries almost had an example of the late flowering of the medieval Perpendicular style, at Crossed Friars, but a combination of the poor financial and

<sup>9</sup> The lengths are the external dimension, including both nave and choir but not including buttresses. The sources for the dates and dimensions of the non-friary churches are cited in footnotes 1 and 2. See also: C. Thomas, J. Sidell and R. Cowie, *The Royal Palace, Abbey and Town of Westminster on Thorney Island: Archaeological Excavations (1991–8) for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project*, MoLAS Monograph, 22 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2006), pp. 71–3; D. Bowsher and others, *The London Guildhall: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times*, MoLAS Monograph, 36 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007), ii, 391–6; J. Schofield, 'Excavations on the Site of St Nicholas Shambles, Newgate Street, City of London, 1975–9', *TLAMAS*, 48 (1997), 77–135 (pp. 96–9); E. Hatton, *A New View of London*, 2 vols (London: R. Chiswell and others, 1708), i, 217.

<sup>10</sup> The length of the church in the fourteenth century is uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> S. J. Payling, 'Cornwall, John, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443)', *ODNB* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54423>> [accessed 8 February 2011].



administrative skills of the prior, William Bowry, and the onset of the Dissolution meant that the new choir of the 1520s and '30s was never completed.

In spite of the variety of size and date, the London friary churches all conform to a basic pattern. Essentially they are two-part buildings, with a western nave in which Londoners could pray and listen to the friars' sermons, and an eastern choir, the church in which the friars performed their daily offices. The London friaries probably shared the traditional and somewhat flexible rules of circulation of monastic cathedrals, and of continental friaries, where the nave was the main lay area but where lay men were generally allowed into the aisles or ambulatory of the choir, although not into the area of the actual friars' stalls.<sup>12</sup> The two halves of the church – distinct but permeable – were separated by timber screens enclosing a lateral bay, usually described in sixteenth-century sources as a 'walking place'. This was a corridor that allowed the friars access through the church to and from their cloisters: this architectural feature was important to the itinerant friars, but was not required by static communities of, for example, Benedictine monks. The rood screen would generally have formed the western wall of the walking place corridor, with stalls for the friars perhaps built up against the eastern *pulpitum* wall; both walls would have been largely built in timber but perhaps of masonry in their lower stage. The entrances to these paired churches lay in their respective south-west or north-west corners. Thus at Black Friars, for example, the laity would arrive from the north and head for the porch in the north-west corner of the nave. In contrast, the friars would enter the choir from their cloister to the south of the church, proceeding into the walking place and turning east into the southern aisle of the choir. The walking place bay was also used as the base for a central tower (as is the meeting point of nave and transepts in a conventional monastic church): the huge piers required to support a central tower are best sited 'out of the way', to the east of the nave altar and to the west of the choir.

To this basic twin-church form, a variety of chapels and other spaces could be added. We have already discussed the numerous screened chapels with their jumble

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<sup>12</sup> R. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 243–6; D. Cooper, 'Ritual Space and Liturgical Fabric in the Mendicant Churches of Late Medieval Italy', *Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, 21, (to be published by Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2011); Cooper and Banker, 'The Church of Borgo San Sepolcro', i, 84.

of altars, statues, tombs, and painted windows and walls that would have taken up much of the aisle space (in both nave and choir). The laity entered the church through a separate porch, probably two-storey, at Grey Friars and Black Friars. At Austin Friars the parish church of St Peter was physically attached to the friary choir, although it was accessed by a separate entrance to the south. All the friaries except Grey Friars had a variety of other chapels added at various times to the main two-part layout.

It is clear that by the fourteenth century these internal arrangements of the friary churches (described above) had become a more-or-less standardised English friary plan (Fig 82). Although the London friary churches are often slightly larger than other English examples of their respective orders, there is not a great variation in scale and form. The basic arrangement is usually a large three-aisled nave that is separated from a narrower (single or double-aisle) and slightly shorter choir by the walking place bay. With the exception of the Coventry White Friars, English friaries usually have this relatively narrow bay rather than the normal transept-crossings that one finds in other English monastic houses, and in many Continental friaries. The larger English friary churches generally had a central tower over the walking place.<sup>13</sup>

**Fig 82 Plan comparing the four main London friary churches with other English mendicant churches (scale 1:1250)<sup>14</sup>**

The size of the churches, and their individual components, reflect their popularity among a wealthy elite, the local topography and their date of construction, rather than the numbers of lay visitors or friars. The Dominicans consistently had the largest number of friars and were the wealthiest of the five friary orders, but their church was the second smallest (that of the Crossed Friars being smaller). In large part this simply reflects the date of its construction and the topography of the precinct: the large choir was begun with royal support in the 1270s but, when the nave was started in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the overall length of the church was limited by the internal road layout and the need to allow efficient circulation within the precinct. Furthermore, a 240-foot long church was perhaps large enough for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. The slightly later

<sup>13</sup> Butler, 'Mendicant Orders in Britain', pp. 129–31; C. Woodfield, *The Church of our Lady of Mount Carmel and some Conventual Buildings at the Whitefriars, Coventry*, British Archaeological Reports (British series), 389 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 17–20.

<sup>14</sup> For sources, see footnote 13 and J. E. Mellor and T. Pearce, *The Austin Friars, Leicester*, CBA Research Report, 35 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1981).

date of the Grey Friars church, a topographical advantage (the rather long east–west precinct space), not to mention the generous royal support of three English queens, meant that the new church of the fourteenth century became the largest friary church in the country. Conversely the Crossed Friars never managed to attract the wealthiest lay supporters and so their church remained the smallest of the five London friaries, with their over-ambitious plan to extend it eastwards in the sixteenth century never realised.

These complex spaces would have held a variety of spiritual and other meanings, depending on the status and affiliation of the visitor, and the time of his or her visit. On a typical day, the nave would have been busy on at least one occasion with a friar preaching to a throng of lay visitors; the choir would have seen more regular (and perhaps more static) use with the friars performing the cycle of prayer in their slightly reduced version of the standard monastic liturgical offices.<sup>15</sup> The naves were also used for private business meetings: Jens Röhrkasten has shown how a number of deals were agreed on friary premises.<sup>16</sup> On special days, other parts of the church would have been open to lay visitors: one can imagine that, for example, the Grey Friars chapel of St Francis was opened up to lay visitors on his saint's day of 4 October. The friary churches were also a meeting place for the dead, with successive family members reunited in death and commemorated by floor slabs, tomb chests or wall monuments. The Franciscans' 'register' demonstrates the extraordinary extent of this, with over 700 lay people buried in just over 600 tombs with their commemorative monuments. Furthermore, the financial and spiritual investment of a tomb in the choir would presumably have allowed surviving family members privileged access to the relevant aisle or chapel.

Other groups such as religious fraternities and trade guilds would also have had special access to their particular sponsored chapel or altar: at Austin Friars the religious fraternity of the company of Pouchmakers maintained an altar with a 'braunche [candlestick] with five tapers of wax' on the north side of the choir, and the German fraternity of St Sebastian had an altar on the south side of the nave with a

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<sup>15</sup> F. Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Monastic Orders (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 124–7.

<sup>16</sup> J. Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses of the Mendicant Priors of Medieval London', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by P. Trio and M. de Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 135–51 (pp. 139–40).

gilt ‘beme and brannch’ as well as ‘alman ymages and tabernacles’.<sup>17</sup> A study of the use of the friary churches by guilds and fraternities counted seven companies paying for anniversaries or chantries in the churches, another nine companies with religious fraternities regularly meeting in the churches (or maintaining altars and candles there) and up to twenty-six ‘independent’ religious fraternities meeting in the churches.<sup>18</sup> From the latter total we should probably deduct two (‘double-counted’ in the above study): the Saxon members of the alien fraternity of the Holy Blood of Wilsnack moved from Crossed Friars to Austin Friars in 1491, with a splinter group of Lowland Germans remaining at Crossed Friars as the new fraternity of St Catherine.<sup>19</sup> We should then add the fraternity of the Holy Cross and St Helen who, in 1514, were involved in fundraising for the rebuilding and enlargement of the Crossed Friars, giving us a revised total of about twenty-five fraternities meeting in the friaries, of whom six were primarily for aliens.<sup>20</sup>

### **The organisation and uses of the friary precincts**

When the early friars were setting up their London houses in the second quarter of the thirteenth century they probably had relatively humble aspirations: they needed a church, together with basic facilities for sleeping and eating. The early friaries were, therefore, relatively small urban institutions, with a variety of forms and a sense of what Gilchrist terms the ‘liminality’ of small monastic orders on the fringes of towns.<sup>21</sup> However, two factors brought about a change. Firstly, as London expanded in size and population in the thirteenth century, the friary sites became less peripheral

<sup>17</sup> TNA, LR15/12; LR15/13.

<sup>18</sup> J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539*, Vita Regularis, 21 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), pp. 472–6 (hereafter cited as ‘Röhrkasten’). The subject is further explored in C. M. Barron, ‘The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London’, in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, ed. by C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1985), pp. 13–37 (p. 23); C. M. Barron and L. Wright, ‘The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388–9’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108–45 (pp. 124–5); H. C. Coote, ‘The Ordinances of some Secular Guilds of London, 1354 to 1496’, *TLAMAS*, 4 (1871), 44–58.

<sup>19</sup> J. Colson, ‘Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London’, *London Journal*, 35.2 (2010), 111–43 (pp. 117–21).

<sup>20</sup> *Leonis X. pontificis maximi regesta*, ed. by J. A. G. Hergenroether, 6 vols (Freiburg: Sumptibus Herder, 1884–8), v/vi, no. 13403 (p. 805) [Holy Cross and St Helen]. The six alien fraternities meeting at London friaries consist of three at Black Friars dedicated, respectively, to the Holy Trinity, St Barbara and the Immaculate Conception (the first two for Dutch or Germans, the third for French), the two at Crossed and Austin Friars dedicated to the Holy Blood of Wilsnack and St Catherine, with one more at Austin Friars dedicated to St Sebastian: Colson, ‘Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities’.

<sup>21</sup> R. Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*, The Archaeology of Medieval Britain (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 6–7.

(and the Dominicans were able to move to a new site within the city wall). Secondly, the financial and spiritual success of the early friars caused them to raise their ambitions. As we have seen, in the 1260s and '70s the friars began building great new church choirs (Table 9). The priors and provincial priors had decided to move away from the simplicity and poverty of the very early buildings and construct more substantial churches and precincts: the construction of a large choir implies, surely, a plan for a corresponding great nave and cloister. Mendicants in Italy certainly seem to have planned their churches over the long term, financing their construction over a century or more by offering them as a desirable location for burial of an urban elite; this observation is almost certainly true of England as well.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 9 The chronology of the construction of the five London friaries: dates are the start of the construction campaigns**

Friary	Foundation and early buildings	New choir	Cloister	Nave
Black Friars	1220s	1278 (new site)	early 1290s	c. 1312
Grey Friars	1224	1228	1270s	c. 1300
White Friars	c. 1250	1260s	uncertain	1349
Austin Friars	1260s	no new choir	uncertain	2nd quarter of 14th C
Crossed Friars	1260s	uncertain	uncertain	1st quarter of 14th C

The new friary precincts of the late thirteenth century followed, to a large extent, the rural Benedictine monastic plan. At its simplest this plan had the main communal buildings – those associated with sleeping and eating – arranged as three or four wings around a grassed square and linked by a covered passage: this is the classic monastic cloister. The cloister was traditionally sited on the south side of the church (a south-facing cloister was warmer and brighter as the autumn and winter sun was not blocked by the church) but it could be to the north if the lie of the land required it. To these basic essentials of church, kitchen, refectory and dormitory were usually added ancillary buildings such as a library for study, a separate house for the abbot or prior, a hostry or guest-house for pilgrims, a chapter house for formal daily meetings and an infirmary for sick inmates. The practical and ritual requirements of the monastic life meant that water supply and lavatory facilities were extensive and technologically advanced at both rural and urban monastic houses. The kitchen facilities often developed in the larger monastic houses into a service court with cellared storage buildings, a brew-house and a bake-house. Finally, a cemetery was

<sup>22</sup> C. Bruzelius, 'The Dead Come to Town: Preaching, Burying, and Building in the Mendicant Orders', in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. by A. Gajewski and Z. Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 203–24 (pp. 207–9).

laid out by the church (usually on the opposite side to the cloister) and gardens were planted around the precinct buildings. By the thirteenth century, an urban monastic plan had been developed, formed by the adaptation of the rural Benedictine plan by the newer religious orders such as the Augustine canons.<sup>23</sup> Three thirteenth-century monastic plans from London are illustrated in Fig 83 and these Benedictine (Westminster Abbey) and Augustinian houses (Holy Trinity and St Mary Spital) would have provided appropriate models for the friars to follow.<sup>24</sup>

**Fig 83 Three London monastic precincts of the thirteenth century: Benedictine Westminster Abbey and the Augustinian priories of Holy Trinity and St Mary Spital (scale 1:2000)**

The key consideration in the planning of the new friary precincts was the position of the church: naturally, it had to be aligned approximately east–west but it also had to be sited close to the nearest main road so that it was accessible and visible. The layout and construction of a full precinct over the next century or so followed on from this early decision about the choir (Fig 84). The main cloister was situated to the north or south of the church so as to be further away from the main road. The Dominicans, Crossed Friars and Carmelites therefore ended up with the preferred solution of a south-facing cloister, whereas the Franciscans and Augustinian Friars had to make do with a colder and darker north-facing cloister. The Dominicans built a traditional single-storey cloister, a vaulted pentice abutting the claustral wings, but the other friaries had integrated cloister walks that were built over: this had the advantage of taking up less space but the disadvantage of producing narrow and dark ground-floor rooms adjacent to the cloister walk.<sup>25</sup> One or two sides of the cloister were taken up by the sleeping accommodation, usually at first-floor level, and the main dormitory was generally sited on the east side of the cloister so as to give easy night-time access to the choir (often through a special set of night-stairs). This left one wing for the refectory, usually opposite the church or on the west side of the cloister. The chapter house was sited on the east side of the cloister, often in a fairly large building that protruded from the claustral range.

<sup>23</sup> R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), pp. xvii, 273; Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 24–7.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas, *The Royal Palace, Abbey and Town of Westminster*, pp. 71–3, fig 45; J. Schofield and R. Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History*, MoLAS Monograph, 24 (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), pp. 139–45, fig 137.

<sup>25</sup> The integrated arrangement seems to have been the norm in English friaries: Butler, ‘Mendicant Orders in Britain’, p. 132.

**Fig 84 Comparative plan of the five friary precincts (scale 1:2000)**

A secondary cloister was then sited one step further from the church and main road, depending on the topography, so to the south at Black Friars, to the west at Grey Friars and to the north at Austin Friars. Its layout was less standardised but it usually housed the library, kitchen or infirmary, with the kitchen being as close as possible to the refectory or dining hall and the infirmary being the furthest away. The ancillary buildings of bake-house, brew-house and workshops usually formed a separate court, not formally laid out as a cloister but gathered around a central yard. This court would ideally be situated as far as possible from the church (separating the domestic and the spiritual) but as close as possible to a gate and road (for ease of access and deliveries): the two objectives were often in conflict. The locations of the various service courts therefore varied: at Austin Friars there was a group of buildings right in the north of the precinct with their own gate, but at the Grey Friars the service buildings were rather close to the church and the main gate (although they probably had their own doors onto the Newgate street frontage). At Black Friars and White Friars the service buildings could be sited with access to both a water gate and a street gate.

The priors and the provincial priors (who were in charge of their respective order's English province) required accommodation of an appropriate standard. The thirteenth-century Franciscan provincial prior, William of Nottingham, would not have approved but by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the priors and abbots of England's monastic houses had become important figures, with concomitant duties within secular as well as religious society. They therefore needed their own houses – small mansions – within their precincts, including space for cellarge, catering and servants. These houses were generally to the east of the main cloister, approximately aligned with the choir, and had their own private garden as well.<sup>26</sup> It may be significant that the exception to this was the Franciscans, whose prior's accommodation was at the west end of the church and not very secluded: were they marking their continuing attachment to their founder's ideals of poverty and simplicity?

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<sup>26</sup> Gilchrist, after analysing the bishop's and prior's houses at Norwich cathedral, noted the spiritual significance of aligning the prior's house with the choir of the church, in particular the prior's chamber with the high altar: Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 143–64 (especially p. 160).

One surprising aspect of the London friaries is their huge gardens, undoubtedly the largest in the walled city. At Black Friars the Dominicans had over three acres of gardens (1.3ha) including a separate garden for the prior. At White Friars there were several gardens, including the prior's garden, a kitchen garden, an infirmary garden, a school garden ('the skollers gardeyne') and two convent gardens ('le covent garden' and a separate *covent garden propter Thamesiam*).<sup>27</sup> There are also one or two references to orchards, such as the one by the Carmelite provincial's house.<sup>28</sup> We know hardly anything of the friars' economy and food supply networks but it seems likely that, in addition to purchased foodstuffs, the friars grew their own fruit, vegetables, herbs and medicines, perhaps also growing hops and vines and keeping bees. They may well have kept small livestock such as poultry or even pigs. In addition to these practical considerations the gardens also provided a peaceful haven for contemplation and relaxation: at White Friars one garden contained 'a littell house made upon the waters syde used for the recreation and comfort of the freers'.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, no archaeological or documentary evidence for friary fishponds has been traced.

The friaries would have had a number of other buildings in their precincts such as stables and a laundry, as well as workshops, often temporary, for stonemasons, smiths, carpenters and plumbers. Grey Friars had a windmill or horse-mill and White Friars a water-mill. Lay visitors needed accommodation and Black Friars had a guest hall – rather an impressive one as it was used by the emperor Charles V in 1522 – and other friaries including Austin Friars had a simpler guest-house. The unique links between the Dominicans and the Crown meant that the Black Friars had a large 'parliament hall' used, on occasion, for sittings of parliament in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> The friaries' rented tenements and almshouses are discussed below ('Secularisation of the religious precincts').

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<sup>27</sup> Clothworkers' Company (CC), MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 51; TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 58v.

<sup>28</sup> TNA, E315/235, f. 37v.

<sup>29</sup> BL, Harley charters 79.F.32.

<sup>30</sup> The earliest sitting of parliament at Black Friars seems to have been in 1311 and it was intermittently used until the Dissolution: J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages: A History of the English House of Lords to 1540* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p. 276; J. S. Roskell, C. Rawcliffe and L. S. Clark, *The House of Commons 1386–1421*, 4 vols, *The History of Parliament* (Stroud: History of Parliament Trust and Alan Sutton, 1992), i, 150; Röhrkasten, 'Secular Uses', pp. 140–1.



English friaries shared a number of common elements in the layout of their precincts. Where research into other friaries has been both extensive in area and has integrated archaeological and documentary evidence, a similar picture emerges. Thus, at the Coventry White Friars, the main cloister is on the south side of the church, with a pair of small ‘half-cloisters’ or yards further south. The chapter house and prior’s accommodation were sited in wings running east off the two cloisters. The church was situated closest to the access road and the more secluded parts of the precinct had large areas of garden.<sup>31</sup> The Leicester Austin Friars had a similar form, although its situation in a virtual island of water meadows meant that the church had to be sited on the south, with the principal and lesser cloisters set to the north.<sup>32</sup> At Norwich Black Friars the cloister lay to the north, down the hill from the church, with an adjacent service court beyond.<sup>33</sup> The ‘church and twin cloister’ plan would seem, therefore to have been the norm for the larger English friaries by the fourteenth century, although smaller friaries such as the Aylesford or Hulne White Friars managed with a single cloister complemented by more irregular wings for the lesser buildings.<sup>34</sup>

The friary precincts were complex spaces, used and perceived in a variety of ways. To the friars themselves they must have held a variety of meanings: the friaries were their home and a place of sleep and nourishment, but also their ‘workplace’, at times calm and spiritual (during services in the choir) and at times noisy and bustling (during sermons in the nave or churchyard). For lay visitors the friaries may have held quite different meanings: a place of burial for a family member, somewhere to come for spiritual instruction or, alternatively, for business meetings. Members of religious fraternities and secular guilds were also frequent visitors to the London friaries, hiring rooms and halls as meeting places (as well as having contractual entitlement to particular altars and chapels in the friary churches). The Pouchmakers used Austin Friars, the Plaisterers had a hall at Grey Friars, the French fraternity of the Immaculate Conception had their annual dinner at Black Friars and the Brabant

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<sup>31</sup> Woodfield, *Whitefriars, Coventry*, pp. 48–9, figures 31, 38.

<sup>32</sup> Mellor and Pearce, *Austin Friars, Leicester*, pp. 26–43, fig 2.

<sup>33</sup> H. Sutermeister, *The Norwich Blackfriars: An Historical Guide to the Friary and its Buildings up to the Present Day* (Norwich, City of Norwich, 1977), pp. 26–8 and plan.

<sup>34</sup> Butler, ‘Mendicant Orders in Britain’, pp. 133–4; Woodfield, *Whitefriars, Coventry*, p. 18, figure 5.

and Lorraine fraternity of St Barbara seem to have had a hall at Crossed Friars.<sup>35</sup> And, members of the London clergy may, on occasion, have had access to friary libraries.

The friaries can therefore be seen as constituting an ambiguous grey area between theoretical divisions of space into lay/religious or public/private.<sup>36</sup> Rather than thinking of fixed areas within the friaries with clearly defined boundaries – a friars’ zone, a visitors’ zone – it is perhaps better to think of routes, with gates and markers to guide and control movement.<sup>37</sup> Black Friars is the most complex yet perhaps the most successfully mapped friary precinct and Fig 85 illustrates the likely routes taken by a variety of users in the early sixteenth century. The majority of lay visitors would have entered the friary by the northern gate, near Ludgate, and walked southwards, heading for the prominent porch in the north-west corner of the church, or turning left to walk into the cemetery, perhaps to hear a sermon at the outdoor preaching cross. Lay residents would generally have come in by this gate or the north-eastern gate to get to their rented houses. Important visitors would probably have arrived by boat, going up the steps onto Water Lane and walking northwards. The King and members of parliament would have turned right, going through a courtyard and up into the parliament hall, or into the small Duchy of Lancaster office on its west side. If they were also attending a service before or after the session, they would have continued up Water Lane to the church, perhaps entering by the grand west door. ‘VIPs’, like the Emperor Charles V in 1522, stayed in the guest hall in the first floor of the west wing of the cloister, which was newly connected to Henry’s palace at Bridewell by a long galleried walkway. The daily life of the friars themselves – when they were resident in the friary and not studying in Oxford or Cambridge or preaching in a parish church – was based around the cloister walk, which connected refectory, dormitory, chapter house and church, and also gave access to the library, infirmary and gardens beyond.

<sup>35</sup> TNA, LR15/12 [Pouchmakers]; E315/191, f. 60 [Plasterers]; SC6/Hen VIII/2396, f. 63 [St Barbara]; Colson, ‘Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities’, pp. 112, 138 [St Barbara and Immaculate Conception].

<sup>36</sup> For the overlap in notions of public and private urban space, see V. Harding, ‘Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2001–2), 549–69. See also, below, ‘Secularisation of the religious precincts’.

<sup>37</sup> Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 41–58, 240–8; L. Butler, ‘The Archaeology of Urban Monasteries in Britain’, in *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. by R. Gilchrist and H. C. Mytum, British Archaeological Reports (British Series), 227 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993), pp. 79–86 (pp. 82–3).

**Fig 85 Plan of Black Friars showing how friars, servants and visitors may have circulated (scale 1:2000)**

The prior and provincial prior were based beyond the cloister, around a small garden with the chapter house on its west, the prior's house to the east and the provincial prior's house to the south. A small chapel to the north led into the choir; the prior may even have had an oriel window through which to view the friars at prayer, like the one the Augustinian prior William Bolton had installed at St Bartholomew's in the early sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The priors and provincial priors would have come and gone through a private gate on the east of the friary. No less important to the running of the friary were the servants, whether private servants to the prior and provincial, or those working under the obedientiaries, buying and preparing the food and drink, maintaining the buildings and gardens, and washing the friars' clothes. They must also have used the main cloister, although using the northern walk as their route between the kitchen and service court in the west and the prior's court to the east. Provisions would have arrived by road and by boat and the servants would therefore have had to move all over the friary precinct.

### **Water supplies**

Several monastic houses in London had their own piped water supplies and the City authorities followed suit in the thirteenth century, installing a civic supply with several conduits in the city.<sup>39</sup> The four larger friaries – Grey Friars, Black Friars, White Friars and Austin Friars – had their own water systems, of which by far the best documented is the Franciscan system. Taking the accounts of the donation and the course of the water supply given in the sixteenth-century Grey Friars Register, Philip Norman carried out a remarkable investigation, mapping the probable course of the underground pipe network and discovering the remains of the two conduit-heads that fed the piped system.<sup>40</sup> In the second quarter of the thirteenth century, probably in the 1230s or '40s, William Tylour granted the Franciscans a spring in

<sup>38</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 5 vols (London: HMSO, 1924–30), iv, 125.

<sup>39</sup> D. Lewis, '“For the Poor to Drink and the Rich to Dress their Meat”: the First London Water Conduit', *TLAMAS*, 55 (2004), 39–68.

<sup>40</sup> BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322v [Grey Friars register, the water supply], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 158–61; P. Norman, 'On an Ancient Conduit-Head in Queen Square, Bloomsbury', *Archaeologia*, 56 (1899), 251–66; P. Norman and E. A. Mann, 'On the White Conduit, Chapel Street, Bloomsbury, and its Connexion with the Grey Friars' Water System', *Archaeologia*, 61 (1909), 347–56; P. Norman, 'Recent Discoveries of Medieval Remains in London', *Archaeologia*, 67 (1916), 18–26.

Bloomsbury, nearly a mile to the west of the friary. Henry III and three London citizens then paid for the construction of a conduit-head and the underground piping to carry the water to Newgate. Norman and Mann's discoveries show that this conduit-head was a partially-subterranean building that measured about 9' by 6' (2.7m x 1.8m) internally, and was built of Reigate stone with a barrel-vaulted chalk roof. The cistern must have been fed by nearby wells and it held up to about 2000 gallons (8500 litres) of water. There was a slightly deeper settling tank in the base of the cistern to remove impurities and the water then passed into a lead pipe, pumped by the pressure of the head of water in the cistern. The likely course of the piped system is shown on Fig 86.

**Fig 86 Map showing the Grey Friars water supply (source: Norman, 'On the white conduit...') (scale 1:10,000)**

In the first quarter of the fourteenth century the system was improved by the work of Geoffrey de Camera who built a second conduit-head, situated a quarter-mile further west in Bloomsbury. This underground vaulted cistern was built almost entirely of Reigate stone and was significantly larger, measuring 10½' square (3.2m) and having a capacity of nearly 4000 gallons (17,000 litres). Like the original cistern, this conduit was fed by a series of wells whose locations are indicated on a seventeenth-century plan of the water-system drawn for the Franciscans' successors, Christ's Hospital.<sup>41</sup> A lead pipe, inscribed with the date 1578, must mark the original piped outlet of the cistern. The fall in ground level between the water outlet and the friary is approximately 31' (9.5m), which would have provided a reasonable 'head' of water to pipe it along the ¼ miles (2.1km) of piping.

The pipe fed a conduit-house just south-west of the precinct by Newgate ('cundyte yarde' on Fig 21) and passed from there to the laver in the great cloister, where the friars washed before church. The laver seems to have been installed in the early fourteenth century and had to be restored in 1422 at a cost of some £27 9s 1½d, paid for by friar Robert Zougg.<sup>42</sup> The laver was a long and narrow basin in the west walk of the cloister, some eighteen feet long and two feet deep, made of copper and lined

<sup>41</sup> Not all of these wells are necessarily medieval; a retracing of the plan is reproduced in Norman and Mann, 'White Conduit', plan between pp. 352–3. The conduit-head was dismantled in 1911 and later re-erected in the grounds of the Metropolitan Water Board in Sadlers' Wells.

<sup>42</sup> The dating is not specific but the installation of the laver probably dates to a second phase of works on the water supply, after the initial laying out in the mid-thirteenth century and before an extension which may have taken place in the later fourteenth century: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322v [Grey Friars register, the history of the water supply], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 158–9.

with lead, and had ‘in’ and ‘out’ stopcocks fed by lead pipes.<sup>43</sup> The water supply continued from the laver to other parts of the friary, including the church porch (where lay worshippers could wash before entering the church), and – it is likely – to the infirmary.

Rather less is known of the other friaries’ water supplies. At Black Friars there was a conduit-house in the kitchen garden and the various pipes of the monastic system were still functioning in the second half of the sixteenth century when rights of access to the system were frequently mentioned in letters and leases.<sup>44</sup> The water supply may have been a piped extension from the Dominicans’ original friary in Holborn.<sup>45</sup> The Augustinians had a piped system (from which Thomas Cromwell and William Paulet later obtained water for their mansions and gardens) and a ‘comen well’ in the prior’s garden.<sup>46</sup> At White Friars some lead pipes on the north side of the church (valued in c. 1545 by a surveyor from the Court of Augmentations) must have been part of their supply, as was a water pump in the yard of the infirmary building.<sup>47</sup>

### **The economy of the friaries**

Unlike most monastic houses, friars did not own a large rental portfolio of rural manors and urban tenements. However, they did own their own precincts and this was both an asset and a cost. One way of examining the friars’ management of their economic portfolio is to consider the way they developed their own precincts. Jens Röhrkasten has charted the way in which the London friaries enlarged their precincts in a coherent manner in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and, although it is difficult to map this process with any certainty, it is clear that the expansion was to

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<sup>43</sup> In the 1546 survey it is described as ‘one laver of copper... lynd with leade, the cocks and parte of the pipes taken away’: St Bartholomew’s Hospital (SBH), HC 19, f. 5v (with emendation from second copy of text on f. 27).

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 2: Black Friars, footnotes 86 and 87. For post-Dissolution references to the water supply see, for example, Loseley MS printed in I. Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and its Design* (London: Owen, 1966), pp. 453–6; A. Feuillerat, *Blackfriars Records*, Malone Society Collections, 2 (i) (Oxford: Malone Society, 1913), pp. 19–26 [lease of 1560]; Loseley letter 6729/9/90, calendared on ‘Exploring Surrey’s Past’ web database, <[http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/GetRecord/SHLOS\\_1058](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/GetRecord/SHLOS_1058)>, accessed 16 June 2009 [letter of 1587].

<sup>45</sup> C. J. Bond, ‘Water Management in the Urban Monastery’, in *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. Gilchrist and Mytum, 43–78 (p. 61).

<sup>46</sup> TNA, C66/727, m. 19; Drapers’ Company (DC), charter X [piped supply to Cromwell’s house]; TNA, LR14/86 [well].

<sup>47</sup> TNA, E314/54 (‘London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at’); E317/Middx/15 [water pump].

a large extent planned by successive priors over the course of a century or so.<sup>48</sup> By the mid-fourteenth century the friars had probably reached the natural limit of land they could purchase or be given: they had large precincts with sufficient space for church, cloister and some garden areas and so it must have been getting more and more difficult to persuade neighbours to donate or sell adjacent land.

The Carmelites and the Dominicans, however, had one significant advantage in terms both of space and access: their precincts bordered the river Thames. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century the Dominicans moved from their first friary in Holborn to a new site in the south-west corner of the city, demolishing the Roman city wall and rebuilding it a hundred yards to the west. With support from the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the City, they built a new wall that served both as the city and the precinct wall, reclaiming, at the same time, nearly 1¾ acres (0.7ha) of land from the confluence of the Thames and the Fleet. This project, in turn, seems to have inspired the Carmelites: archaeological evidence revealed two successive waterfronts, demonstrating that the friars were gradually reclaiming land from the Thames and enlarging their precinct southwards. The waterfronts were built in a typical medieval style: a stone wall was built out towards the low tide mark on the shore of the Thames and large quantities of earth were then dumped in between the old and new walls to extend the land. These archaeological waterfronts can be dated quite closely: large amounts of refuse (including pottery and other datable finds) were dumped with the earth. The first recorded extension at White Friars took place in the mid-fourteenth century, probably around the time that the friary was granted an old lane by the City (1349) and some land by Hugh Courtenay (1350). The Carmelites thus increased their land from 3¼ acres (1.3ha) to 4 acres (1.6ha). The second expansion took place at the end of the century: two royal grants of 1396 licensed the friary to reclaim 200' from the Thames and the archaeological evidence of a new stone river wall confirms this. This time the surface area of the precinct was enlarged by a third to 5¼ acres (2.1ha). In a century, therefore, the Carmelites were able to gain another 60% of their original precinct area, pushing their frontage some 60m further out into the river. Although this was not a purchase it was certainly not free because, as in the case of the new Black Friars precinct, the engineering campaign required to achieve this would have been very expensive. Perhaps

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<sup>48</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 67–9.

surprisingly, the new land was not intensively used: much of it became garden space, although another part was used to build a tide mill and brew-house.

If the prime purpose of every monastic order was prayer – with the additional component of preaching in the case of the friars – there had to be an economic infrastructure to support this. Even St Francis could not pray and preach on an empty stomach with no shelter for that night (and this latter aspect was even more important in late medieval England than on a warm night in thirteenth-century Umbria). Jens Röhrkasten paid particular attention to the economies of the London friaries, examining the evidence for both income and expenditure.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, there are no surviving records of obedientaries or other accounts for any of the London friaries and so much of the mendicant household economy will remain beyond our grasp.<sup>50</sup> But, because of a chance survival of a summary account showing money paid by the English province of the Austin Friars to the order's headquarters in Rome we can begin an analysis of the economy of this friary towards the end of the middle ages (Table 10). The document of 1522 records money paid by the province of Austin Friars to an Italian agent for transfer to the papal *curia* at Rome. The financial transfer seems to be the result of a special fundraising exercise by the provincial prior, Edmund Bellond, who obtained a papal indulgence in order to raise money for a building project (probably not at the London house).<sup>51</sup> The document records two categories of income raised, a proportion of which was to be transferred to Rome: money from confessional fees and from alms. Unfortunately, the totals raised are for the whole English province and the contributions of the individual houses are not specified.

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<sup>49</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 221–78, 561–7; J. Röhrkasten, 'L'Économie des couvents mendiants de Londres à la fin du Moyen Âge, d'après l'étude des documents d'archives et des testaments', in *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. by N. Bériou and J. Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2009), pp. 211–45.

<sup>50</sup> It is not clear to what degree the friars organised themselves along normal monastic lines: did they have the full range of obedientaries? The scattered sources mention, at Grey Friars, a physician (TNA, C1/66/397), a gardener (E321/46/51), a butler (E36/120, f. 42), as well as an almoner and an infirmarer (SP1/86, f. 91, no. 91).

<sup>51</sup> TNA, SP1/24, f. 126, no. 85; F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249–1538*, Cassiciacum, 6 and 7, 2 vols (New York: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1961 and 1966, ii, no. 1032).

**Table 10 Estimated income and expenditure at Austin Friars in the early sixteenth century (for sources, see text)**

<b><i>Income</i></b>	
Alms	£ 40
Confession	£ 9
Will bequests	£ 24
Anniversaries	£ 22
Rents	£ 59
Burial fees	£ 5
Guilds	£ 2
<b>total</b>	<b>£ 161</b>
<b><i>Expenditure</i></b>	
Food	£ 70
Expenses	£ 15
Servants	£ 25
Repairs	£ 14
Quitrents	£ 1
Subvention to Rome	£ 25
Alms	£ 5
<b>total</b>	<b>£ 155</b>

Regarding the friars' income, the figure for alms can be estimated: the average annual sum given in alms to the whole English province (for the years covered, 1517–21) was £458. The money was presumably not raised evenly by the thirty-five English friaries and we might guess that the London house raised at least a tenth of this (rather than a thirty-fifth), given its large and wealthy population. The resulting guess of £46 is rounded down to £40 in Table 10, given that these five years may have seen higher than average fundraising thanks to the papal indulgence. Confessions given to lay people were clearly charged for, at least on occasion, and the average annual sum for the province was £88, giving an estimated figure of about £9 at the London house (if we assume again that they accounted for about a tenth of provincial income). Bequests from the wills of Londoners accounted for another substantial part of the income of the London house and in the early sixteenth century these brought in about £24 a year.<sup>52</sup> We know from the accounting material collated by the Court of Augmentations at the time of the Dissolution that there were £22-worth of payments for commemorative 'anniversary' services still being paid to the friary each year.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, we know that over £59 of rents were being collected from lay tenants in, and adjacent to, the friary precinct (Chapter 5: Austin Friars, 'The friary's tenements'). We can assume that executors paid burial fees to the friary

<sup>52</sup> The figure of £24 is an annual average for the first three decades of the sixteenth century: Röhrkasten, pp. 563–4; Röhrkasten, 'L'économie des couvents', p. 236.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 60v; LR2/262, f. 10; SC11/436.



for the right to bury lay people in the church or cemetery: no account of this has been traced but it could well have raised a few pounds a year.<sup>54</sup> Finally, we know that several guilds and religious fraternities had arrangements with the friary (for example the Pouchmakers' guild and the German fraternity of St Sebastian) and they would have paid small sums of money for the use of an altar and for commemorative masses. Thanks to a unique surviving fragment of sixteenth-century friary accounts from York, we know that the Franciscans raised at least £1 a year from such arrangements and it is likely that the London houses received significantly more than this; a conservative figure of £2 has been assumed.<sup>55</sup>

Regarding expenditure, the greatest cost was probably food. Röhrkasten estimates the daily cost per friar to be one penny: this is the amount usually granted by the king in occasional subsidies.<sup>56</sup> With about thirty friars in the early sixteenth century, this would suggest an annual food bill of about £45. By way of comparison, Yarmouth priory (a Benedictine cell of the wealthy Norwich cathedral priory) spent just over £39 on food in 1496–7, catering for about seven monks and priests, while even the poor nunnery of St Radegund in Cambridge spent nearly £19 in 1481–2, for about eleven nuns and five priests.<sup>57</sup> If the London Austin friars were really eating as modestly as the poor Cambridge nuns, an annual cost of about £45 is possible (converting the St Radegund figure for the increased numbers of London friars gives £35). While it may be an exaggeration to assume that the friars were dining in Benedictine style (which would have cost about £165 a year), it does seem likely that

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<sup>54</sup> Early sixteenth-century burial fees in parish churches were at the very least, 6s 8d, or more if the burial was at the east end or in a separate chapel: V. Harding, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. by S. Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 119–35 (pp. 129–31); S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 50–1. It is possible that some of the simple bequests for sums such as 6s 8d given in the wills examined by Jens Röhrkasten might be for payment of these burial fees, in which case there is a slight danger of 'double-counting' this income.

<sup>55</sup> J. S. Purvis, 'A York Account Roll for A.D. 1537–1538', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 42 (1971), 52–3; R. B. Dobson, 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M. W. Barley*, ed. by P. Addyman and V. E. Black (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1984), pp. 109–22 (p. 110). The fragment of accounts (printed by Purvis and identified by Dobson) does not cover a full year.

<sup>56</sup> Röhrkasten, p. 32; Röhrkasten, 'L'économie des couvents', p. 220.

<sup>57</sup> Accounts of St Radegund for 1481–2 and Yarmouth priory for 1496–7 printed in M. Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c. 1300–1535*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 92–101. The figures in the St Radegund account have been corrected to give an estimate for a full calendar year. For approximate numbers of religious, see *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, Victoria County History, 10 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1938–), ii, 218–19; *A History of the County of Norfolk*, Victoria County History, 2 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1901 and 1975), ii, 330.

the £45 figure is an underestimate, particularly given the lack of ‘free’ food from granges and estates (although the friars may have received food as alms). The slightly higher figure of £70 is suggested here, double the cost of the Cambridge nuns. Other expenses on supplies such as clothing, heating, candle wax, books and stabling then have to be estimated. At Yarmouth priory they spent over £13 and at St Radegund nearly £6 on these items; the sum of £15 seems like a conservative estimate for the London friars. If there were about thirty friars in the early sixteenth century then there would probably have been as many servants, including cooks, butlers, gardeners, a washerwoman, a brewer and a baker. Some of these may have received free or subsidised accommodation, as at Grey Friars where a married washerwoman received an apartment in return for her services.<sup>58</sup> An annual wage bill of at least £25 is a reasonable guess given that the Benedictines at Yarmouth were paying about £17 and the nuns at Cambridge about £10. The annual repair bill for the year following the Dissolution is £13 12s 6d and this is perhaps a surprisingly high amount given that at Yarmouth they spent just over £4 and at St Radegund just over £3. The London figure may of course reflect increased investment in the portfolio of rented tenements, the prime function of the newly dissolved house but, if it overestimates the medieval expenditure on repairs to tenements it must underestimate that expenditure on the religious buildings. An account by the clerk of St Paul’s for 1539 reveals that the friary had been paying a 13s 4d quitrent that was still due on a property and there were certainly a few others.<sup>59</sup> The Austin Friars accounts document of 1522 suggests that half of the sums raised through alms and confession payments had to be handed over to the Order’s general chapter in Rome, although it is not clear if this was the standard obligation. If this was the normal state of affairs, then about £25 would have to have been transferred. The final category to consider is alms: just as the friars received alms from Londoners they would probably have made some payments to deserving causes: the wealthy cell of Yarmouth priory gave away nearly £7 although the friars, as receivers of alms, would probably have paid out less.

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<sup>58</sup> TNA, C146/1479, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 207–8. The only reference to servants at Austin Friars occurs in the alien ‘subsidy’ assessment of 1483, which lists two male servants of Saxon origin in the friary: J. L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 & 1483–4* (Stamford: Richard III & Yorkist History Trust in association with P. Watkins, 1998), pp. 17 (footnote 12), 29.

<sup>59</sup> TNA, E101/474/11, f. 4. Röhrkasten notes quitrents of 3s 6d in addition to the 13s 4d just cited: ‘L’économie des couvents’, p. 221.

Although the figures are approximate – outright guesses in one or two cases – they seem to suggest quite a precarious state of financial affairs, with an annual income of approximately £160 only just exceeding expenditure of about £155. This friary lacked the generous royal subvention paid to Black Friars and any form of major expenditure on construction or repair could bankrupt a relatively small mendicant house, as the Crossed Friars found out in the sixteenth century when they overstretched themselves when enlarging their church. Although the friars were nominally mendicant, it is clear that by the sixteenth century they could not function without their rental income, even if their rental portfolios were smaller and more localised than those of other monastic houses. They did not have rural manors and granges to run, nor is there any evidence for industrial activity within their precincts (beyond in-house milling, brewing and baking), but the friars' tenements meant that they had to be involved in the local and business affairs of the secular world just like London's other religious orders.

### *The processes of secularisation and dissolution*

#### **Secularisation of the religious precincts**

At first glance it is perhaps surprising to encounter the idea of large numbers of lay people living in London's monastic precincts. Historians and archaeologists have, however, demonstrated how the later medieval monastic house is essentially a phenomenon of town and city; the majority of post-Conquest houses were founded in towns (even if some of these 'towns' became truly urban by the subsequent effects of accretion and attraction).<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, recent work on monastic houses has tended to emphasise their links with the local laity rather than any absolute physical and spiritual isolation of the religious personnel from wider lay society.<sup>61</sup> Of course, the main purpose of the religious houses was the liturgical cycle of prayer and praise but an increasingly important spiritual sideline was the provision of what might now be termed 'client focussed' professional prayer, in the form of chantry masses, trentals of masses and commemorative obits on behalf of the dead, paid for by the bequests

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<sup>60</sup> Butler, 'Urban Monasteries', pp. 79–86; Heale, *Monasticism*, pp. 34, 38–9, 48, 60–2; D. Palliser, 'The Topography of Monastic Houses in Yorkshire Towns', in *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. by Gilchrist and Mytum, pp. 3–9; J. P. Greene, *Medieval Monasteries* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 162–72.

<sup>61</sup> C. M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), pp. 5–24; Heale, *Monasticism*, pp. 33–41, 44–6, 53–64.

of large numbers of Londoners. The friars, in particular, were market leaders, perhaps because they had more flexible rules and less full religious service timetables, which would allow them to supply priests for such commemorative services as well as for processions and funerals.

Monastic houses were, by necessity, closely linked to their lay neighbours and the wider community in a more practical sense: they were major purchasers of food and services (as we have seen), and they were significant employers (quite possibly the largest single employer in many towns). Urban monastic houses, especially the Augustinian canons, were providers of what would now be termed social and even medical care: virtually all hospitals in London were run by the Order. Indeed, most religious houses throughout the land provided at least basic guest accommodation for pilgrims and other travellers.<sup>62</sup> Urban monasteries and friaries often provided space for meetings and services of religious and craft-based fraternities, particularly in the case of less wealthy organisations who could not afford their own hall and chapel. In London, several parish churches were physically within or adjoining monastic precincts, including St Helen Bishopsgate and St Mary Clerkenwell (the churches shared with the nunneries), St Katherine Cree (a separate parish church provided by Holy Trinity priory) and St Peter the Poor (the parish church attached to the Augustinian friary).

For our purposes we must note that monastic houses of all types had extensive property holdings and, while the rural estates were more significant in terms of food supply, their urban portfolios brought in regular and no doubt much appreciated cash payments. In London, the moderately-sized Augustinian hospital and priory of St Mary Bishopsgate had an income of over £562, nearly half of which was derived from its London rental book. Furthermore, several of these London properties lay in a ‘close’ of fifteenth-century timber-framed houses inside the precinct, in between the priory cemetery and outer precinct.<sup>63</sup> The rather more surprising conclusion from this study is that London’s mendicant houses, from the fourteenth century, also held rental properties both inside and outside their precincts, and were increasingly reliant on the income they provided. As we have seen, in the case of the London Austin

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<sup>62</sup> Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 8–61.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas, *St Mary Spital*, p. 81; B. Sloane, ‘Tenements in London’s Monasteries c. 1450–1540’, in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, ed. by D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 290–8 (p. 293).

Friars, the income from rents may have been about a third of their annual income. These rents, while bringing in welcome income (and thus freeing the monks from the need to work), also brought their share of duty and responsibility, no doubt rather less welcome. The houses needed repair and maintenance, there were legal disputes to settle and the actual rent payments needed to be collected four times a year. Several London religious houses therefore employed agents to administer their properties.

According to a strict interpretation of their original founders' wishes and the orders of the early general chapters, the mendicant orders ought not to have held any property beyond their own precinct buildings. Furthermore, even in the case of their own precinct the land should probably have been held on trust for them by the pope: a variation of this practice was used in London by the Franciscans whose precinct was owned on their behalf by the City.<sup>64</sup> The Crossed friars and to a lesser extent the Austin friars were the only London friars who held significant groups of rented tenements throughout London and even they did not have the large rural property portfolios held by most religious houses. The general pattern of mendicant property ownership was to acquire and rent out a strip of tenements just outside the precinct along the frontage of the adjacent main road: this seems to have been the practice from the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth and even more so in the sixteenth century, an additional policy developed: the friars built clusters of houses for rent along the internal lanes of their precincts.

The Dominicans – the wealthiest of the London mendicant landlords – had five such clusters of rented properties, the majority within their precinct ('T' on Fig 85). Two rows of tenements lay along the internal lanes through which lay visitors walked in order to reach the church. At least some of these had been rented out from the late fourteenth century and by the time of the Dissolution there were twenty-two such properties and, since some of these consisted of more than one house, there were at least twenty-five houses. The friary also had a small group of shops which lay beyond their precinct to the north and which they claimed to have owned since the thirteenth century. Just outside the precinct to the south-east lay a fourth group of tenements: nine properties that the Dominicans acquired in the late thirteenth and

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<sup>64</sup> The matter of the friars' title to their precincts, in London and elsewhere, is discussed by Röhrkasten, pp. 292–3.

early fourteenth centuries and that they enlarged as part of their expensive engineering scheme to reclaim land from the Thames. Several of the properties had wharves giving direct access to the river. The fifth group of properties was only created in the years preceding the Dissolution and was reserved for an exclusive group of private tenants. These were actual monastic buildings which were converted to lay use and rented out in the sixteenth century, particularly in the 1530s. For example, the courtier Elizabeth Denton had rented the ‘under-library’ since the early sixteenth century and, by the 1530s, Sir William Parr, the future brother-in-law to the king, Lady Jane Guildford and Lord Cobham were living in apartments in the main cloister by the 1530s.<sup>65</sup> A similar pattern of tenement development, broadly comparable in terms of both space and chronology, can be seen at the Austin, White and Crossed friaries. The exception was the Franciscans who even by the sixteenth century only held a handful of rented tenements scattered throughout their precinct, raising a mere £23 0s 8d, a fifth that of the Dominicans. Furthermore, they had actually disposed of valuable roadside property in the fourteenth century, having given two strips of land along Newgate Street to the Bridge House estate who administered London Bridge (it is not known whether the friary received any financial compensation for this).

These lay pockets within London’s monasteries should probably not be seen as evidence for a spiritual decline in late medieval monasticism. As Eamon Duffy and others have shown, this model of spiritual decline was first constructed by Protestant historians and, perhaps surprisingly and for rather different reasons, has been accepted by Catholic historians including David Knowles.<sup>66</sup> Instead, we should probably read the evidence as indicating a necessary adaptation to changing circumstances. With a much reduced population of religious personnel after the Black Death, urban and rural monastic houses found themselves unbalanced in personnel and space terms: they simply had too many buildings for the numbers of religious personnel. The smaller urban houses in particular – generally Augustinian

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<sup>65</sup> Parr, Guildford and Cobham are listed here in the tax assessment for the subsidy of 1535–6: TNA, SP1/25, ff. 35–6, nos 222–3.

<sup>66</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. xiii–xviii, 4–5; Heale, *Monasticism*, pp. 2–5. Knowles’ essentially critical view of the decline of monasticism in late medieval Britain is expressed in several places, most notably in the opening and closing pages of his trilogy: D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–59), i, pp. ix–x; vol. iii, 458–68.

priorities and friaries lacking huge property portfolios and rural granges – relied on bought-in food and services. The houses therefore experienced a double-economic impact of higher costs for purchased food and services, combined with lower profits from rural estates. The provision of tenements within their urban precincts to willing tenants must have seemed an attractive solution.

Rather than a decline, the evidence might in fact suggest a closer relationship between the religious houses and their lay supporters, with monasteries and friaries providing tailored spiritual services of prayer, burial and commemoration to a discerning urban community, able to shop around for their preferred places of burial or commemoration. The increasing presence of lay people within certain areas of the urban religious houses was also mutually beneficial. The religious houses gained a regular income and a group of lay supporters, and in this regard the courtiers living at Black Friars or the senior administrators living at Austin Friars (both in the 1530s) might have seemed like welcome allies able to secure the houses' future. The lay residents of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were able to enjoy life in a gated community, in the heart of London or close to it, but segregated from the full impact of the noise and bustle of the city. The religious precinct also brought them easy access to religious services in the nearby church – this feature is on occasion referred to in monastic leases of tenements – and perhaps to medical care (there is one probable example of a lay resident using the services of a friary physician).<sup>67</sup> Lay tenants in Augustinian priories may have had some access to schools for their children's education (for example at Holy Trinity priory or St Katherine's hospital), and perhaps even to the books in the monastic library. Other parts of London's priories and friaries were becoming increasingly secular spaces – albeit on a rather more elevated social level – as the priors' own houses were becoming grander and more separate from the accommodation for the ordinary monks, canons or friars.

The spatial organisation of the lay tenements may reveal a further aspect of the secular/religious relationship. As we have seen, the tenements were built in London's

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<sup>67</sup> It is not certain that Alice, wife of William Stede, was living in the friary precinct when she was treated by Eryk de Vedica, obediencer and physician of Grey Friars, but it seems likely that she was either a friary tenant or was living nearby: TNA, C1/66/397, printed in C. L. Kingsford, 'Additional Material for the History of the Grey Friars, London', in *Collectanea Franciscana II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922), pp. 61–156 (pp. 147–9). For the right of lay tenants to access divine service in the friary church see, for example, the 1527 lease of the Countess of Kent: BL, Harley charters 79.F.32.

religious precincts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century and they were generally sited in two locations, just outside the precinct on the main road and along the internal lanes leading by the cemetery to the church. Even though most Londoners chose to be buried at their parish church, nevertheless, friaries and Augustinian priories enjoyed the patronage of a large minority who paid for their funerals, burials and commemoration services.<sup>68</sup> The friary and hospital cemeteries must, therefore, have come to be regarded as lay spaces: still, of course, holy places, but with a spiritual connection particularly close to ordinary Londoners. Indeed, it is quite likely – although no direct evidence has been found – that the tenants of these precinct houses chose to live here, at least in part, in order to be close to their relatives. With the houses backing onto the graveyards, the living and the dead were close neighbours.

This model only seems to change in the 1530s as priors began to see the writing on the wall – particularly after the visitations and the dissolution of smaller religious houses in 1536 – and began converting actual monastic buildings for carefully chosen lay tenants (these selected tenants included a group of courtiers living at Black Friars, royal administrators including Thomas Cromwell and Richard Rich at Austin Friars). But, for two centuries prior to the 1530s lay and religious communities in London seem to have co-existed in considerable harmony and to their mutual benefit. Furthermore, this was happening a couple of centuries before the mixed cathedral precincts of England's towns and cities, which, from the late sixteenth century, included married priests and canons. These residential closes inside the friaries also meant that the Dissolution was not quite as fundamental a change as might be imagined: the lay residents carried on after 1538 much as before.<sup>69</sup>

### **The architecture of sixteenth-century tenements and almshouses in the friary precincts**

Two groups of houses built by the friars in the early sixteenth century to rent to lay people are particularly well documented and are taken here as examples of new types of building added to the friaries in their closing years. These 'late' developments should not, of course, be viewed with the benefit of hindsight: they certainly

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<sup>68</sup> Harding, 'Burial Choice', p. 124.

<sup>69</sup> Sloane, 'Tenements', pp. 290–8.



represent a change of emphasis in late medieval monasticism but were not symptoms of a decline, or precursors of the Dissolution. Firstly, a group of rented houses built at Austin Friars in about 1510 survived into the seventeenth century and was surveyed in a plan drawn for the new landlords, the Drapers' Company. Secondly, almshouses built in the 1530s at White Friars and at Crossed Friars survived the Dissolution because they were administered by City Companies and were also surveyed in later centuries. Turning first to the Austin Friars houses, in 1510 the draper William Calley paid £40 'for the newe beldynges of certeyn tenementes and edificione of thesame prioure and covent sett lyeng and abutting on the West parte of the Brekewall whiche encloseth the churchyard or close lyeng on the South syde of the said churche'.<sup>70</sup> The new houses of 1510 thus lay to the west of the lane leading through the churchyard to the Austin Friars church. This was not a corrodian arrangement – Calley was not intending to live here at retirement – but in return for his £40 outlay he was to receive instead commemorative masses after his death. If Calley was to receive a spiritual reward, the Austin friars were clearly aiming to increase their temporal income. We do not know the names of the first tenants but before 1534 John Hubbert, 'merchaunt straungier', rented the northernmost house for £4 a year and Thomas Cromwell, then in the service of Cardinal Wolsey, lived here by about 1522 (probably paying the same amount of rent).<sup>71</sup> Calley's donation of £40 may not have covered the full construction costs but the ensuing £8 a year rental income (perhaps £12 a year if the new build of 1510 included what was later John Cavalcanti's house to the south) must have been a welcome contribution to the friary's income.

The new houses were not quite mansions for the city elite but they were substantial urban townhouses intended, no doubt, for wealthy tenants; the houses were adjacent to the church and churchyard, and both house and tenant would therefore need to have been of the 'right sort'. The houses have been redrawn here (Fig 87) from the seventeenth-century Drapers' Company plan, with some further interpretation of their original layout based on a written survey of 1543.<sup>72</sup> They were only two-storey

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<sup>70</sup> TNA, LR14/129.

<sup>71</sup> For Hubbert, see DC, A I 63; for Cromwell, see Chapter 5: Austin Friars, 'Thomas Cromwell's property'.

<sup>72</sup> DC, A XII 121 [drawn survey of 1640s or 1650s]; M B 1c (Minute Book), p. 759 [written survey of 1543].

buildings, in order not to block light from the west front of the church, with kitchen, hall and parlour on the ground floor and heated bedchambers on the first floor (the northern house having five upper chambers and the southern house only four). The northern house had two paved yards (one ‘fayre’, the other ‘lytle’) and the southern house had a large yard and a garden. Both houses were clearly designed with the latest facilities: fireplaces in nearly every room, kitchens equipped with a cellar, buttery and scullery (‘a rowme to wasshe yn with a well and a bucket’) and yards with a privy and a wood and coal shed. In the northern house there were probably two separate staircases, one on the service side and a second on the hall and parlour side (unfortunately the northern part of the house had been adapted by the time of the seventeenth-century survey so the evidence is not certain). Their plan-form seems quite new as well: the halls are relatively small with more emphasis placed on the heated parlour rooms. The northern house seems to have a surprisingly long corridor that looks more like a modern hallway than a medieval cross-passage. It is likely that the houses were built of brick, although the internal walls and some structural walls may have been of timber (being noticeably thinner on the seventeenth-century plan). The houses were well lit with large windows with stone (or brick) mullions.

**Fig 87 Plan of two lay tenements built in Austin Friars in 1510 (scale 1:250)**

Two friaries allowed almshouses to be built in the 1530s, shortly before the Dissolution, the Carmelites and the Crossed friars. The priors’ motivation, while including a genuine desire to help the deserving poor, must surely also have been to seem more ‘relevant’ to and integrated with lay society in the rapidly changing times of the mid-1530s. In both cases, a wealthy benefactor and a livery company acted in partnership, with the friary granting the land. In November 1534 the prior of Crossed Friars sold a plot of his precinct for £32 to the former mayor Sir John Milbourne, who immediately began to build a row of almshouses (he may even have started building before the final issue of the lease), granting them the following March to a fellow draper, William Dolphin, and (confirmed in the latter’s will) to the Drapers’ Company.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps inspired by this act of charitable investment, in October 1536 the prior of White Friars leased a parcel of land to the wealthy widow Margaret, Countess of Kent (the widow of Richard Grey, Earl of Kent), in partnership with the

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<sup>73</sup> DC, A VII 48 [sale document]; W. Archer-Thomson, *Drapers’ Company: History of the Company’s Properties & Trusts*, 2 vols (London: Drapers’ Company, 1940), i, 109–16 [Dolphin’s will].

Clothworkers' Company.<sup>74</sup> The lease was for a generous ninety-nine-year term at a low annual rent of ten shillings and the almshouses were described as newly built: 'all houses & buyldynges lately sett buylt and edyfied upon the same by the same comtesse of kent for almeshouses or lodgyng for certen poore bedewomen'.<sup>75</sup> Thanks to their links to a city Company, both sets of almshouses survived the Dissolution and both were later surveyed.<sup>76</sup> Their plans have been redrawn here as Fig 88.

**Fig 88 Comparative plans of the Crossed Friars almshouses of 1534 and the White Friars almshouses of 1536 (scale 1:250)**

Although very close in date and superficially close in plan, the two sets of almshouses are quite different in design. The Crossed Friars houses – for men – had a lot more space: they were built in brick and laid out as a row of two-storey houses (like a terrace of Victorian workers' cottages) and had cellars below and garrets above.<sup>77</sup> The White Friars almshouses – for women – were built as a two-storey timber-framed building and were laid out as a series of ten one-bedroom flats, five on each floor (with the upper flats accessed via a staircase and gallery). The thirteen or fourteen almshouses at Crossed Friars, who were deserving older members of the Drapers' Company, would have had 35 to 40m<sup>2</sup> of living space laid out as a lower parlour and an upper chamber (375 to 430 square feet; including the small garret but not including the cellar). In contrast, the nine Clothworkers' widows and a porter living in the White Friars houses each had a bed-sitting room of just 13m<sup>2</sup> (145 square feet). The Clothworkers' widows did, however, have a privy each – a facility remarkably ahead of its time (the Drapers would presumably have emptied their chamberpots into a communal privy in their small garden). Both the almshouses and almshouses would have had comfortably warm homes: every room was heated by fireplaces, arranged as 'paired' chimneystacks across the party walls. More is known about the appearance of the Drapers' houses at Crossed Friars since they survived

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<sup>74</sup> Lady Margaret must have been previously married to a Clothworker and she clearly retained her links with the Company after her marriage to Richard Grey (Chapter 4: White Friars, 'The Clothworkers' almshouses').

<sup>75</sup> CC, uncatalogued original indenture; MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 51–4.

<sup>76</sup> DC, Plan Book ('A survey of the several estates...', f. 1 [Crossed Friars almshouses]; CC, Plan Book, f. 33, reproduced as figure 48 in J. Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, London Topographical Society, 135 (London: London Topographical Society, 1987) [White Friars almshouses].

<sup>77</sup> The lower three feet or so of the front elevation was in stone: this must have been part of the old friary precinct wall.

into the nineteenth century: their doors and windows had stone jambs, with their small cellar window-openings protected by iron grilles and the ground-floor windows by wooden shutters. The garrets in the tiled roof-spaces were lit by small dormer windows.

### **The lead up to dissolution**

The priors of the five London houses must have seen the end coming in the 1530s, but exactly when they realised it was inevitable is harder to say. Four of the London priors were closely allied with Cromwell and the rapidly evolving Crown policy (the exception seems to have been the Carmelite prior, John Gybbes). George Brown of Austin Friars had been taking precautions and making changes for a few years, even before 1534 when the king's commissioners (led by the prior of the London Dominicans, John Hilsey) were sent to investigate England's mendicant houses. In March 1531 Brown had leased a mansion and garden within the friary precinct to Thomas Paulet, brother of the courtier William Paulet. In May the following year, Brown enhanced the friary's ties to its influential tenant Thomas Cromwell (by then Henry's principal secretary) by granting him a ninety-nine-year lease on a block of houses on the edge of the precinct so that he could redevelop it as a grand urban mansion. Brown later welcomed two well-connected protégés of Cromwell as tenants, Richard Rich and Richard Morrison (in 1536 and 1538, respectively).<sup>78</sup> Of course, as an ally of Cromwell, Brown may have been seeking to secure his own position rather than that of his priory. As we have seen, the Dominican prior, John Hilsey, began renting out what he saw as under-used parts of his cloisters to courtiers in the early 1530s. Like the prior of Austin Friars, Hilsey was almost certainly acting to safeguard his own future. The Grey Friars guardian, Thomas Chapman, was another supporter of Cromwell although he does not seem to have taken the same steps to bring in influential tenants. The Carmelite prior, John Gybbes, and the prior of Crossed Friars, Robert Balls, took a slightly different tack, allowing the setting up of almshouses (as we have seen) in the mid-1530s in an attempt perhaps to secure their respective friary's future. The final certainty about the imminent closure of the friaries may not have come until spring 1538 when the Dominican friar Richard Ingworth, a former provincial prior and now bishop of Dover, was appointed head of

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<sup>78</sup> TNA, LR14/88 [Paulet]; SP2/L, ff. 205–10, nos 183–8; DC, A I 61 [Cromwell]; TNA, LR14/86 [Rich]; E318/13/577 [Morrison].

the royal commission charged with securing the surrender of the English mendicant houses.<sup>79</sup>

The evidence from wills of the 1520s and 1530s would suggest that Londoners continued to support the friaries, right up to the end. Jens Röhrkasten has shown that the citizens maintained the same level of bequests in the 1530s as in previous decades, at least up to about 1537.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Londoners continued to request burial in the friary churches, right up to 1538. Ralph Pexsall and Lady Jane Guildford both requested burial at Black Friars that year; the former's will was proved in February and the latter's in September – a few weeks before the closure of the friary – but their ultimate resting place is not, however, clear.<sup>81</sup>

Some of the lay people connected with the friaries could, however, see the end coming in the late 1530s and took appropriate precautions. The founder of the Clothworkers' almshouses at White Friars, Margaret, countess of Kent, took steps to safeguard her new establishment. In July 1537 she was finalising an agreement with the Company concerning the obligations of the almswomen and the Company to attend obits and say daily prayers for her soul and that of her husband. He was buried in the Carmelite church and she was clearly becoming concerned for its future. She therefore inserted what might be termed an 'in the event of Dissolution' clause into the agreement:

provided always yf yt happen or chaunce the saide house of white freers to be subpressed hereafter or yn tyme to come to be turned ynto some other use, so that the obytes of the said erle and comtesse cannot be observed and kept within the saide house, nor that the saide almes women maye not daylly resorte to the place appoynted for them whereas the saide Earle and comtesse ar buried, that then the saide master and wardeyns and their successoures shall observe kepe and maynteyne the saide obytes and all other the promisses at and within the paryshe chirche of Saynte Dunstane yn the west within the saide cite of London, or yn some other place which shalbe thought convenyent by the saide master and wardeyns for the tyme beyng, soo that the Soulles may be prayed for perpetually forever.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, Historical Problems Series, 14 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), pp. 75–6; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 360–2. Ingworth was appointed in February but set off in earnest in May.

<sup>80</sup> Röhrkasten, pp. 561–7.

<sup>81</sup> R. Palmer, 'Burials at the Priors of the Black Friars', *The Antiquary*, 23 (1891), 122–5; vol. 24 (1891), pp. 28–30, 76–9, 117–20 (vol. 23, 119). Note also a request for burial at Black Friars in 1539, after it had been closed: Röhrkasten, p. 562.

<sup>82</sup> CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 69.

The fate of Richard Grey's body and the resting place of his wife Margaret have not been traced: did Margaret have his body exhumed and moved to St Dunstan?<sup>83</sup> In fact, the evidence suggests that remarkably few relatives of lay people buried in the London friaries moved the bodies at the time of the Dissolution. Christian Steer has shown how, at the Crossed Friars, Sir John Milbourne's body was moved to St Edmund Lombard Street by his widow Joan. It seems likely that the retired Clothworkers living in the almshouses he founded also had to walk the 500 yards or so to the parish church to attend commemorative masses for his soul, at least for the remaining decade when the practice was allowed. Steer also suggests that the tomb and corpse of Sir Richard Cholmeley (died 1523) were moved from Crossed Friars after the Dissolution. Uniquely among the thousands of medieval Londoners buried in the London friaries, this tomb survives, having been re-erected in St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, perhaps by his widow Elizabeth (Fig 89). Although it is hard to prove from the documentary evidence this or other examples of exhumation and translation, it does seem that it was the exception in the late 1530s rather than the rule. By way of comparison, when the Dominicans built a new church in the 1280s, they brought dozens of tombs with them from their old church in Holborn.

**Fig 89 Tomb of Sir Richard Cholmeley and his wife Elizabeth, probably transferred from the church of Crossed Friars to St Peter ad Vincula at the Dissolution (photograph: Christian Steer)**

There is also a little archaeological evidence for the translation of corpses and burial monuments during the Dissolution. Excavations in the Lady chapel of Black Friars revealed two empty brick-lined late medieval tombs, with a possible third emptied tomb discovered in the north aisle of the nave: the unknown occupants were probably exhumed around the time of the Dissolution and moved, presumably with their commemorative floor-slabs, to another London church.<sup>84</sup> The limited archaeological evidence for the interior of the other friary churches does not,

<sup>83</sup> Her will of 1540 requests burial at the late White Friars but there is no evidence that this was carried out: *ibid.*, p. 69; *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. by N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London: Nichols, 1826), ii, 691–2.

<sup>84</sup> B. Watson and C. Thomas, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological Review', in *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 265–97 (pp. 269–70). The brick-lined feature in the nave is less convincingly a tomb: it is square rather than wedge-shaped and it could therefore be a post-Dissolution brick-lined pit, dug in Thomas Cawarden's new mansion rather than in its predecessor the church nave. The archaeological sites are FRI88 (Lady chapel) and LBY85 (nave).

however, reveal other examples of this practice, although similar evidence has been found for one or two exhumed tombs in the Augustinian church of St Mary Spital.<sup>85</sup>

### **The process of dissolution**

In the months approaching the final closure of the friaries the king's commissioner – probably Richard Ingworth – must have warned the priors not to sell off the friaries' property and movable goods in a reckless manner, nor to issue leases at knock-down rates. By and large the priors seem to have behaved, presumably because they were loyalists and perhaps also since they were under the eyes of the London-based officials of the Court of Augmentations. In November the priors must have faced the same options from Ingworth as he gave the Gloucester priors: to continue in their houses or release them to the king. Like their Gloucester counterparts, the London priors presumably gave the right answer and agreed that they were 'nott abull to contynew' as before.<sup>86</sup> On Thursday 10 November 1538 Thomas Legh, probably the busiest of Cromwell's crack team of monastic commissioners (or should that be decommissioners?), witnessed the signature of prior John Gibbys and eleven other Carmelites in their chapter house. Two days later he went through the same process at the houses of the Franciscans and the Austin friars, while his colleague Richard Layton witnessed the declarations of the Dominicans and the Crossed friars.<sup>87</sup> The houses were now legally in the hands of the Crown and royal officials quickly took steps to secure the newly acquired properties. Of course, London's monastic houses were rather easier to secure than rural Benedictine houses: as we have seen, large numbers of lay people already lived within the precincts, including a number of influential courtiers and royal officers. We know that in at least three cases the Court of Augmentations appointed an official guardian to safeguard the empty monastic buildings of church and cloisters: at Black Friars the guardian was an existing resident called John Portinari, an Italian military engineer and architect who, five

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<sup>85</sup> Research work is in progress on the Spitalfields excavations; I am grateful to Chris Thomas (Museum of London Archaeology) for permission to cite this work in advance of its publication.

<sup>86</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 361; Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, pp. 75–6; G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 452–5; *Letters and Papers*, xiii (1), no. 1484 (3).

<sup>87</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xiii (2), nos 788, 806–9. For Legh and Layton, see Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 270–2; A. N. Shaw, 'Legh, Sir Thomas (d. 1545)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16363>> [accessed 25 November 2010]; P. Cunich, 'Layton, Richard (c.1498–1544)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16226>> [accessed 25 November 2010].

years earlier, had worked on Thomas Cromwell's new house at Austin Friars.<sup>88</sup> At the Grey Friars the caretaker was John Wyseman, a naval commander and at Crossed Friars it was Lionel Martyn, a junior military engineer.<sup>89</sup> Once in control of the friaries, the Crown could gather and confiscate the monastic plate and jewels: over 300lb of plate from the London friaries was collected by Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker and delivered to the Jewel Tower on 29 November. The authorities may also have organised local sales of the more portable fixtures and fittings (although no records of such sales survive for the London friaries).<sup>90</sup>

With trusted men appointed as caretakers, and with the friaries' tenants keen to maintain order and the status quo, the Crown did not have to rush into decisions about what to do with the churches and cloisters. In fact, the Court of Augmentations seems to have done very little about the friary precincts for over a year: they were no doubt rather busy just dealing with the basic transfers of land and goods from monastic houses all over the country. Nor did the Court of Augmentations rush into demolishing the friary churches: with the possible exception of Crossed Friars, the churches were closed but remained standing for the next four or five years.<sup>91</sup> In 1544 and 1545 the lead was stripped from the roofs and probably melted into ingots *in situ*; the bells would have had to be transported to specialists for re-melting at a much higher temperature.<sup>92</sup> However, the important task of calculating and collecting the new income from the friaries did begin in 1539. The Court of Augmentations' London rent collector was Hugh Losse and surviving documents show that he collated lists of lay tenants and the rent they owed, presumably copying lists handed over by the priors, and that he collected most of the rents due in 1539. At the end of the year Thomas Spilman, the receiver of the Court of Augmentations with

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<sup>88</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 52.

<sup>89</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 62 and 63; A. Bryson, 'Wallop, Sir John (*b.* before 1492, *d.* 1551)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28581>> [accessed 17 September 2010] [Wyseman]; *Letters and Papers*, xix (2), no. 86 [Martyn].

<sup>90</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 383–4; *Account of the Monastic Treasures*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>91</sup> A similar delay has been noted in other detailed case studies, for example at Coventry: I. Soden, 'The Conversion of Former Monastic Buildings to Secular use: the Case of Coventry', in *The Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 280–9.

<sup>92</sup> The tightest dating evidence for the stripping of the roofs comes at White Friars: the lead was valued on 8 July 1544, payment for the property was received on 23 January 1545 and the lead was handed in to the Tower on 12 February: TNA, E314/69, no. 29; E315/105, f. 120; E117/13/96. The evidence for the other friaries suggests that the same process took place at about this time. For the processes of melting the lead and bell-metal, see Greene, *Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 185–7.



responsibility for London, acknowledged receipt of the money.<sup>93</sup> Memoranda concerning the friaries' tenants were still being exchanged between Hugh Losse and other Augmentations officers the following year.<sup>94</sup> Losse and Spilman also drew up lists of anniversary payments due to the friary (from the executors of wills) for the performance of commemorative masses: perhaps surprisingly, these contracts remained theoretically in force, even though there were no friars left to perform the masses. They managed to collect, for example, two of the seven anniversary payments due to the Augustinian friars for a few years after the house's closure and were still collecting two or three anniversary payments due to the Dominicans as late as 1552.<sup>95</sup>

### *From religious precincts to early modern neighbourhoods*

#### **The Crown's use of the dissolved friaries**

For most of the tenants of the old friaries at the end of the 1530s, there may not have been much change under their new landlord. It seems likely that the chief administrator (architect?) of the Dissolution, Thomas Cromwell, had an eye to long-term finances and the initial policy was clearly to retain the freehold ownership of much of the friaries (and England's other monastic houses), thus guaranteeing a reliable long-term income from ex-monastic rents. The Crown body that Cromwell had set up to administer the Dissolution and manage the huge portfolio of ex-monastic property was the Court of Augmentations, with its sister body the Court of General Surveyors charged with looking after land from monastic houses whose heads had been attainted for treason (principally in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace). The Courts honoured all the pre-Dissolution friary leases, issuing new leases to the lay tenants – at the same rent – on expiry of the old ones. The only aspect that they changed was to replace any 'life leases' with twenty-one-year fixed-term leases. In April 1540, for example, an aristocratic resident of White Friars, Thomas West

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<sup>93</sup> TNA, SC11/985 [summary of rents due]; E314/54 ('London and Middlesex: Carmelite priory, valor') [draft list of rents due at White Friars]; SC6/HenVIII/2427 [receiver's accounts]. The accounts of the rent collector and the receiver work on an 'Exchequer year' ending at Michaelmas (29 September).

<sup>94</sup> TNA, SP1/157, f. 174.

<sup>95</sup> The Court successfully collected anniversary payments from parishes and city guilds, but not from individual executors or from institutions that had themselves been dissolved: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 60–61v; SC6/EdwVI/297, mm. 12v–13v.

(Lord de la Warr) had to hand in his conventual lease-for-life and exchange it for a twenty-one-year lease, at the same rent.<sup>96</sup>

However, in the year or two following the Dissolution, the Crown did make a few sales or grants to significant supporters. The initial beneficiaries of this limited redistribution of ex-monastic property, at a national level, were noblemen, courtiers and officials; in London the emphasis seems to have been on favoured courtiers and royal officials. So, just eight months after the friaries' dissolution Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, was granted a large part of Austin Friars (together with rural manors formerly belonging to the nunnery of St Mary Stratford Langthorne) for the bargain price of £40.<sup>97</sup> The following year (1540) the courtier-poet and ambassador Sir Thomas Wyatt bought (in a complicated part-exchange transaction) the majority of the precinct of the Crossed Friars and the recently ennobled councillor, Sir William Paulet (now Baron St John), purchased part of the cloisters of Austin Friars, apparently for a mere £43.<sup>98</sup>

An effective way of rewarding less high-ranking supporters – and ensuring short- and medium-term support for the Dissolution – was to grant them for free the 'farm' of some rents. So, in May 1540 the sergeant of the royal woodyard, John Gylmyn, and his wife Susanna, a court painter and lady-in-waiting to Anne of Cleves, were granted the £10 10s annual rental income on four ex-White Friars tenements on Fleet Street.<sup>99</sup> Everyone gained in this transaction: the favoured royal servants received an additional income for life, the tenants continued to pay the accustomed rent and the Crown preserved for the long term its newly acquired asset. This type of transaction, neutral in revenue terms but extremely valuable in the context of Crown patronage, was repeated dozens of times across London and the country; the four beneficiaries of the London friaries are tabulated in Table 11. Alternatively, privileged royal servants were granted life-leases on an ex-friary property to use as their London home, generally rent-free (Table 12). Thus Sir Richard Page, a gentleman of the privy chamber, and his wife Elizabeth received a life-grant of the former Carmelite

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<sup>96</sup> TNA, E315/212, ff. 160v–1v.

<sup>97</sup> TNA, C66/686, m. 11; E315/103, ff. 27–28v.

<sup>98</sup> TNA, C66/694, m. 14; E305/2/A55; Chapter 5: Austin Friars, 'William Paulet's property'.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 4: White Friars, footnote 82.

provincial prior's house at White Friars.<sup>100</sup> Again, this sort of grant allowed a 'credit' of patronage to be made, without any concomitant long-term financial 'debit'.

**Table 11 Beneficiaries of 'farms of rents' of the friaries**

Name	Status	Friary	Date	Term of grant	Rental income granted
John Gylmyn and Susanna	royal servants: sergeant of the woodyard and lady-in-waiting and painter	WF	May 1540	life	£10 10s
Cornelius Symondson	royal servant: locksmith	WF	June 1540	life	£3 6s 8d
Richard Tredery (Tredwaye, Tredsey)	royal Servant: footman	AF	June 1541	life	£7
Robert Darknall	ally or agent of Cromwell in London and Canterbury <sup>101</sup>	CF	November 1542	21 years	£4 4s

**Table 12 Beneficiaries of life-grants of particular properties**

Name	Status	Friary	Date	Property	Rent due
William Bolton and Joan	royal servant	GF	March 1539	infirmary	40s
Sir Richard Page and Elizabeth	royal servant: gentleman of the privy chamber	WF	July 1540	provincial prior's house	rent-free
Edmund Levesey	royal servant (yeoman of the guard?) <sup>102</sup>	BF	November 1540	tenement by cemetery	rent-free
William Reskymer	royal servant: servant of the King's bedchamber <sup>103</sup>	BF	November 1541	tenement by cemetery	rent-free
Jerome and Francis Benall	royal servants: jeweller (Francis) <sup>104</sup>	GF	December 1541	guardian's house	rent-free

By 1542 then, the Crown was still the major landowner of the London friaries and had carefully exploited the land as a resource for patronage without dipping into its long-term potential for revenue. In 1543, however, government policy seems to have changed and the Crown began a concerted programme of sales. By the end of 1544 much of the friary land had been sold, and there was virtually nothing left to sell by the end of the decade. Taking the former Black Friars as an example, we can track the timing of these sales: they peaked in 1544, with a few sales the following year and a 'mopping up' of unsold property at the end of the decade (Fig 90, Table 13). The net result of these sales was, of course, the loss of the rental income: by the end of the decade this valuable Crown asset was no more. Thomas Cromwell's long-term

<sup>100</sup> TNA, E315/235, f. 37v; C. Davies, 'Page, Sir Richard (*d.* 1548)', *ODNB*, (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70795>> [accessed 29 October 2010].

<sup>101</sup> *Letters and Papers*, x, nos. 852 and 929.

<sup>102</sup> *Letters and Papers*, v, no. 1370 (10).

<sup>103</sup> Reskymer was described elsewhere as 'of the King's palett chambre': TNA, REQ 2/7/8 [online catalogue entry].

<sup>104</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xvi, no. 1489.

plan to maximise Crown income had been discarded in favour of the immediate need for cash to pay for the wars in Scotland and France.<sup>105</sup>

**Fig 90 Chart showing Crown income from Black Friars after the Dissolution<sup>106</sup>**

**Table 13 Income from Black Friars after the Dissolution**

	1539	1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545	1546	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551
<b>Income</b>													
Rents	£32	£87	£85	£75	£38	£30	£14	[£10?]	£4	£4	£4	£4	£4
Sales	£153	£90	£0	£0	£89	£661	£360	£10	£0	£0	£100	£190	£0
Anniversaries	£0	£3	£3	£3	£3	£3	£3	[£20?]	£43	£43	£43	£13	£13
<b>Expenditure</b>													
Repairs		£4	£7	£10	£8	£2	£0	[£0?]	£0	£0	£0	£0	£0
Fees		£2	£2	£2	£2	£2	£2	[£2?]	£2	£2	£2	£2	£2
Pensions	£60												
<b>Total income</b>	£125	£175	£80	£67	£120	£691	£376	[£38?]	£45	£45	£145	£205	£15

For a number of reasons it is hard to calculate an exact sum raised for the Crown by the sale of the friaries. Firstly, many of the sales of the 1540s are of ‘bundles’ of monastic property: in July 1544, for example, the speculators Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier paid £951 16s for nearly fifty separate London tenements or cloister buildings that had been owned before the Dissolution by ten religious houses: it is difficult, therefore, to calculate the values of the properties *by individual religious house*.<sup>107</sup> Secondly, details of the price paid are often missing in the sale document, although the price is generally given in the particulars for grant (if it survives). With some assumptions and inferences we can, however, calculate the likely total proceeds of the *sale* of the friaries at about £2800 (Table 14).<sup>108</sup> However, to gain a fuller

<sup>105</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 400–1; R. O’Day, *The Routledge Companion to the Tudor Age*, Routledge Companions to History (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 15–16; R. Rex, *The Tudors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), pp. 134–6.

<sup>106</sup> The annual income from sales is calculated from the numerous grants and particulars for grant that are referenced and calendared, in chronological order, in Appendix 3. Some sales figures are taken from the Treasurer’s accounts of the Court of Augmentations (also cited in appendix). The income figures include the missing sums that are estimated in Table 14. The rental income includes actual rents on leased land as well as the ‘knight’s fee’ rate (a tenth or twentieth of the rental value) that remained payable on many sold properties. The rental income is taken from the rent collector’s annual accounts for the years ending September 1540 to 1551 (TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 54r–56r [1540]; /2397, mm. 56–59v [1541]; /2398, unnumbered [1542]; /2399, unnumbered [1543]; /2400, unnumbered [1544]; /2401, unnumbered [1545]; SC6/EdwVI/291, m. 14 [1547]; /293, mm. 16–17 [1548]; /294, mm. 16–17 [1549]; /295, unnumbered [1550]; /296, mm. 12v–13v [1551]). No rent collector’s accounts survive for the years ending September 1539 and 1546; the collected rents for the former can be found in the surviving receiver’s account for the year (SC6/HenVIII/2427, m. 1v).

<sup>107</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xix (1), no. 1035 (6).

<sup>108</sup> Where particulars for grant survive, they demonstrate that the sale price of a property was calculated by multiplying the annual rental value stated in the survey. This ‘multiplier’ varied from seven times to twenty-one times the rental value. Missing sale prices have been estimated using a multiplier of ten times rental value for the properties sold to important royal officials and courtiers (generally the earlier sales) and a multiplier of fifteen for properties sold to other purchasers (most of

picture of the total profits in the decade or so following the Dissolution, we would have to include receipts for rents and anniversaries; an attempt has been made to do this for Black Friars (Table 13) and the total proceeds over thirteen years is about £2100, suggesting that the total income from all five friaries would be nearer to £3500.

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which took place in 1543–5). In the few cases where neither the sale document nor the particulars for grant refer to a fee, and where no receipt entry has been traced in the Treasurer's accounts of the Court of Augmentations, it has been assumed that the property was granted without fee by the Crown.

**Table 14 Purchasers of friary property after the Dissolution (ordered by size of purchase)**

Name	Status <sup>109</sup>	Friary	Type of land	Price	'Multiplier' of rental value	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )
Sir Richard Rich	lawyer and royal official (chancellor of the Court of Augmentations)	AF	cloister and garden	c. £20		7700
Sir Thomas Cawarden	courtier and royal official (master of the Revels)	BF	cloister and garden	c. £190 <sup>110</sup>		7500
William Paulet, baron St John, and Thomas Paulet	courtier and king's councillor	AF	cloister and garden	no fee?		5250
Richard Morrison	propagandist and royal servant (gentleman of the privy chamber)	WF	cloister and garden	no fee?		4900
<i>Christ's Hospital</i>	civic orphanage and school (founded 1552)	GF	cloister	no fee		4500
Sir Thomas Wyatt	ambassador and poet	CF	cloister	part exchange		4150
Erasmus Crykener (Kirkener)	royal servant (King's armourer) <sup>111</sup>	WF	tenements	£50	9 x	4000
Sir Francis Bryan	soldier, diplomat and royal servant (gentleman of the privy chamber)	BF	cloister and garden	no fee?		2700
Laurence Herward and Stephen Tenante	agents for William Paulet, baron St John <sup>112</sup>	AF	cloister	£43	10 x	2700
<i>Christ Church</i>	new parish and church at Grey Friars (created 1546)	GF	cloister	no fee		2600
Thomas Bochier (Butcher)	London gentleman <sup>113</sup>	BF, AF, WF, GF	cloister and tenements	c. £300	12 x	2500
Sir Edward North	royal official (treasurer of the Court of Augmentations)	GF	tenements and garden	c. £20		2450
Sir John Williams	royal official (master of the jewels)	GF	tenements and garden	c. £20		2450
<i>Dutch Church</i>	nonconformist church for Flemish and German community (founded 1550)	AF	cloister	no fee		2150
John Hales	royal administrator and scholar	WF	cloister and garden	£95 12s 3d	20 x	2050
Thomas West, baron de la Warr	noble courtier and soldier	WF	cloister and garden	£78	13 x	1900
Henry Jerningham and Lady Mary Kingston, his mother	soldier and courtier	BF	cloister	£60	10 x	1500
Hugh Losse	royal servant (rent collector at the Court of Augmentations) <sup>114</sup>	AF, GF, WF	cloister and tenements	c. £190	12 x	1350
George Brooke, baron Cobham	nobleman and soldier	BF	cloister	£48	9 x	950

<sup>109</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the description of the status of the grantee is taken from the relevant *ODNB* entry.

<sup>110</sup> This figure assumes that Sir Thomas Cawarden only paid for the land value given in the particulars for grant of 1550, not the value of the materials (an extra £879 3s 4d). The particulars document must be a copy of an earlier survey as the church had already been converted to a store for the Revels and a private mansion by this date: the church materials such as the lead and ironwork were therefore no longer there in 1550; Chapter 2: Black Friars, 'Cawarden and More's mansion (the former church)'.

<sup>111</sup> C. Ffoulkes, *The Armourer and His Craft* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 128.

<sup>112</sup> British History Online, 'Parishes: Weston Patrick', *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4* (1911), pp. 108–109, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56760&strquery=>> [accessed 20 January 2011].

<sup>113</sup> TNA, C66/757, mm. 5–6.

<sup>114</sup> W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536–1554* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), pp. 299, 364, footnote 131.

Name	Status	Friary	Type of land	Price	'Multiplier' of rental value	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )
Roger More	royal servant (King's baker) <sup>115</sup>	AF	tenements	£10	20 x	950
William Butts	royal servant (King's physician)	WF	cloister	c. £40		800
John Gates	soldier, courtier and royal servant (gentleman of the King's chamber)	BF, GF	tenements and garden	£64	7 x	700
Thomas Thorogood	London gentleman?	BF, GF	tenements and garden	£64	7 x	700
Thomas Persey	gentleman <sup>116</sup>	GF	cloister	c. £40		600
Thomas Broke	MP and royal servant (administrator of military works)	WF	tenements	c. £130		550
Cyriac Pettyte (Petit)	Kentish MP <sup>117</sup>	AF	tenements	£104	21 x	550
Ralph Sadler	privy councillor	WF	cloister	part exchange		500
Francis Boldero	Suffolk gentleman?	BF	cloister	£87	8 x and 10 x	300
Paul Gresham	Norfolk gentleman (relative of Richard) <sup>118</sup>	BF	cloister	£87	8 x and 10 x	300
Alexander Hudson	no information	WF	tenements	c. £110		200
Philip Parrys (Paris)	royal servant (receiver-general at Court of Wards) <sup>119</sup>	BF	garden	£108	15 x	200
Francis Picher	royal servant (courier) <sup>120</sup>	BF	garden	c. £100		200
John Pope	London gentleman, brother of Thomas	BF	tenements	c. £90		200
William Taylour and Anne	Haberdasher of London <sup>121</sup>	BF	tenements	£153	15 x	200
Sir Thomas Cheyne	privy councillor and diplomat	BF	cloister	£90	15 x	150
Thomas Godwynne	no information (probably not the Elizabethan bishop)	AF, BF	tenements	c. £60		150
Henry Cliderowe	Merchant Taylor of London <sup>122</sup>	BF	tenements	£20		100
John Doggett	no information	BF	tenements	£20		100
Nicholas Kratzer (Cracheir)	royal servant (King's astronomer)	BF, WF	tenements	c. £80		100
Robert Harrys	esquire, servant of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk <sup>123</sup>	BF	tenements	£31 13s 8d	7 x	100
Walter Hendley and Margery	royal servant (attorney-general of the Court of Augmentation)	BF	tenements	£58 10s	15 x	100
William Reskynner	royal servant <sup>124</sup>	BF	tenements	c. £60		100
Richard Tate	royal servant <sup>125</sup>	BF	tenements	c. £30		100

<sup>115</sup> TNA, LR14/787.

<sup>116</sup> TNA, C1/1244/50.

<sup>117</sup> S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, The History of Parliament, 3 vols (London: Secker & Warburg for the History of Parliament Trust, 1982), iii, 96–8.

<sup>118</sup> One of Sir Richard Gresham's executors was Paul Gresham: F. Ames-Lewis (ed.), *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the Intellectual History of London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 57, footnote 99.

<sup>119</sup> W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485–1547* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 488.

<sup>120</sup> *Letters and Papers*, xvii, pp. 477, 826.

<sup>121</sup> TNA, C66/683, m. 21.

<sup>122</sup> TNA, C66/740, m. 13.

<sup>123</sup> *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, v, 378.

<sup>124</sup> TNA, E315/235, f. 91.

Name	Status	Friary	Type of land	Price	'Multiplier' of rental value	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )
Richard, Roger and Robert Taverner	royal servant (surveyor at the Court of augmentations: Roger) and scholar (Richard)	BF	tenements	c. £50		100
			Estimated total sale value	c. £2800		

An important point to note is that with one exception, all the friaries were split up in the decade following their closure. At Black Friars for example, Thomas Cawarden, master of the Kings' Revels, became the largest landowner but his close neighbours George Brooke (Lord Cobham) and Sir Henry Kingston had acquired substantial portions of the two cloisters and the surrounding land. At White Friars the largest new landowner was Richard Morrison, a royal official and poet, who bought most of the principal cloister and he already knew most of the other new landowners including the scholar and official John Hales (who bought the church nave) and Thomas Cromwell's trusted servant Ralph Sadler (who bought the church choir). The exception is Crossed Friars, where the courtier and poet Thomas Wyatt bought most of the inner precinct from the Crown (in a part exchange of property) and the outer precinct from its new private owner: he therefore owned almost the entire friary. The fact that the majority of the friaries were divided may have been a deliberate tactic on the part of the Crown and the Court of Augmentations: divided ownership would make it much harder to undo the dissolution.

The fate of the friary churches seems to back up this hypothesis: Thomas Cawarden divided the Dominican church, converting the nave into his private mansion and the Revels office (demolishing much of the roof in the process) and leasing out the former choir.<sup>126</sup> The Crossed Friars church was dismantled, and the Crown took all the lead, glass, timber, iron, freestone and paving stones: Thomas Wyatt therefore bought an empty shell (perhaps not yet stripped in 1540) rather than a standing building.<sup>127</sup> A similar, though less complete stripping seems to have taken place at the Grey Friars church where the choir became the parish church in 1546 but

<sup>125</sup> British History Online, 'St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/27', 'Historical gazetteer of London before the Great Fire: Cheapside; parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane' (1987), pp. 758–60, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=47&strquery>> [accessed 20 January 2011].

<sup>126</sup> Although he was not granted a lease on the church until April 1548, he was converting the church in 1545. He purchased the church in March 1550 (Chapter 2: Black Friars, 'Cawarden and More's mansion (the former church)').

<sup>127</sup> TNA, C66/694, m. 14; E305/2/A55.



the nave seems to have been converted into a walled churchyard.<sup>128</sup> The White Friars church, as we have seen, was divided between John Hales and Ralph Sadler in 1544.<sup>129</sup> The Austin Friars church was initially retained by the Crown but in 1550 the choir was granted to William Paulet, a prominent courtier, and the nave given to the German and Dutch community as a ‘nonconformist’ church.<sup>130</sup> With those transactions of July 1550, the sale of the London friaries was virtually complete (the sale of two former Carmelite tenements on Fleet Street in December finishing off the programme). The London friaries seem, therefore, to have had a slightly different fate from other English friaries after the Dissolution. Laurence Butler argues that urban friaries were perceived as part of the communal property of the townspeople, not on any legal basis but simply because the buildings had been paid for by the burgesses over three centuries. At Dissolution, therefore, many parts of the friaries were secured by the city or town authorities for public use, as churches, schools or hospitals.<sup>131</sup> This policy – attempted in London by the City corporation – was less successful here and the large friary precincts provided Londoners with only two new parish churches (Christ Church and St Ann), one nonconformist church (the Dutch church) and a school and orphanage (Christ’s Hospital), about 13% of the former friary land.

### **The new landlords and residents**

Two aristocratic tenants of the friars bought the freehold of their homes after the Dissolution: Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, at White Friars and George Brooke, Baron Cobham, at Black Friars. However, no other aristocrats bought or were granted property in the London friaries after the Dissolution, with the exception of the recently ennobled courtier William Paulet (Baron St John). One striking aspect is that very few of the purchasers were from the London merchant elite, or indeed members of London Companies. Instead, the vast majority of the new landlords of the friaries were royal servants (Table 14). Many were high ranking courtiers like the king’s councillors Paulet and Sir Thomas Cheyney, or the poet and ambassador Sir Thomas Wyatt. Several senior and influential government administrators bought ex-

<sup>128</sup> SBH, HC 3, m. 4; HC 19, ff. 4v–5v; TNA, C66/790, mm. 53, 56.

<sup>129</sup> For the complicated transactions of the White Friars church at the Dissolution, see Chapter 4: White Friars, ‘The church and churchyard (John Hales)’.

<sup>130</sup> TNA, C66/834, mm. 24–5 [Paulet]; C66/830, m. 42 [Dutch church].

<sup>131</sup> Butler, ‘Mendicant Orders in Britain’, p. 134.

friary property including Sir Richard Rich (chancellor of the Court of Augmentations) and Sir Thomas Cawarden, master of the Revels. Smaller parts of the friaries – generally individual claustral buildings – were bought by a variety of middle-ranking royal officials and servants, including the King’s armourer, Erasmus Kirkener, who bought much of the service court at White Friars, and William Butts, the king’s physician, who bought the chapter house and prior’s house at the same friary. More junior servants, in addition to those who, as we have seen, acquired life-rents on parts of the friaries, could sometimes afford to buy individual houses within the friary precincts. Thus the King’s baker, Roger More, bought a house and tenement in Austin Friars.

Quite a few of the new owners were officials of the Court of Augmentations. The fact that they were using their influence and insider knowledge to buy property would today be considered improper but in Tudor terms this would probably not be the case – they did, after all, have to pay a purchase price. In addition to Richard Rich (who got rather a good deal on part of Austin Friars), the purchasers included the treasurer Sir Edward North and the attorney-general Walter Hendley. More lowly officials at the Court also took advantage of their posts: the rent collector Hugh Losse bought quite a lot of property at three friaries and the surveyor Roger Taverner bought a tenement at Black Friars. With the exception of Rich, all these Augmentations men paid the going rate of between twelve and fifteen times the rental value (although this was discounted from the full market rate of twenty or twenty-one times the rental value).

Another aspect worth noting is that very few pre-Dissolution tenants bought their properties: the vast majority were ‘outsiders’ and the only exceptions seem to be high ranking tenants such as Sir Thomas Cheyney and Lady Mary Kingston at Black Friars, or Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, at White Friars. A similar pattern has been observed at the Augustinian houses of Holy Trinity Priory and St Mary Spital in the years following their dissolution.<sup>132</sup>

If it is relatively easy to work out who *bought* ex-monastic property at the Dissolution, it is somewhat harder to establish what the new owners did with it. Many of the purchasers seem to have been speculators and took advantage of the

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<sup>132</sup> M. C. Rosenfield, ‘The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses, with a Special Study of Holy Trinity, Aldgate’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1961), pp. 147–51; Thomas, *St Mary Spital*, pp. 131–2.

newly boosted property market by selling on their ex-monastic tenements and buildings to new purchasers, generally at a profit (where this can be traced). In most cases no documentation survives for later owners but in a few cases, where men like Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier sold the property to an institution, or where a court looked into a dispute, it is possible to trace later owners. We know, for example, that the pair sold the Grey Friars gatehouse the year after they bought it to John Norrys, who was the tenant in 1540 and who had very probably rented it from the friary before Dissolution.<sup>133</sup> There were almost certainly other instances of the pre-Dissolution tenant buying their property ‘indirectly’ in this way. Bulk purchasers like Losse and Bochier presumably bought their ex-friary property ‘on account’ and quickly sold much of it in order to pay off their debts. They may well have retained a residue of property to provide rental income: a lengthy court case shows that Losse retained the freehold of an adjacent Grey Friars property, the brew-house, until at least 1549 (he may have bought out Bochier’s interest by this stage).<sup>134</sup>

The scattered references to ex-friary property changing hands in the 1540s and ‘50s suggests that there was quite a rush of transactions at this time, but that this may have settled down after the middle of the century. For example, in 1552, Sir Edward North and Edward Myrsyn bought the old chapter house block at Black Friars from Sir Anthony Aucher, who had in turn bought it from the original purchaser, Sir Francis Bryan.<sup>135</sup> Other institutional landowners bought ex-friary property around this time and then held onto it (in some cases to the present day): the Clothworkers’ Company acquired part of White Friars in 1540, the Drapers’ Company bought Thomas Cromwell’s ex-Austin Friars land in 1543 and the governors of St Bartholomew’s Hospital bought land at Grey Friars in the mid-1550s.

### **Redevelopment**

If the property speculators – partners like Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier, or John Gates and Thomas Thorogood – quickly sold the individual components of their bulk purchases, a number of other purchasers held onto their new acquisitions. These men

<sup>133</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 62 [rent-collector’s accounts of 1540]; SBH, HC 1/3895 [1545 sale to Norrys].

<sup>134</sup> TNA, C1/1244/50, C1/1275/26–29, C1/1275/30–32; *London Viewers and their Certificates, 1508–1558: Certificates of the Sworn Viewers of the City of London*, ed. by J. S. Loengard, London Record Society, 26 (London: London Record Society, 1989), nos 206, 244. For a discussion of Losse and Bochier’s profitable land speculation, see Rosenfield, ‘Disposal of the Property’, pp. 298–306.

<sup>135</sup> BL, Additional Charter 69209.

were the higher-status royal officials and administrators who wanted a London mansion. A number of the new owners followed in the footsteps of Thomas Cromwell, who had built a spectacular mansion at Austin Friars a few years before the Dissolution. In the following decade Sir Thomas Cawarden built a mansion at Black Friars, as did William Paulet, Baron St John, at Austin Friars, and John Lumley at Crossed Friars (Fig 91). At White Friars, Richard Morrison converted the library and guest hall wing to a private mansion.

**Fig 91 Comparative plan of the mansions built and converted in the friaries after the Dissolution (scale 1:1000)**

By far the best documented of these new mansions is that of Thomas Cromwell, who, beginning in 1535, built a new three-storey mansion arranged around three courtyards (Chapter 5: Austin Friars, ‘Cromwell’s second house in Austin Friars’). It seems likely that Cromwell himself played a part in its artistic design, although he also used the services of the Italian military architect John Portinari. The house was primarily built in brick and had a number of contemporary features including oriel windows on the front façade and generous galleries at first-floor level. The mansion had over fifty rooms including kitchens, halls, parlours, bedchambers, a chapel and a bathroom. There was also a 1¼-acre (0.5ha) garden set back from the house, which was divided into square ‘knots’, each separated by a grid-like pattern of paths.

The largest of these new houses was that of the courtier William Paulet, newly ennobled in 1539 as Baron St John. Paulet was granted part of the northern cloister of Austin Friars in April 1540 and, over the next decade, he bought the principal cloister, the rest of the northern cloister and the choir of the friary church. He rebuilt the northern cloister in more fashionable brick but seems to have kept much of the medieval fabric of the principal cloister. The mansion was thus arranged in an ‘H’-plan, with central courtyards and surrounding gardens (Fig 91). Later pictorial evidence shows that the new northern wings had two tall stories and were built with elements of Renaissance style, having slightly projecting bays with large windows of up to twelve lights. Details such as the quoins and the window-mullions and transoms were in stone. In contrast, Paulet does not seem to have done much with the old church choir, using it for storage and perhaps stabling.

At Black Friars, the Master of the Revels Sir Thomas Cawarden converted the Dominican church for use as a private mansion and as a storehouse for the equipment

of the royal ‘entertainment division’, the Revels. Summary accounts of the work survive, showing that the Crown spent £176 8s 6½d on the six-month project. The archaeological evidence is not conclusive but, with the help of later map evidence, we can suggest that Cawarden created his mansion by demolishing much of the church roof to create three courtyards within the old church walls, with a series of wings built along and across the old nave (Fig 91). On one side of the church a gallery was built over part of the south aisle, with a south-facing view over the cloister garden. Cawarden’s mansion would thus have resembled other ‘inside-out’ church conversions of this time, including Stephen Vaughan’s mansion built in the 1540s in the old Augustinian church of St Mary Spital, and the converted church of Holy Trinity priory, as adapted by Sir Thomas Audley in the late 1530s and/or by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in the late 1550s.<sup>136</sup>

At the old Carmelite friary Richard Morrison, the Protestant writer and diplomat, converted the library wing as his mansion, leasing out for redevelopment much of the rest of the cloisters. Given that the building was already set out for lay occupation – it probably housed the guest hall – it may not have required much conversion. One can imagine Morrison adding a couple of up-to-date windows and installing some internal partitions, perhaps along the lines of Sir John Hales’ adaptations to the prior’s lodging at Coventry Whitefriars.

These new urban palaces were architectural works of recycling and adaptation, basing their design on their monastic predecessor: John Schofield characterised their ‘display, inventiveness, adaptability, ingenuity and vigour’.<sup>137</sup> The monastic layout lent itself, to a certain extent, to domestic redesigns based on a rural model of courtyards, wings and gardens, although the monastic division of wings and the emphasis on vaulted undercrofts presented design difficulties to the new owners.<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, builders and clients had not yet grasped the Renaissance grammar of

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<sup>136</sup> Schofield and Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory*, pp. 164–9, fig 148; Thomas, *St Mary Spital*, pp. 133–5, fig 84. Because of the uncertainty of the dating of the Holy Trinity priory mansion (Duke’s Place), we cannot be certain which of these converted houses influenced the other. The term ‘inside out’ was first used to describe these converted houses by Christopher Phillpotts: ‘The Houses of Henry VIII’s Courtiers in London’, in *The Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 299–309 (p. 299).

<sup>137</sup> J. Schofield, ‘Building in Religious Precincts in London at the Dissolution and After’, in *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. by Gilchrist and Mytum, pp. 29–41 (p. 38).

<sup>138</sup> M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490–1550* (London: George Philip, 1987), pp. 136–62.

design glimpsed at Wolsey's and Henry's Hampton Court (built in the 1510s and 1530s) and more fully realised at Edward Seymour's Somerset House (late 1540s). The mansions would, however, have featured decorative elements in the new 'anticke' (rather than truly Renaissance) style, such as fireplaces with ornate overmantels and terracotta bricks.<sup>139</sup>

The mansion at Crossed Friars may, however, have been more of a true Renaissance building and it would be fascinating to know more about it. The mansion was described as new in 1534 (perhaps built by the purchaser of this part of the precinct, John Martyn) and it seems likely that it was further adapted or enlarged by Sir Thomas Wyatt in the 1540s, and then again by Baron John Lumley in and after the 1550s. Given Lumley's artistic interests (including book and art collecting, architecture and garden design), the Elizabethan mansion must have been spectacular. Glimpses of the mansion – including an armour room and five Holbein paintings on the walls – are afforded by a 1590 inventory (of all Lumley's property, not specifically this house) and the 1616 will of Lumley's second wife, Elizabeth. Lumley would surely have taken his cue from Somerset House and he must have had similar intellectual and architectural ambition to other great early Elizabethan house-builders such as Sir Thomas Smith, whose radical Hill Hall was begun in the late 1550s.<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately, the archaeological and map evidence for the Lumleys' house are rather limited and the reconstruction of its form is thus conjectural (Fig 91).

In addition to building mansions for themselves, several of the new landowners began redeveloping their new land as rented tenements. The best surviving evidence for this is at Black Friars where Sir Thomas Cawarden, and his successor Sir William More, began redeveloping their large estate, which comprised the northern part of the claustral buildings together with the churchyard to the north and the gardens to the west. Cawarden was not formally granted the land until March 1550 (although he had almost certainly been living in the newly-converted church for about three years before that date) and he clearly realised the development potential of his estate. Over the next decade he granted twenty-two new leases to tenants, the majority of which

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 120–35; Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 223–7.

<sup>140</sup> P. J. Drury and R. Simpson, *Hill Hall: A Singular House Devised by a Tudor Intellectual* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2009), p. 506.

were ‘new build’ properties and only three of which were conversions of existing monastic buildings (Table 2). His plan was to fill in the gaps of the sparsely developed lanes within the monastic precinct: he built up Water Lane (leading south from Ludgate), the lane skirting the southern side of the cemetery (later called Shoemaker Lane) and he built eight houses along the lane leading west to the small galleried bridge that spanned the river Fleet. The redevelopment programme was remarkably successful: by the end of the decade Cawarden had, in addition to his personal ‘Revels mansion’, a portfolio of neighbouring properties worth £123 7s 0d a year in rental income (Table 16). Within two decades of the Dissolution, Cawarden had achieved a higher rent on his estate (only a fifth of the monastic precinct) than the Dominicans had brought in from the whole friary: his strategy was the modern approach of building new houses on ‘greenfield’ land.

Surviving leases suggest that he employed a dual approach to this redevelopment. On the one hand he built his own houses and issued twenty-one-year leases to tenants who paid him the annual rents but, on the other, he also used the ‘seventeenth-century’ approach of issuing building leases on larger parcels of land to a developer, who would then build new houses and collect the rents. So, in 1556 Cawarden issued twenty-one-year leases on four new properties along the lane to the Fleet bridge, each bringing in £3 6s 8d a year. Three years before, however, in April 1553 he had granted a longer lease (fifty-nine years) on a much larger parcel of land, which would bring in £18 annual rent and this lease contained some restrictive clauses concerning the new buildings that could be erected by the lessee: ‘to buylde onely upon and above the walles [of the existing ex-monastic building] so that the nether flower [floor] of the same bee at the least 14 foote in heigh from the grounde’.<sup>141</sup>

In the following decade Sir William More acquired the estate after Cawarden’s death and he continued the process. In February 1561, for example, he entered into a contract with Richard Smythe, a wood dealer. Smythe was to ‘cause to be made framed fully fynished and sett upp one good & sufficient howse or howses of good and sufficient tymber well wrought framed & made’, for a peppercorn rent to More. When the house was completed and successfully let, More (as developer-freeholder)

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<sup>141</sup> Surrey History Centre (SHC), LM/347/25 [rental lease to John Syggen]; LM/346/37 [building lease to Nynyan Saunders].

and Smythe (as developer-builder) would share the rent.<sup>142</sup> Other leases demonstrate that More continued the ‘standard’ approach of leasing out land on longer building-leases for a developer-builder to build and collect all the rent: he issued such leases to, for example, James Carter in 1560, Thomas Jones and Christopher Trotter in 1572 and Robert Dunkyn in 1594.<sup>143</sup>

Although such detailed evidence is lacking for the other friaries, it seems likely that the other new owners pursued a similar double approach to their land in the 1540s and ‘50s, redeveloping the friary buildings as private urban mansions *and* building new houses, predominantly timber-framed, on the old friary gardens and graveyards. Nearly all the redevelopment seems to be residential, although this would of course have included shops along the newly built-up lanes. At Black Friars the old church porch on Water Lane was the ‘great shopp’ of the Apothecary Gideon de Lawne in 1592 and John Syggen, a goldsmith, leased a shop along the lane going to the galleried bridge over the Fleet.<sup>144</sup>

There is also a little evidence for the industrial use of the former friaries. We know that there was a timber yard and wharf by Black Friars by the 1540s and, at White Friars, the archaeological evidence of sixteenth-century sheds and buildings near the old friary tide-mill would suggest an increasingly industrial use of this end of the precinct. The printer Richard Grafton was appointed as the Crown’s official printer of bibles – the new bibles in English required by the royal commission of 1538 – and he set up a press in the former Grey Friars in late 1539.<sup>145</sup> It has been assumed that this was in the former church, although the evidence of a seventeenth-century lease would suggest that the printing shop was in fact a new timber-framed building erected in the infirmary garden.<sup>146</sup> The Venetian glassmaker Jacob Verzelini took over a workshop in the old Crossed Friars in the 1560s. It also seems likely that several of the friary bake- and brew-houses continued in use in private hands after the Dissolution: at Grey Friars the brew-house and bake-house fronted onto Newgate

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<sup>142</sup> SHC, LM/348/12.

<sup>143</sup> SHC, LM/348/92 [Trotter]; /84 [Jones]; /236 [Dunkyn]; Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL), Loseley MS L.b.419 [Carter].

<sup>144</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 107–8 [de Lawne]; SHC, LM/347/25 [Syggen].

<sup>145</sup> M. G. Ferguson, ‘Grafton, Richard (c.1511–1573)’, *ODNB*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11186>> [accessed 12 November 2010]; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 623.

<sup>146</sup> Nomura, loose plan (reproduced as Fig 32).



and the former occurs in leases into the seventeenth century.<sup>147</sup> We can therefore conclude that the new landowners were building themselves new mansions *and* carrying out profit-making developments of houses for rent (and buildings for industry) almost immediately after the Dissolution.<sup>148</sup>

### **The disappearance of the five friaries**

The fate of the friars following the Dissolution is an important research question but has not been studied in detail here; most would have become priests in the secular church, perhaps serving as chantry priests in parish churches in the 1540s, or as personal chaplains.<sup>149</sup> A few maintained links with their former convents: the Franciscan John Baker chose to be buried at Grey Friars, which, by the time of his death in about 1570, had become the parish church of Christ Church.<sup>150</sup> Other ex-friars proved useful as witnesses or advisors in legal disputes relating to friary land: in about 1550 Thomas Cawarden interviewed two former Dominicans when he needed more information on the parochial status (or not) of the chapel/parish of St Ann: ‘fryer Hope parson of S Andrewes’ (St Andrew by the Wardrobe?) and ‘frier Thomas Hatherstole’, a curate in Sussex.<sup>151</sup>

The five London friaries all but disappeared within a century of their closure. Austin Friars, Crossed Friars and Grey Friars survived as street names rather than *place* names: the individual post-Dissolution components quickly came to be more identifiable than the original monastic precinct. So, at Crossed Friars Stow gives more detail about Lumley House, the Milbourne almshouses and Verzelini’s glasshouse than about the old friary. Similarly, at Austin Friars, Stow concentrates on

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<sup>147</sup> SBH, HC 1/3896 [1555]; HC 1/3907, /3909 [1609]. The industrial buildings of Coventry’s religious houses also tended to be retained after the Dissolution: Soden, ‘Conversion of Former Monastic Buildings’, pp. 280–9.

<sup>148</sup> In two stimulating articles John Schofield put forward the thesis that there were two phases of redevelopment of London’s monastic houses after the Dissolution, firstly the creation of urban palaces in the years 1532–70, and then increasing residential development and industrialization from 1560. He also notes that the former may well have acted as a magnet, exercising a certain cachet for the latter: Schofield, ‘Building in Religious Precincts’; ‘Some Aspects of the Reformation of Religious Space in London, 1540–1660’, in *Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 310–24.

<sup>149</sup> Three ex-London friars are recorded in the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Faculty Office registers in the decade following the Dissolution: *Faculty Office Registers, 1534–1549: A Calendar of the First Two Registers of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Faculty Office*, ed. by D. S. Chambers (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 183, 201, 209.

<sup>150</sup> Kingsford, ‘Additional Material’, p. 76; *The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate, 1538 to 1754*, ed. by W. A. Littledale, Harleian Society, 21 (London: Harleian Society, 1895), p. 270.

<sup>151</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.385.

William Paulet's and Thomas Cromwell's houses, although he does describe the medieval monuments in the friary church (by then the Dutch church) in some detail. By the end of the sixteenth century the old Grey Friars was more readily identifiable as the orphanage and school of Christ's Hospital, which by then occupied two-thirds of the old friary. The church had become the centre of a new parish, Christ Church, which included the old friary precinct but which was merged with the medieval parishes of St Audoen and St Nicholas Shambles (as well as the intra-mural land of St Sepulchre). The new post-Dissolution parish map – increasingly the unit of local as well as religious administration – thus had little in common with the former precincts of the Franciscans, the Augustinian and the Crossed friars.

In contrast, the medieval identities of Black Friars and White Friars lasted much longer, surviving even today as place-names that describe an area rather than just a street. The main reason is that they remained outside the 'normal' London parish and administrative systems: the precinct of White Friars remained an extra-parochial liberty and the precinct of Black Friars became its own parish, St Ann (named after the quasi-parochial chapel that had existed in the friary church before the Dissolution); both retained their administrative independence from the City until the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, the topographic situation of these two precincts helped to preserve their identity: White Friars was bounded by the Thames to the south and the old walled Temple precinct to the west, and it had a fairly clear boundary of streets to the east and north. Similarly, Black Friars was surrounded on three sides by the huge thirteenth-century precinct- and city-wall, with the Thames to the south and the Fleet to the west. As Anthony House shows, the prosperous residents of these precincts, particularly Blackfriars, wanted to keep their jurisdictional and economic independence from the City and were involved in a number of legal disputes and petitions in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>152</sup>

If the precincts of Black and White Friars outlived those of the other three friaries, the physical traces of the friary buildings were gradually eroded in the century or so after the Dissolution. The Great Fire of 1666 removed most of the surviving medieval fabric, although Crossed Friars and parts of Grey and Austin Friars remained unscathed. The ensuing centuries of prosperous redevelopment gradually

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<sup>152</sup> A. P. House, 'The City of London and the Problem of the Liberties, c1540–c1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2006), pp. 32, 131–40.

removed almost all traces of the friaries, with the latest survivals being Richard Whittington's great library wing at Grey Friars (demolished in the early nineteenth century) and the nave of the Austin Friars church (destroyed in the Second World War). Today's visitor searching for London's friaries has to be content with a glimpse of a preserved medieval window and a single moss-covered stretch of wall – parts of the former Dominican provincial prior's house – in Ireland Yard in Blackfriars.

## Appendix 1: tables of friary tenants around the time of the Dissolution

**Table 15 Rented tenements in Black Friars (principal sources: tax survey of 1535–6 and rent collector's accounts for year ending September 1540)<sup>1</sup>**

Location and description	Pre-Dissolution tenancy	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in c. 1550	Rent
<i>Tenements on Ludgate Hill by city gate</i>				
adjacent to Ludgate prison		Lady Pecoke		£6
shops and gardens opposite north gate	Mary Veale, lease of 1538 <sup>2</sup>	Mary __		£4
shop next to north gate		Edward Elnusse		26s 8d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£11 6s 8d</b>
<i>Monastic buildings converted before Dissolution</i>				
east end of main dorter and schoolhouse	formerly Sir Edward Bonyngfeld	Lady Grey		106s 8d
part of main cloister	Sir William Parr by 1536	Lord Parre		53s 4d
'under lybrarye'	Elizabeth Denton in 1510s; Sir William Kingston by 1536 <sup>3</sup>	Sir William Kingston		£5
'larkes lodgyn' at north end of guest house	Lady Jane Guldeforde; Lord Cobham by 1536 <sup>4</sup>	Lord Cobham		106s 8d
'le ancras lodging'	Margaret Elyote, probably the last anchorite <sup>5</sup>	Chancellor Boston		40s
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£20 6s 8d</b>
<i>Tenements in main precinct</i>				
	John de Grama, lease of 1537	John de Grama		53s 4d
house and garden	John Churchgate (house) and Richard Symondes (garden) by 1536; Philip Parrys (and six others) in lease of 1534 <sup>6</sup>	Philip Parrys		£6 13s 4d

<sup>1</sup> TNA, SP1/25, ff. 35–6, nos 222–3 [tax survey of 1535–6]; SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 54–55 [rent collector's accounts]. The tax assessment was formerly described as a muster and tax survey of 1522 (*Letters and Papers*, iii (2), no. 2486) but has recently been identified as part of a London survey conducted by Thomas Cromwell for the subsidy of 1535–6: J. Oldland, 'The Allocation of Merchant Capital in Early Tudor London', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), 1058–80.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, E315/96, ff. 26–7.

<sup>3</sup> TNA, E315/216, ff. 52r–v; E326/12376.

<sup>4</sup> Loseley copy of particulars printed in Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 429–30, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 13; TNA, C66/774, mm. 31–3 [grant].

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 2: Black Friars, footnote 41.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, E318/17/842, m. 5.

Location and description	Pre-Dissolution tenancy	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in c. 1550	Rent
	formerly in tenure of Jasper Fyloll then Thomas Fereby and, by 1535, William Lylgrave <sup>7</sup>	Sir Thomas Chenye		£6 13s 4d
		John Churchegate		13s 4d
house and garden	Richard Cryes by 1536; Henry and Agnes Fouxe in lease of 1537	Agnes Fouxe		40s
mansion with garden	John Peryant by 1536	Agnes Fouxe		£4
two houses with gardens	Geoffrey Downis and Richard Elyott; then Sir Henry Wyatt by lease of 1505 <sup>8</sup>	Thomas Wyatt		£4 6s 8d
house and garden next to church door	Lord Zouche by 1536	Lord Southe		106s 8d
buildings to north of church door	doctor Hawleskell, then Sir George Darcey by lease of 1537 <sup>9</sup>	Sir George Darsey		£4
mansion with shops and gardens, near churchyard <sup>10</sup>	John Growte by 1536	John Growte		£4 4s
house and garden adjacent to Growte's tenement	Anne Parterige by 1536	Anne Parteryche		£4
		John Curson		40s
	Edmund Bekett by 1536	Edward [Edmund?] Bekett		40s
		Francis Vuderstufte		40s
house and garden	John James by 1536	John James		40s
	John Halleys and Margaret his wife in lease of 1535 <sup>11</sup>	John Harrys		26s 8d
		___ Founteyn		53s 4d
		William Raynton		40s
		Thomas Whyte		£4
next to Thames	Mr Vaulx by 1536?	John Fouxe		6s 8d
	Stephen Pecok, then William Taylor by lease of 1536 <sup>12</sup>	William Taylor		13s 4d
garden		Christopher Harebottell		6s 8d
	William Hennyng (undated but pre-Dissolution lease) <sup>13</sup>	William Honnyng		20s
garden		___ Wygmorepole		6s 8d

<sup>7</sup> TNA, C66/691, mm. 29–30; SP1/99, ff. 126–7, 133–4, nos 110–11, 117–18.

<sup>8</sup> SHC, LM/344/17.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, E318/18/926.

<sup>10</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.360.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, E315/214, ff. 123–4.

<sup>12</sup> TNA, E318/21/1091.

<sup>13</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.361.

Location and description	Pre-Dissolution tenancy	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in c. 1550	Rent
garden		___ Cunond		13s 4d
garden		___ Marye		10s
garden		William Taylor		6s 8d
garden		Thomas Wasshyngton		10s
garden		John Bekett		6s 8d
garden		___ Sayey		6s 8d
garden		widow Reynold		10s
garden		Richard Master		6s 8d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£68 14s 0d</b>
<i>Riverside tenements in parish of St Andrew</i>				
tenement with wharf		Thomas Hamond		102s
	Anne Dorrell			66s 8d
		Henry Levey		20s
		Thomas Smythe		36s 8d
		Mr Powell		13s 4d
		John Parson		13s 4d
		Thomas Whytington		16s
		Mr Goodfeld		13s 4d
		Mr Vandarte		13s 4d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£14 14s 8d</b>
<i>Building rented by Crown</i>				
Duchy chamber by kitchen and parliament hall		council of duchy of Lancaster		20s
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>20s</b>
			<b>total rents</b>	<b>£116 2s 0d</b>

**Table 16 Thomas Cawarden's tenants in Blackfriars in 1559 (source: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.416)**

Tenant	Occupation	Other reference	Description	Rent
<i>'The church Lane next carter lane'</i>				
Roger Herren			two tennis courts and a house	£6
John Bradford				£5
Thomas Vahan			two houses	£6 13s 4d
Boneventner Eve	smith			46s 8d
Adam Vemecar	coffermaker			20s
Nicholas Marle	marbler			20s
John Grygory	hosier	tenant in 1570 <sup>14</sup>	[on north side of church lane]	20s
Hugh Bryees	tailor			40s
John Rychard junior	cobbler			20s
John Wathers	waterman			20s
Harmon Bushe	doctor			20s
Philip Lovell	shoemaker			40s
Arthur Mebyng				20s
Adam Remekers			shop	20s
Richard Lawry	currier			53s 4d
widow Cryspyns			Carpenter's yard	£4
[blank]			'the great garthyn plott'	£4
Nicholas Morle			'shope at the gate'	8s
<i>'The street next Ludgate'</i>				
Mr Saverines			howes late the anker	£4
Gareth[?] Drimbord			shop	20s
Roland Halle				53s 8d
Mr Hobbe		tenant in 1550 <sup>15</sup>	two gardens	26s 8d
Mr Tanner			houses and gardens	£6 13s 4d
Mr Robert	goldsmith			72s
<i>'The stret next bryedwell'</i>				
Peter Bonyvall	feather dealer			66s 8d
Mr Gabryell				66s 8d
Peter Forrest	goldbeater			66s 8d
Hubert Davyell	founder			66s 8d
John Dehvers	hatmaker			66s 8d
<i>'The stret next the wattergate'</i>				
Nicholas __	saddler	tenant in c. 1550] <sup>16</sup>		66s 8d
Giles Goddedds	painter			£6 13s 4d
Thomas Jemyng				£6 13s 4d
mother Marten			'the gelldyns hows'	26s 8d
John Tomkyns	cook			33s 4d
John Bywatter				26s 8d
William Chammbur			garden	20s
Harry John junior				20s
Mr Croswell			stables	40s
Simon Spyllmon				53s 4d
William Crise	waterman		'next the stall'	6s 8d
Master Fryts				£8
<i>'The street next Mr Jernyngam'</i>				
Henry Lewees	tailor			26s 8d

<sup>14</sup> Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 112–13.<sup>15</sup> TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3.<sup>16</sup> FSL, Loseley MS L.b.185.

Parson Angell			house and garden	[blank]]
Mr Athanmaser			garden	20s
Mr Jernynggam			house, yard, garden and storehouse	£4
Thomas Blaggrave	[surveyor]	worked for More in 1552 <sup>17</sup>		40s
<b>Total</b>				<b>£123 7s 0d</b>

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<sup>17</sup> Loseley MS printed in Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 442–3, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 115–16.



**Table 17 Rented tenements in Grey Friars (principal source: Court of Augmentations rent collector's account for year ending September 1540)<sup>18</sup>**

Location and description (and number on Fig 20)	Pre-Dissolution tenancy	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in 1540s	Rent
<i>tenements in precinct</i>				
infirmary		William Bolton, 'king's servant'	Joan Bulton, widow (1544)	40s
guardian's house		formerly William Vaughan, doctor	Jerome and Francis Benall (1541)	£6 13s 4d
brew-house		Thomas Ayre	Thomas Ayer (1544)	46s
by the mill (T1)		Elizabeth Meryall	Elizabeth Meryell (1544)	20s
'by the brewery' (T2)		[unnamed]		20s
main gatehouse	William ___ and Elizabeth (1440)	John Norres	John Norrys (1545)	40s
'by the gate' (T3)		Anne Lethego, widow	Anne Lethego (1544)	40s
T4		John Wyseman, gentleman	John Wyseman (1544)	53s 4d
T5		Elizabeth Westebone	Elizabeth Westbone (1544); John Wyseman (soon after)	13s 4d
rooms in little cloister (T6)	lease of 1543 appears to cite pre-Dissolution lease to Lady Rose Wallopp	Lady Wallopp, widow	Hugh Willoweby (1543)	16s
a 'bakesyde' (former vestry?) (T7)		John Baynton, gentleman	John Baynton and Edward Lache (1544)	12s
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£21 14s 0d</b>
<i>gardens to south and east of precinct</i>				
garden (south-east of church; Fig 35)		John Baynton, gentleman		10s
garden (former churchyard, south of church; Fig 35)		Sir John Clerke	Sir John Clerke (1544)	6s 8d
garden (former churchyard, south of church)	Nicholas Pynchyn, butcher, and Agnes (1531)	Peter Carmor	Sir Roger Cholmeley	6s 8d
garden (part of infirmary garden)	Bridge House estate (1537)			3s 4d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£1 6s 8d</b>
			<b>total rents</b>	<b>£23 0s 8d</b>

<sup>18</sup> The rent collector's accounts are TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 62. Most of the other information comes from post-Dissolution leases and grants: E315/233, ff. 338v-9; C66/757, m. 6 [Bolton]; E315/235, f. 56 [Benall]; E315/191, f. 60; E315/236, f. 7 [Wallopp and Willoweby]; E318/11/471, mm. 6-7, 11; C66/767, mm. 6-7 [Lethego, Wyseman and Ayer]; C146/1479, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 207-8 [William \_\_\_]; SBH, HC 1/3895 [Norrays]; TNA, E318/5/137, mm. 11, 13; C66/745, mm. 12-13 [Westbone, Wyseman, Meryell, Baynton, Lache and Clerke]; E315/214, ff. 111-12 [Pynchyn and Cholmeley]; LMA, CLA/007/FN/02/006, f. 243 [Bridge House].

**Table 18 Rented tenements in White Friars (principal source: Court of Augmentations rent collector's account for year ending September 1540)<sup>19</sup>**

Description (and number on Fig 42)	Pre-Dissolution tenant	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in c. 1550	Rent
<i>tenements on Fleet Street</i>				
tenement with shops solars cellars (The Green Dragon Tavern by 1666) (T1)	William James and Magdalene (40-year lease of 1535)	William James and Magdalene	William Jemis	26s 8d
'le Blake Swanne' (T2)	William Thomas (20-year lease of 1529)	William Thomas	William Thomas	£4
tenement with shops solars cellars (T3)	John Oneley (40-year lease of 1534)	Henry Lee	Henry Leigh	£4
T4		William Kyrkbye (for life)	William Kyrkeby	60s
message with solars and shops adjoining (in original grant of 1411) (T5)	Chistopher Sandon, broderer (30-year lease of Jan 1538)	John Wyseden	John Whistenden	36s 8d (40s after 15 years)
tenement with shops solars cellars (T6)	Simon Fysby, (21-year lease of 1535)	Robert Buck	Bucke	£4
tenement with shops cellars warehouses (T7)	Thomas Buck (60-year lease of 1536)	William Ryggeley	Ryggeley	66s 8d
<i>le Bolte et Tonne</i> (T8)	John Knapp, sublessor from William Colken, draper, in late 15th century. Robert Flaxton and Alice (40-year lease of 1516)	Robert Flaxton and Alice	Alice Flaxton	£4
<i>le Borys Hede</i> : message with solars and shops (in original grant of 1442) (T9)	Christopher Daye and Joan (1528 lease for life)	Christopher Daye and Joan	Christopher Dray	£4
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£29 10s 0d</b>
<i>tenements in precinct</i>				
'Sergeanntes Ingate' (T10)		lord Reshot		13s 4d
just down White Friars lane from Fleet Street		Packer Broderer	Packer Broderer	40s
T11	William Vascomb (80-year lease of 1533)	Mr Fachill	Mr Fachill	20s
tenements with gardens (T12 & T13)	William Vascomb (80-year lease of 1533)	William Foskinne	William Foscome	£2 6s 8d
T14		___ Drayne, widow	Drayne	26s 8d
south of cloisters		Thomas Leigh, esquire	<i>magister</i> Leigh	20s

<sup>19</sup> The rent collector's account is TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–59; the c. 1550 rental is SC12/11/17. Other sources: Mills and Oliver, ii, 1; v, 62 [Green Dragon]; TNA, C66/384, m. 23 [grant of 1411]; TNA, C1/211/63 [Knapp and Colken]; TNA, C66/456, m. 24 [1442 grant].

Description (and number on Fig 42)	Pre-Dissolution tenant	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in c. 1550	Rent
south of cloisters		— Tickell	Tyckyll	40s
south of cloisters		widow Felle	Fell	26s 8d
cottage, south of cloisters		Robert Heynes	Robert Heynes	13s 4d
eight rooms, south of cloisters		Brian Taylor, gentleman	Bryan Tayler, <i>generosus</i>	26s 8d
south of cloisters (ground floor)		— Harrecote, knight	Simon Harecourt, <i>magister</i>	26s 8d
south of cloisters (first floor)		Robert Clare		13s 4d
'le colehowse', south of cloisters		John Whyskerde (in 1544)		10s
two houses with gardens and stables (T15)	Thomas West, [Baron de la Warr] (30-year lease of 1537); formerly John Nevell, Sir William Meryng and Thomas Everarde	Lord Delaware	<i>dominus Dalowaye</i>	£6 13s 4d
house and garden (T16)		Margaret Countess of Kent	<i>domina magna herete comitissa kent</i>	40s
almshouses (T17)		Clothworkers of London		10s
two tenements with gardens, Water Lane	Andrewe Barnard, gentleman (40-year lease of 1536); formerly occupied by Syr John Cald kyn	Andrew Barnard, gentleman	Androwe Barnard	£4
T18		— Conysbye, widow	Agnes Conyngesby	13s 4d
T19		Arnold Roger	Harnold Roger	26s 8d
tenement with garden (T20)		William Leigh	<i>magister</i> Leighe	20s
tenement with garden (T21)		John Bernard		20s
tenement beside <i>le covent garden propter Thamesiam</i> (T22)		George Rolle	George Rollis	40s
garden, south-west of precinct		— Danbye, widow	— Danby, widow	5s
garden, south-west of precinct		Richard Stafferton	Rychard Stafferton	5s
garden, south-west of precinct		— Peche	Peche, shomaker	5s
'bere howsse' with garden (T23)		— Dyamore, widow	Diamor, widow	106s 8d
unidentified location		— Jarrat	John Gererd	20s
hosue and garden, unidentified location		— Dyamore, widow	Diamor, widow	40s
room, unidentified location		<i>magister</i> Sampson	<i>magister</i> Sampson	10s
unidentified location		[unidentified]		20s
unidentified location		Thomas Dudeley	Thomas Dudly	13s 4d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£46 11s 8d</b>
			<b>total rents</b>	<b>£76 1s 8d</b>

**Table 19 Rented tenements in Austin Friars (principal source: Court of Augmentations rent collector's account for year ending September 1540)<sup>20</sup>**

Location or contemporary description (and number on Fig 55)	Pre-Dissolution tenancy	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in 1540s	Rent
<i>Tenements on Throgmorton Street adjacent to precinct</i>				
'the Swanne' (T1)	William Seynt by 1510; Gregory Wakefeld by 1528	[purchased by Thomas Cromwell in 1534 and rebuilt as his mansion]	Mr Roche (1543)	[£4?]
'the Bell' (T2)	Jerome Giles, sherman, by 1510; Robert Donkyn, merchant tailor, in 1528	[lease acquired by Thomas Cromwell in 1530s]	Mr Williamson (1543)	70s
west of gatehouse (T3)	Thomas Tethyk by 1528; Robert Donkyn in 1531; Robert Lees (Lys) by 1534		Mr Leese (1543)	40s
east of gatehouse (T4)		Thomas Carmarden (Cawarden), master of the Revels	Thomas Carmarden (1544)	36s 8d
T5		William Baker	William Baker (1544)	26s 8d
T6		Roger Basyng	George Asshe (1544)	40s
			<b>estimated subtotal</b>	<b>£14 13s 4d</b>
<i>Tenements within precinct</i>				
'mansion place & house' (T7 and T8)	Thomas Forster, mercer, and Margaret (1483); leased (separately) to John Morton, gentleman, and Agnes Haynes, widow, before 1533; (together) to Roger More, sergeant of the king's bake-house, by 1533	Roger More		20s
messuage and 'great garden' (T9)	Marcellus de la More, King's surgeon (before 1531); Thomas Poulet (1531)	[purchased by Paulet in 1536]		£8 13s 4d
tenement by west door of church (T10)	John Hubbert, 'merchaunt straungier' (before 1534); William Symondes, gentleman (1534)	[purchased by Cromwell in 1534]	Mr Palinor (1543)	£4

<sup>20</sup> Rent collector's account: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 60–61v. Other sources: TNA, LR14/129; DC, A I 58 [Seynt and Wakefield]; DC, M B 1c (Minute Book) pp. 760–1 [Roche]; DC, A I 58; A I 59; A I 64 [Tethyk, Donkyn, Lees]; TNA, C66/757, m. 5 [Cawarden]; C66/762, m. 39 [Asshe]; C1/547/10; LR14/787; E318/16/772 [Forster, Morton, Haynes, More]; LR14/88 [Poulet]; DC, A I 63 [Hubbert, Symondes]; TNA, SP2/L, ff. 205–210, nos 183–8; DC, A I 61 [Cavalcanti]; TNA, LR14/787 [Sherland]; LR14/86 [Rich]; LR14/708 [Geffery]; E318/13/577 [Morrison]. See also Chapter 5: Austin Friars, 'Thomas Cromwell's property'.

<b>Location or contemporary description (and number on Fig 55)</b>	<b>Pre-Dissolution tenancy</b>	<b>Tenant in 1540</b>	<b>Tenant in 1540s</b>	<b>Rent</b>
tenement west of church (T11)	Thomas Cromwell, Cardinal Wolsey's administrator (1522?)	[purchased by Cromwell in 1534]	Mr Pethis (1543)	[£4?]
tenement west of church (T12)	John Cavalcanti, Italian merchant (Giovanni Cavalcanti; by 1532)			[£4?]
two shops (unknown location)		[no details]		16s
			<b>estimated subtotal</b>	<b>£22 9s 4d</b>
<i>Other London tenements (not detailed)</i>				
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£21 18s 8d</b>
			<b>estimated total rents in 1533</b>	<b>£59 1s 4d</b>
<i>Monastic buildings converted shortly before Dissolution</i>				
'the olde fermery'	William Sherland, Queen's usher (1533)	Mr Bodye		26s 8d
'fermory' and prior's garden	Richard Rich, courtier and administrator (1536)	Richard Ryche, magister		23s 4d
prior's house	Thomas Geffery, dyer, and Agnes (1537)			40s
'bachelers Gefferyes chamber' (separate part of prior's house)	Richard Morryson, Court of Augmentations official (1538)	Richard Morysen		26s 8d
			<b>subtotal</b>	<b>£5 16s 8d</b>
			<b>estimated total rents in 1538<sup>21</sup></b>	<b>£40</b>

<sup>21</sup> The total rental income at the time of the Dissolution is lower than the straightforward total of rents in this table because several tenements were sold in the 1530s; see Chapter 5: Austin Friars, footnote 82 for a more detailed explanation.

**Table 20 Rented tenements in Crossed Friars (principal source: Court of Augmentations rent collector's account for year ending September 1540)<sup>22</sup>**

Location and description	Pre-Dissolution tenant	Tenant in 1540	Tenant in 1540s	Rent
<i>Tenements in precinct</i>				
'le pryours chambre' and 'seynt barbara hall'	Philip Dennyys (30-year lease of 30 October 27 1535)	Philip Dennyys	Philip Denys (1547)	20s
location unknown	Mark Anthonius (20 year lease of 9 April 1534)	Mark Anthonius	Mark Anthonius (1547)	40s
stable, in outer precinct?		John Alene	Sir John Aleyne (1547)	5s
'le pryncypalls chambre'	Robert Forde (80-year lease of 1536/7)	Robert Forde	Robert Forde (1547)	6s 8d
north of church	Peter and Margaret Johnson (for life; 17 October 1518)	Margaret Johnson	Margaret Johnson (1544)	corrodian
north of church		William Valentynio	William Valentyne (1544)	33s 4d [?]
tenement with cellars solars stables and garden; outer precinct?	Leonard Dult (30-year lease of 18 September 1532)	Leonard Dult	Leonard Dolt (1545)	33s 4d
			<b>total precinct rents</b>	<b>£6 18s 4d</b>
<i>Tenements in Hart Street opposite priory</i>				
				<b>£4 4s</b>
<i>Tenements in parish of St Olave</i>				
				<b>£6 8s</b>
<i>Other tenements in London</i>				
				<b>£19 8s</b>
<i>Manor in Suffolk</i>				
				<b>£3 10s 4d</b>
			<b>total rents</b>	<b>£40 8s 8d</b>

<sup>22</sup> TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 63–66v [1540]; SC6/Hen VIII/2401 (unnumbered) [1545]; SP1/89, f. 134, no. 114 [Johnson in 1518]; C66/753, m. 9 [1544]; C66/700, m. 10 [1547].

## Appendix 2: guide to finding monastic records in The National Archives

The National Archives is the principal archive for this research because it holds all the surviving Court of Augmentations papers, that is to say those that had been kept (in a variety of forms) by its successors, principally the Augmentation Office of the Exchequer. These successor bodies passed the records to the Public Record Office soon after its foundation in the nineteenth century; the Court of Augmentations records therefore constitute a number of TNA series in two main classes (Exchequer and Land Revenue). The series of records within these classes have two different forms of index: the ‘series files’ (with a file-section for each series) and the ‘additional finding aids’ (with, in some cases, several volumes for each series). Many of the additional finding aids are themselves historical documents compiled in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century by the Augmentation Office of the Exchequer for the purpose of record management.<sup>1</sup> These additional finding aids are nearly all shelved at the National Archives by the series number of the material that they refer to and a volume number (for example, ‘Additional Finding Aid E315 volume 3’); the green and red ‘series files’ are in a separate shelved sequence, in series number order. In addition, four sets of published Public Record Office/National Archives volumes contain relevant calendars or indexes: the series known as *Lists and Indexes*, its successor series *Lists and Indexes supplementary series* and *Lists and Indexes Society*, and the nineteenth-century series of archival reports called *Deputy Keeper’s Reports*.

In summary, it can be seen that there is no easy way into the records of the Court of Augmentations. A valuable article by Maureen Jurkowski has made the task of finding relevant monastic documents in the National Archives considerably easier; she, however, concentrated on pre-Dissolution documents.<sup>2</sup> The thrust of this thesis is to show that the study of post-Dissolution documents, particularly the Court of Augmentation’s surveys, is a prerequisite for understanding the *medieval* topography

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<sup>1</sup> The role of John Caley (Keeper of the Augmentation Office of the Exchequer from 1787 to 1834) in the calendaring of Augmentations material and in its eventual transfer to the Public Record Office is discussed in W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536–1554* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> M. Jurkowski, ‘Monastic Archives in the National Archives’, *Archives*, 32 (116) (2007), 1–18.

of religious houses. The various series of the Court of Augmentations' post-Dissolution records, together with their respective calendars and indexes, are therefore summarised here (Table 21) as a complement to Jurkowski's work.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 21 Summary of the 'additional finding aids' of the National Archives used to search for Court of Augmentations and other monastic documents**

TNA series	Type of record	TNA additional finding aid(s)	Notes and titles of the additional finding aids
E40	deeds	<i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> (vols 1–6); E40 vols 1 and 2	The majority of former 'Ancient Deeds A' series is indexed and calendared in published calendar; deeds 13673–15913 are calendared (but not indexed) in two typescript E40 additional finding aids.
E303	conventual leases	E303 vol. 1	19th-century bound MS volume, 'A calendar to the conventual leases granted by the respective monasteries before their dissolution'
E305	deeds	E305 vols 1 and 2	two 19th-century bound MSS: 'A calendar to the deeds of purchase and exchange made by the Crown in the reign of K. Henry VIII' and 'A calendar to the deeds of purchase and exchange made by the Crown in the reign of K. Edward VI'
E309	lease enrolments	E309 vol. 1	19th-century MS volume, 'Augmentation Office: enrolments of leases 3 to 31 Eliz.': the majority of these are indexed by street and parish name
E310	particulars for leases	E310 vol. 2 and E310 series file	The earlier particulars are calendared in the series file (unindexed but arranged by county), while the later ones are in a 19th-century MS volume, 'A calendar to the rolls of particulars for leases in the reigns of Q. Eliz. and K. James 1 <sup>st</sup> remaining in the Augmentation Office, vol. II, Middx.–Worcs.': again, the majority of these later properties are indexed by street.
E312	leases and offices surrendered to Crown	E312 series file	calendar and index
E314	miscellaneous documents	E314 series file	calendar
E315	miscellaneous books	E315 series file	detailed calendar of the whole E315 series (much of which is unindexed)
E315	proceedings of the Court	E315 vol. 2	'Proceedings of the Court of Augmentations. Index of places' is a 20th-century PRO typescript, which also covers much of the E321 series.
E315	rebound deeds	E315 vols 3 and 4	'Calendar (with index of places) of the Ancient Deeds and other documents contained in Exchequer: Augmentations Office, Miscellaneous Books Nos 31–54 (formerly known as Carte Miscellanea': two complementary 19th-century MS volumes to be consulted in tandem (index locorum and calendar)
E315	decree and order books (with enrolled leases)	E315 vols 5 and 6	'Augmentation Office, calendar of Miscellaneous Books 91–100, decrees and orders, 28–33 Henry VIII': another pair of MS volumes to be consulted in tandem

<sup>3</sup> The table does not include TNA series for which a calendar or index has been searched with negative results. The relevant series, potentially useful but not in this case, are E135, E154, E163, E299, E308, E313, E319, E324, WARD 2. E316 is another potentially interesting series but is currently unsorted and has no series list, calendar or index.



TNA series	Type of record	TNA additional finding aid(s)	Notes and titles of the additional finding aids
E315	decree and order books (with enrolled leases)	E315 vols 7 and 8	'Decrees of the Court of Augmentations, 31 Hen VIII to 7 Edw VI': pair of MS volumes to be consulted in tandem
E315	decree and order books (with enrolled leases)	E315 vol. 10	'Exchequer. Court of Augmentations misc. books (vol. 106) E.315': a bound PRO volume containing two separate calendars and indexes to decrees and leases of Henry VIII (also referring to book 230)
E315	Crown leases	E315 vol. 11 and <i>Lists and Indexes Supplementary Series</i> , vol. 3(2)	'Index to enrolments of leases and pensions, Henry VIII – James I': an index nominorum to Miscellaneous Books 179–84 and 209–47; to be used in conjunction with the printed Ministers' Accounts index ( <i>Lists and Indexes Supp. Ser.</i> ), which is organised by place.
E318	particulars for grants	E318 vols 3, 5–10	'Index locorum to Exchequer, Augmentation Office, particulars for grants of Crown lands. Henry VIII' (vol. 3 covers London): particulars are listed by name; names therefore have to be looked up in index nominorum (vol. 7); 'file number' thus obtained must be converted to modern MS number using series list (process has to be repeated for later reigns using, in conjunction, vols 5 and 8/9, then 6 and 10)
E321	legal proceedings	E315 vol. 2 and E321 series list	calendar in series list; index in E315 vol. 2
E322	surrenders of religious houses	E322 series list and <i>Deputy Keeper's Report</i> , 8 (appendix 2)	index in <i>Deputy Keeper's Report</i>
E323	Treasurer's accounts	<i>Letters and Papers</i> (xiv (2), no.236; xviii (2), no.231; xix (2), no.328); TNA, XBOX1/67 part 13 [ordered like a document]	Treasurer's accounts can supply the price paid for Crown grants of ex-monastic land (the price is often missing in patent rolls, series C66). The name of the grantee can be looked up in <i>Letters and Papers</i> (but not in xix (2), no. 328); the other finding aid (XBOX1/67 part 13) gives roll and a range of membranes. However, neither of these finding aids can replace a scan through the rolls looking for the relevant monastic house (all houses appear in bold).
E326	deeds	E326 vols 2 and 5; <i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> , vols 1–3	The numerous deeds in the former 'Ancient Deeds B' series of the PRO (now TNA series E326) are calendared and indexed in the first three published <i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> vols, and in the typescript E326 additional finding aids.
LR2	miscellaneous books	<i>Lists and Indexes</i> 25 and <i>Lists and Indexes supplementary series</i> 14	useful indexes
LR8	accounts (pre- and post-Dissolution)	<i>Lists and Indexes Society</i> 53	London section of index is on p. 79
LR14	deeds	LR14 series list	There is no index in the series list so one has to scan the entire list (note that there are some real gems in this series – 'useless' documents filed away such as medieval accounts, chantry agreements...).
LR15	deeds	LR15 vol. 1	<i>index locorum</i> at rear of calendar

<b>TNA series</b>	<b>Type of record</b>	<b>TNA additional finding aid(s)</b>	<b>Notes and titles of the additional finding aids</b>
SC6	accounts	<i>Lists and Indexes</i> 5, 8, 34; <i>Supplementary Series 2</i>	Index locorum for no. 5 in no. 8 (and see pp. 519–21); London section of vol. 34 is pp. 92–3; London sections of <i>Supp. Ser.</i> vol. 2 are pp. 24–5, 69–70, 163–7.
SC11 & SC12	rentals, surveys and valors	<i>Lists and Indexes</i> 25	It is probably easier to use <i>A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London Before the Great Fire</i> to look up London religious houses.

### Appendix 3: catalogue of sources

This appendix is a calendar of significant primary sources relevant to this enquiry into the topography of the late medieval friaries and their post-Dissolution precincts. The sources are ordered by friary and are then arranged in three categories: documentary, visual and archaeological. The documentary sources have been subdivided into four groups (each listed in chronological order). The first group consists of pre-Dissolution leases and other documents, the second group is post-Dissolution accounts and other documents of the Court of Augmentations, thirdly the Crown grants of the former friaries' land and, fourthly, documents relating to the privately owned properties. The visual sources include historic maps, prints and views and are arranged in chronological order. The majority of the archaeological site archives and reports are held under their respective site-codes (eg 'BOU88') in the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), part of the Museum of London. The sites with the prefix 'PRG' are pre-Museum of London excavations or observations, numbered according to Charlotte Harding's 'Post-Roman Gazetteer' (a useful 1986 typescript held by the LAARC). A few site archives (where noted) are currently held by the archaeological unit responsible for the excavation. These archives will in due course be transferred to the LAARC.

The following abbreviations are used in the calendar:

*Friaries:*

AF	Austin Friars
BF	Black Friars
CF	Crossed (Crutched) Friars
GF	Grey Friars
WF	White Friars

*Archives:*

BL	British Library
CC	Clothworkers' Company
DC	Drapers' Company
FSL	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC (USA)
GL	Guildhall Library
LAARC	London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
SBH	St Bartholomew's Hospital archive
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking
TNA	The National Archives

*Archaeological units:*

AOC           AOC Archaeology Ltd  
MOLA(S)     Museum of London Archaeology (formerly Museum of London  
                  Archaeology Service)  
PCA           Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd

*Other:*

N, E, S and W       north, east, south and west  
Augmentations     Court of Augmentations

***Black Friars sources*****Documentary sources***Pre-Dissolution leases and other documents*

1321: TNA, JUST 1/547A, m. 17v

London eyre of 1321 records the closing of the lane between Baynard's castle and the Fleet river in 1313. The quoting of a charter of 31 May 14 Edward (not specifying Edward I or II) may well be the original 'refoundation' charter of Edward I in 1286 (no copy of which survives).

c. 1500: BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 29v–30v

List of 103 burials in church of BF, presumably compiled before Dissolution. Some topographic detail for those buried in choir, otherwise just a list. Several are heart burials. (This MS is a sixteenth-century copy of the original; College of Arms, MS CGY 647.)

1505 (5 May): SHC, LM/344/17

79-year lease issued by prior and convent to Henry Wyat of two tenements in precinct; locations not given but former occupants given. 87s rent. Interesting building clause allowing Henry to rebuild or move ('translate') the two tenements.

1511 (February): TNA, E36/217, f. 46

Account of construction costs for a joust ('just of honour') at Westminster: an artificial forest and animals were constructed at BF and transported to Westminster. Evidence of pre-Dissolution connection between BF and Revels?

1514 (19 June): TNA, SP1/8, ff. 220–1, nos 170–1

Accounts of military expenditure relating to war in France. Includes payment of £4 13s 4d to prior of BF for use of a convent building to assemble tents and temporary timber buildings, and for an open space to pitch the tents (before their transport to Calais).

1518 x 1529: TNA, C1/538/13

Chancery case: ancess of BF v William Driclingh concerning false imprisonment of complainant's maid and son. Bill seeking alms for her and other recluses from mayor and aldermen (summary from catalogue; original is very faded and hard to read)

1522 (4 January): TNA E315/216, f. 17

Pre-Dissolution lease (cited in later Augmentations book) to Armell Griffith, hosier. Griffith later died and a new 20-year lease was issued (still apparently pre-Dissolution) to his former wife now married to Robert Baylye, at higher rent of 53s 4d.

1533 x 1538: TNA, C1/839/31

Chancery case between William Lelegrave and Robert Streddyies[?] prior of BF vs Richard clerk (or Clerk), concerning messuage in BF. On 4 December 23 Hen VIII [1531] Richard took possession of the tenement; Lelegrave trying to get back possession and his goods. No topographic detail.

1534 (12 June): TNA, E318/17/842, m. 5

Pre-Dissolution lease (cited in later Augmentations book) of a newly built tenement ('noviter edificati') in a garden to Philip Parrys and his wife Margaret, Lady Alice More[?], widow, Christopher More and Constance his wife, John Lucas and Anne his wife for 40 years, rent £6 13s 4d.

1534 (27 June): FSL, Loseley MS L.b.360 [draft] and SHC, LM/347/13 [citation]  
Part of a draft 40-year lease between prior and convent of BF and John Growte, rent not specified. Includes clause giving permission to dry clothes in church yard and build a 'tryangell'. Later citation of the actual lease (dated 17 June 1535, to John Growse, bookbinder) describes property as tenement, shop and garden on N side of church. Rent of £4 4s.

1535 (18 January): SHC, LM/345/75  
Lease for life from prior and convent to John Churchgate, haberdasher, Jane his wife and their son John, of his newly rebuilt house in precinct. 13s 4d rent.

1535 (March): TNA, SP1/91, f. 175, no. 156  
Petition from convent and inhabitants of BF to Cromwell concerning parish assessment of London parishes. They describe themselves as 'we beinge of noo parische neyther lybertie of any parische but beinge free within ourself'.

1535 (17 June): SHC, LM/347/13  
Pre-Dissolution lease to John Growse, bookbinder cited in later reassignment of lease: tenement shop and garden.

1535 (1 October): TNA, E315/214, ff. 123–4  
Pre-Dissolution lease (enrolled in later Augmentations book) granted by John Hylsey prior of BF to master John Halleys gentleman and Margaret his wife, of a house and garden in BF, for life, 26s 8d rent. One abutment given.

1535 (7 and 12 December): TNA, SP1/99, ff. 126–7, 133–4, nos 110–11, 117–18  
Correspondence from William Lelegrave to Cromwell concerning Lelegrave's house in BF. Lelegrave is under pressure from Thomas Cheyney to hand over the lease (which Lelegrave holds from Jasper Fyllott for term of latter's life), for which he paid £100.

1535–6: TNA, SP1/25, ff. 35–6, nos 222–3  
Tax assessment (for the subsidy of 1535–6) valuing the lands and goods of London landowners. Lists 10 eligible people in parish of St Ann within BF, plus a further 13 residents who have their primary residence elsewhere.

1536 (9 March): TNA, C82/708  
Grant to John bishop of Rochester enabling him to remain prior of BF London in consideration of his personal expenditure on the house.

1536 (13 March): TNA, E318/21/1091  
Pre-Dissolution lease (cited in later particulars for grant) of garden on which a tenement has been built, in precinct by Thames, formerly in tenure of Stephen Pecok, to William Taylor, haberdasher, for 40 years. Rent 13s 4d.

1536 (10 April): TNA, C66/774 (mm. 31–3); Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 429–30, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 13  
Pre-Dissolution lease to Lord Cobham (cited in later grant). Term of 80 years, rent 106s 8d. Property formerly in tenure of Lady Jane Guildford.

1536 (4 August): TNA, SP1/105, f. 242, no. 245

Letter from prior of BF (bishop John Hilsey) to Cromwell concerning an expelled former tenant, Elizabeth Wharton, concerning whom Hilsey had recently received letters of recommendation (from Cromwell). Hilsey assures Cromwell that her behaviour was very bad (they once had to rescue her husband and her house nearly burnt down) and they have not put up the rent to the new (unnamed) tenant following her expulsion.

1536 (20 December): TNA, E303/9/180, E315/216, f. 52; E326/12376, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 426, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 104  
Pre-Dissolution lease for life (original and copies in later Augmentations book), of a messuage and garden (formerly in tenure of Elizabeth Denton) and the former under library to Sir William Kyngeston, his wife Mary and her son Henry Jernyngham. Fee of £5.

1537 (18 September): TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 54  
20 year lease to John de Grama at 53s 4d rent (cited in rent collector's accounts).

1537 (4 October): TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, m. 54  
Lease to Henry and Agnes Fouxe and Richard Crees her son (cited in rent collector's accounts), 40s rent.

1537 (4 December): TNA, E318/18/926  
Pre-Dissolution lease (cited in later Augmentations book) of a building to N of church door, rent £4, to Sir George Darcey, term not specified.

1538 (4 May): TNA, E315/96, ff. 26–7  
Pre-Dissolution lease (enrolled in later Augmentations Book) to Mary Veale of a tenement with shops etc, 40-year lease, £4 rent.

1550s: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.361  
Notes, presumably written by or for Thomas Cawarden, summarising three pre-Dissolution leases, to Stephen Peacocke, William Hennyng and Mary Udall. Lengths of leases given but not dates.

1590s: BL, Harley MS 544, ff. 78r–v  
John Stow's notes on funeral monuments at BF. The only topographic annotations are 'in the quiere', twice, on the first folio, and 'in the cloystre' before last entry. 91 named burials (counting husband and wife named on same monument as 2) apparently in church, and 1 monument in cloister. Total 92. List follows the same order as BL, Harley MS 6033 (although with one additional burial in cloister).

*Post-Dissolution accounts, valors and other Court of Augmentations documents*

November 1538: TNA, E36/143, p. 111  
One of Cromwell's list of 'remembrances', this one (recopied in another hand) noting several 'to dos' concerning London religious houses including St Thomas of Acre, Charterhouse and three London friaries (BF, AF and GF). The latter entry concerns the 'plate and jewelles' of the three friaries. Evidence of the type of requests going out to and the documents received from the commissioners for the friaries?

1538 or 1539: TNA, SC11/436  
Valor of anniversary payments around time of Dissolutions: five anniversaries worth £55 6s 8d.

1539 (19 August): TNA, SP1/153, ff. 41–2, nos 32–3

Interesting letter from Richard Tomyow[sic], Cromwell's steward, to his master asking for a recommendation for a lease on former prior's and provincial's houses at BF.

1539 (September): TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2427

Receiver's accounts of Thomas Spilman, London receiver, for Exchequer year ending September 1539 (i.e. first after Dissolution). Notes rents of £31 11s 2d received from Hugh Losse (most of document is payment of pensions to ex-religious).

c. 1539: TNA, SC11/436

Valor of anniversary payments: five anniversaries worth £55 6s 8d.

1539 or 1540: TNA, SC11/985, m. 8

Draft summary rent calculations for several London ex-monastic houses (perhaps compiled by Hugh Losse, the collector of rents?). Total BF rents due £92 5s 4d, of which £77 10s 8d in precinct and £14 14s 8d in parish of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe.

1540: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 54–56

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1540 (the first surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received (differentiating between precinct properties and those in St Andrew by the Wardrobe), fees paid, and outstanding rents. Topographic detail is not as good as other friaries.

1540 (?): TNA, E117/14/202

Inventory and notes on the church and cloister of BF soon after Dissolution: includes small quantity of plate (candlesticks), woodwork (stalls, pews and tables) and two pairs of organs in the rood-loft, as well as a 'fayre lavytery' in the great cloister.

1540 (?): TNA, SC11/985, m. 8

Draft summary rent calculations for several London ex-monastic houses (perhaps compiled by Hugh Losse, the collector of rents?). Total BF rents due £92 5s 4d, of which £77 10s 8d in precinct and £14 14s 8d in parish of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe.

1540s: TNA, E351/3329

Summary accounts (dated 1545–8) of the conversion of a building at BF [the former church?] to a storehouse for the King's Revels. Cost £176 8s 6½d (including bricklayers, carpenters and masons); duration of project 191 days. Date not certain. Includes stripping lead from church steeple. No material costs for stone or lead (presumably recycled). Accounts also detail compensation payments for land bought back by Crown for the same building (£59).

1546 or 1547: TNA, LR2/262, f. 9

List of rents and anniversaries still current in c. 1546: total £66 15s or £65 20d after fees.

1540s: TNA, SC12/11/17, f. 1

List of rents for BF, total annual value £114 15s 8d.

1550 (1 March): TNA, E315/105, f. 128

Memorandum of Court of Augmentations to pay Sir Thomas Cheyne £5 rent on the house in BF used for the King's Revels, backdated to 25 March 1545 when it was first used for that purpose.



1550: TNA, E351/3328

Summary accounts of c. 1550 for the construction of a timber bridge at Black Friars, presumably over the Fleet. Cost £156 19s 4d; duration of project 15 days.

c. 1550: TNA, SC12/11/17, f. 1

List of rents for BF, total annual value £114 15s 8d.

1552: TNA, SC6/EdwVI/297, mm. 12v–13v

Last surviving detailed rent collector's accounts, almost certainly for Exchequer year ending September 1552. The crown is still receiving £18 1s 8d in rents (although £5 3s 4d of that was unpaid and another 26s 8d exonerated) and, rather surprisingly, £13 6s 8d in payment by Canterbury cathedral for a – presumably unperformed – anniversary. Main topographic detail is on Lord Cobham's property.

*Post-Dissolution property grants by the Crown*

1539 (26 March): TNA, C66/683, m. 21

Grant in fee (for £153) to William Taylour, haberdasher of London, and Anne his wife, of two properties on Ludgate in parish of St Martin, described as formerly of priory of BF. Abutments given, rent 20s.

1539 (9 June): TNA, E315/233, ff. 146v–147

Pension to John [Hilsey], Bishop of Rochester and former prior of BF: £60 and the mansion in precinct of BF called 'le priors lodgyng', and its garden, for life. The building may have had a private chapel.

1539 (10 October): TNA, E315/96, ff. 26–7

Pre-Dissolution lease of 1538 to Mary Veale, widow, reissued on same terms (40 years, £4 rent).

1539 (October): TNA, E315/212, f. 11 [lease]; E315/191, f. 6 [particulars for lease]

Lease to John Hamond, skinner, of a tenement with wharf called 'le Flower de lewse', in parish of St Andrew, formerly part of BF, for 21 years, 102s rent.

1540 (18 February): TNA, E318/7/265

Grant of farm of rents of several ex-monastic properties to Sir Thomas Cheyny including one in precinct of BF in his tenure, £6. Sale price calculated on 15x basis, after deduction of tithes (not separately calculated for BF property).

1540 (8 March): TNA, E315/212, f. 100

Lease to John Lelowe, clerk, of a house or tenement in precinct of BF, in tenure of Francis Wanderslust, 21-year lease, rent 40s.

1540 (16 March): TNA, C66/691, mm. 29–30

Grant in fee (for £283 15s 10d) to Sir Thomas Cheyne of former Faversham monastery and tenements in his tenure in precinct of BF.

1540 (6 May): TNA, E315/191, f. 57 [particulars]; E315/212, ff. 134v–135 [grant];

grant printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 426, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 104

21-year Crown lease (E315/212 document) and accompanying particulars for grant (E315/191) to Sir Henry Kingston of inner cloister; most of the dormitory on N side of cloister and rooms underneath; the hall, buttery and cellar on N side; the library on E side; the infirmary on W side; the bakehouse, brewhouse and stable adjacent to infirmary.

1540 (2 July): TNA, E315/212, ff. 165v–166 [lease]; E315/191, f. 64 [particulars for lease]

Lease to William Stabuls of London of a tenement in his tenure in precinct ('clausum') of BF, for 21 years, 40s rent.

1540 (22 November): TNA, E315/235, f. 43v

Life grant to Edmund Levesey of a tenement and garden in precinct, a parcel in the cemetery, a shop and an empty parcel, price not specified. Some measurements given.

1541 (13 November): TNA, E315/235, f. 91 [lease] and E318/18/926 [particulars]

Grant for life to William Reskymer, kings' servant, of rooms houses and buildings to the N of the church door, now occupied by Sir George Darcy (fee not legible).

1542 (3 March): TNA, E315/214, f. 10v [lease]; E315/191, f. 65 [particulars for lease]

Lease to John Haymond, skinner of London, a garden in his tenure in precinct of former BF, formerly in tenure of Anne Wigmorpole, 21-year lease, 6s 8d rent.

1542 (28 July): TNA, E315/214, ff. 123–4

Pre-Dissolution lease to John Halleys and Margaret his wife of a house and garden; surrendered and new lease issued for 21 years, same rent.

1543 (13 January/25 March): TNA, E318/21/1091 [particulars]; C66/716, mm. 7–8 [lease]

Grant to Richard Tate of three BF properties, two of which are built-on gardens. Rents due to Tate and fees due to Crown stated, but no freehold price given.

1543 (15 March): TNA, E315/215, f. 57 [lease]; E315/191, f. 5 [particulars for lease]

21-year lease (or farm of rent) granted to Thomas Saunders, gentleman, of a tenement with houses etc, formerly in tenure of Anne Dorrell, now in tenure of Sir Edward Bedyngfeld, in parish of St Andrew by the Wardrobe. 66s 8d rent.

1543 (5 May): TNA, E315/216, f. 17 [lease] and E315/191, f. 63 [particulars for lease]

21-year lease on 'new tenement' at rent of 40s granted to William Curson, gentleman of London, and Margaret his wife. Margaret seems to have been formerly married in turn to two previous (pre-Dissolution) lessors, Armell Griffith and Robert Baylye.

1543 (26 May/9 July): TNA, E318/12/560, mm. 3, 6 [lease]; C66/729, mm. 3–4 [particulars]

Part of bundle of farm of rents sold to Walter Hendley (attorney general of Augmentations), this part being two tenements in BF with gardens demised to Sir Thomas Wyate, yielding £4 6s 8d. Sale price calculated on 15x basis as £58 10s.

1543 (14 June): TNA, E315/216, f. 27v [lease]; E315/191, f. 66 [particulars for lease]

21-year lease granted to Anne Partyryche, widow, of a messuage and garden in her tenure, in precinct of BF, at £4 rent.

1543 (10 July): TNA, E315/216, f. 52; E326/12376, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 426, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 104

21-year lease (citing pre-Dissolution lease for life of 1536), of messuage and garden and former under library to Mary, widow of Sir William Kyngeston, and her son Henry Jernyngham.

1544 (2 January): TNA, C66/738, m. 37; LR2/108, f. 271

Grant of two messuages and four gardens to Francis Picher. Tenants named, total rental value £4 16s 8d, rent due to crown 9s 8d.

1544 (19 March): TNA, E315/236, ff. 18v–19; E40/15152

Grant to Masea de Millan, widow of Peter of Millan, Greek, of the house with gardens, formerly in tenure of Lord Zouche, now in tenure of Masea, in precinct of BF. 21 years.

1544 (21 April): TNA, E318/15/730, m. 6; E318/15/731, m. 11

Draft grant of bundle of farm of rents to Hugh Losse and Thomas Butcher: these properties were actually leased to the Kingstons. Struck through on manuscript.

1544 (6 May): TNA, E318/11/471, m. 6

Grant to John Gates and Thomas Thorogood of the farm of rent (26s 8d) on a shop next to the north gate of the precinct, in tenure of Edmund Elmusse[?]. Fee £9 6s 11d.

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/757, m. 35

Grant to Nicholas Cracheir, the King's servant (for good service, no sum of money mentioned) of two messuages in BF, one in tenure of Edmund Bekell, other in Cracheir's tenure. Annual rental value 40s.

1544 (5 July): TNA, C66/767, mm. 4–7

Grant in fee to John Gates and Thomas Throgood, for £1263 10s 4d of reversion of Crown leases on various ex-monastic London properties, including five in BF.

1544 (21 August): TNA, C66/748, mm. 18–19

Grant to Robert Harrys for £207 14s 8d of various ex-monastic London properties including a tenement and garden in BF in tenure of Agnes Foxe alias Fowlkes and Henry her son. Grant implies that Fox had held the property from the prior.

1544 (August/23 September): TNA, E318/5/137 [particulars] and C66/745, m. 13 [grant]

Grant of a bundle of mainly London ex-monastic property to Thomas Bocher, including five BF precinct properties worth £9 a year. Sale value not specified. Particulars for two of the properties are also given in TNA, E315/191 (ff 62 and 67).

1544 (7 September): TNA, E315/191, f. 58; C66/749, mm. 22–3 [grant];

E318/11/524 [particulars]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 428, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 106

Grant to Paul Gresham and Francis Boldero. Includes an entrance annexed to 'le gallorye' of Lady Anne Gray, apparently to NE or N of dormitory (and including measurements); 'le comon Jakes Chamber', 'le provincyalles chamber', 'le Scolehouse' on E side of cloister; house at end of the dormitory; a wharf tenement and two other tenements with gardens. Valued at £21 3s rental value, sale price calculated as £174 2s 8d (E323/2b/part 2, f. 24 is corresponding entry in Treasurer's Accounts).

1544 (25 September): TNA, C66/740, m. 13

Grant to Henry Cliderowe and John Doggett (for £343 16d total price) of various ex-monastic, mainly London, properties including a tenement with garden at BF.

Current and previous tenants named. Rent 53s 4d.

1544 (26 September): TNA, C66/762, mm. 38–9

Grant in fee to Thomas Godwynne for several properties in London and the west country for £1122 2s 6d, including 'the Ancres lodgyng' in BF, in tenure of the chancellor of Rochester.

1544 (17 October): TNA, C66/761, mm. 33–4

Grant in fee of various ex-monastic, mainly London, properties to Richard, Roger and Robert Taverner for £980 21s [sic] 6d, including a messuage and tenement in BF (in parish of St Andrew).

1545 (8 February): TNA, C66/765, m. 27

Grant in fee (of £1551 13s 8d paid to Treasurer of Augmentations and £24 paid to Treasurer of the Chamber) to John Pope of large numbers of properties in London and elsewhere (quite a lot of land belonging to London monasteries) including seven ex-BF messuages in the parish of St Andrew (tenants named).

1545 (21 February/23 March): TNA, E318/21/1096, mm. 25–7 [particulars]; C66/747, m. 51 [lease]

Grant of numerous properties including three rents at BF (two built up waterside tenements and a mansion) to Richard and Robert Taverner, total yearly value £4 10s 8d, sold for £31 13s 8d. Tenants named. Note that the sale seems to have been cancelled and subsequently granted to Robert Harrys.

1545 (29 August; subsequent grant dated 23 March 1546): TNA, E318/8/293, m. 3 [particulars]; C66/774, mm. 31–3 [grant]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 429–30, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 13  
Grant and accompanying particulars for grant of a house by the church 'with a certain window called the Closet Window looking into the church there' to Lord Cobham. Includes conduit in the kitchen garden. Rental value of £5 6s 8d; purchase price calculated on formula of nine times rent (£48).

1545 (11 May/5 September): TNA, E318/14/662; SC12/11/18 [particulars]; C66/768, mm. 23–4 [lease]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, p. 427, and *Blackfriars Records*, p. 105

Royal grant to Lady Mary Kyngeston and Henry Jernyngham of the precinct property she already leased. Similiar to the two earlier 21-year leases (TNA, E315/212, ff. 134v–135; E315/216, f. 52), although dormitory and hall on N of cloister are not included in this grant. A few extra topographic details concerning 'under lybrarye'. Sale price calculated on 10x basis at £60; this fee 60 subsequently recorded in Treasurer's accounts for 1544–7 (TNA, E323/3, m. 42v).

1545 (?): TNA, E318/17/842, m. 5

Sale to Philip Parrys of a bundle of farms of rents of various properties including three in BF London. Total rental value of these three tenements is £8, sale value (at 15x rental value less tithes) is £108.

1546 (7 May): TNA, C66/787, m. 16

Grant to Thomas Philippes of the office of clerk of the king's tents and revels, for life, at 8d a day plus 24s a year for livery, and *bonam & conveniendam domum sive mansionem* within precinct of BF.

1546 (22 May/21 September): TNA, C66/788, mm. 41–3 [lease]; E318/11/460, m. 2 [particulars for lease]

Grant and accompanying partciulars for grant of farm of rents (worth 13s 4d annually) to Richard Fulmerston on a messuage within precinct of BF, itself granted earlier that year to Sir Thomas Cheyney.

1548 (18 March; lease dated 4 April): TNA, E310/3/18, no.61 [particulars]; E315/219, ff. 20v–21 [lease]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 431–2, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 6–8

21-year lease (E315) granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden on 4 April 1548 (and accompanying particulars for lease; E310). Very detailed description of houses and yards, with full measurements and abutments. Includes the former 'upper frater', 'Duchie chamber' and a kitchen, yard and buttery.

1548 (12 December): TNA, C66/814, m. 10; printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 433–4, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 103–4

Crown grant to Sir Francis Bryan of several parts of BF including part of chapter house, the prior's lodging, the chapel by the church, a gallery, a house and kitchen, a great dining chamber, two gardens, all by the cloister.

1550 (4 January; subsequent grant dated 12 March): TNA, C66/831, mm. 32–3 [grant]; Loseley copy of particulars printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 435–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 8–12

Grant and accompanying particulars for grant to Sir Thomas Cawarden (previously leased to him). Includes church, churchyard, cloister, chapter house, several rented tenements in precinct as well as most of the materials of the church and main buildings (stone, timber, glass, tiles, iron, lead). Quite a few measurements, particularly of church, cloister and churchyard. Note that the church had already been rebuilt by this date (as a store for the Revels and as a mansion for Cawarden) and it is highly unlikely that he paid much or any of the £879 3s 4d listed in the particulars under church materials (mainly lead). The particulars document presumably dates from about five years earlier.

1570 (26 January): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 114

Copy of letters patent grant of 'concealed lands' to Nicaesius Yetsweirte and Bartholomew Brokesby called 'the Triangle'. Dimensions and abutments.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to Sir Thomas Cawarden's property (later owned by Sir William More)*

The following documents are a sample of the 500 or so Loseley documents relating to Black Friars that survive in the Surrey History Centre and Folger Shakespeare Library collections. The sample documents were selected from the Surrey and Folger catalogues and two printed volumes for their relevance to this study of the topography of Black Friars: the main criterion was thus the occurrence of measurements or topographic description.<sup>1</sup>

1540 (5 July): Loseley MS part printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 107

Mr Parris grants part of his land in BF to Sir Christopher More. More's house situated between way from Ludgate to Thames on E and 'towndyche' on W

1540s: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.383

List of expenses paid, probably by Cawarden, at BF. Includes £64 2s 4d for the 'stuffes' at BF and a payment of 19s to carry the 'greate altar stone' (apparently of BF) to Blachinglye.

c. 1551?: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.399

<sup>1</sup> The two online catalogues are listed in the bibliography; the printed volumes are *Blackfriars Records*; Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*.

List of vacant parcels apparently to be used for new church of St Ann; lots of dimensions but hard to understand what most of them refer to.

1552 (Midsummer): FSL, Loseley MS L.b.185 (parts of this printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 442–3; *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 109–10, 115–16)

Highly detailed survey with extensive measurements of 11 adjacent BF properties, situated between former church and the Fleet, all owned by Sir Thomas Cawarden. Also includes a gallery and bridge over the Fleet.

1553 (16 April): SHC, LM/346/37, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 444–6, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 110–12

Lease by Sir Thomas Cawarden to Nynyan Sawnders of London of part of chancel of former church and part of churchyard. Detailed descriptions and measurements. Interesting (but brief) building specification of the building Sawnders is to be build up against the old belfry.

1554 (25 April): SHC, LM/347/4 (another Loseley copy printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 447–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 15–19)

Sale and part exchange by Sir Thomas Cawarden to Lord Cobham, for £60, of hall at BF and his 'neythere rome' under Cobham's chambers; in return Cobham grants to Cawarden his buildings between the main gate and 'blakfriars steyses', as well as the kitchen yard, coal house and common jakes in the precinct.

1554 (1 May): SHC, LM/347/5, no. 1

70-year lease issued by Cawarden to John Warren, barber-surgeon, and George Warren, goldsmith, of house and two tennis courts in BF. Rent £30.

1554 (21 June): SHC, LM/6729/2/59 (on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database) Sale for £6 13s 4d by Sir Thomas Cawarden to Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Norwich, of plot in BF, which also includes 'les Buttryes'. Measurements and abutments given.

1554 (14 November): SHC, LM/347/10

Draft 80-year lease from Cawarden to Henry Fillia, carpenter, of messuage and great gatehouse of stone, covered with lead, and another tenement. Rent 20 marks. Incidental evidence that Cawarden's mansion was converted from nave of church.

1555 (9 January): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 113–14

Lease from Sir Thomas Cawarden to Henry Fillyan of various BF messuages. Measurements given (although a little confusing as given in separate section).

1555 (14 February): SHC, LM/347/13

Assignment of remaining term of pre-Dissolution lease (to John Growse, bookbinder) to James Godlei, yeoman, of tenement shop and garden.

c. 1555: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.385

Notes on evidence gathered by Thomas Cawarden concerning status of Black Friars: its population (estimated at 600 or 800) and its parochial status. Two of the interviewees are explicitly described as ex-friars and the other four may well be (since document is entitled 'deposysions of the fryers'). The document is undated but it almost certainly dates to 1554–6 when Cawarden must have been planning his response to the three petitions against him.

1555?: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.390, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 449–52, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 2–6

Sir Thomas Cawarden's reply to a petition addressed to Lord Chancellor by inhabitants of former BF precinct. The document is putting Cawarden's case that he should not have to contribute too much towards the new parish church being built as he has spent so much on developing his property, unlike the other freeholders. Contains list of property-holders at this time.

1556 (1 August): SHC, LM/347/25

21-year lease (one of four similar leases at same rent: see /26, /27 and /28) granted by Cawarden to John Syggen, goldsmith, on tenement with shop and garden near bridge over Fleet to Bridewell. Sounds like newly built row of houses.

1557: Loseley MS partly printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 107

Sir Philip Hoby pays 10s quarterly 'for 2 gartheyns next his howse'.

1559 (June): FSL, Loseley MS L.b.416

List of tenants and rents of Cawarden at BF, arranged by street. Gives both quarterly payment and annual rent. A total of 48 separately leased properties, three of which are just gardens. The properties include a carpenter's yard, two 'tenysplayes', the church and 'preests logyng' (apparently vacant), a 'shope at the gate', the former anchoress' house and a stable. Most of the trades of the lessees are specified, ranging from tailors to goldsmiths. Total annual rent is £123 7s.

1559 (20 December): SHC, LM/348/2, no. 2a

Sale for £750, following death of Sir Thomas Cawarden, of all his BF property by his widow Dame Elizabeth and William More (his executors) to three named people. They then sell the property back to Dame Cawarden and More for £760 two days later (LM/348/2 (no.3)). Description and measurements of component parts of estate based on earlier particulars for lease (TNA, E310/3/18, no.61).

1559 (24 December): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 119

Lease in which Richard Frith grants to John Austen his chamber with a chimney under the 'highe gallerye' of William More.

1559: inquisition post mortem printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 115

Inquisition post mortem with description of Lord Cobham's house at BF.

1550s: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 116

List of rents charged by Lord Cobham at BF.

1560 (12 February): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 117–18

Draft indenture, possibly never executed, in which Lady Elizabeth Cawarden grants their mansion to Anthony Brown. Good description of mansion.

1560 (14 February): FSL, Loseley MS L.b.419

Sir William More's notes regarding a legal dispute of c. 1570, citing an earlier building lease of 1560 in which James Carter leased seven old houses (at £9 rent for 30 years) and agreed to demolish them and build seven new houses. In fact Carter only rebuilt from 'from the flowre of the second storrye upwards' and used 'very warpe tymbyr' for that. More is therefore trying to reclaim the lease and the £100 bond.

1560 (10 June): FSL, Loseley MS L.b. 348, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 453–6, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 19–26

William More's lease to Sir Henry Neville of the house called Mr Cheke's Lodging and used by Cawarden for the King's/Queen's Majesty's Revels, together with a

cellar, a great cellar room, Buttery & Pantry, and a void plot. Detailed abutments and dimensions given.

c. 1560: SHC, LM/6729/7/4, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Rental of the estates of William More, valuing BF property at £164 10s annual rent.

1561 (12 February): SHC, LM/348/12, nos 1 and 2  
Draft building agreement between William More and Richard Smythe, woodmonger of London. Moiety of plot of waste ground given to Smythe at peppercorn rent who is to build a timber house or houses, revenues of which to be divided equally between the two parties.

1561 (26 April): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 106  
Lease by William More to Richard Onslow, esquire, and Katharine his wife, of garden plot in BF. With dimensions and abutments.

1561 (1 September): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 120  
Agreement between Earl of Pembroke and William More: More allows Pembroke to convey water through several cisterns to Pembroke's house at Baynard's Castle. In return, Pembroke supplies Sir Henry Neville's house with a pipe of lead and cock of brass.

1562 (6 April): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 119  
Seven-year lease granted to Richard Frith at 20s [by Sir William More?], on 'the vawte or seller lying next the tennis pley'. Other documents cited here suggest that Frith was a school-master who kept a 'dawnsynge Scole'.

1562: Loseley MS part printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 107  
Memorandum stating that 'the Tower' is in tenure of Mr Tanner. Other evidence identifies this as the 'Square Tower' and 'the Church Porch'.

1562?: FSL, Loseley MS L.b. 426(2), printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 457–8, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 105–6  
Sir William More's response to a claim by Mr Kempe concerning the old infirmary building. Has some detailed description of the relationship between old infirmary and parliament chamber: latter is partly over the infirmary, is three times the size of the infirmary and there is no connecting passage.

1564 (7 February): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 120  
Account including charge 'for pulling downe the high gallary'.

1564 (10 December): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 54–5  
Lease of BF tenement by William More to Laurence Bywater. Description of tenement. Rent 40s.

1565 (15 February): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 119–20  
Lease by William More to Henry Knolles of 'ligons lodging'.

1566 (5 August): FSL, Loseley MS L.b. 446, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 459–60, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 14–15  
Copy of entry in Crown book of arrears concerning Lord Cobham's arrears on BF property for year ending 29 Sept 7 Elizabeth [1565]. Brief description of Cobhams property which was, earlier, rented from Crown including two halls, Convent Kitchen, larders, gallery, stairs and void plot.

1566 (24 August): SHC, LM/COR/3/61, printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 124



Letter from William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, to Markes Fynkley, joiner, concerning latter's work on Mr Kemp's house in BF. Detail concerning construction of house with stone pillar.

1567 (18 December): FSL, Loseley MS L.b.434

Detailed inventory of More's house at BF: includes parlour, hall, 'grand chamber', kitchen and larders, 'entrye', 'galyrye chamber', six other chambers, servants' rooms and garrets, a loft and a kitchen yard

1567 (31 December): SHC, LM/348/56

21-year lease from William More to William Dale of BF London, shoemaker or cobbler of 'litle shopp covered with borde' abutting More's brick wall enclosing timber yard, 8s rent.

1560s: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 120

Document relating to lawsuit between More and Jerningham mentions former name of Lygons Lodging, 'Lade pars logyng'.

1560s: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 127

Document recording how Lord Cawarden made a private chapel during the reign of Mary.

1570 (26 January): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 114

Copy of letters patent grant of 'concealed lands' to Nicaesius Yetsweirte and Bartholomew Brokesby called 'the Triangle'. Dimensions and abutments.

1570 (7 May): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 112–13

William More leases to George Haies the former 'Ancres howse'. Detailed abutments (quite hard to follow) and some measurements.

1571 (6 February): Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 461–2, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 27–8

William More's lease to Lord Cobham of 'six upper chambers' and a newly built kitchen, formerly leased to Sir Henry Neville. Dimensions given.

1571: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 106–7

Inquisition post mortem of 1571 concerning property of Richard and Katharine Onslowe. Abutments given.

1572: Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 35–53

Court case between Sir William More and Henry Poole (Sir Thomas Cheyney's heir) concerning disputed title to a house formerly in tenure of Bywater and the former fencing school. Case apparently awarded to More. Some detail concerning these two buildings given in evidence, including deposition by Edward Muschampe, who describes Bywater's house and says that fencing school used to be friars breakfast parlour next to buttery. Deposition by Sir John Portinary who recalls going to supper with Sir Thomas Cawarden and seeing a play in the room now used for a fencing school.

1573 (6 March): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 127

William More leases to Thomas Jones a room with a loft over, 'newly made' (apparently only referring to the loft), situated on the E side of More's garden. And a wood shed or yard. Mentions a 'pillar of stone' next to the same room (a remnant of the church?).

1574 (20 March): SHC, LM/348/93

Lease for life and 21 years by William More to Thomas Winson of Weybridge, yeoman, and Jane his wife of plot of waste ground of former BF church. Described in some detail. Clearly intended for building; includes clause allowing them 'to dig or trench' the land for a cellar. See also grants /101 and /102, also of pieces of former church, granted in February 1576.

1576 (30 April): Loseley letter LM/COR/3/221, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database

Letter from William [Brooke], Lord Cobham, to William More with request for water supply for Cobham's house at BF.

1576 (30 April): SHC, LM/COR/3/642, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Draft reply from William More to William, Lord Cobham, concerning latter's request for water supply at BF. More refuses, and cites other such refusals, stating that 'the maintenance of the conduit .... is a great charge unto me' from which he gets no benefit except when in town.

1576 (20 December): Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 463–6, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 28–35

Sir William More leases 'six upper chambers', two chambers below and the kitchen to Richard Farrant, thus establishing the first Blackfriars playhouse. Detail about water-supply under stairs.

1576: SHC, LM/6729/7/30, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database

Letter from 'your servant' Charles Bradshaw to William More, reporting disappointing quince crop but prospect of better pear crop in garden (apparently at BF). Also reports that Mr Maller is causing problems with his new bowling alleys and pales at BF, the frame of which is liable to block Mr Knollys's house and Bradshaw's chamber.

1581 (16 November): SHC, LM/6729/9/89, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database

Letter from William Brooke, Lord Cobham, to Sir William More concerning former's proposal to build new buildings on land adjacent to More's. Note invitation to view the plans.

1584?: FSL, Loseley MS L.b. 425, printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 467–8

Notes by Sir William More concerning the earlier lease of the playhouse property to Richard Farrant. Contrary to lease, Farrant 'made it a continual house for plays, to the offence of the precinct'.

1585 (20 March): Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 469–70, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 55–60

Sir William More's lease to Rocco Bonetti of a hall at BF. Mentions Bonetti's adjacent fencing school. Dimensions and abutments.

1587 (13 Jan): SHC, LM/COR/3/395, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database

Letter from John Wolley (More's servant) to Sir William More concerning a suit made to the Queen to exempt Blackfriars from jurisdiction of the City.

1587 (2 April): SHC, LM/6729/9/90, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database

Letter from William Brooke, Lord Cobham, to Sir William More concerning former's water supply at his [new?] house at BF which has been cut off.

1590 (18 March): SHC, LM/348/206

- 21-year lease of tenement with two tennis courts, described as stone paved. Slightly different measurements to 1554 document (LM/347/5, no. 1).
- 1590 (14 April): SHC LM/6729/6/59, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Letter from Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon to Sir William More concerning the houses Hunsdon leases from More. Discusses problems with roof leads.
- 1592 (20 September): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 107–8  
Sir William and George More grant lease to Gedion de Lawne of 'the square Tower sometyme called the Churche portche', now a shop.
- 1593 (31 October): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 108  
Sir William and George More sell to Gedion Delawne 'the Square Tower' and other properties. Some abutments and dimensions given.
- 1594 (20 February): SHC, LM/348/236  
18-year lease by More to Robert Dunkyn, cordwainer, of eight newly built shops, by Dunkyn's tenement near highway leading from Carter Lane. Rent 40s.
- 1596 (4 February): Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 471–5, and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 60–9  
Sale of parliament hall property to James Burbage for new Blackfriars playhouse, for £600. Quite a lot of detail.
- 1597 (4 February): SHC, LM/6729/10/97, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Letter from the Privy Council to Sir William More instructing him to attend Council to discuss a petition from inhabitants of BF concerning who had customarily born cost of maintaining church and bridge at BF.
- 1600: Loseley letter LM/6729/6/98, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Letter from Lady Elizabeth Russell to Sir William More concerning proposal by former to add a gallery to the 'old house' she leases at BF from More (which would require new or underpinned foundations).
- 1601 (26 June): Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 70–6  
Deed of sale of former Bonetti fencing school property to Cuthbert and Richard Burbage. Current tenants given.
- 1606 (18 July): SHC, LM/COR/4/20, on 'Exploring Surrey's Past' web database  
Letter from Thomas Egerton Lord Ellesmere, Chancellor, to Sir George More concerning More's interest in the parish church, its possible future parochial status and the appointment of the rector.
- 1609 (19 June): Loseley MS printed in *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, pp. 476–7 and *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 92–102  
Sir William More sells 'greate howse' to four named Londoners for £1300.
- 1610 (30 May): Close Roll printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 76–83  
Deed of feoffment conveying Poole/Cheyney property to Richard and Cuthbert Burbage (see lawsuit of 1572 (Loseley MS 1396, f 99f) for sum of £150
- 1614 (7 July): Close Roll printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 84–8  
Deed of feoffment conveying the tenement formerly occupied by Christopher Fenton to Cuthbert and Richard Burbage for £20.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to other privately owned properties*

1539: BL, Royal MS Appendix 89, ff. 187–8

Inventory of Sir Adrian Fortescue's 'logyng beside the black freers in London'. Describes various rooms: parlour, buttery, hall, kitchen, chamber over the kitchen, street chamber; study chamber, chamber at the stair-head, 'Sir Adrian Foskewes owen chamber', the inner chamber, cellar.

1540 (5 July): Loseley MS part printed in *Blackfriars Records*, p. 107

Mr Parris grants part of his land in BF to Sir Christopher More. More's house situated between way from Ludgate to Thames on E and 'towndyche' on W.

1540: FSL, Loseley MS L.b.359

Rare (unique?) rent receipt signed by the rent collector for the Bishop of Rochester (i.e. for John Hilsey, former prior of BF) from one of Hilsey's tenants (William Stabulles) in post-Dissolution BF. Demonstrates that Hilsey is renting out at least some of the prior's lodging that he was allowed to keep. Was 'William Welhed preste and rent getherer' a former friar?

1544 (2 May): BL, Harley charter 78.G.30

Grant in fee by Walter Hendle to Thomas Colepeper de Cedgebery, Helen his wife (and daughter of Hendle) and Thomas Roberth[sic] of two messuages in BF formerly of Henry Wyatt. No topographic detail.

1546 (4 June): TNA, E40/13106

Assignment of lease for £30 by John Gates and Thomas Thorogood to Sir Philip Hobbye of the messuage with gardens formerly in tenure of Lord Zouche, then in tenure of Massa de Myllan and lately in tenure of Nicholas Andrew.

1548 (23 June): TNA, C66/809, m. 38

Lucy Harper pays £4 6s 8d fine in order to recover two messuages and one garden in BF from Sir Walter Hendley and Margery his wife, and Thomas Culpeper and Ellen his wife.

1551 (12 June): TNA, C66/836, m. 39

Licence for 6s 8d to Richard Tate to grant his messuage and garden within BF to the king's councillor George Lord Cobham.

1552 (18 October): BL, Additional Charter 69209

Sir Anthony Aucher grants to Sir Edward North and Edward Myrsyn all the property in BF formerly owned by Francis Bryan, deceased (see TNA, C66/814 (m 10)). Price not specified.

1580: TNA, SP12/137/74, f. 52, no. 141

State papers recording the claim of the inhabitants of Black and White Friars precincts to their special privileges, most of which are exemptions from City authority (concerning trade, tax and law and order). Second section records royal privileges within the precincts. Then a copy of a petition from named residents of both precincts (note aristocracy, gentry senior government officials...) from which commissioners of the peace are to be appointed. BL, Add MS 40631A, f. 38 is apparently a partial copy.

1602 (11 March) Loseley MS printed in *Blackfriars Records*, pp. 88–91

Lord Cobham's purchase for £50 of the kitchen built by Sir Henry Nevill that he (Cobham) already leased (see Loseley MS of 6 February 1571).

1603 (?): BL, Lansdowne 168, ff. 175–176v

Detailed inventory of goods seized at Lord Cobham's house in BF, 24 rooms. Includes tapestry hangings in great chamber, pair of virginals in withdrawing chamber, 41 pictures, and 13 maps and some armour in gallery.

### **Visual sources: maps, surveys and views**

Wyngaerde's view of c. 1544 (Fig 8)

The drawing (perhaps in stitching together separate viewpoints) has distorted the east–west perspective around Blackfriars: the strip of land between the city wall and the north–south road called Water Lane (towards the left of Fig 8) has disappeared. Recognisable medieval features include the church, the parliament hall, the water gate and a medieval tenement to the south-east of the precinct.

'Copperplate' map-view of 1550s (Fig 13)

The relevant plate of the 'copperplate' map was only rediscovered in the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to Wyngaerde's view, this map-view exaggerates the width of the strip of land between the city wall and Water Lane. Few medieval features are immediately apparent apart from the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century city wall extension around the friary with a polygonal tower in the south-west corner. The south end of the parliament hall building may also be indicated. Several areas of post-Dissolution housing developed by Thomas Cawarden are shown including the eight houses of 1550 or 1551 along the lane leading to the bridge over the Fleet. There is also a timber yard on the waterfront to the south-east of the precinct.

### **Archaeological sites**

AHA87, Apothecaries' Hall, 10 Black Friars Lane and 4 Playhouse Yard

This watching brief in the basement of Apothecaries' Hall revealed few medieval features: a chalk-lined cesspit (presumably adjacent to or within a building) and some external pits in an open area. All the brick features (cellars, cesspits etc) appear to be 17th-century or later. The 18th-century standing building was also surveyed and it incorporated a brick basement dating to the 1670s: there was, however, no evidence of the original early 17th-century Hall, nor of monastic or post-Dissolution buildings. Note that little post-excavation work has been done on this site and the interpretation is therefore subject to revision. Some medieval architectural fragments were found.

APO81, Apothecaries' Hall, 10–20 Black Friars Lane

Four medieval pier foundations and two walls, of which a little survived in elevation, were interpreted by the excavator as the south-west corner of the monastic church. Part of the south wall of the church was seen in elevation but this historic wall was only exposed towards the end of the excavation and there was insufficient time to record it in the detail it warranted. Test pits dug by contractors (on the north side of the pier bases) revealed medieval graves within the south aisle. Further south, a stretch of the east wall of the ?guest hall survived in elevation and was built from ragstone blocks decorated with flint 'galeting'. A few features might be 16th-century: a chalk-lined well clipping the south-west corner of the church and a brick-lined pit in the former south aisle. The guest hall building was extensively refaced or

<sup>2</sup> *Tudor London: A Map and a View*, ed. by A. Saunders and J. Schofield, London Topographical Society, 159 (London: London Topographical Society in association with the Museum of London, 2001).

rebuilt in Reigate stone and brick (with some attempt made to match the earlier galeting), perhaps in the 1550s or alternatively when the Apothecaries purchased it in the 1630s.<sup>3</sup>

APY82, Apothecary Street (gas trench in street)

Small, poorly located observation of ragstone and ?Reigate stone wall running north-south, probably part of a tower or bastion of the 13th-century City wall.

BGO94, 5 Burgon Street

This small watching brief during the conversion and refurbishment of the building in 1998 did not reveal any archaeological remains.

CAE90, 1 Carter Court, 77–79 Carter Lane

A watching brief in 1990 in the basement of the standing building found a surviving fragment of the north wall of the friary church, including part of a north-facing buttress, as well as an internal foundation, perhaps for an arcade pier. Both foundations were of ragstone and mortar. A pre-Great Fire brick-lined cesspit may date to the post-Dissolution period, although it could be 17th-century.

CAT86, 52–54 Carter Lane

Archaeological work in the basement of the building revealed part of a medieval quarry, not tightly dated. A stone-built cellar or undercroft would appear to be Tudor in date: the wall was clearly built below contemporary ground level but there were traces of an internal face. The wall was built from recycled ragstone, Reigate stone and chalk and it included a medieval architectural fragment.

CLU97, British Telecom shaft at junction of Ludgate Broadway, Carter Lane and Blackfriars Lane

A chalk-lined medieval or post-Dissolution well was observed.

CLY89, 76 Carter Lane and 9 Ludgate Broadway

This small evaluation of four testpits produced evidence of the pre-Black Friars City ditch. No further work was undertaken here.

CTE96, 77 Carter Lane, 1 Carter Court

An archaeological watching brief in 1997 (the only archaeological site examined in this thesis on which the author actually worked!) revealed what appeared to be a truncated pier base of the medieval church, together with two church burials. An apparently separate chalk wall foundation was seen on the north side of the pier base. A 16th- or 17th-century brick wall was also found, with the decayed remains of a timber floor on its north side.

FRI88, 10 Friar Street and 69 Carter Lane

Excavation revealed several medieval friary walls, most of which were recorded underneath the 20th-century foundations in a watching brief at the end of the site. Several fragments of the chalk and ragstone foundations of the north-east corner of the conventual church were found, with two emptied brick-lined vaults (were the bodies translated at Dissolution?) and five burials surviving inside the church. Further south, parts of the Prior's lodging (chalk and ragstone foundation), the Provincial's hall (including the Reigate stone wall and a remarkably well-preserved window, now displayed in no. 69 Carter Lane) and the chapter house (with some

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<sup>3</sup> LAARC, site APO81, D. Bluer and P. Allen, 'A watching brief at Apothecaries Hall, 20–26 Blackfriars Lane, EC4' (unpublished report, 1985), pp. 22–8, 38–42, 46.

partly-surviving doors and windows in elevation) were recorded. A large assemblage of medieval architectural fragments was recovered from the site.

GM135, Times office, 160 Queen Victoria Street, Printing House Square

In 1960, during a limited watching brief of the redevelopment of the Times office, two medieval walls and a brick-built wall and well probably dating to the 16th or early 17th century (both of which reused several medieval architectural fragments), were discovered. The three walls can be located approximately but the well cannot. The site was re-investigated in 1998 prior to its redevelopment as Times Square (sitecode QNW98) but the construction of the 1960 Times building had truncated all archaeological remains.

GM164, Times office, 160 Queen Victoria Street

In 1935 Frank Cottrill recorded two walls and an old road or yard surface under the offices of The Times during redevelopment work. Only one of the walls can now be located approximately.

IDY93, St Ann's churchyard, Ireland Yard

The excavation was a watching brief conducted during the refurbishment of the open space of Ireland Yard, which (in the south-east corner) has the only surviving and visible wall of the friary, a short length of roughly-coursed ragstone wall (with the original face on the south and exposed core on the north side). A trench dug in the east of the yard revealed another buried fragment of medieval ragstone wall and the two walls must be, respectively, parts of the south and north walls of the medieval Provincial's Hall (much of the rest of which was recorded in sites PRG407 and FRI88, immediately to the east). A large fragment of *ex situ* stone that is still on display in the yard (along with several post-Dissolution gravestones) was shown to be part of a Tudor window (perhaps part of the post-Dissolution church of St Ann?) and not part of a large gravestone or 'sarcophagus' as had been assumed.<sup>4</sup>

LBY85, 7 Ludgate Broadway

This excavation revealed important evidence of the foundations of the north-west corner of the nave of the priory church. The ragstone and chalk foundations included west- and north-facing buttresses for the corner of the church, as well as what appeared to be a separate buttress foundation just to the north – probably for a reinforcing 'flying' buttress. Several architectural fragments were found including a quatrefoil column base, presumably from the nave. There was also evidence for post-Dissolution conversion work in this part of the church: a cesspit was dug and new wall faces were added to the church foundation, indicating the lowering of the floor level to create a cellar. The new walls used a mixture of recycled monastic stone and bricks. The limited pottery dating evidence may suggest a date in the early 17th rather than the late 16th century.

LGA87, 41–43 Ludgate Hill, 8 Ludgate Broadway

A short stretch of the late 13th- or early 14th-century extension to the City wall (enclosing the new Black Friars priory) was recorded.

LUB98, Ludgate Hill Car Park and Evangelist House (Ludgate Broadway, Blackfriars Lane, Waithman St and Pilgrim Street)

This large-scale excavation in the north of the priory precinct produced somewhat disappointing evidence for the medieval and post-Dissolution periods. No structural evidence was recorded but several cesspits and wells were excavated, as well as

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<sup>4</sup> Personal communication, Mark Samuel.

remains of some large 14th-century quarries dug when the priory and the new City wall were being built. The excavations have been fully published.

**NBS84, 35–38 New Bridge Street**

A substantial north–south stretch of the City wall was recorded on this site. The west facade, facing the river Fleet, generally used well-dressed ashlar blocks of ragstone and the lower face of the wall was battered to protect it against river erosion. The eastern face of the wall was in chalk and ragstone with an offset at 2.6m OD. The precinct ground level had been raised with dumps of earth, apparently as the wall was being built. At the south of the site the wall changed to a SW–NE alignment although this part of the wall had been built or rebuilt in the 16th or early 17th century.

**PAL86, 56–66 Carter Lane, 1–3 Ludgate Square**

This evaluation revealed a standing medieval or Tudor wall on the precinct boundary, subsequently investigated in greater detail in site PIC87. Recent archaeological work on the same site (sitecode LUS97) yielded no archaeological results relevant to this study.

**PIC87, 56–66 Carter Lane, 1–3 Pilgrim Street, 25–33 Ludgate Hill**

Part of the medieval friary cemetery was excavated, with 58 burials exhumed. Most of these had been buried in single graves but there was also a mass burial trench which contained 13 burials. The medieval or Tudor wall first seen on site PAL86 was recorded in greater detail on its southern side: the wall was the precinct wall of the priory but this part seems to have been rebuilt in the 16th century (when a cellared building was constructed on the north-east (extra-precinct) side. On the Black Friars side of the wall, 1.9m survived of irregularly coursed ragstone wall survived in elevation. The use of medieval architectural fragments in this wall, including several fragments of Purbeck column shaft, could point to a post-Dissolution date, although the original precinct wall is presumably medieval. A 16th-century cellar must have been part of a house fronting onto Carter Lane/Shoemaker Row.

**PIL75, 5 Pilgrim Street**

A north–south aligned robbed medieval wall was recorded in an underpinning pit in 1990.

**PRG301, Queen Victoria Street by former Times office**

A ‘piece of medieval walling and the fragment of a buttress’ was described in 1871, surviving in elevation on the north side of Queen Victoria Street by the Times office. The short description allows the approximate location of the wall.

**PRG308, sewer in Huish’s Court**

When a sewer trench was being dug in Huish’s Court in 1843 three medieval walls and a chalk-lined drain were found under the road: quite precise measurements and sketches enable them to be located with some confidence. They may relate to the priory frater.

**PRG403, Playhouse Yard and Ireland Yard**

Three substantial north–south walls were discovered at the west end of Playhouse Yard close to Apothecaries Hall in 1843. They cannot now be located with confidence. The same observer also recorded fragments of columns and coffin or grave slabs, presumably from the priory church. Recorded under the same sitecode, a separate discovery of walls was made at that time during the digging of a sewer in Ireland Yard.



PRG404, The Times (former office and printing works), Printing House Square  
In 1849 a short length of the 'pre-Blackfriars' Roman and medieval city wall was discovered under the offices of The Times. A passage and medieval window cut into the partly-demolished wall must relate to the priory. In addition, outside the printing works, 'several melting pots and pieces of glass, mostly in a half-manufactured state' were discovered, perhaps relating to the 16th-century glass-house. Neither discovery can now be located.

PRG405, The Times (former office and printing works), Printing House Square  
In 1855 an east-facing buttress and a doorway in a north–south aligned wall were recorded. The remains cannot now be located with confidence but the buttress was probably part of the priory frater, with a door on its south side. The buttress was 4' 5" by 2' 6½".

PRG406, The Times (former office and printing works), Printing House Square  
The external elevation of what appears to be the wall of a chapel was recorded in 1872, showing four bays divided by responds. This must be evidence of a chapel near the inner cloister of the friary.

PRG407, 7 Ireland Yard

During building works in 1900 part of the vaulting and north wall of what was probably the provincial prior's house was discovered. The remains of five bays and two aisles were recorded, including the late 13th-century Purbeck marble columns with their decorated capitals. Arches from what may have been the infirmary cloister were also noted beneath Ireland Yard. The only detailed site drawing (combining a plan, elevation and architectural details) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Department of Prints Drawings and Paintings, D.1291–1907). The drawings were later published (at a very reduced scale) by Clapham.<sup>5</sup> One column and capital is displayed in the church of the new Dominican priory, St Dominic's, in Haverstock Hill, London.

PRG408, Apothecaries' Hall

During building work on the north side of Apothecaries' Hall in c. 1911 and 1915 part of the south-west corner of the priory church and a separate building to the south-west (whose wall survived in elevation and which included a window) were discovered. The original record is in the NMR archive, later annotated with another wall observed in Apothecaries' Hall in 1928.<sup>6</sup> The Company has photographs of this latter observation in a 1920s photographic album.

PRG409, sewer in Fleur-de-Lis Court, Carter Lane

In 1922 part of the wall of the church was discovered during the digging of a sewer.

PRG410, 73–74 Carter Lane and Friar Street

Part of the south wall of the choir of the priory church and some *ex situ* architectural fragments (including a clustered four-shaft column, a capital and a window fragment) were discovered in 1925.<sup>7</sup> Some architectural fragments may have been given to Apothecaries' Hall, with another group going to Selsdon Park in Croydon. The subsequent digging of a sewer in Friar Street in 1925 revealed a large wall (five feet thick or greater) which must have been the east wall of the priory church. This

<sup>5</sup> Clapham, 'Dominican Priory', p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> English Heritage, RCHME investigators' field notes for London, Apothecaries' Hall.

<sup>7</sup> Martin and Toy, 'The Black Friars in London'.

discovery seems to have been made too late to have been included in the *TLAMAS* publication and it renders the published reconstructed plan (figure 8) incorrect at the east end of the church.

PRG411, The Times (former office and printing works), Printing House Square  
Two walls were discovered in 1928: they were built from faced chalk blocks with recycled medieval stone and defined a brick-paved passage aligned east–west. Part of what may be the north wall of a chapel was also discovered.<sup>8</sup>

PRG428, Pilgrim Street

A 50-foot length of the late 13th- or early 14th-century city wall extension was recorded in 1882. It was 8' 3" (2.2m) wide and survived up to 16' (4.9m) high. The location of the wall is not absolutely certain but the recorded full width of the wall can be combined with the more secure observation of the north face of the wall recorded here at site LGA87.

PRG431, Pilgrim Street (Blue Last public house)

A grave and part of a wall arcade was recorded in 1882 by the Victorian archaeologist Henry Hodge, whose watercolour recording survives as LMA, COLLAGE 1985. The grave is within the known area of the priory cemetery and the wall arcade may suggest a cemetery chapel.

QNW98, Times Square (former Times offices, Queen Victoria Street)

This large scale redevelopment of the former Times newspaper buildings in the late 1990s produced very disappointing archaeological results: all significant archaeological remains had apparently been destroyed by the 1960s redevelopment of the site (see site GM135).

QVS85, 167–179 Queen Victoria Street

A short stretch of the east–west aligned City river wall was recorded. Dating evidence points to a construction date in the early 14th century. Part of a timber baseplate for an access stair was recorded on the wall's northern (landward) side. The wall also allowed reclamation of a strip at least five metres wide (and probably more) of former foreshore.

VAL88, Fleet Valley project (former Blackfriars to Holborn railway viaduct)

This large-scale archaeological excavation recovered a large quantity of archaeological evidence scattered along the eastern side of the Fleet valley (Zones A and B of the site are the relevant areas for this study). Bill McCann's 'interim report' on the site provides a useful summary and interpretation of the mass of data. A long stretch of the late 13th- or early 14th-century City wall extension was archaeologically recorded and a useful documentary study of this medieval construction project was carried out by Colin Taylor.<sup>9</sup> The new City wall apparently stopped further north than had been anticipated: the archaeologists concluded that a large 12th-century mill pond (probably owned by the Templars) was abandoned at the time of the construction of the new City wall, thus creating a wider confluence of the Fleet and the Thames (and thereby flooding some of the land that had been reclaimed in the 12th century). This interpretation is, however, problematic in the

<sup>8</sup> Martin, 'Blackfriars and The Times', 205–7; *The Site of the Office of The Times*, pp. 49, 65, plan on p. 67; Apothecaries' Company, 1920s photograph album. Fig 12 shows the relevant walls in an attempt to reconcile the slightly confusing information from these various sources.

<sup>9</sup> LAARC, site VAL88, W. McCann 'Fleet Valley project, interim report' (unpublished report, 1993); documentary chapter by C. Taylor, 'The building of the City wall at the Friars Preachers', pp. 87–92.

light of Colin Taylor's research. Evidence for two or three medieval buildings in the precinct was recovered, including a smithy close to the confluence of the two rivers. Buildings on a slightly different alignment, perhaps fronting onto the lane later known as Black Friars Lane, are dated to the 16th century, possibly shortly before the Dissolution (a tree-ring date of 1515 or shortly afterwards was obtained from one of the buildings). A 16th-century (presumably post-Dissolution) well contained several fragments from a 14th-century window (glass as well as stone). It should be noted that there are anomalies between the survey grid used on site and that used in post-excavation: several of the features described above have proved hard to locate with absolute confidence.

#### WAY83, 10–13 Ludgate Broadway and 7–9 Pilgrim Street

A medieval boundary ditch was discovered on this site: the small quantity of pottery in its backfill was dated to the 12th century suggesting that it could predate the Black Friars precinct. However, a single medieval burial (with no dating evidence but almost certainly from the priory cemetery) appeared to 'respect' the alignment of the ditch, raising the possibility that the ditch was an early boundary of the cemetery.

## *Grey Friars sources*

### **Documentary sources**

#### *Pre-Dissolution leases and other documents*

1275: Hundred Roll, printed in *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i, 404, 429

Hundred Roll entries record the obstruction by GF of 'Stukandelane' and the city wall between Newgate and St Nicholas Lane.

1299 x 1301: TNA, E101/507/5, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 202–3; BL, Additional MS 7966A, f. 40v, printed in Johnstone, 'Chapel of St. Louis'

Accounts for construction of chapel of St Louis: total cost £36 18s 7d. The details of expenditure suggest that the project was the internal conversion of an existing (aisle?) space, with the main costs being fitting new windows to slightly enlarged (existing) openings, timber screens, and the carving and painting of a statue (and, perhaps, another painted image of the saint).

1306 (21 October): LMA, CLA 024/01/01/008 (Mayor's Court roll H, m. 8v); calendared in *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, i, 251

Record of industrial dispute in which a London mason threatened the King's masons and carpenters working on the 'queen's work' at Grey Friars, if they accepted less than the going London rate. Lead mason was master Walter de Herford (a veteran of royal projects such as Caernarvon castle and Vale Royal abbey).

1310: TNA, E13/34, m. 1

Plea roll of exchequer of pleas: case involving masons working on St Paul's. Mentions ten masons ('cementarii') working at GF London.

1321: TNA, JUST 1/547A

London eyre of 1321 includes two cases relating to GF. 30 years previously (*c.* 1291) the friary had encroached on Pentecostlane but the warden subsequently obtained royal licence. Fifteen years previously (*c.* 1306) the friary had done the same with 'senc̄t Nicholaslane'.

1350 (1 June): TNA, C66/230, m. 4

Royal protection for GF London and their servants, whom they are sending 'with ships, boats, and carriages to diverse parts of the realm to buy stone, timber and other things required for the fabric of their church and the repair and improvement of their houses'.

1351 (5 October): TNA, C66/235, m. 4

Licence for the alienation in mortmain of grant by Queen Isabelle to GF London of two separate properties, one 'within the gate of Newgate' and the other in the parish of St Nicholas. Also includes grant of a lane there to the friars, 80' L by 15' B (this is not in calendar and has therefore previously been missed).

1368 (1 March) and 1398 (1 March): BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 327–9v [Grey Friars Register, grants of land to south of church to City], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 171–7<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There are several surviving versions of these deeds, for example (in French): TNA, E211/503 and E329/428.

Copies of three documents relating to the lease of a strip of land along S side of church to the City (for Bridge House estates) to build shops and tenements. Two principal leases (1368 and 1398), with a small strip added in 1528. Detailed measurements for parcel, and specification for new houses (to avoid them overlooking church).

1421 (25 December): LMA, CLA/024/01/02/51 (Plea and Memoranda Roll A 50), m. 6

Indictment concerning 'all the sheds in front of the bake-house' of GF London, a great nuisance to all the people dwelling there and passing.

1422 (4 August): LMA, CLA/024/01/02/51 (Plea and Memoranda Roll A 50), m. 10v

Warden of GF complains to mayor and aldermen about the waste products from the shambles held outside their gate in Stinking Lane. GF, the rector of St Nicholas and the lane-dwellers therefore paid to raise the pavement at the S end of the lane (to channel away filth) and the rector of St Nicholas paid to erect a gate across the lane. Dimensions and location described.

1432 x 1437: Chancery case printed in Kingsford, 'Additional Material', pp. 143–4. Chancery case concerning the death and disputed inheritance of a London grey friar, John Olyver. Mentions in passing that 'oure houses were occupied with the Quene', perhaps Joan of Navarre, consort of Henry IV, who occupied Earl of Northumberland's inn to NE of GF.

1436 (24 June): TNA, C66/439, m. 15

Grant of 4 messuages outside precinct of GF: grant is not to or from friary but the abutments help define SW corner of friary at this time. Mentions stone wall of friars' garden and the lane from the shambles to their garden.

1440 (30 November): TNA, C146/1479, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 207–8

Conventual lease: John Kyrie, warden of GF, leases to William \_\_\_ and Elizabeth his wife, the 'house above the gate', for life. No rent specified, but Elizabeth 'to wash the hangings of the friars' altars'.

1458 (26 March) and 1460 (27 March): TNA, E40/11314; C270/32/20, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 208–11, and Kingsford, 'Additional Material', pp. 145–7

Detailed requiem mass agreement between John Kyrie, warden of GF, and William Cantelowe, mercer and alderman. Latter grants £200 for repair of church; GF in return to perform masses for Cantelowe and various relatives. The reissued copy of 1460 includes a list of all 34 friars living in the London house at that time.

1475 (15 February): TNA, E163/8/36

Proceedings of the prince's council held at GF London: evidence for occasional use of this location for royal council meetings. No further indication of where in friary it was held. (Note ambiguity of dating by unqualified regnal year: it could be 14 Edward IV or 14 Henry VII, i.e. 1499.)

1475 x 1480: TNA, C1/66/397, printed in Kingsford, 'Additional Material', pp. 147–9

Chancery case (concerning apparently false accusation of trespass by lay person against friar): names Eryk de Vedica as the obediencer and physician of GF, and has

him tending to a lay person, Alice wife of William Stede. Treatment lasted over five weeks and cost 20s. Did she live in precinct?

1480 (24 February): GL, MS 21736

Admission of Thomas Laurens and Joan his wife as lay brother and sister of GF, by friar William.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 317–22  
[Grey Friars Register, summary of early deeds], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 146–57

A calendar of the friary's property deeds that lists 34 grants or purchases between 1225 and 1354. The early properties were all granted to or bought by the City on the friary's behalf; the City is less frequently mentioned in the 14th-century grants. The majority of the lands are in the parish of St Nicholas and nearly all seem to be for the enlargement of the friary precinct, although some may just be adjacent properties to bring in rental income. Note the involvement of Queen Margaret in the early 14th century and Queen Isabella in the mid-14th century.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322  
[Grey Friars Register, descriptive list of donors of early buildings], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 157–8

List of donors and contributors who paid for parts of the friary in the 13th and early 14th centuries, including the church, the porch, the chapter house, kitchen, infirmary, dormitory, refectory, chapel, school and a laver.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322v  
[Grey Friars Register, the history of the water supply], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 158–9

Account of the dates and benefactors of the construction of the water supply, with description of its course. The initial construction took place in the 1240s and/or 1250s, with a new conduit head constructed and repairs carried out in the first and/or second decades of the 14th century. Subsequently the supply was extended to the church porch, with further repairs to the lavers taking place in 1422.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 323  
[Grey Friars Register, list of donations towards infirmary and school], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 161–2

List of donors towards the new hospicium opposite the infirmary and the school, both in early 14th century.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 324  
[Grey Friars Register, list of founders of new church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 163–5

List of donors towards rebuilding of church in early 14th century: total of recorded donations is £2647. The reconstruction began in 1306 and apparently finished in 1337.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 325–6  
[Grey Friars Register, list of sponsors of windows of new church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 165–9

The list goes through the new windows identifying the sponsors window by window (without giving costs or bequests), beginning with the three windows at the E end of new choir, paid for respectively by Queen Isabella (NE of high altar), Drapers Company (main E window) and John Lord Cobham. Both the nave and the choir

have seven bays, with a fifteenth bay being the walking space between the nave and choir and under the bell-tower. Although dates are not indicated, the majority of the works presumably took place in the late 1320s and '30s, with some additional works later in the century (for example after storm damage in 1363). Costs given for additional carving and painting works in choir in early 15th century.

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 326v  
[Grey Friars Register, dimensions of church], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 169–70

Dimensions of church given as L 300', B 89', H 64' (latter from floor to roof).

Sixteenth century [copy of earlier document?]: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 326v–7  
[Grey Friars Register, foundation of library], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 170–1

Account of the construction of the library in 1411–15, sponsored by Richard Whittington and friar Thomas Wynchelsey, at a cost of £456 16s 8d. Some additional notes on later expenditure.

c. 1530: BL, Harley 6033, ff. 34–6

List of burials in church of GF, presumably compiled before Dissolution. Does not apparently add any further information to the much more detailed 'Register' (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii). This MS is a late sixteenth-century copy of a manuscript now in the College of Arms (MS CGY 647.)

1526 (18 November): TNA, SP1/55, f. 76, no. 63

Receipt from Thomas Cudner, warden of GF London, acknowledging receipt of 10s from Oliver Yerlond, for a trental for the soul of Sir Thomas Luce. Interesting and rare example of this type of friary record (preserved in State Papers with other accounts relating to Lucy's funeral).

1531 (12 August): TNA, E315/214, ff. 111–12, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 212

Post-Dissolution Crown lease (of 1542) citing earlier conventual lease to Nicholas Pynchyn. Rent 6s 8d plus extra 4d for right to use door in friary's brick wall. Abutments given.

1531 (30 August): TNA, SP1/67, ff. 8–12, nos 9–12

Star Chamber case relating to a riotous gathering of eighteen priests at church of GF London.

1534 (25 October): TNA, SP1/86, f. 91; no. 91

Letter from imprisoned friar Francis Lybert, asking for some of his most important possessions to be sent (to GF Stamford where he was held) including his pen, inkhorn, knife, fire-box and a book (handbook of Epictetus, a Stoic). Letter names brother Feeld as the infirmarer, and also mentions the almoner. Mention of swearing presumably relates to the Supremacy, which Lybert may not yet have signed.

1538 (2 April): TNA, E36/120, f. 42

Examination of friar Geoffrey Turner, described as butler of GF London, who is alleged to have slandered the king. Mentions three other friars and three laymen eating and drinking in the monastic buttery. One of the laymen, William Pykering, is described as the friary's brewer.

Sixteenth century: BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, ff. 274–316 [Grey Friars Register, list of monuments], printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 70–133

List of burials and monuments at GF London. In addition to recording the names of 791 people buried here (in 680 tombs in the church, cloister and chapter house), the list is a topographic ‘guided tour’ of the church, describing the various chapels and aisles, and naming several altars and other church features such as a painted image of Mary and a lectern. Allowing for those who requested burial here in their will, but for whom a monument was not seen by the author of this list in the 1530s, well over 1000 people must have been buried here. The majority of the people are lay people, including Queen Margaret (consort of Edward I), Queen Isabella, consort of Edward II, and the heart of Eleanor of Provence (consort of Henry III). The friars were mostly buried in the cloister.

1537: LMA, CLA/007/FN/02/006 (Bridgemasters' account and rental, 1525–41) Bridgemaster's accounts show payments to GF (and, after Dissolution, to Crown) of quitrent on a property ‘late taken oute of the farmary garden’.

1570 or 1572 (14 August): Register of Christ Church, Newgate, printed in *The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate, 1538 to 1754*, ed. W. A. Littledale, Harleian Society, 21 (London: Harleian Society, 1895), p. 270

John Baker, an 'old preest who died in St Bartholomews' was buried at Christ Church. Kingsford demonstrates that this was the ex-friar John Baker who had signed the deed of surrender in 1538. He appears to be the latest surviving London grey friar, appropriately buried within his old friary grounds.

*Post-Dissolution accounts, valors and other Court of Augmentations documents*

1538 (November): TNA, E36/143, p. 111

One of Cromwell's list of 'remembrances', this one (recopied in another hand) noting several 'to dos' concerning London religious houses including St Thomas of Acre, Charterhouse and three London friaries (BF, AF and GF). The latter entry concerns the 'plate and jewelles' of the three friaries. Evidence of the type of requests going out to and the documents received from the commissioners for the friaries?

1539: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2427

Receiver's accounts for Thomas Spilman, London receiver, for exchequer year ending September 1539 (i.e. first after Dissolution). Notes rents collected: £15 5s 4d (most of document is payment of pensions to ex-religious).

c. 1539: TNA, SC11/436, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 225

Valuation of two anniversaries at GF London: of Stephen Jenyns (by Merchant Taylors' Company), £4, and of Hugh Acton (by Drapers' Company), 70s.

c. 1539: TNA, E314/54 (unnumbered piece in 'London and Middlesex' bundle)

List of quit-rents due to GF (and several other London monastic houses but no other friaries), probably compiled soon after Dissolution. The names of those owing quit-rents are not those of any tenants within the precinct and this would therefore appear to be a distinct category of income, from quit-rents only. Total due to GF: £3 14s 2d.

c. 1539: TNA, E314/54 (unnumbered piece in 'London and Middlesex' bundle)

List of anniversaries current at time of Dissolution. Two for GF: for Stephen Jenyns by Taylors (£4) and for Hugh Acton by Drapers (70s), total £7 10s.

1540 (17 March): TNA, E315/22, ff. 91v–92

Grant of 21-year lease to John Wyseman of three tenements and a mill-house (then unoccupied, perhaps no longer working?) in GF precinct. Names of current tenants given and individual rental values.



1540: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 62

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1540 (the first surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received, fees paid, and outstanding rents. Relatively few rented tenements and not very much topographic detail.

c. 1540: TNA, SC11/985, m. 9

Draft summary rent calculations for several London ex-monastic houses (perhaps compiled by Hugh Losse, the collector of rents?). Total GF rents £17 16s 0d.

1541: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2397, mm. 65v–66v

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1541 (the second surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received, fees paid, and outstanding rents. This year has been looked at for GF (but not for the other London friaries) because there was so little topographic detail in the first set of rent collector's accounts.

1542 (28 March and 3 April): Privy Council minutes printed in *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by H. Nicolas, 7 vols (London: Commissioners of the Public Records, 1834–7), vii, 331, 333–4

Privy Council case involving Jheronimo, a stranger dwelling in GF. Council noted that City officers should not search properties within the precinct.

1544 (8 September): TNA, E315/253, f. 68

Christopher Draye paid 40s by warrant from chancellor of Augmentations for surveying lead at St Alban's and at GF London.

Early 1540s: TNA, SC12/11/17, f. 3, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 228–9. Rental listing lessees and rents in GF precinct; total value at this point, £26 10s 8d. Note that Kingsford mis-read (or mis-printed) some of the values and his total is incorrect.

c. 1546: TNA, LR2/262, f. 10v

List of rents and anniversaries still current in c. 1546: total (after deduction of fees) is £5 14s 8d. The active rent only consists of a single tithe payment, with two apparently active anniversary payments.

1550: TNA, E321/46/51

Case heard in judicial sitting of the Court of Augmentations concerning a garden between the friary and Northumberland place. Witnesses include John Payr, a former friar, who recalled that the friary held the garden from the mayor and City, and that a friar called Walter Roben was 'keper' of the garden. The former earl of Northumberland leased the garden for 30 years at a rent of 10s and a barrel of salt. After the death of the earl, his son refused to pay the rent and there was therefore a legal dispute involving the friary, the city and the earl.

1552: TNA, SC6/EdwVI/297, m. 15

Last surviving detailed rent collector's accounts. Crown now only receiving 7s 4d rent on the central core of the inner precinct (granted to Edward North).

#### *Post-Dissolution property grants by the Crown*

1539 (14 March and 30 June): TNA, E315/233, ff. 338v–9)

Crown lease for life of infirmary and garden to William Bolton, 'king's servant', and his wife Joan. Also mentions the water supply belonging to that tenement.

- 1539 (16 July): Nomura, framed parchment indenture [original lease]; TNA, E315/211, f. 72; SC6/HenVIII/2397, f. 66 [later citations of lease]  
Indenture between King and Thomas Soulement, gentleman, granting lease of land in former precinct of GF. Detailed description of extent of land, with abutments.
- 1540 (1 September): TNA, E315/191, f. 61 [particulars]; E315/22, f. 201 [lease]  
Grant of 21-year leases to Anne Lythego, widow, and Thomas Ayer, ironmonger, both of London. Two tenements at the gate of GF. Particulars have details of a third property, in tenure of John Wyseman
- 1541 (22 June): TNA, E315/235, f. 69  
Life grant to Richard Tredery of three tenements in GF London. Tenants and overall rental value (£7) specified. Mentions orchards, although may be generic description.
- 1541 (8 December): TNA, E315/235, f. 56  
Life grant to Jerome and Francis Benall of tenement and garden at W end of church. Abutments and former tenant (William Vaughan) stated.
- 1542 (10 June): TNA, E315/214, ff. 111–12, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, p. 212  
Post-Dissolution 21-year Crown lease, citing earlier conventual lease to Nicholas Pynchyn. Rent remains at 6s 8d plus extra 4d for right to use door in friary's brick wall. Abutments given.
- 1543 (18 January): TNA, E315/191, f. 60 [particulars]; E315/236, f. 7 [lease]  
Particulars for lease and life grant to Hugh Wylloughby, king's servant, of the tenement next to 'Doctor Vaughans lodginge', in former tenure of Lady Rose Walloppe. Detailed description of the rooms. The particulars have crossed-out clause granting access to church: might this mean that it was copying a pre-Dissolution lease? Includes 'a hall called the playsterers hall'. Document states (although crossed out) that tenement 'late occupied by the printers', perhaps an error for Plaisterers?
- 1543 (24 February): TNA, C66/720, mm. 29–30, part printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 224–5  
Grant to Sir John Williams and Sir Edward North, Treasurer of Augmentations, of several properties mostly in London and East Anglia, including a large garden on N side of the choir of GF. Note that there are some errors of cardinal points in the description of the property, which is more accurately given in the earlier 21-year lease (E315/211, f. 72). Value £3 13s 4d, rent payable to Crown 7s 4d.
- 1544 (14 April): TNA, E315/216, f. 60  
21-year Crown lease to John Duffeld of two pieces of land to S of church of GF. Measurements and some abutments given.
- 1544 (21 April and 1 July): TNA, E318/15/730, mm. 5, 7 [particulars for grant]; C66/757, m. 6 [grant]  
Grant in fee to Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier of several London ex-monastic properties including three tenements in precinct of GF London (tenants named; mentions adjacent brew-house). Individual rents stated. Fee simple price calculated as twelve times rental value.
- 1544 (7 May and 5 July): TNA, E318/11/471, mm. 6–7, 11 [particulars for grant]; C66/767, mm. 6–7 [grant]

Grant in fee to John Gates and Thomas Throgood of bundle of various ex-monastic mainly London properties including reversion of three Crown leases and three fee simple properties in GF London. Some topographic detail.

1544 (26 August and 23 September): TNA, E318/5/137, mm. 11, 13 [particulars for grant]; C66/745, mm. 12–13 [grant]

Grant of bundle of ex-monastic property, mainly in London, to Thomas Bochier, including two messuages, three gardens and a 'backside' in GF London. Tenants and rents stated. Fee simple price calculated as nine times rental value.

1544 (11 September): TNA, C66/757, m. 21

Grant in fee to Thomas Persse of various ex-monastic life grants including one of tenement at W end of GF church (granted in 1541 to Jerome and Francis Benall). Former tenant noted. Good description of internal paths in precinct.

1546 (20 May) and 1547 (13 January): SBH, HC 3, m 4; HC 19, ff 4v–5v [particulars for grant, damaged original and later copy]; TNA, C66/790, mm. 53, 56; printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 229–31 [grant]

Grant to the mayor and citizens of the church of GF London, St Bartholomew's hospital and Bethlehem hospital. The unpublished particulars for grant have much more topographic detail than the grant itself. The GF part includes the buildings surrounding the principal cloister, and the choir of the church, now to be called 'the church of Christ within Newgate'.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to privately owned properties*

Early 1540s: TNA, C1/961/3

Chancery case concerning a messuage in GF bought by John Lympanye from Edward North and trespassed upon by Thomas Hasyllwood. No topographic detail.

1545 (23 December); SBH, HC 1/3895

Sale of GF property by Hugh Losse and Thomas Bochier to John Norrys.

c. 1545 and 1547 x 1553: TNA, E321/12/35; E321/37/18 (part printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, pp. 226–8); STAC 3/4/49

Case in judicial sitting of Court of Augmentations, followed up in Star Chamber, concerning 'Doctur Vaughans Lodgyng' in GF. John van der Noott sues Hugh Wylloughbye concerning disputed access through and division of the building once occupied by doctor Vaughan (apparently the former guardian's lodging). Includes a lot of structural details concerning the building and its spatial relationship to the second cloister. Note that it includes a kitchen (or bake-house?) with millstones and other items. Also mentions the adjacent 'playsterers hall'.

1544 x 1547: TNA, C1/1165/34–36

Case in Chancery brought by John Vandernoot against tenants William Haselwood and Thomas Ayer. Vandernoot recounts the complex property history of the three tenements in the few years since the Dissolution; Vandernoot acquired fee simple and reversion of properties (at end of leases) from original grantee. He alleges that the two tenants (of the three properties) are letting roof(s) go to ruin and thus damaging the property. Note that the three messuages are collectively described as 'houses stables milhouses woddeyardes gardeynes voyd percells of ground'. (TNA, C1/1185/47 is reprised version of same case.)

1546 to 1548, SBH, HA 1/1, ff. 96–9

Churchwardens' accounts for Christ Church for 1546–48. Details of income from rents (£39 18s 0d a year, including £12 2s 0d from rents in the former friary precinct), some information on expenditure (over £5 a year on the church) and a list of priests (six at any one time). Includes over £16 'reteyned of their predecessors', which would suggest that the former friary choir had been functioning as a parish church for some time before 1546.

1547 to 1549: TNA, C1/1244/50, C1/1275/26–29, C1/1275/30–32

Complex Chancery case in which John Vandernoot attempts to secure rights to the brew-house and two other tenements, all now (apparently) occupied by Thomas Ayer's wife Joan and her new husband John Hill. Quite a lot of description of the property. In turn, Hugh Losse claims fee simple of the former GF brew-house in dispute with Vandernoot. Response by John and Joan Hill helps to locate tenements in relation to the gate and Anne Lythego's tenement. Vandernoot then wins order to force repairs in the tenement in which Hugh Losse has an interest, but Losse alleges that Vandernoot wrongly occupied the 'woodhouse' of William Haselwood. City Viewers' certificates of 25 February 1547 and 27 May 1549 relate to the same case: the first concerns Vandernoot's unfulfilled obligation to repair the tenements whereas the second records that he had by then repaired 'the principalls' (i.e. the main timbers) of John Hilton's house but that Hugh Losse is due 'to quarter and daubbe it with all other reparacions thereto belonging and yt is yet undone'.<sup>2</sup>

1552 and 1553: TNA, STAC 3/1/83

Star Chamber case (of 1553) in which John Vandernoot alleges an assault on his wife, as well as forced entry and damage to his house in GF, including breaking down a gate and wall, and changing a lock (by men acting on behalf of the City, incident took place in 1552). The City men's response suggests that it all began over the removal of a sign belonging to Vandernoot so that they could whitewash the walls of a passage (a common right of way) leading into GF. Quite a lot of topographic detail about the house and its location, as well as concerning the alleged assault. Vandernoot seems to be rather litigious!

1555 (28 April): SBH, HC 1/3896

Lease from St Bartholomew's Hospital to John Hill, ironmonger, of former GF brew-house. 91 years at 33s 4d rent. Abutments given but no further topographic detail.

1556 (24 April and 20 May): GL, MS 12949

Gift of Sir Martin Bowes, alderman, to the City and governors of the hospitals of Christ's Hospital, Bridewell and St Thomas. Several plots of land in Bishopsgate and elsewhere in city including one in the precinct of GF.

1570 (12 June): SBH, HC 1/3897, 3898 and 3899

Sale of former GF property by John Norrys to Edward Waterson. Price £110. No further topographic detail.

1571 (4 July): SBH, HC 1/3900, /3901 and /3902

Sale by Edward Waterson to governors of St Bartholomew's Hospital of former Norrys/Losse property in GF precinct, described as 'the gatehouse... in Newgate markt'. Price £110. Waterson then leases it back from St Bartholomew's.

1584 (12 June): SBH, HC 1/3903

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<sup>2</sup> *London Viewers and their Certificates*, nos 206, 244, pp. 85–6, 98.

Lease of two second-floor chambers of gatehouse on Newgate Market, with some internal description and measurements.

1608 (1 August): SBH, HC 1/3905

Lease of the Newgate Market gatehouse with good internal description of rooms.

1608 (28 August): GL, MS 39254

Lease of messuage with garden at W end of Christ Church from Christ's Hospital, some description.

1609 (27 July): SBH, HC 1/3907 and 3909

Sale of former brew-house and other buildings by Corporation of London to Nowell Sotherton (for £100), who sells them to St Bartholomew's Hospital (unspecified amount). Abutments given but no further description.

1609 (16 November): SBH, HC 1/3910

Court of Chancery case between governors of St Bartholomew's Hospital against several people concerning gatehouse and brew-house of GF.

1639 (16 November): GL, MS 39246

Lease of tenement near W end of Christ's Hospital, no description or measurements.

1650 (19 June): GL, MS 39192

Sale of garden, timber yard and messuages within former GF precinct. Includes measurements and some abutments.

1658 (14 January): GL, MS 39229

Lease of property in Butcher Hall Lane near E end of Christ Church, from Christ's Hospital; description and measurements.

1661 (13 December): Nomura, unnumbered loose document

Thomas Stewkeley sells land to two named people. Includes Northumberland House and gardens, various messuages in parish of St Martin-le-Grand, and a 'garden plott' of the former GF, 174½' L and 59½' B, and the messuages and tenements built on this garden plot.

1668 and 1669, SBH, HC 4/63

Receipt signed by Peter Mills to acknowledge that St Bartholomew's Hospital has 'taken in' parts of the former Newgate Market: two strips respectively 18' and 19' wide. Since the shambles market was not re-opened after the Great Fire, the width of Newgate Street could be reduced.

c. 1668: Nomura, framed indenture and plan

Plan showing plot of land with 'the Hospitall ground' to W, city wall to N, St Martin's to E, Blackboy Alley and Angell Alley to S. With scale of feet. Probably a rebuilding lease and plan of 1668 (text is impossible to read since covered by plan).

1669 (April and November), Mills' and Oliver's post-Great Fire survey books, printed in Mills and Oliver, iii, 113, 156v

Two useful entries by Peter Mills, noting the thickness of the walls of Christ Church (3½ feet) and the name of the 'lower church of Christs Church', perhaps indicating the former nave.

c. 1708, SBH, HC 27/4

Extracts of minutes (for the years 1552 to 1708) of the Board of Governors of St Bartholomew's Hospital that concern relations between St Bartholomew's and Christ Church (St Bartholomew's held the advowson of Christ Church). Records Easter

offerings paid by Christ Church to the hospital, as well as requests to the hospital for financial assistance for repairs to the church.

**Visual sources: maps, surveys and views**

Wyngaerde's view of c. 1544, printed in *Panorama of London*, pp. 7–8, drawing V (Fig 27)

Grey Friars church is shown in some detail; the view is discussed in Chapter 3: Grey Friars, 'The church'.

'Copperplate' map-view of the 1550s, printed in *Tudor London: a map and a view* (Fig 23)

The church, great cloister and eastern gardens are clearly identifiable in this view.

Early seventeenth century: BL, Egerton 3310 A

Seventeenth-century (pre-Great Fire) partial illustration of the tomb of Sir John Philpot, a former mayor, who died in 1384 and was buried in GF (in the Apostles' chapel on the south side of the choir).

'The Plat of the Graye Friars', early 17th century, SBH, HC 19, f. 59 (Fig 21)

Plan by Martin Llewellyn, steward of St Bartholomew's Hospital. Two plans in this plan-book are dated 1617, but Llewellyn served as steward from 1599 to 1634. It is not entirely clear why St Bartholomew's Hospital (or its steward) took such an interest in the adjacent Christ's Hospital, although the two institutions were both administered by the City and therefore had some governors in common. The surveyor Ralph Treswell may have played a role: he had worked for St Bartholomew's in the late 1580s and subsequently for Christ's Hospital in the following two decades. The fact that the survey is entitled a plan of *Grey Friars*, rather than Christ's Hospital, implies that it is to some extent a reconstruction of the pre-Dissolution friary buildings, not an 'objective' property survey of Christ's Hospital. Furthermore, some elements of the plan are clearly very out of date and based on earlier written or drawn information: the plan gives the name of a mid-sixteenth century tenant ('Agnes Legoe'; in 'Brewehouse Courte' on Fig 21). It is, however, clearly based on the then extant Christ's Hospital buildings and Llewellyn (or Treswell) was obviously in a better position to attempt this reconstruction than us in the early twenty-first century.

Plans of St Bartholomew's Hospital, early 17th century, SBH, HC 19, ff. 55, 57

Two of Martin Llewellyn's detailed plans of St Bartholomew's Hospital contain useful details of its neighbour Christ's Hospital. Folios 55 and 57 include north-facing elevations of the City wall, including the Christ's Hospital postern gate and the upper storeys of the cloister buildings to the rear (visible over the City wall).

Plan of house by City wall, early 17th century, Nomura (unnumbered loose plan) (Fig 32)

Detailed plan of the former infirmary building, by then a private house and garden leased out by Christ's Hospital. This was presumably once attached to a lease, quite possibly GL, MS 39254 (dated 1608) or MS 39246 (dated 1639), both of which were donated to the Guildhall Library by Nomura.

Survey of the eastern part of the Christ's Hospital precinct, 1656, LMA, COLLAGE 21718 (Fig 22)

This detailed plan shows much of the Hospital precinct before the Great Fire, including its rented tenements to the east of the school cloister (it is therefore a useful complement to 'The Plat of the Graye Friars' plan). Details include doors and stairs.

Plan showing a proposed new road (Bull and Mouth Street), 1668, Nomura (framed plan)

Survey (with measurements) of 1668 prior to the development of Bull and Mouth Street, showing earlier garden boundaries including the former friary garden along the city wall.<sup>3</sup>

### Archaeological evidence

CCN80, Christ Church, Newgate Street

Although no *in situ* medieval deposits were found, several medieval architectural fragments were recovered.

CGX08, Christ Church, Newgate Street

This ‘building archaeology’ project recorded the elevation of the north wall of the church during a restoration campaign. No *in situ* medieval stonework was seen but Wren’s builders had reused large amounts of medieval ragstone and Reigate stone, including some window mouldings and door jambs.

CHR76, Christ Church, Newgate Street

A small trench within the south side of the garden ‘shell’ of Wren’s Christ Church was excavated as part of enabling works for St Paul’s Underground station.

Fragmentary evidence suggests that three timber buildings were built in turn in the thirteenth (and early fourteenth?) century; the land may not then have formed part of the medieval precinct. A largely robbed N–S wall and a small *in situ* fragment of chalk foundation may be associated with a thirteenth-century predecessor to the conventual church. The arched foundation and an aisle pier foundation of the fourteenth-century church were also recorded. Five medieval graves were excavated, although the excavator noted that they did not correspond to Shepherd’s reconstruction based on the sixteenth-century ‘Register’.<sup>4</sup>

CIS 89, CCG98 and GCC98, Christ Church, Newgate Street

These three excavations and surveys within the garden shell of the church produced no *in situ* medieval evidence.

GF73, Christ Church, Newgate Street

The east end of the garden ‘shell’ of Wren’s Christ Church was excavated prior to its partial demolition (to allow the widening of St Martin-le-Grand). The medieval foundation of part of the E wall of the church, as well as the foundations of two medieval piers, were recorded. There were also two fragments of earlier (i.e. pre-1300?) walls, although only one of these can now be located. No medieval burials were observed.

KEB92 and KEW98, Merrill Lynch financial centre, Newgate Street

This very large archaeological excavation accompanied the demolition of the western buildings of the General Post Office and the construction of the Merrill Lynch financial centre. Unfortunately, the double basement of the former General Post Office building had destroyed most archaeological remains in that part of the medieval friary precinct. Part of the foundation of the west end of the church nave

<sup>3</sup> The redevelopment is discussed, with an illustration of the plan, in V. Harding, *Nomura House, no. 1 St Martin’s-Le-Grand* (privately printed for Nomura PLC, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> LAARC, CHR76, ‘Archaeological investigations at Christ Church, Newgate Street in 1976’, P. Herbert (unpublished report, 1979, revised 1990). The excavations were later published by Herbert: ‘Excavations at Christchurch Greyfriars’, *London Archaeologist* 3 (1979), 327–32.

and several other fragments of medieval wall foundations were recorded in small trenches outside the double basement area.<sup>5</sup>

POM79, General Post Office site, Newgate Street

This large and complex archaeological site accompanied the redevelopment of the eastern building of the General Post Office site and was first excavated in 1975 (under the GPO75 site-code) but the relevant areas of excavation (and subsequent post-excavation) were carried out in 1979 under the POM79 site-code. Various incomplete archive reports were prepared in the 1980s, but a much more useful report for the medieval period was written by Gary Brown in 1991.<sup>6</sup> A pair of timber-framed buildings, of thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date, was replaced by another pair of similar buildings, in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. The two were separated by an alley. The better preserved fifteenth-century building ('building 9') had two rooms and was about 8m by 8.5m. A much more substantial masonry building ('building 11') replaced the timber houses; the dating evidence suggests that this happened in the sixteenth century and Brown argues that the building is post-Dissolution. There is little evidence for its internal arrangements or function. There is, however, some evidence that the west wall of the new building re-used an existing late medieval wall, conceivably the eastern precinct wall. The two archaeological trenches to the north (excavated under the GPO75 site-code) revealed an open area with twelfth- and thirteenth-century pitting (although this area seems not to have been well excavated and was largely ignored in the post-excavation analysis).

PRG413, Christ Church yard

A stretch of medieval foundation (with two arches and three deeper foundation piers) was discovered in 1855. The location and orientation is not clear but the wall is likely to be part of the foundation for the west wall of the nave of Grey Friars.

PRG414, Demolition of Christ's Hospital and construction of General Post Office

In 1905 Philip Norman and Francis Reader carried out what would now be termed a 'watching brief', recording whatever they could during the demolition of Christ's Hospital and the construction of the new General Post Office. In spite of their best efforts, the rapid nature of the demolition and construction project did not allow them to record very much at all.

PRG704, King Edward Street, near Christ Church

In 1843, during the digging of a sewer in King Edward Street, a three-foot thick wall was discovered "near the north-east corner of Christ's Church"; there is no accurate description of its location or orientation although it may have been perpendicular to the sewer, therefore on an east-west orientation.

PRG721, 20 King Edward Street

In 1874 the remains of three external, south-facing buttresses of the south wall of the choir of GF were recorded while demolishing a house to the south of Christ Church. Part of the elevation of all three buttresses survived, revealing a stepped profile with two chamfered mouldings. The buttresses were three feet (0.9m) thick at the base, reducing to two feet (0.6m) thick higher up.

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<sup>5</sup> J. Lyon, *Within these Walls: Roman and Medieval Defences North of Newgate at the Merrill Lynch Financial Centre, City of London*, MoLAS Monograph, 33 (Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> LAARC, POM79, 'Excavations at Post Office Middle site', G. Brown (unpublished report, 1991).



***White Friars sources*****Documentary sources***Pre-Dissolution leases and other documents*

1321: TNA, JUST 1/547A, m. 9v

London eyre of 1321 records a robbery and murder that took place in the church in late 1304 or 1305.

1385 (26 October): TNA, C66/320, m. 22

Matilda de Well granted licence to crenellate her house in precinct of WF.

1411 (3 March): TNA, C66/384, m. 23

John Cokayn, William Pykard, William Symmys and John Clerk (latter three are grocers) grant messuage with shops and solars on Fleet Street (to north of cemetery and Earl of Devon's house) to WF on death of current tenant, John Ulsthorpe and Alice his wife.

1442 (20 November): TNA, C66/456, m. 24

John, bishop of Bath and Wells, grants to WF 'le Boreshede' on Fleet St, between the tenement of the prior of Royston on E, 'le Boltenton' on W, Fleet St on N, the stone house of WF on S, yielding annual rent of £4 17s 4d.

1490s: TNA, C1/211/63

Legal dispute involving the executors of the lessor of the Bolt and Tun inn on Fleet Street (William Colken, draper) and the sublessor (John Knapp). No topographic detail.

1507 (20 January): TNA, E328/274

Indenture of agreement between William Bachelor, prior of WF, John, abbot of St Mary Graces, and Robert Rede, knight. Rede grants 120 marks for the restoration of the library, bell tower and great west window of the church, in return for a detailed list of services including masses and anniversaries for Rede, his wife and parents.

1522 (18 March): TNA, E315/191, no. 63 [second item]

Particulars for grant of 1541 (accompanying grant C66/708, m. 35), cite the pre-Dissolution lease of 1522 of 'le Brewhowsse' with garden, and the house above the mill leading to the brewhouse, to Hilary Warner for 93[sic] years.

1527 (4 November): BL, Harley charters 79.F.32

Records a loan of £60 by Margaret, Countess of Kent, to prior and convent of WF to enable prior to complete an unfinished building and stables. Margaret to have 30-year lease on the building (once completed) at £4 annual rent, reduced to £2 as long as the £60 loan remains unpaid. Good topographic detail including the friars' pleasure house by the Thames, its relation to the prior's garden and a path, and the location of a new river stair to be built. Interesting clauses allowing Countess access to water supply and to divine service.

c. 1531: TNA, C1/611, no.31

Suit to Chancery by William Breme prior of WF concerning a lay tenant John Lucas and his wife Kateryn. Breme alleges that Lucas has not paid his annual rent of 26s 8d

for the last two years and that he keeps 'vycious and abhomynable levyng wyth reporte of lewde and suspecte persons as well of men as women'.

1533 (26 June): TNA, E315/235, f. 22v

Pre-Dissolution grant (cited in 1540 document) to William Vascomb of three houses near the church of WF, with a garden at the south (of the precinct, or the church?), at rent of £3 6s 8d.

1536 (24 May): TNA, E315/94, ff. 220–221

Lease ('enrolled' in 1540 Augmentations book) of two tenements in WF with a garden and houses to Andrew Barnard, for a term of 40 years and a rent of £4. The lease includes a 'building clause' whereby AB has to build a new house in the void ground of the tenement; the rent for the whole tenement, including the new house, will remain at £4.

1536 (15 October): CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 51–4

Copy of original lease between prior, Countess of Kent and Clothworkers granting the newly built almshouses. Good topographic detail, including reference to site of almshouses on former 'skollers gardeyne'/'cokkes gardeyne' and to the infirmary to north. Note also references to the new conduit there.

1537 (14 July): CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 59–69

Agreement between Margaret Countess of Kent and Clothworkers concerning the almshouses and the prayers, masses, diriges, etc, to be said for her. Countess grants £350 and will receive £15 life pension from Company in return. Note interesting 'in the event of dissolution' clause.

1538 (20 June): TNA, E303/9, no.175

Lease granted by Prior John Gybbes to Thomas West, Baron de la Warr, and his wife Elizabeth, granting them several properties in the precinct of WF, formerly occupied (respectively) by John Nevell, Thomas Enard, Wylliam Meryng (with two gardens) and the chapel of St Nicholas. Leased for life (plus 30 years after death of the first of them) at an annual rent of £6 13s 4d.

*Post-Dissolution accounts, valors and other Court of Augmentations documents*

1539: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2427, m. 2

Receiver's accounts of Thomas Spilman (London receiver of Court of Augmentations), for year ending September 1539: £70 15s 8d received for WF rents (most of document concerns payments of pensions to ex-religious).

1539 [?]: TNA, SC11/985, m. 9

Probably the rent collector's accounts summary for the year ending September 1539, by Hugh Losse. Little detail.

1539 [?]: TNA, E314/54 ('London and Middlesex: Carmelite priory, valor')

Valor of White Friars dating from soon after Dissolution. Annual income is £85 5s, of which £81 11s 8d is rents and balance is payments for two anniversaries. The annual expenditure is £3 3s 8d (rents and/or quitrents), giving a net income of £82 1s 4d.

1539 [?]: TNA, SC11/436

Valor of anniversary payments with one entry for White Friars giving details of an anniversary of Ricardus Rorkeley, former magister of the Savoy, worth 6s 8d per annum. (TNA, E314/54 appears to be a draft or copied version.)

1540 (6 February): TNA, SP1/157, f. 174

Internal Augmentations letter from Richard Rich requesting details of rented WF houses on Fleet Street. Includes list of current tenants.

1540: TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, ff. 57–59

Minister's (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for year ending September 1540 (the first surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received, anniversaries, fees paid, repairs carried out, exonerations of rent, empty tenements and outstanding rents. Note the division of the rents into the parish/Fleet Street rents (yielding £29 10s) and the precinct rents (£50 20s). Note several house names and topographic details, including the Bolt and Tun, The Boar's Head, The Black Swan, Sergeants' Inn gate, a beer house, two convent gardens, the lane on the west of the site, the prior's lodging, a wood yard.

1541: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2385, ff. 13–14

Minister's (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for year ending September 1541, listing arrears of rents, fees, repairs carried out, exonerations of rent, payments and outstanding rents. Total arrears are £91 16s 2d. Total fees are 35s 4d. The repairs amount to £10 13s 4d, on six named properties. The rent exonerations are on properties granted by letters patent to various named individuals. Note repairs carried out on the pavement, presumably of Fleet Street.

1544 (8 July): TNA, E314/69, no. 29

Valuation by Augmentations of the church and churchyard of WF before their sale to John Hales (particulars for grant), including the timberwork (£40 17s 7d), the masonry (£29 6s 8d), the ironwork (108s) and the lead (54 fothers 13 loads[?] 12lbs). The ground, once 'defaced', was estimated to be worth 20s a year. The sale price was therefore calculated as £95 12s 3d (the timber, stone and iron values, combined with 20 years of rental income); the lead was presumably retained by the Crown. A note at the bottom (not very legible) records a separate (earlier?) transaction of £30 involving William Butte.

1544 [?]: TNA, E314/54 ('London and Middlesex: Whitefriars, lead at')

Detailed estimate of the lead on the church and library roofs, and from water pipes, at White Friars. The total weight estimated is nearly 48 tons. The document has useful measurements (in yards) of the nave and aisles, and of the library. The entry for the steeple does not have any measurements. The description also mentions a porch, a 'lytle tower' and a 'chapel called my Lorde Nouwithe [Norwich?] chapel'.

1545 (12 February): TNA, E117/13/96

Internal Augmentations document acknowledging receipt of four fothers of lead at the Tower of London from WF. The sense of the document is not quite clear but Sir Thomas Pope seems to have received £16 in some sort of 'bonus payment' and a further £8 12s 2d was paid (not necessarily for White Friars lead).

1546 (10 December): TNA, E318/19/968, m. 24

Valuation of the church and churchyard of WF after demolition at 20s per annum rental value. The text implies that this is a future estimate, i.e. the building had not yet been demolished.

1550 (25 Feb): TNA, E315/105, f. 120

Partial repayment of £30 of £125 12s 4d previously paid by John Hales (on 23 January 1546) to Augmentations for church, chancel (including timber and stone) and churchyard of White Friars.

c. 1550: TNA, SC12/11/17

List of rents of the former WF during the reign of Edward VI, giving names of tenants of 39 properties (37 according to the ff. 7–8 list) and the annual rents. The document is repeated in two very similar versions: that on folios 7–8 may be slightly earlier than that on folios 3–4 (ff 7/8 gives ‘Danby magistro’ whereas ff 3/4 reads ‘Danby vidua’). The total rental value is, in both cases, £79 11s 8d.

*Post-Dissolution property grants by the Crown*

1540 (16 April): TNA, E315/212, ff. 160v–1v

1540 'repeat' lease, leasing Thomas West (Lord de la Warr's) houses in WF precinct (granted by prior in 1537) at same rent of £6 13s 4d, although with reduced term (21 years as opposed to life). Note that West has built new houses here. The text implies that the former Ennard/Meryng tenements are in the same building on different floors.

1540 (14 May): TNA, E315/235, f. 28v

Grant to John Gylmyn and his wife, for life, of farm of rents on four tenements in Fleet Street in tenure of William James, William Rygeley, John Wyssenden and widow Flaxton, rent £10 10s.

1540 (10 June): TNA, E315/235, f. 22v

Farm of rents of three houses near church (value £3 6s 8d) granted to Cornelius Symondson for life.

1540 (15 July): TNA, E315/235, f. 37v

Grant to Richard Page, knight, and Elizabeth his consort, the mansion with garden and orchard called the ‘provyncyalles lodging’, for life, without any rents.

1540 (24 July): TNA, C66/700, m. 34

Grant in fee to William Butts, esquire, of several houses and propeties in WF precinct, including the Chapter House, the Prior's Lodging, the Sextry, the east part of the Dormitory, the Old Quere and the cloister garth. Note the physical separation of the church and the Old Quere. Rent of 2s.

1541 (15 March): TNA, C66/700, m. 11

Grant in fee of several properties in WF to Richard Morisine, gentleman, including Frater, Library, most of the Dorter and its latrine, the kitchen and several gardens. Good topographic detail. For annual rent of 15s 6d.

1541 (3 May): TNA, C66/708, m. 35

Grant in fee to Erasmus Crykener and Agnes his wife for £50 and an annual rent of 12s of several properties in WF, including a brewhouse and new buildings, three gardens, the stable north of ‘le Estgate’ and the house above the mill leading to the brewhouse. The accompanying ‘particulars for grant’ document (TNA, E315/191 (no.63, second item)) and the Treasurer's accounts receipt (TNA, E323/2b/part 1 (m 25<sup>v</sup>)) both describe one of the gardens as ‘le cookes gardine’/‘cookes garden’.

1543 (16 April): TNA, E315/216, f. 9

Grant to James Merkeadye, joiner, of two tenements (Robert Clare) and a house (John Whiskerd) in precinct of WF for 21 years; probably a grant of farm of rents (50s). The accompanying ‘particulars for grant’ is TNA, E315/191 (no.63, first item).

1544 (19 January): TNA, C66/731, m. 16

Grant in fee to Thomas Broke of various ex-monastic London properties, including three ex-WF properties in the parish of St Dunstan Fleet Street. Some topographic and rent details.

1544 (21 April): TNA, E318/15/730, mm. 4–5

Grant in fee of various properties, mainly in London, to Hugh Losse and Thomas Butcher, including ten tenements formerly of WF (includes both properties within and without precinct). Note the two 'flats' or apartments, and the two named properties (Bedehowsse and Collehowsse).

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/757, m. 35; LR15/146

Grant in fee to Nicholas Cracheir of four properties in former WF. No topographic or price information, other than the annual rental value of £6.

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/757, m. 5–9

Grant combines two grants in fee (former runs into latter without usual separation and heading), one to Hugh Losse of London and Thomas Bocher, other to Losse and William Buttes. First grant is of one WF property on Fleet Street; latter is of nine tenements in precinct.

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/767, mm. 21–22

Grant in fee for £152 to Alexander Hudson of three ex-WF properties on Fleet Street (and one other in 'Popyngay Alie' according to Treasurer's accounts: TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 12v).

1544 (23 July): TNA, C66/740, mm. 29–30

Grant in fee for £78 to Thomas West, lord de la Warr, of the properties he leases in WF: two separate houses (one of which is probably quite large, with at least two storeys formerly in separate tenancy), two gardens and two stables. TNA, E318/22/1184 is the accompanying particulars for grant, with the valuation based on a formula of, unusually, 13 x annual rent. Note that the relevant Treasurer's account entry specifies, in addition, an orchard: TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 16.

1544 (23 September): TNA, C66/745, mm. 11–14; E318/5/137, m. 11

Grant in fee of many properties to Thomas Bocher, mainly in London, including one tenement in WF precinct in tenure of John Drayne; 4-year lease, 26s 8d rent.

1544: TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 18v

Note in Treasurer's accounts (year ending September 1544) recording receipt of £1122 15s 6d from John Broxholme for grant in fee of various properties, in London and elsewhere, including unspecified property in precinct of WF.

1545 (3 October): TNA, C66/770, m. 35

Grant in fee (of £1393 8s 10d) of numerous properties (mainly in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire) to John Pope, including two messuages in WF, formerly granted for life to Richard Page and Elizabeth (at rent of 53s 4d). Mentions a stable (but may be formulaic). TNA, E318/18/876, m. 4 is particulars for grant; TNA, E323/3, 50v–51 is entry in Treasurer's accounts.

1545 (14 February): TNA, E318/6/215

Particulars for grant in fee of a bundle of properties to Sir William Butts in 1545. This membrane lists three tenements in precinct of WF (those earlier granted to Cornelius Symondson for life).

1547 (4 March): TNA, E305/15/F39

Exchange between the king and Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester (previously agreed but not sealed during reign of Henry VIII). Heath sells several properties in Gloucestershire to king; in return king grants several properties in Worcestershire, Surrey and London to Heath, including Sir William Butt's and Nicholas Bacon's former properties in White Friars.

1547 (10 June): TNA, E305/13/F29

Indenture confirming exchange (previously agreed under Henry VIII) of several properties in Gloucestershire, Essex, Coventry, London and elsewhere between king and Sir Ralph Sadler. Sadler pays 500 marks (in addition to the properties he grants). Includes a grant to Sadler of the 'bodie of the churche & churchyarde of the late white friers in fletestrete in the cite of london'.

1549 (4 June): TNA, E305/19/G11

Grant from Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester, to the king of various properties in Sussex and Gloucestershire and part of WF called 'the west dortoure [an error for east dorter?] and the north dortoure' and a piece of waste ground in the middle of the former cloister.

1550 (22 and 27 December): TNA, E318/25, no. 1425

List of properties granted to Sir George Blage knight and Richard Goodrick, most of which are in Dartford, Kent. The two relevant properties are the farm of rent on a brewery and well called the 'Bolte & Tonne in fletestrete', yielding £4 pa and the farm of rent on two tenements in the precinct of WF, yielding 4s 4d pa.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to privately owned properties*

1540 (2 December): CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 69

Summary of 1540 will of Countess of Kent. She grants all her London properties to Company, together with her own house, in recompense for the £50 she still owes the Company

1541 (10 October): BL, Additional MS 40631A, ff. 28–30

99-year lease on several properties in WF granted by Richard Morysyn to Lucy Harper. Good detail on several of the properties, including former monastic dorter, frater and convent garden. Note also an early version of a 'building lease' clause.

1542 (20 May): CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 249–51

Lease of garden by Clothworkers' Company to John Wyskerd for 20 years at 13s 4d. Garden lies to N of almshouses.

1540s: CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), p. 33

Account of fees of Countess of Kent's obit at St Dunstan's: annual cost £3 1s 8d, including priest's fees and attendance of mayor and civic officials.

1551 (20 June): CC, MS CL/A/4/4 (Book of Deeds and Wills), pp. 253–5

Lease of garden by Clothworkers' Company to James Marcabe for 20 years at 13s 4d. Garden seems to lie to NW of almshouses. Note building clause at end.

c. 1558: TNA, C1/1426, no.64

Suit in Chancery by John Eyland, cutler, against Francis Bacon, gentleman, concerning the earlier sale of a messuage and garden in WF for £48 (by Eyland to Bacon, on 24 June 1558, in fee simple). Bacon had subsequently taken action on the bond to warrant the disputed title. No further topographic details concerning the property. Mentions previous owners.

1565 (9 January): LMA, COL/CA/01/01/17 (Repertory 15), f. 407b

City Aldermen responding to a complaint from the wardmote of Farringdon Without concerning the 'evyll rule and mysordre' of the inhabitants of the former precinct of WF. Cites comparable case of the liberty of St Martin's. Does not specify what action was taken.

1570 (2 May): BL, Additional charter 65740

Part of the papers of the Morrison and Capell families of Essex and Hertfordshire. Slightly complex document: in addition to a grant for life of various properties in Hertfordshire and elsewhere to Briget, Countess of Bedford, the document allows the 'recovery' of a capital messuage and other tenements in precinct of WF by Thomas Hussey, Robert Creswell and Robert Farmere. No topographic detail.

1574: CC, MS CL4/G/7/3 (Rental: Bequests and Leases 1574), ff. 13–14

Records details of 1538 and 1546 leases of almshouses to Company by Countess of Kent. Also records later exchange (probably mid-1570s) between Company and James Marcabe, joiner: Marcabe grants fee simple of Almshouse to Company in return for the Company's interest in adjacent plot leased by Marcabe. Notes rents/charges received and due, including the payments to the seven almswomen and the porter.

1580 (April): TNA SP12/137/74

State papers recording the claim of the inhabitants of Black and White Friars precincts to their special privileges, most of which are exemptions from City authority (concerning trade, tax and law and order). Second section records royal privileges within the precincts (still, apparently, referring to both White and Black Friars). Then a copy of a petition from named residents of both precincts (note aristocracy, gentry senior government officials...) from which commissioners of the peace are to be appointed. Then the appointed five commissioners issue ordinances concerning extra-parochial status of Whitefriars, and law and order.

1590 (21 August): LMA, COL/CCS/CO/14/005 (Misc Deeds, piece C929/2/D1)

Lease of parcel of land and 'woodwharffs' immediately east of White Friars Dock. The measurement of the west side of parcel (260') must be the distance from the waterfront to the road later called Salisbury Alley and thus defines the length of the dock on the east side.

1596 (11 November): GL, MS 7439

Richard Hille grants to Robert Sprignell, gentleman, two groups of tenements, one (five tenements) abutting south onto Bishop of Lincoln's mansion, the other (six tenements) abutting east onto Water Lane. Tenants named, but no measurements given, nor the sum of money. The property (both groups?) was that granted for life to Richard Page and then in fee to Thomas Pope.

1607: Burial register for St Dunstan in the West, printed in Wickham, *English Professional Theatre*, p. 550

Burial register for St Dunstan in the West: first mention of a playhouse in WF.

1608 (10 January): GL, MS 19529

Lease of two tenements in the precinct of WF by Barnard Whitstons. There is no description of where they are but Whitstons is probably to be identified with Barnaby Whetstone who held the former infirmary block to N of Clothworkers' almshouses (according to Treswell's survey of almshouses).

1609 (10 March): Chancery case printed in Wickham, *English Professional Theatre*, pp. 553–7

Chancery suit by George Androwes against Martin Slatyar (or Slatier) concerning a one sixth share in Whitefriars theatre. Useful description of the thirteen rooms of the theatre: 'three belowe and tenne above, that is to saie, the greate hall, the kitchin by the yard, and a celler, with all the roomes from the east end of the howse to the Master of the revells office, as the same are now severed and devided'.

c. 1610: CC, MS CL4/G/7/4 (Rental: Bequests and Leases c. 1605–1612), f. 1  
This document (mostly a copied version of the 1574 rental) expands the section dealing with the exchange between the Company and Marcabye, specifying that Company had granted Marcabye his 20 year lease of 1551, and that subsequent exchange between them took place in 1577.

1613–14: LMA, CLA/008/EM/02/01/001 (City Lands grant book 1), ff. 125v, 128v, 129v, 130v

Entries in City Lands grant book concerning White Friars dock, called 'the dock at waterlane' or the 'dock at the watergate neare fleetstreet'. Lease was to be granted to John Goodyer then to Sarah Draper, eventually granted to Mr Allison and other residents of St Brides. Rent of £4 (but third entry apparently reads £40).

1617 (18 & 20 March): BL, Egerton 2623, no. 16, ff. 26–8) [microfilm M982/13]  
Detailed survey of a large three-storey house called White Friars House, with 48 numbered rooms, a stable, a coach house and various sheds. The only possible ownership attribution is a reference to an unnamed bishop (probably William Chaderton, bishop of Lincoln; see Chapter 4: White Friars, footnote 122).

1640s: BL, Additional MS 40630, ff. 165–71

Various documents bound into a large book of the Morrison/ Capell archive, mostly relating to the sequestration of the estates in the 1640s. Includes rents on the WF property in the 1640s.

1653 (23 February): TNA, E317/Middx/15

Parliamentary survey of confiscated lands, this one formerly belonging to John Egerton, first or second earl of Bridgewater (unclear how it was confiscated: perhaps from second earl after death of first earl?). It is almost certainly the former infirmary building, by 1653 a large house with two storeys with garrets above and cellar below, yards and a water pump.

1658 (21 September): GL, MS 20548

Matthew Hunter grants 10-year lease to William Altrupp of house on west side of the gates leading into the brewhouse yard, at £15 rent. Note surviving schedule of lease, detailing kitchen and buttery on ground floor, two chambers on first floor and another two above that. Includes details such as wainscotting and painted cloth hangings.

18th century: BL, Additional MS 40627, f. 165

18th-century estate book of the Earl of Essex which records family ownership of various properties including the Morrison tenement in WF; gives occupation and ownership from 1542 to 1653.

1841: CC, CL4/A/4/9, pp. 18–20

MS register of the Company's trusts and charities, including a summary of the history and status of the former almshouse property in Whitefriars. The account is



based on several 16th- and 17th-century documents. Note measurements for (ex-infirmary) property to N of almshouses.

### Visual sources: maps, surveys and views

‘Copperplate’ map-view of 1550s, printed in *Tudor London: A Map and a View* (Fig 44)

The significant buildings on the map (those that seem to be more than just nominal north–south aligned gabled houses) are the north-eastern gatehouse on Fleet Street, the surviving portion of the main church (identifiable by its massive buttresses) and the mill or brewery buildings in the south-east of the precinct. The churchyard survives as an open space to the south of the Fleet Street frontage.

Hogenberg’s map of 1572, printed in *Collection of Early Maps of London*  
Its relative lack of detail renders it less useful than the ‘copperplate’ map (from which it is derived) but it does appear to show the inlet in the south-east corner of the precinct (water seems to be lapping up Water Lane) and the higher perspective means that the former churchyard can be more clearly seen as an open space near Fleet Street.

Ralph Treswell’s survey of the Countess of Kent’s almshouses, 1612 (Fig 50),  
printed in Schofield, *Ralph Treswell*, figure 48

The detailed plan is reproduced here (Fig 50) and is redrawn at a scale of 1:250 (Fig 88).

Early 17th-century survey of White Friars

In the 19th century the map collector Frederick Crace traced a large, early 17th-century survey of Whitefriars in the British Museum; his copy is now BL, Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no.104. The original can now be traced neither in the British Library (Departments of Maps and Manuscripts) nor the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings).<sup>1</sup>

Leeke’s map of the Fire-damaged City, 1666).

BL, Add MS 5415.art.56: ‘An exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes and Churches, comprehended within the ruines of the City of London’. Scale c. 1:1800. Note that the manuscript version of the map is more useful than the printed version because it records the exact width, in feet, of the pre-Fire roads.

### Archaeological evidence

BOU88, 6–8 Bouverie Street

Little archaeological evidence was observed during limited excavations of trial pits.

BOV95, 10 Bouverie Street

This major excavation recovered evidence of the White Friars church, in particular for the location of four truncated foundations interpreted as pier bases for the south nave arcade of the church and reinterpreted here as foundations of the south wall of the south aisle.<sup>2</sup> There were also five adult burials, perhaps evidence of a pre 14th-century cemetery north of the original church (as opposed to 14th- to 16th-century intra-mural burials: one burial is cut by a pier foundation). Most of the post-medieval

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 4: White Friars, footnote 102.

<sup>2</sup> LAARC, site BOV95, ‘10 Bouverie Street, London EC4, an archaeological excavation and watching brief’, B. Barber (unpublished report, 1997).

features and layers relate to post-Dissolution robbing. None of the post-medieval walls are dated (since the ceramic building material was never studied); note that one wall contained recycled medieval stone.

**BVS97, 4 Bouverie Street**

The site, principally a series of test pits, is evidence for an open area used for gravel extraction in the 13th century, perhaps around the time of the initial foundation of the friary. No evidence for the medieval cemetery was observed in the test pits.

**NOW87, 1–19 Whitefriars Street, 23–24 Bouverie Street, 63–67 Fleet Street, 1–5 Britton's Court**

The principal feature on this site is the famous medieval undercroft from Britton's Court, which was physically lifted up and put back during the construction of the new building (see also PRG112). A medieval chalk wall foundation was also recorded towards the Fleet Street frontage.<sup>3</sup>

**PRG110, Whitefriars Street**

The eastern precinct wall was observed in 1842 during the digging of a sewer.

**PRG111, Whitefriars Street**

The possible south-west corner of the convent church was observed beneath a house on the corner of Essex Street and Lombard Lane in 1842.

**PRG112, Daily News site, 22 Bouverie Street and 4 Britton's Court**

Extensive excavations were conducted during the redevelopment of the Daily News site in 1928–31. The excavations examined the 14th-century undercroft in Britton's Court (first discovered in 1895) and recorded several medieval walls of the church, cloister and other buildings.<sup>4</sup> Note that the Guildhall Museum site GM266 includes some 16th- and 17th-century finds from the undercroft.

**PRG114, 29 Bouverie Street**

A medieval wall, probably the north-east corner of the nave, was recorded in 1882 during building work at 29 Bouverie Street.

**TDS99, Northcliffe House, 26–30 Tudor Street**

Two apparently medieval pits were recorded in Test Pit 4 in the north of the site.

**WFT99, Tudor Street, Carmelite Street, Tallis Street, Temple Avenue**

Three medieval waterfronts were discovered: a timber revetment that probably dates to the friary's foundation and two masonry waterfronts of, respectively, *c.* 1350 and *c.* 1400. Evidence for a late medieval or early post-medieval dock or inlet was found. A number of 16th-century buildings and structures were also recorded. The site was excavated by Pre-Construct Archaeology, who currently hold the site archive.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> LAARC, site NOW87, 'Excavations at 1–19 Whitefriars Street, 63–67 Fleet Street, 23–24 Bouverie Street and 4 Brittons Court', J Stevenson (unpublished report, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> Martin, 'Excavation at Whitefriars'; Toy, 'The crypt at Whitefriars'.

<sup>5</sup> Pre-Construct Archaeology, site WFT99, 'An archaeological excavation at Whitefriars, City of London', D. Killock (unpublished report, July 2002). The report also contains an important survey by Christopher Phillpotts of the documentary sources: 'Whitefriars, London: documentary research assessment', 257–70.

## *Austin Friars sources*

### **Documentary sources**

#### *Pre-Dissolution leases and other documents*

1277 (26 May): TNA, C54/94, m. 6, printed in Roth, *English Austin Friars*, ii, no. 57 Order given to Constable of Windsor Castle that the Augustinian Friars of London to have 'six oaks for timber of the king's gift from Windsor Forest' (*in foresta de Wynd*).

1321: TNA, JUST 1/547A

London eyre of 1321: details concerning encroachments in c. 1306 and 1315, caused by the friary building a new wall – presumably the precinct wall.

1321 (4 July): TNA, C54/138, m. 1

Order to sheriffs of London to suspend the demolition of the new wall or walls of AF in the parishes of All Saints near the Wall and St Peter's Broad Street, following the eyre.

1334 (12 October and 1 November): TNA, C66/184, m. 21; DC, A I 34 (formerly A V 175), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 139–40 [mortmain licence of October]; TNA, LR14/85 [grant of November]<sup>1</sup>

Crown licence for alienation in mortmain of a messuage and garden by John de Handlo to the prior of AF, for the enlargement of the precinct. Messuage is in parish of St Peter Broad Street and pays 10s of tithes to parish and a 20s quitrent to St Mary Southwark.

1345 (20 April and 1 May): TNA, C66/213, m. 17 [mortmain licence]; DC, A I 44 and 45 (formerly A VI 250 and 248) [grant]

Priory acquires three properties adjacent to priory in mortmain from Reginald de Cobham, presumably in SW corner (one described as on Broad Street). Described as for enlargement of precinct.

1363 (30 April): TNA, C66/267, m. 20

Retrospective licence to prior and convent of AF to alienate in mortmain eight properties granted by priors of Augustinian priory of St Mary without Bishopsgate, probably in 1320s and 1330s (names of two priors given). Only one of the properties is located: in 'Froggemerestre' by St Olave's Lane.

Fourteenth century: DC, A I 40 (formerly A VI 247), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 139

14th-century quitclaim to friary of property in SW corner of friary, purchased by Cromwell in 16th century and by Drapers' Company. Measurements and abutments.

1419 (10 February): TNA, LR14/488

Contract between executors of will of Philip Bernard, vintner, and prior of AF: priory will perform annual mass in return for payment of 100 marks.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that all the reference numbers of Drapers' Company documents have changed since the Archer-Thompson edition; new and old MS numbers are therefore noted in this appendix (only the new MS numbers are given in footnote references).

1441 (17 October): DC, A I 51 (formerly A V 178), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 140

Property transfer by SW corner of AF (but note that tenement not yet granted to AF). Abutments description mentions 'le moredych ducen[s] usque Walbrook' (on W) and 'long stone wall' of priory (on E). Note that DC A I 33 (dated 1312) implies that ditch is east–west since it forms a northern property abutment of property on the king's highway to the south.

1482 (22 February, could be 1483): TNA, LR15/12

Detailed agreement between the prior and convent of AF and the fraternity of Pouchmakers of London. For sum of £10 and annual payment of 3s 4d the fraternity to have a parlour, kitchen and buttery in the priory for their feasts and quarter days, and the priory will perform two annual masses, as well as a trentall of masses after the death of a brother or sister (for additional 6d payment). Company to maintain a 'branch' of five tapers by tomb of Earl of Arundell on N side of choir.

1490 (3 November): TNA, LR14/87

Agreement between William marquess Berkeley and James prior of AF: William gives £100 in return for two perpetual daily masses to be said at the adjacent altars of our Lady and St James for the soul of his late wife Dame Jane (who is buried between the two altars) and to pray for souls of Jane, William and other named family members.

1496 (14 December): TNA, LR15/13

Agreement between AF and 'masters of the brethern and susters of the fraternite of seint Sebastian', an 'alman' fraternity. Fraternity to rename altar of St Nicholas on S side of chuch as altar of St Sebastian, and to maintain it. Fraternity to have a safe chest with their 'alman vestymentes bokes and chalices' etc. Priory to bury bodies of brothers and sisters of fraternity in principal cloister. Priory to perform services at their altar. No sum of money paid to priory, except burial fee per deceased brother/sister.

1510 (26 March): TNA, LR14/129

Agreement between prior of AF and William Calley: Calley to pay £40 towards priory's 'newe beldynges' west of churchyard and, in return, to receive perpetual trentall of masses after his death. Interesting clause allowing levy of 20s to be paid to Calley's heirs or executors in event of non-performance of masses, specifying the priory's tenements on which this fee will be levied (the Bell and the Swanne), with full description of their abutments.

1515 (3 January): TNA, LR14/91

Agreement between executors of Nicholas Gerard and Edmund Bellond, prior of AF: for sum of £22 10s priory will perform annual anniverary mass for soul of Nicholas and Elizabeth his wife. Mentions Gerard's 'stone of sepulture'.

1517 (1 September): will of William Cony printed in *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ii, pp. 256–7

Bequest of land (to the Carpenters' Company) that lies NW of AF precinct. Measurements and abutments help define W side of AF precinct.

1519 (7 April): TNA, LR14/491

Richard Gyttyns mercer releases and quitclaims provincial prior and convent of AF of any right or claim he had; presumably referring to a loan or gift of money/property?

1522 (5 and 8 April): TNA, SP1/24, f. 126, no. 85

Accounts of the English province of AF for the years 1517–21, recording income for whole province and the proportion of this sent to Rome. Average annual income for confessionals is just under £88 and for all other receipts is nearly £229. Not, unfortunately, broken down by house.

1522 (21 December): TNA, SP1/29, f. 120, no. 122

Wardmote for Broad Street ward: includes item 'we present the pavement before the freres augustynes was defectyve'. (Note also that Cromwell was the first signatory of the wardmote.)

1520s (1518 x 1525): TNA, C1/547/10

Chancery case: prior of AF vs Margaret Mynchull, widow of Thomas Forster, mercer. Forster was granted a mansion in AF in 40-year lease from March 1483 at 20s rent. Part of the agreement was that Forster was to undertake 'sumptuous buyldyng by hym of the said house so to hym letyn' and pay £200 towards building or repair of choir of church: his rent would then be excused. Current prior says that no money has been paid.

1528 (28 October): DC, A I 58

Edmund Smythesby, prior of AF, grants lease to Robert Donkyn, merchant tailor, of two messuages with cellars and solars called 'the Bell', in Lothbury in parish of St Peter (and a garden). Abutments given. 40 years at 22s rent.

1531 (5 October): DC, A I 59

Conventual lease of tenement on Broad Street to Robert Donkyn. Includes right of access to and from the messuage 'in into and frome the foresaid conventuall chyrch'. 41 years from 1535 (i.e. backdated) at £3 4s rent.

1531 (7 October): TNA, LR14/90

Stephen Fesaunte receives £103 6s worth of silver and gilt plate as security for money lent by him to priory who were £103 in debt to Anthony Bonvixi, merchant of Lucca.

1533 (2 May): TNA, LR14/787

Provincial and prior of AF grant 30-year lease to William Sherland, 'yoman ussher with the quenis grace', on two tenements and gardens called 'the olde fermery'. Abutments given. 26s 8d rent.

1534 (15 April): DC, A I 63

Conventual lease by prior to William Symondes of a tenement 'set ageinst the west end and principall west dore of there hows and chirche aforsaid'. 20-year lease, £4 rent.

1534: TNA, SP1/88, ff. 121–2, no. 105

Anonymous deposition or visitor's report concerning state of AF London in 1534. Most of the accusations concern the moral character of the friars (for example that they are consorting with prostitutes or drinking beer), others concern standard of religious services (greatly reduced in number) or of monastic observance (friars dine in chambers rather than in refectory) or financial state of house (mortgaged to £300).

1536 (10 March): TNA, LR14/88

Prior and convent of AF grant to Thomas Poulet the freehold of the messuage and great garden he has leased at AF since 1531. Unspecified price but with continuing

quitrent or tithe due to priory of 40s. The 1531 lease was for 99 years and at rent of £8 13s 4d. Detailed measurements of the great garden.

1536 (16 May): TNA, LR14/86

Prior Thomas Hamonde of AF grants Richard Rich the 'fermery', the 'Priours Garden' and a thirteen-foot strip of the convent garden where Rich intends to build new houses. 80-year lease, 23s 4d rent. Prior and convent granted moiety of these new houses, and a share of the hall now in Rich's tenure. Rich granted access to friary well. Good topographic detail.

1537 (4 October): TNA, LR14/708

Thomas Hamond prior of AF leases prior's mansion to Thomas Geffery, dyer, and Agnes his wife for 30-year lease at 40s rent. Includes access to and right to pick fruit in 'greate or comen gardeyn'.

1538 (10 June): TNA, E318/13/577

Lease to Richard Morryson of several parts of AF (cited in post-Dissolution grant of 1546). Lease includes 'le priors lodginge' and 'Bachelers Gefferyes chamber' (after the death of Thomas Gefferye and Agnes). Term of 99 years, rent 66s 8d: 26s 8d for prior's chamber and 40s for Gefferyes chamber.

1539: TNA, E101/474/11, f. 4

Account of John Graunger, clerk of St Paul's, for ten years ending Michaelmas 31 Henry VIII (1539), listing rents received and arrears. Arrears include a quitrent due from AF, annual value 13s 4d, five years in arrears.

1530s: TNA, C1/1515/25

Chancery case in which a former friar of AF, John Thomson, sues prior provincial of AF, William Wetherall. Thomson states that he commissioned a new preaching pulpit for the churchyard of AF but was robbed before the commission was finished. Complex story involving Thomson interceding on behalf of the apprehended robber, who had confessed that he had given the money to another friar. Thomson falls out with Wetherall over the matter.

1540 (1 June): TNA, E315/249, f. 37v

Payment by Augmentations of debts owed by AF London: 8s to John Amanton (blacksmith); 20s 4d to John Barnarde for 'oyle and candill'; 2s 6d to John Barbour for 'singing brede'.

1542 (May) letter printed in F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, 6 vols (Genoa: Sambolino, 1870–80), vi, 485–6, 560

The secretary of the Genovese ambassador in London writes to the governor of Genoa informing him that altar hangings ('tapezzerie') removed from the church of AF (perhaps belonging to an Italian fraternity?) were being shipped back to Italy.

early 16th century: BL, Harley MS 6033, ff. 31–2, printed in Cater, 'Austin Friars', pp. 80–2

List of mainly aristocratic and gentry burials in the church of AF London. Names 88 people in 77 tombs (plus two in chapter house). Description includes reference to chapels of St Thomas and St John (by walking place), an altar of St James and an altar or statue of Mary in the 'east winge' of the nave

*Post-Dissolution accounts, valors and other Court of Augmentations documents*

1538 (November): TNA, E36/143, p. 111

One of Cromwell's list of 'remembrances', this one (recopied in another hand) noting several 'to dos' concerning London religious houses including St Thomas of Acre, Charterhouse and three London friaries (BF, AF and GF). The latter entry concerns the 'plate and jewelles' of the three friaries. Evidence of the type of requests going out to and the documents received from the commissioners for the friaries?

1539 (September): TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2427

Receiver's accounts by Thomas Spilman, London receiver, for Exchequer year ending September 1539 (i.e. first after Dissolution). Notes rents collected of £33 12s 4d (most of document is payment of pensions to ex-religious).

c. 1539: TNA, SC11/436

Valor of anniversary payments (presumably drawn up shortly after dissolution of AF?): seven anniversary payments worth £21 3s 4d.

c. 1539: TNA, SC11/985, m. 9

Draft summary rent calculations for several London ex-monastic houses (perhaps compiled by Hugh Losse, the collector of rents?). Total AF rents due £34 11s 4d, of which only £7 9s 4d from rents in precinct and £5 3s 4d from parish of St Peter the Poor.

1540 (September): TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396, mm. 60–61v

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1540 (the first surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), giving total of arrears, rents received (£43 15s 4d, differentiating between precinct properties and those in seven parishes, not all of which are adjacent to precinct), fees paid, and anniversaries (£22 3s 4d, only one out of seven paid since Dissolution). Topographic detail is not as good as for White and Crossed Friars, although document mentions a *hospici[um]*, 'le priours chaumbre of offyce' and Thomas Cromwell's former '*magn[um] palaci[um]*'.

1543: TNA, E323/2b/part 1, mm. 12v–13

Treasurer's accounts for Sept 1539 to Sep 1543. Entry for £290 3s 7d raised from sale of Thomas Cromwell's goods confiscated from AF in 32 Hen VIII.

1546: TNA, E351/3329

Summary accounts dated 1545–8 of various Crown projects (such as works at Black Friars and Hampton Court) including converting what must have been a monastic building at AF into a storehouse for Crown alum. Total cost of project is £38 13s 9½d, of which £13 13s 7½d is wages and £25 0s 2d is materials. Main cost is bricks and bricklaying but this includes repair as well as building new walls. Note that they had to pay for lead, as though they had run out of recycled monastic lead. The fact that the refund to Hugh Losse was made in early 1547 (E315/254, f. 93) and that lead was stored here in 1547 (TNA, C66/802, rear of mm. 27–8) suggests that the works took place in 1546.

c. 1546: TNA, LR2/262, f. 10

List of rents, tithes and anniversaries still current in c. 1546: total £26 15s gross, £22 0s 20d net (after deduction of fees).

1547 (3 January): TNA, E315/254, f. 93 [renumbered f. 119]

£40 refunded to Hugh Losse for repairs at AF.

1547 (13 April): TNA, C66/802, rear of mm 27–8

Commission to Sir John Gresham and Andrew Judde, of London, aldermen. Alum received from two Spanish merchants in exchange for lead is stored at AF (not specified where exactly) and is for re-sale to our 'merchauntes adventurers'.

1552: TNA, SC6/EdwVI/297, mm. 14v–15

Last surviving detailed rent collector's accounts (Exchequer year ending September 1552). The crown is not actually receiving very much (8s 12d of tithes and 3s 4d on one anniversary) although there are unpaid rents and anniversaries, the latter presumably largely uncollectable.

*Post-Dissolution property grants by the Crown*

1539 (15 July): TNA, C66/686, m. 11; E315/103, ff. 27–28v

Grant to Sir Richard Ryche (Rich) of several parts of Austin Friars including 'the great mansyon house' with bakehouse stable and two gardens, the cloister and the kitchen on its E side, a yard and well by the cloister, and two other tenements.

1540 (10 April): TNA, C66/690, m. 5

Grant to Thomas Cromwell of huge bundle of ex-monastic property including three gardens in parish of St Stephen Coleman Street, formerly belonging to monastery of Rewley (Oxfordshire), recently enclosed by Cromwell with a brick wall. This enclosed garden described as adjacent to his principal residence [at AF?].

1540 (22 April; could be 1539 rather than 1540): TNA, C66/690, m. 8

Grant to Sir William Poulett (Paulet) of bundle of several ex-monastic properties and the 'magnum mesuagium' he built in AF. Specifies rents due from tenants (40s) and due to Crown (£11 12s 5d).

1540 (26 April and 20 June): TNA, E318/16/772 [particulars for grant]; C66/699, m. 13 [grant]

Grant to Roger More of bundle of ex-monastic properties, mainly in Oxfordshire but also including two in London AF. Description includes abutments, former tenants and measurements. Mentions 'the aylye gate' on London Wall. Fee of whole package is £187 17s 2d. Rent due to Crown on AF parcel is 12d (yearly rent to More is 10s).

1540 (26 July): TNA, C66/700, m. 38

Grant in fee to Sir Thomas Wriothesley of Richard Rich's ex-AF property and Thomas Cromwell's ex-AF property. 5s annual rent to Crown but no fee mentioned.

c. 1540: TNA, E315/191, f. 95

Particulars for lease of tenement with garden and stable in parish of St Peter to George Asshe (formerly in tenure of Roger Bassinge). 21 years, rent 40s.

1541 (10 February): TNA, E315/213, f. 97

Lease to Robert Foger, girdler, of tenement in parish of St Laurence in his tenure, 21 years, 40s rent.

1542 (3 March): TNA, C66/704, m. 1

Grant to William Paulet lord Seintjohn of a messuage and small fenced garden in AF, and a great walled garden. Measurements of great garden stated.

1543 (20 January): TNA, E315/215, f. 26

Lease to Thomas Multon, tailor and citizen, tenement in parish of St Benet in his tenure, 21 years, 40s.



1543 (31 March and 4 July): TNA, C66/727, mm. 18–19; DC, charter X, printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, pp. 145–8

Grant of Thomas Cromwell's tenement and two others to the Drapers' Company for 1800 marks (and rent to Crown of 10s 4d). Very detailed topographic description with measurements. Also includes path and watercourse. Corresponding entry in Treasurer's accounts (TNA, E323/2b/part 1, m. 98) records receipt of £666 13s 4d.

1543 (20 November): TNA, E315/216, f. 23v

Lease to Thomas Northorpe, clothworker, of tenement in parish of St Benet in his tenure, with shops cellars solars rooms etc, 21 years, rent 32s.

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/757, m. 5

Grant in fee to Hugh Losse, of London, and Thomas Bochier, for £951 16s, of numerous London ex-monastic properties including seven AF messuages (two of which are in parish of St Peter, four in St Benet and one in St Andrew Eastcheap). Corresponding entry in Treasurer's accounts for Exchequer year ending September 1544 is TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 11v.

1544 (7 August and 1 September): TNA, E318/17/861, m. 6 [particulars for grant]; C66/755, m. 3 [grant]

Grant to Cyryack Pettyte of three AF properties (and ex-monastic property in Canterbury): one in precinct and two in parish of St Benet. Values and tenants given. Fee £476 (also given in corresponding entry in Treasurer's accounts (TNA, E323/2b/part 2, m. 17v) for Exchequer year ending September 1544).

1544 (26 September): TNA, C66/762, m. 39

Grant in fee to Thomas Godwyne for several properties in London and the west country for £1122 2s 6d, including one ex-AF property in parish of St Peter.

1546 (7 July): TNA, C66/787, m. 17

Grant to Richard Ryche and family (for services and for £1000 paid by him) of annual rents on several properties already granted by letters patent to Rich or others. Includes grant of £10 rent due to Crown on Rich's AF property (granted TNA, C66/686, m 11).

1546 (10 August and 25 November): TNA, E318/13/577 [particulars for grant]; C66/797, m. 23 [grant]

Grant of several pieces of AF to Laurence Herwarde and Stephen Tenante including the prior's chamber (also known as Doctor Bolland's house), the great and the little chapter houses, the dorter over the chapter house, two vestries one above the other, the chapel known as dukes chapel, Bachelor Jefferies' chamber, the principal cloister and the dorters on its west side, part of hostry and a piece of waste land (with measurements and abutments). Rental value of £4 6s 8d, purchase price ten times that, with addition of £9 (2¼ fothers) for the lead left on the buildings. Bundle also includes property of five other former monastic houses; the AF property was originally leased to Richard Morryson in June 1538. Earlier particulars of 1544 and 1545 were never issued as a lease and were deleted: E318/16/755, m. 18 and E318/21/1096, mm. 26–7. Sale price of £179 12d also includes property in Wiltshire, Hampshire and Suffolk. (Corresponding entry in Treasurer's accounts notes receipt of £164 11s 8d: TNA, E323/3, m. 75v).

1550 (22 July): TNA, C66/834, mm. 24–5

Grant of *chorum & le cross Ile ac capellas* of church of AF London to William Paulet, apparently without any fee. Paulet to repair nave at his expense to make it ready for divine service for subjects and aliens.

1550 (24 July): TNA, C66/830, m. 42

Grant of the former church of AF London (except the choir) to be a new *Templum domini Jesu* for use by Germans and other religious exiles. The institution to be known as *ecclesi[a] germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi sexti in civitate london*. Grant includes foundation, land and soil (not just church itself).

*Documents relating to Thomas Cromwell's property*

1532 (6 May): DC, A I 60 (formerly A V 140)

Lease on the Vivaldi property later acquired by Thomas Cromwell. Has some description of property. 28 years at £6 13s 6d rent.

1532 (16 May and 4 June): TNA, SP2/L, ff. 205–210, nos 183–8 [draft lease]; DC, A I 61 (formerly A V 174) [actual lease], printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 140

Indenture between provincial and prior of AF and Thomas Cromwell, granting to latter 99-year lease on two newly built tenements with gardens in precinct, and the tenement known as 'the Swanne' together with the other houses on 'Swanne Aley'. Full description of abutments given. £12 rent. Mentions a preaching pulpit in churchyard and a 'greate warehouse' formerly occupied by John Cavalcanti.

1534 (20 March): DC, A I 62 (formerly A V 197)

Anthony Vynalde/Vivaldi leases large garden by his capital messuage to William Wylford. 28 years, £3 rent (later acquired by Cromwell).

1534 (13 May): LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/241 (Husting Roll 241/15); DC, A I 64 (formerly A V 183), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 141  
Enrolled indenture whereby Thomas Cromwell purchases part of AF precinct for £200. Little description of what is sold but very detailed abutments and measurements given, including a plan (very fortunately enrolled with the indenture).

1534 (4 July): DC, A I 67, 68, and 69 (formerly A V 180, 134 and 135), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 141

Cromwell purchases a property (8 messuages and 4 gardens) off Broad Street by AF from Anthony Vyvald for £220. Plan with measurements and abutments attached (to A I 67).

1534 (18 July): DC, A I 70 (formerly A V 139), printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 141

Having bought Anthony Vyvald's property, Cromwell buys out remaining lease of one of Vyvald's tenants.

1534 (4 October): DC, A I 71 (formerly A V 50)

Sir Thomas Kytson sells to Thomas Cromwell a garden in Swan Alley in parish of St Stephen Coleman Street for 40 marks. Measurements given.

1534: TNA, E36/153, f. 21

Letter from Cromwell's servant to Cromwell concerning his property at AF and recommending that he takes over a plot of land next to his garden (currently leased by Bridge House) in order to make the garden square and allow construction of a

'fayer tennys playe and a close Bowlyng alle with a gallere over it'. Current lessor and mayor are content. Rent is £3.

1535 (30 July): TNA, SP1/94, f. 236, no. 193

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas to Cromwell concerning latter's building works at AF and Hackney. £22 15s 9½d paid on Saturday 24 July.

1535 (11 August): TNA, SP1/95, f. 71, no. 63

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell concerning latter's various properties. Includes a particularly detailed report for AF describing how the walls of the kitchen (fronting on street), scullery, buttery and pantry are finished (and the roofs begun), the brick walls of the hall (fronting on a court) are nearly finished, and Cromwell's lodging, including stairs and gallery, is almost complete except for glazing.

1535 (16 August): TNA, SP1/95, ff. 103, 104, nos 89, 90

Letters from Cromwell's servants Thomas Thacker and John Wylliamson to Cromwell concerning latter's various properties. 'All your buyldynges goo forward'.

1535 (3 September): TNA, SP1/96, f. 74, no. 65

Letter from Cromwell's servant John Wylliamson concerning building works. Report for AF notes that roofing continuing in kitchen, scullery, pastry larder and 'skaldyng housse'; brick work and freestone windows of the hall completed, with the hall floor the next thing to do.

1535 (11 September): TNA, SP1/95, f. 141, no. 129

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell concerning latter's various properties, reports pay and materials at AF on 4 September was £30.

1535 (23 September): TNA, SP1/96, f. 218, no. 199

Letter from Cromwell's servant John Wylliamson to Cromwell concerning latter's various properties. Most buildings now roofed but pastry, larder and scalding house being tiled.

1535 (24 September): TNA, SP1/96, ff. 238–9, nos 217–18

Cromwell's household accounts for September 1535. Includes entry in receipts for gift of Gascon wine from Austin Friars and an entry in expenditure for alms given at AF.

1533 to 1535: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/5971

Personal accounts of Thomas Cromwell list a William Symonds as his tenant at Austin Friars, apparently paying £4 annual rent.

1536 (24 July): TNA, SP1/105, f. 144

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell reporting on progress of building works at AF. £44 spent up to 22 July on 94 workmen (over half of whom are carpenters), materials and carriage.

1536 (20 August): TNA, SP1/106, f. 30

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell summarising payments for building works at AF up to 19 August. Total cost is £39 2s 5d, of which wages to 98 people (over half of which are carpenters) are £28 19s 1d, materials are £7 19s 4½d and carriage of timber from 'Frian wodd' is 44s 4d.

1536 (September): TNA, SP1/106, f. 172

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell warning him that next day is pay day at AF building works. Letter notes that 'sir John' [Portinary?] will inform him of payment.

1536: TNA, SP1/105, f. 208

Letter from George Egelisfelde to Cromwell concerning two tenements and a garden by AF. Egelisfelde requests £16 promised to him by Masters Williamson and Lee to whom he surrendered his lease, on Cromwell's behalf.

1537 to 1539: TNA, E36/256, ff. 87v–168v

Entries in Cromwell's household account book recording payments for construction work at his Austin Friars house from March to November 1537 and February to July 1539. Total cost of building work is at least £820. Note that 'Sir John', probably John Portinary, was brought in to supervise the second phase of the project.

1538 (30 July): TNA, SP1/134, f. 291

Letter from Cromwell's servant Thomas Thacker to Cromwell concerning delivery of an image of Our Lady from Ipswich.

1538 (1 September): DC, A I 75 (formerly A V 198)

Prioress of Clerkenwell quitclaims Thomas Cromwell the 20s quitrent due on six messuages and a garden in St Peter (which Cromwell had bought from Anthony Vinalde).

c. 1538: TNA, SP1/141, ff. 125–8

Letter from unnamed but evidently senior cleric to Cromwell concerning accusation that he is papist; refers to their first conversation which had taken place previously 'in youre [Cromwell's] lawe [low] perlour in youre alde house at Thawstin freres'.

1540 (17 July): BL, Royal MS Appendix 89, f. 70

Royal accounts for gardening work done at Cromwell's former house at AF in June and July 1540. Payment to six women for three and a half weeks' weeding and to two male gardeners just over a week's 'setting of knottes hedgys aleyes and the erber'. Total 42s 4d, although this does not include cost of supervisor.

1540 (28 August): TNA, C66/698, m. 29

Appointment of John Ryther to be guardian of Thomas Cromwell's former London house and gardens, at a fee of 6d a day.

1540 (August): BL, Arundel MS 97, f. 142v

Book recording payments of household expenses of Henry VIII. Entry for August 1540 records payment to four named men who collected furniture from Cromwell's house at AF (and from Tower and Westminster) for Anne of Cleves' house.

1543 (March): DC, M B 1b (Minute Book), pp. 724–6, printed in Archer-Thompson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 142–4

Internal deliberations of Drapers' Company and negotiations with Augustations concerning purchase of former Cromwell property in AF, as recorded in Company's minute book. Note description of contents of property before purchase, although may be formulaic.

1543 (late November or early December): DC, M B 1c (Minute Book), pp. 759–62

Detailed description of the former Cromwell property as purchased by the Drapers' Company in 1543: a three-storey house (plus cellars and garrets), with hall, parlours, numerous chambers, a kitchen and associated rooms, a paved yard and a 'greate Garden'. There is also a description of eight rented properties in the street, at least

three of which are ex-AF tenements and at least one of which has been adapted from Cromwell's 1530s house.

1545 (11 April): TNA, SP1/199, f. 217

Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler to the Privy Council explaining that he and Bishop Tunstall did not remove any books and papers from lord Cromwell's house but rather that they had delivered a calendar of them to the king; except for 'certen treaties' delivered into the treasury of the Exchequer and a few books delivered to the King's library, all remain 'in the saide house of thaugustynes in the late lorde Crumwelles lybrary there'.

1547: BL, MS Harley 1419a, ff. 22v–24v, printed in Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, pp. 189–90

Inventory of Henry VIII's possessions, includes section on bedding removed from Cromwell's house at AF after his attainder. Includes one bed, three bedsteads, nine sets of bed linen (nearly every one with canopy, head cloth and valances), two quilts and four other bed canopies. Every item is in luxury cloth: cloth of gold, damask, velvet.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to other privately owned properties*

1541 (6 January): TNA, C66/698, m. 29; C66/700, m. 7

Licence granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesley to alienate to Sir William Pawlet the AF property formerly held by Richard Rich and that formerly held by Thomas Cromwell.

1577 (20 June): inquisition post mortem printed in *Inquisitiones Post Mortem Relating to the City of London*, iii, 283–6

Inquisition post mortem of John Poulett, marquis of Winchester, recounts history of acquisition of majority of AF site by William Poulett and his son John. Document records undated sale of one part of precinct by John to Christopher Hatton (which may be only documentary evidence of this transaction).

1610 (17 May): TNA, E178/4110

Report or 'special commission' investigating the former AF precinct, giving names of current tenants. Very hard to read.

17th century: LMA, ACC/1360/016

Bundle of deeds of c. 1610 onwards relating to leasing and subdivision of ?William Paulet's property in AF. Includes several annotated 'tables' showing division of 'Cloyster and Cloyster Court'; also mentions former 'great stable' on S side of Dutch church, quoting document of 40 Eliz.

**Visual sources: maps, surveys and views**

Wyngaerde's view of 1540s, printed in *Panorama of London Circa 1544* (Fig 61)

The church can be seen, with its tall three-stage polygonal tower and spire. A lower western tower is also visible, as is an apparent south transept.

'Copperplate' map-view of 1550s, printed in *Collection of Early Maps of London* (Fig 60)

The map shows the church and spire, the adapted cloister wings, Thomas Cromwell's mansion and large areas of garden. In this view the south transept can be seen in between the friary church and St Peter the Poor.

**Archaeological evidence****AST87, 22–25 Austin Friars**

A north–south timber-lined ditch may be an early monastic boundary. To the west of the ditch was a chalk-lined cellar and to the east of the ditch lay a chalk-lined cesspit and other unlined pits.

**AUF88, Pinners' Hall, 13–14a Austin Friars**

Little relevant archaeological evidence was recovered apart from the location of two undated but probably medieval pits. (Site conditions only permitted the monitoring of pile-probing and underpinning pits, and the drawing of archaeological sections.)

**AUS87, 2–6 Austin Friars**

Medieval cesspits and other pits were recorded.

**GWS89, Great Winchester Street, 8 Austin Friars Square, 105–108 Old Broad Street**

This relatively large excavation revealed numerous fragments of medieval and post-Dissolution foundations. The dating evidence is ambiguous but the chalk and sandy mortar foundations are probably medieval whereas foundations containing chalk, ragstone, mortar and reused medieval architectural fragments are probably post-Dissolution, perhaps part of Winchester House. The architectural fragments are a major resource for future study: nearly 200 fragments were recovered, including columns bases and window tracery. A pit containing glass slag, and an unstratified fragment of crucible, are evidence of the late 16th-century Venetian glassmaking workshop. No medieval or post-medieval ground surfaces survived (the site was first investigated in 1909, site PRG1020).

**OBE96, 109–118 Broad Street**

The excavations yielded several truncated fragments of what appeared to be internal walls and arcade foundations of the choir end of the conventual church. It should be noted, however, that the foundation fragments seem to represent two or three phases of construction rather than a single building campaign. The site is complicated by the circumstances of excavation (this was the beginning of competitive tendering in commercial archaeology in London): MoLAS carried out a first evaluation (sitecode OBR94), OAU carried out a second evaluation (site OBT95) with AOC doing a third evaluation (site ODB95) and excavation (site OBE96). It is remarkably hard to tie together the various observations, and the survey and plan quality is particularly poor for the main AOC site.

**OBS91, 119–122 Old Broad Street**

The only archaeological features observed were a couple of medieval or post-medieval pits recorded in an underpinning pit.

**PRG1019, Dutch Church and 6a Austin Friars**

In 1910 Philip Norman recorded the demolition of buildings to the south of the church and the underpinning of the church's south wall. He found evidence of a two- or three-bay crypt or burial vault outside the south aisle, which may well have had a chapel superstructure above, perhaps a Lady chapel.<sup>2</sup> The site-code also includes observations made in 1929 of remains of the church's rood screen.

**PRG1020, Austin Friars Square (N side) and Great Winchester Street**

A large area to the north of the Dutch church was redeveloped in 1909 and recorded by an architect of the London County Council. Remains of the medieval cloisters and

<sup>2</sup> Norman, 'Recent Discoveries of Medieval Remains', pp. 7–10.

their post-Dissolution adaptations were found.<sup>3</sup> The site was subsequently re-excavated in 1989 (site GWS89).

TMO99, 27 Throgmorton Street

A possible medieval soil layer or ground surface was seen in the single excavated test pit.

TMT98, 25–26 Throgmorton Street and 123 Old Broad Street

An archaeological evaluation, small excavation and watching brief revealed fragments of medieval chalk and ragstone wall foundations and a medieval cesspit. There was little relevant dating evidence (pottery assemblages were recovered from earlier medieval pits).

TRM86, 9–19 Throgmorton Avenue, 21 Austin Friars

Only Roman deposits and a post-medieval (17th-century?) well survived.

WCH95, Winchester House, 72 and 74–82 London Wall

Little archaeological remains survived on this large site and what did survive was only recorded in one excavation trench in the south-west corner of the site, in which traces of six medieval pits were found. Peter Marsden investigated the site in 1962–3 but recorded only Roman features (sitecodes GM193 and GM74).

WFG50 and GM343, Dutch Church, Austin Friars

The Guildhall Museum photographed the burnt-out shell of the Dutch church after its destruction in World War II and, shortly afterwards, William Grimes excavated part of the interior of the church before its reconstruction in the 1950s. He recorded the chalk foundations for the columns of the south arcade. One or two features could be interpreted as the bases of medieval or later graves. The most important element in the archive is the accurate large-scale 1950 survey of the damaged church.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cater, 'Austin Friars', pp. 27–30.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Dutch church, Austin Friars', Ansell and Bailey [architects], scale 1:96.

***Crossed Friars sources*****Documentary sources***Pre-Dissolution leases and other documents*

1320 (1 March): TNA, E40/2666, another copy printed in *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, pp. 29–30, 234–5

Agreement between prior and convent of Holy Trinity Aldgate and Adam, prior of CF London: CF hold a tenement from Holy Trinity in parish of St Olave at rent of 13s 8d, within which is their church and churchyard, apparently still under construction but nearly ready to be dedicated. Dimensions and abutments of church and churchyard given.

1329 (26 Feb): TNA, E40/2392

Grant of land to William Curteys of Bricklesworth, of tenement with houses and garden in parish of St Olave, adjoining the garden of CF London to the east. May help establish position of CF garden.

1350 (20 January): 2 April 2009

Protection for one year for friar Elias Belhomme, proctor and messenger of CF London, to collect alms in England, for costly work of Virgin Mary begun in the priory, i.e. a Lady chapel?

1350 (28 November): BL, Topham charters 33

Grant for life of a room and stable for six horses in CF by prior to Andrea de Bures and Alice his wife (MS itself can no longer be found but there is a detailed catalogue entry). Well preserved seal impression.

1491: BL, IA.55480 (incunabula, Department of Rare Books)

Printed letter of indulgence and confraternity (this one is a blank) issued to those giving alms to CF following a fire on Midsummer eve 1490 or 1491: 'the place of the seid Prioure and Covent Upon Mydsomer evyn last past by a sodeyne tempest of fyre savyng the Chirche was devoured and destroyed'.

1512 (28 January): TNA, E315/100, f. 123

Indenture of 1512, enrolled in 1539 Augmentations book, in which prior of CF, in return for a certain sum of money, grants annuity of £3 6s 8d for life to Peter Johnson, his wife Margaret and their children John and Margaret. John and Margaret to receive additional payments (of 20s and 46s 8d respectively) after deaths of parents. No topographic information. Not clear from this document if they are residents of CF property or not (but see SP1/89, f. 132, no. 113).

1514 (22 December): Vatican Library MS calendared in *Leonis X pontificis maximi regesta*, v/vi, no. 13403 (p. 805)

Indulgence of December 1514 issued by Pope Leo X for those bringing alms to rebuild CF London, of which the buildings except the church have been burnt and where the number of friars is doubled. Refers to the confraternity of the Holy Cross and St Helen at the friary, who seem to have had a role in the fundraising for the rebuilding.

1521 (3 July): LMA, COL/CA/01/01/004 (Repertory Book 4), f. 122v



The City grants CF a strip of common soil, presumably Hart Street, 'for the enlargement of its church'. (Note that Honeybourne quotes measurements: 148½' long (east–west) by 5 feet but these are not given in this Repertory Book entry, nor in Book 5, f. 52.)

?1525 (October): TNA, C1/486, no. 4

Chancery court case involving John Canuncle and Joan his wife (plaintiffs) versus mayor, aldermen and sheriffs (defendants). This document seem to be a deposition by Canuncle concerning the rescue of William Bowry, prior of CF, by four friars, when Thomas Domela, serjeant-at-mace of the City, attempted to arrest Bowry for non-payment of an £80 debt owed by the prior to Thomas Jamis of London. The attempted arrest took place in the complainants' tavern. Alternatively, was the case brought by the City against the prior and/or the Canuncles? No topographic information but interesting as it records a different aspect of the relationship between CF and their tenants the Canuncles (see documents of 1526 and 1536 x 1538; below).

1526 (31 July): TNA, E315/96, ff. 54–55

Pre-Dissolution indenture of 1526 enrolled in Augmentations book in 1539. John Canauncle, 'yoman of the pastry' and Joan his wife, lend prior and convent £165. In return, prior grants Canauncles four newly built tenements (in one of which they live already) opposite ('ayenst') the church, for a term of 20 years at peppercorn rent. Worth £9 16s 8d a year. If sum is repaid over two years (in a detailed repayment schedule) lease is void; if not lease holds and, additionally, prior and convent are bound to Canauncles to sum of £200.

1527 (21 May): BL, Additional charter 24490

Bond to George Tadlow for sum of £27 10s, signed and sealed by William Bowry prior of CF. On rear, statement that £5 of debt had been repaid to Anthony Husie. Presumably associated with rebuilding works to church?

1527 x 1529: TNA, C1/534, nos 4 and 5

Chancery case: William Bowry, prior of CF London (plaintiff), versus mayor, aldermen and sheriffs (defendants in no.4) and John Clifford and Edward Grene (defendants in no.5) concerning an action by Edward Grene, mercer, on a bond for £100 lent to complainant by John Clifford, mercer, for repairing church (of CF), and secured by a lease of CF property in St Nicholas Shambles. Clifford subsequently assigned lease to Thomas Key, clothman, and (I think) the bond for £100 to Edward Grene. No topographic detail but case does cite original bond of 10 March 1526 between Clifford and Bowry. No.5 includes vivid description by Bowry of poor state of CF church in 1526: 'yn such extreme ruyn and decay that hit was lyke to falle to the ground'. No.5 also states that money had been spent on the church by the time of the date of this document (presumably 1527 or 1528?).

1533 (27 March): BL, Harleian MS 544, ff. 112

Book of John Stow's notes, this being a transcript of a 1533 visitation by Clarendieux, king-of-arms, to Crossed Friars and six churches near the east of City recording names of people buried there. No particular details on layout of church.

1534 (24 November): DC, A VII 48

Sale by Edmund Stretham, prior, and the convent of CF to Sir John Milbourne of parcel of land situated to S of choir of church on which he intends to build almshouses. Includes detailed measurements of plot.

1535 (1 February): TNA, SP1/89, f. 132; no. 113

Draft indenture in which Edmund Stretam, prior of CF, grants to Margaret Jonson, widow, the house in the precinct in which she lives and a pension of 60s a year (in four quarterly instalments) for life. And, after her decease, 20s a year (in quarterly payments) to her daughter Margaret. Note that this is updating an earlier agreement of 1512 and may indicate that her husband has died (TNA, E315/100, f. 123).

1535 (5 March): DC, A VII 45

Grant by Sir John Milbourne to William Dolphin, draper, of 13 cottages and an empty plot of land and shops, newly built on a parcel of land to S of choir of CF, for Dolphin to use as specified in his (Dolphin's) will.

1535 (24 March): will printed in Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company*, i, 109–16  
William Dolphin, draper, grants the Milbourne almshouses to the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company. He requests that the Master distributes the alms money to the almsmen and gives details concerning the admission, replacement and payment of almsmen (and their widows in event of death).

1535 (15 May): TNA, E315/214, ff. 67–68

Conventual lease of 15 May 1535, 'enrolled' in Augmentations book in 1542. Prior had granted John Pratte, woolman, and Agnes, a 15-year lease at 40s rent on a tenement in 'Martelane' (Hart Lane or Mark Lane?). Lease surrendered for new 21-year lease at same rent.

1530s: TNA, E314/76 ('London: Crutched Friars')

Draft petition from Crossed Friars to the king to grant alms to complete the new church. Note that they refer to themselves as 'Crossed Friars'.

1535?: TNA, SP1/100, f. 57, no. 46

Unfinished draft of letter under privy seal (in Cromwell's hand) to the prior and convent of CF London, agreeing to their request to grant alms for the rebuilding of the church and other parts of priory ('gretlye ruynyd and decayid'), which the prior 'hath begon newlye to reedifye'. This letter must be a response to TNA, E314/76. Dated to 27 Henry VIII (1535–6) in *Letters and Papers*, but this refers to main contents of document (an unrelated note of charges of sexual impropriety against a Grey friar of Worcester). Might this be earlier?

1536 (February): TNA, SP1/89, f. 134; no. 114

Letter from Margaret Johnson to Cromwell concerning dispute with prior of CF who wants her to leave her house in the precinct. Interesting topographic detail: the house was built by prior after October 1518, following second gift of money to priory from Margaret's late husband Peter. Very hard to read microfilm; well calendared in *Letters and Papers*, viii, no. 161.

1535 x 1538: TNA, C1/767, no. 6

Complex Chancery case involving John Caynounce, serjeant of the pastry, Joan his wife, and Clement Kyllingworth (I do not understand latter's role) vs John Brown, gentleman. The Caynounces had lent the prior of CF £260 6s 8d, with four CF tenements in Hart Street given as security. They had since taken over the tenements as the full amount had not been repaid. Meanwhile they had borrowed £100 from John Brown, gentleman (apparently for their daughter's wedding!), using the same properties as security. He is seeking to evict them even though they have repaid £80 of the money and have suggested a payment plan for the remaining £20. No topographic detail.

1536 x 1538: TNA C1/832, no. 19

Chancery case: John Jaxon vs William Cholmeley. On 20 October 1536 John and Joan Canuncle sold the remaining lease on four tenements near CF London to WC. WC is now pursuing JJ for £400 on the bond given by JJ and Clement Kyllingworth on behalf of Canuncles. No topographic detail, but four tenements described as newly built in 1534.

1538 (4 June): TNA, E40/5521

Demise by John Marton, gentleman, to Christopher Draper, gentleman, for 99 years of a messuage with gardens etc in the parish of All Saints (All Hallows) Barking. The messuage comes with a right of way (a track with a brick wall) leading from Draper's house through John Aley's ground (i.e. northwards?) to CF.

*Post-Dissolution accounts, valors and other Court of Augmentations documents*

1539: TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2427

Receiver's accounts of Thomas Spilman, London receiver, for exchequer year ending September 1539 (i.e. first after Dissolution). Notes £16 10s 2d received for CF rents (most of document concerns payment of pensions to ex-religious).

1539 (6 October): TNA, SP1/153, f. 219, no. 171

From Cromwell's 'remembrances': note that stone of Crossed Friars might serve to rebuild lieutenant's lodging in Tower.

1540: TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2396, mm. 63–66v

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1540 (the first surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received (differentiating between precinct, parish of St Olave's and several other parishes in London, and a property in Suffolk), fees paid, repairs carried out and outstanding rents. The main body of the priory was occupied for free by Leonell Martyn, with five other properties rented in inner precinct, including a 'magnum hospitium' to Thomas Wyatt, 'le pryours chambre', 'seynt barbara hall' and 'le pryncypalls chambre'.

1545: TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2401 (unnumbered)

Ministers' (i.e. rent collector's) accounts of Court of Augmentations for Exchequer year ending September 1545 (the last surviving detailed post-Dissolution accounts), listing arrears of rents, rents received (differentiating between precinct, parish of St Olave's and several other parishes in London, and a property in Suffolk), fees paid, exonerations of rents (for properties granted by letters patent) and outstanding rents.

1546 (January): TNA, SP4/1, f. 73, no. 35

Part of a list of documents stamped by king's servant William Clerc, most of which are bills, warrants and letters. This is a warrant to Augmentations to use stone from Abingdon as well as stone, lead and iron from Crossed Friars London in royal buildings at Westminster, possibly the new Court of Augmentations building?

1546: TNA, LR2/262, f. 10

Account listing miscellaneous income and fees still current in 38 Henry VIII, presumably Exchequer year ending September 1546. Includes fees payable to sisters of Elsingpital, and what seems to be a river toll.

1552: TNA, SC6/EdwVI/297, m. 15v

Last surviving rent collector's accounts (for Exchequer year ending September 1552): only remaining income to Crown is 10s 8d rent on former precinct and 5s 4d on a tenement in Tower Street.

*Post-Dissolution property grants by the Crown*

1540 (14 June): TNA, E305/2/A55

Exchange between king and Sir Thomas Wyatt: latter granted several ex-monastic lands including site of former CF and a yearly payment of 5s out of an adjacent house. Includes outer walls of church but free and paving stone, glass, iron, timber and lead from church itself reserved by crown. 10s rent (on CF part of grant) due to the Crown. Note that later Augmentations book records annual rent as 10s 8d: TNA, LR2/108 (p 271).

1540 (10 July): TNA, C66/694, m. 14

Grant (and partial exchange) of various ex-monastic lands, predominantly in Kent, to Sir Thomas Wyatt of Alyngton, Kent, in fee, including the site of CF London, houses in the tenure of Wyatt and four other named people and a yearly rent of 6s from another adjacent messuage. The grant includes the precinct walls and the main walls of the church, but it specifically excludes all 'lez free stones lez pavyng stones', the glass, iron, timber and lead from the church (reserved to the crown). TNA E315/156 is accompanying particulars for grant: CF London part valued at 100s annual rent; total annual value of grant is £264 6s 5d. No fee due from TW for this exchange as value of land he is giving in return is almost the same figure. TW still has to pay annual rents to king on various lands, including 10s on CF part. CF land described as church, cloister, buildings and a great tenement formerly in tenure of John Martyn.

1542 (20 January): TNA, E315/214, ff. 67–8

Conventual lease of 1535, 'enrolled' in 1542 Augmentations book. Prior had granted John Pratte, woolman, and Agnes, a 15-year lease at 40s rent on a tenement in 'Martelane' (Hart Lane or Mark Lane?). Lease surrendered for new 21-year lease at same rent.

1542 (6 November): TNA, E315/215, f. 40

21-year farm of rents granted to Robert Darknall, of London, of six tenements in St Olave's, formerly of CF. Not clear what street they are in. Six existing tenants named. Total rents £4 4s. (E315/191 f 92 is accompanying particulars for lease).

1543 (14 July): TNA, C66/736, m. 37

Grant in fee to James Leveson, merchant of the Staple, of numerous properties, mainly in Shropshire, but including four messuages opposite CF (i.e. on N side of Hart Street), in tenure of John Cauncle and Joan his wife.

1543 (27 July): TNA, C66/733, m. 12

Licence to James Leveson, merchant of the Staple, to alienate to Robert Darkenall four messuages on Hart Street, formerly belonging to CF and opposite the convent church (i.e. on the N side of Hart Street), now in tenure of John Canuncle.

1544 (1 July): TNA, C66/757, m. 6

Grant in fee to Hugh Losse, of London, and Thomas Bochier, for £951 16s of several London ex-monastic properties including several ex-CF properties: 3 messuages in parish of St Olave near the Tower, 2 messuages in All Hallows at Dowgate, 2 in All Hallows Barking, 1 in St Botolph without Aldgate. No topographic detail.

1544 (26 July): TNA, C66/753, m. 9

Grant in fee for £546 17s 6d to Roger and Robert Taverner of various ex-monastic properties mainly in London, including three former CF tenements in Hartestrete in

the parish of St Olave near the Tower, in tenure of William Valentyne, John Snowe, and Margaret Johnson. No topographic detail.

1544 (25 September): TNA, C66/740, m. 13

Grant to Henry Clyderowe of London, merchant tailor, and John Doggett for £343 16d of various ex-monastic, mainly London, properties including a tenement called 'le Cocke' in the parish of St Olave near the Tower, in tenure of Thomas Percyvall, formerly of the CF. Annual value 46s 8d. Not clear what street it is in. (E323/2b/part 2, m. 21 is corresponding entry in Treasurer's accounts.)

1544 (3 December): TNA, C66/759, m. 4

Licence to Robert Darknall to alienate to John Browne of London four ex-CF messuages opposite the church of the late CF near the Tower of London, in Hert Strete, in tenure of John and Joan Cauncle. No further topographic detail.

1547 (10 March): TNA, C66/700, m. 10

Licence to Thomas Wyat, knight, to grant the house and site of the late CF in London, and the houses and gardens there in tenure of John Aleyn, Thomas Wyat, Philip Denys, Mark Anthonio and Robert Forde within former precinct, to the king's uncle and councillor Thomas lord Seymour of Sudeley and William Sharyngton, knight.

1549 (20 June): TNA, C66/815, m. 16

Grant (without fine or fee) to Henry Earl of Arundel of a capital messuage (perhaps in Mark Lane, although this might just refer to the name of the parish; not certain if this property is ex-CF) and what appears to be all the former CF precinct properties: two tenements in tenure of Thomas Barnardiston and Mary Dannel, two tenements in tenure of Lionel Martyn and William Pyrryn, a chamber in tenure of Thomas Wyate, a stable in tenure of John Tate, and the void plot of the former CF church and cloisters. All formerly belonging to William Sharyngton, attainted. Excellent topographic detail including measurements of church and cloister.

*Post-Dissolution documents relating to privately owned properties*

1539 (23 October): TNA, E40/12598

Grant by John Marton, gentleman, and Sibilla his wife, to Thomas Wyatt, knight, of a principal messuage and garden, apparently situated in the former precinct of CF (although not expressed that directly), and all the land lately called 'pekes gardeyn', and two tenements built on it, and all their other tenements in parish of St Olave. Lands described, interestingly, as formerly belonging to the mayor and commonalty of London, as well as to Edmund Stretham, former prior of CF, and the convent.

1545: TNA, E150/497, m. 7

Inquisition post mortem of property of John Alyn: very faded and hard to read, even with ultraviolet light. Document appears to cite his will. Marjorie Honeybourne read it and noted that adjoining Sir John Alleyn's mansion house was a tenement of his 'wythin the gate of sayde late Crossed Fryers'.<sup>1</sup>

1579 (7 October): BL, Additional charter 40389

Grant of Sir John Allen's former house (just S of CF?) to Francis Walsingham. Fee not specified. Also known as 'le moscovy house'.

1579 (28 October): BL, Additional charter 40390

<sup>1</sup> Honeybourne, 'Religious Houses', p. 228.

Grant of Sir John Allen's former house (just S of CF?) by Francis Walsingham to [I think] William Stubbes. Fee not specified. Also known as 'le moscovy house'.

1579 (2 November): LMA, COL/CA/01/01/022 (Repertory Book 20), f. 1  
Order of Court of Aldermen to view Verzelini's glasshouse in CF, in particular to inspect his wood stocks (with regard to the fire risk? excessive consumption?).

1580 (17 April): BL, Additional charter 40391  
'Fellowshipp of englishe merchantes for discovery of newe trades' grants property formerly known as 'le moscovy house' in Seething Lane (and before that as 'Sir John Allins house') to Francis Walsingham, principal secretary.

1586 (4 October): LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/266 (Husting Roll 267/77)  
Enrolled copy of 21-year lease by Lord and Lady Lumley to Jacob Verzelini of glasshouse; £200 fee and £33 10s rent, from Michaelmas 1586. Very good topographic detail (one part of which also has measurements): includes a message containing 'one great rome now used for a glashouse or the makinge of Glasse', a hall or shop with parlour and kitchen, a little buttery at the south end of the kitchen, a garden with various buildings on the E side of the glasshouse, a yard or entry from Hart Street, a further message with tennis court and other buildings in tenure of William Prigg, and a parcel of the great yard formerly of CF (latter with measurements).

1606 (8 August): BL, Additional charter 40392  
Henry Earl of Northumberland and four others sell to John Wolstenholme and Nicholas Salter, merchants, the house formerly known as 'the muscovia howse' or 'Sir John Allins howse' and 'nowe comonly called Walsingham howse' in Seething Lane for £1800.

1616 (6 November): will printed in E. Milner, *Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle* (London: Bell, 1904), pp. 94–100, 338  
Lady Elizabeth Lumley's will, giving some detail on the London house (in former CF), including silver plate, carpets she herself made, an armour room, and unspecified pictures and statues. It also mentions the separate lodgings in the house occupied by her nephew (and his stable, including access for his coach through her stable) and a separate tenement with orchards and gardens leased by widow Thomas. Note also valuation of CF property as worth £109 6s 8d a year.

1653 (4 October): TNA, SP18/59, f. 38, no. 64  
Report from Navy Commissioners to Admiralty Commissioners, recommending the taking of a house in Seething Lane, formerly occupied by Sir John Wolstenholme, for a new Navy Office (then in Tower Hill), at £185 rent. Note decision made to go ahead with plan on 20 October and 21 February 1654.<sup>2</sup>

early 18th-century: TNA, LRRO 5/1 (piece entitled 'A Schedule of the Deeds...')  
Early 18th-century schedule of deeds relating to full acquisition of Navy Office site in Seething Lane between 1654 and 1702. Unfortunately, the deeds themselves (and any attached maps) are not in this box, nor are they listed in LRRO 5 series list, or in online catalogue.

### **Visual sources: maps, surveys and views**

Wyngaerde's view of c. 1544, printed in *Panorama of London Circa 1544* (Fig 77)

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1653–1654*, pp. 208–9, 408.

The church, the claustral buildings to the south and a large garden to the south-east can be seen.

Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676, printed in *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London*

Since this part of London was not burnt in the Great Fire, Ogilby and Morgan's map may give us some information on the medieval layout. The form of the cloister can be seen in the layout of 'Burnt Yard'.

1852 view of the Drapers, almshouses, GL, COLLAGE 1805 (Fig 79)

This watercolour shows the 1534 almshouses shortly before demolition. A number of other images of the almshouses survive and are discussed in Chapter 6: Crossed Friars, 'John Milbourne's almshouses'.

### **Archaeological evidence**

ARC81, 26 Savage Gardens, 9 The Arches

Small-scale excavations revealed two wall foundations (one of which is quite substantial) and an adult grave.

MCF06, Mariner House, Crutched Friars

Large-scale excavations in 2008 uncovered several wall foundations of the conventual church. The excavations also revealed several burials within the church, part of a burial vault and (further south) a small stone undercroft or cellar. At the time of writing (February 2011), post-excavation analysis work is being undertaken by Antonietta Lerz.

PEP89, Colchester House and Woodruffe House: Savage Gardens, Pepys Street and 9 Cooper's Row

The excavation lay in a garden or open area of the friary and few medieval or Tudor features were found apart from a timber-lined well. Brick walls and a cellar are probably part of John Lumley's late 16th-century mansion.

SEN91, 25 Savage Gardens

A substantial N-S wall foundation was recorded in two testpits.

TRY88, Trinity House, Savage Gardens

Three test pits revealed a medieval soil horizon.

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CLA/023/DW/01/ (Husting rolls)

CLA/024/01/02/ (Plea and Memoranda rolls of Mayor's Court)

COL/CA/01/01/(Repertory books)

**The National Archives, London (TNA)**

C1 Court of Chancery cases<sup>1</sup>

C146 'ancient deeds', series C

C54 close rolls

C66 patent rolls

E13 Exchequer plea rolls

E36 Treasury of the Receipt, miscellaneous books

<sup>1</sup> The summary description of the series refers to documents consulted *for this thesis*: not all documents in, for example, series LR8 derive from the Court of Augmentations.

- E40 'ancient deeds', series A  
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 JUST 1 Justices in eyre  
 LR2 Auditors of Land Revenue, miscellaneous books  
 LR8 Court of Augmentations, accounts  
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 LRRO 5 Land Revenue, miscellaneous records  
 SC6 Court of Augmentations, accounts  
 SC11 and SC12 Court of Augmentations, rentals, surveys and valors  
 SP1, SP4, SP12 and SP 18 State Papers [viewed on 'State Papers Online']<sup>2</sup>  
 STAC 3 Star Chamber cases

**Nomura, Nomura House, St Martin-le-Grand, London (private collection of international financial company)**

Framed documents (on display on ninth floor)

Loose documents (kept in document store)<sup>3</sup>

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HC 19 (plan book)

HC 27/4 (extracts from minutes of governors of St Bartholomew's Hospital)

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<sup>2</sup> References are given in the form TNA, SP1/95, f. 71, no. 63, where 'f.' refers to the manuscript folio number and 'no.' refers to the former microfilm frame number; confusingly, only the latter element is used in 'State Papers Online' citations, abbreviated as f[ame] number. (The 'State Papers Online' reference for the above item is therefore 'TNA, SP1/95, f. 63'.)

<sup>3</sup> Following a recommendation by the author, many or all of these loose documents are due to be transferred to the Guildhall Library, to be reunited with a batch of Nomura documents already donated in the late 1990s.

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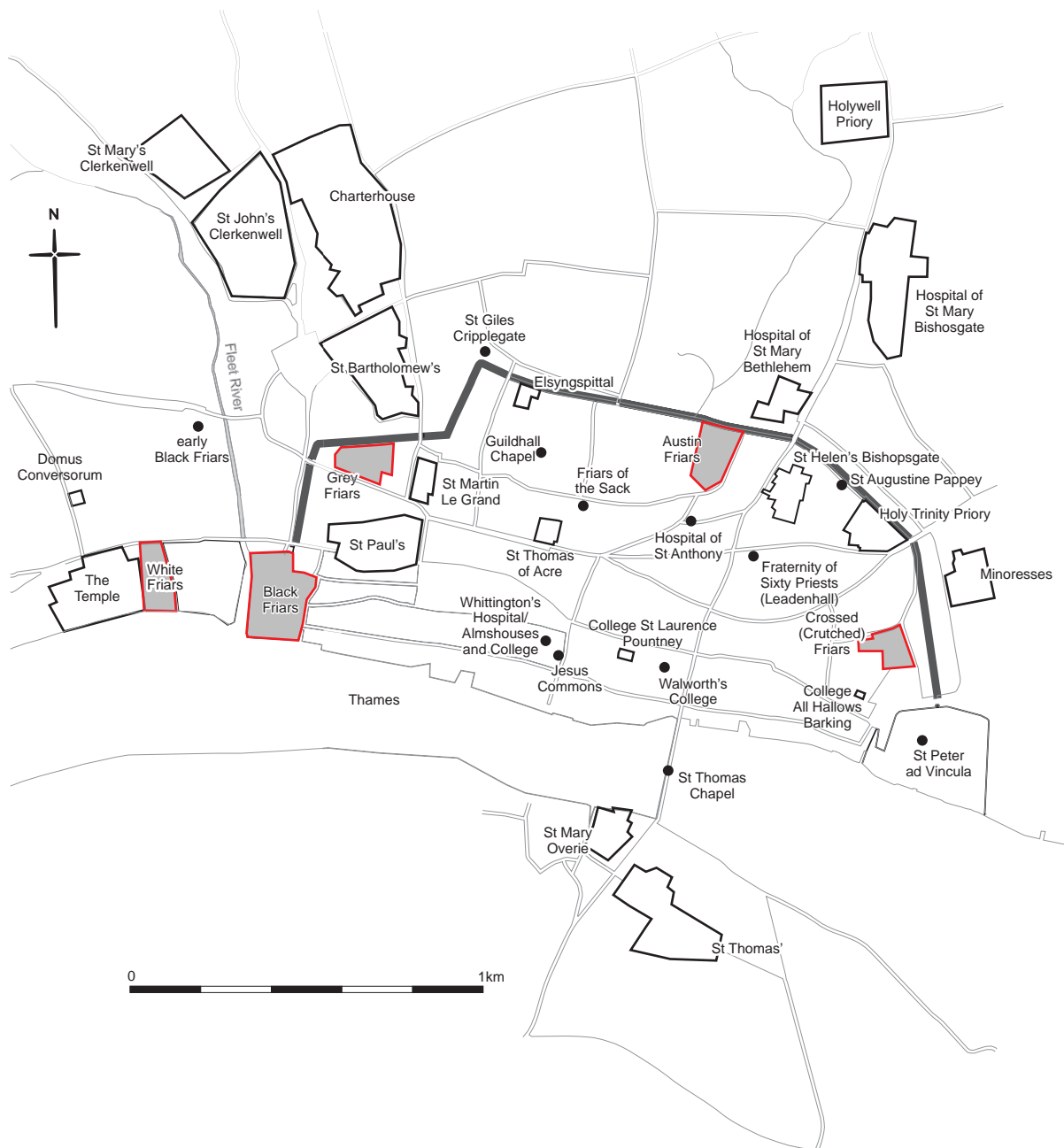
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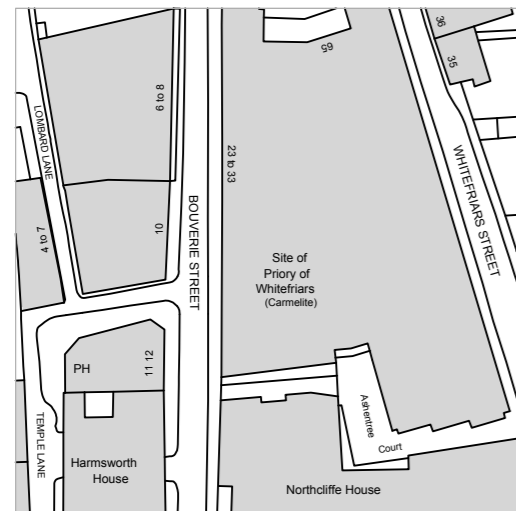
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## Figures





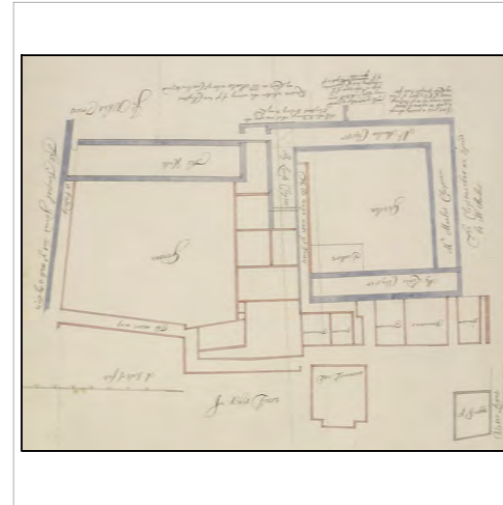
**Fig 1** Map showing the five friaries and other religious houses of medieval London (scale 1:20,000) (Museum of London Archaeology)



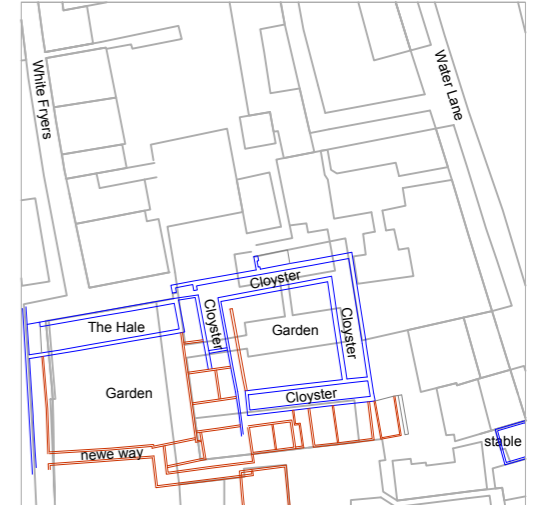
a) the modern digital Ordnance Survey map



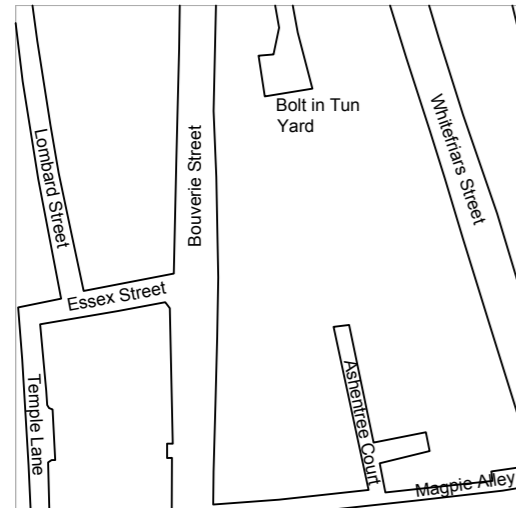
b) scanned 1870s Ordnance Survey map, overlaid on modern Ordnance Survey map



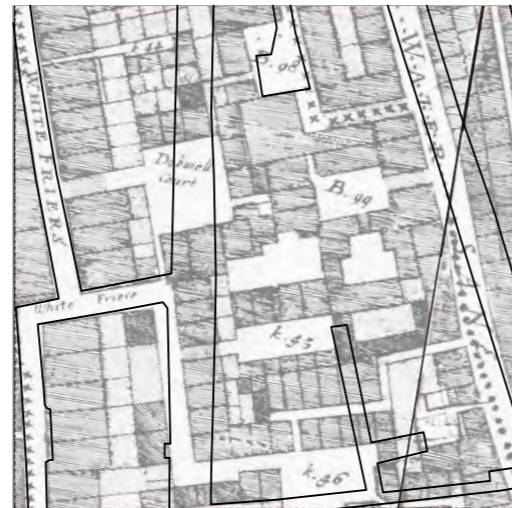
g) survey of c. 1630



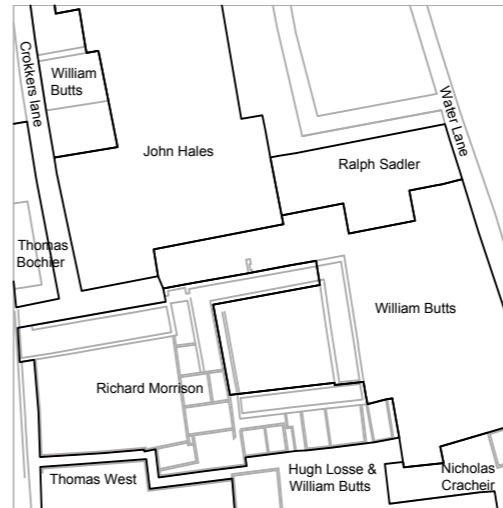
h) digital tracing of c. 1630 survey, overlaid and redrawn to fit 17th-century mapping (stone walls in blue, brick walls in red)



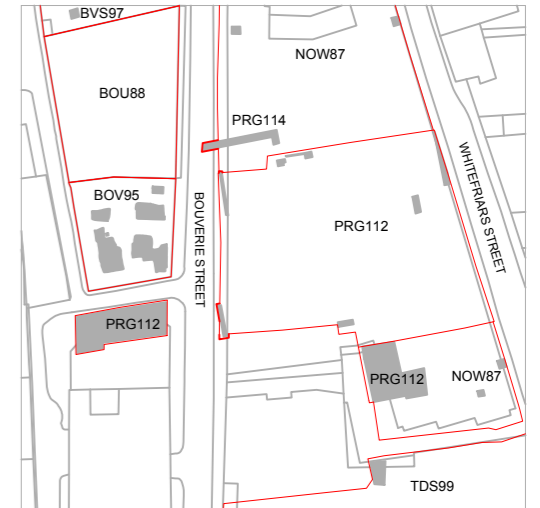
c) digital tracing of the 1870s Ordnance Survey map



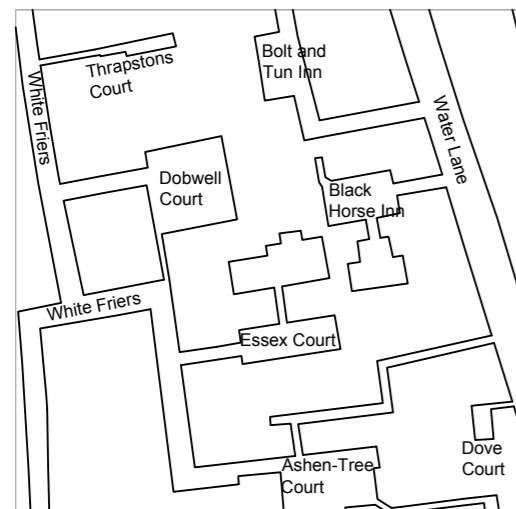
d) scan of the 1676 Ogilby and Morgan map, approximately overlaid on 1870s map



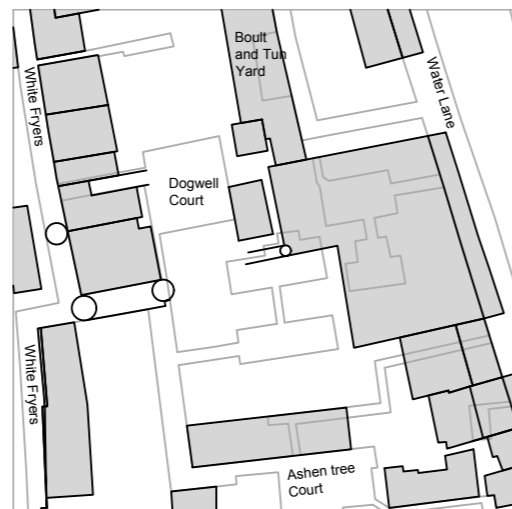
i) properties sold in the 1540s after the Dissolution, overlaid on 17th-century mapping



j) archaeological sites (with their site-codes) and areas of significant archaeological recording



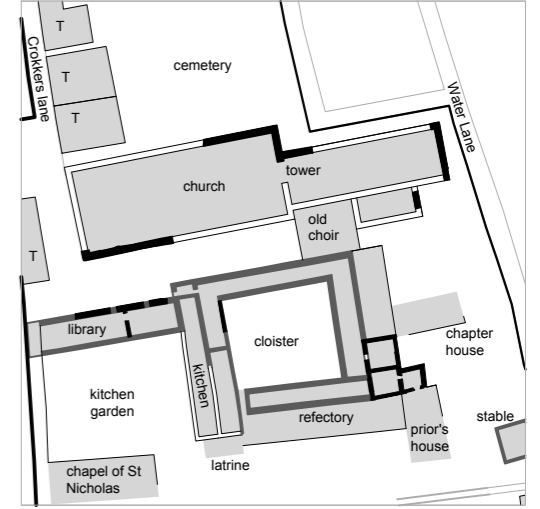
e) digital tracing of the 1676 map, partly redrawn to fit street pattern of 1870s map



f) property surveys of the 1660s and '70s (grey tone) fitted to 1676 map; circles indicate pre-Great Fire road widths recorded on Leeke's map of 1666



k) walls and significant archaeological features





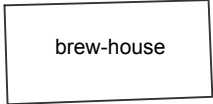


l) reconstructed map of part of precinct of White Friars, integrating cartographic, documentary and archaeological evidence ('T' indicates rented tenement)

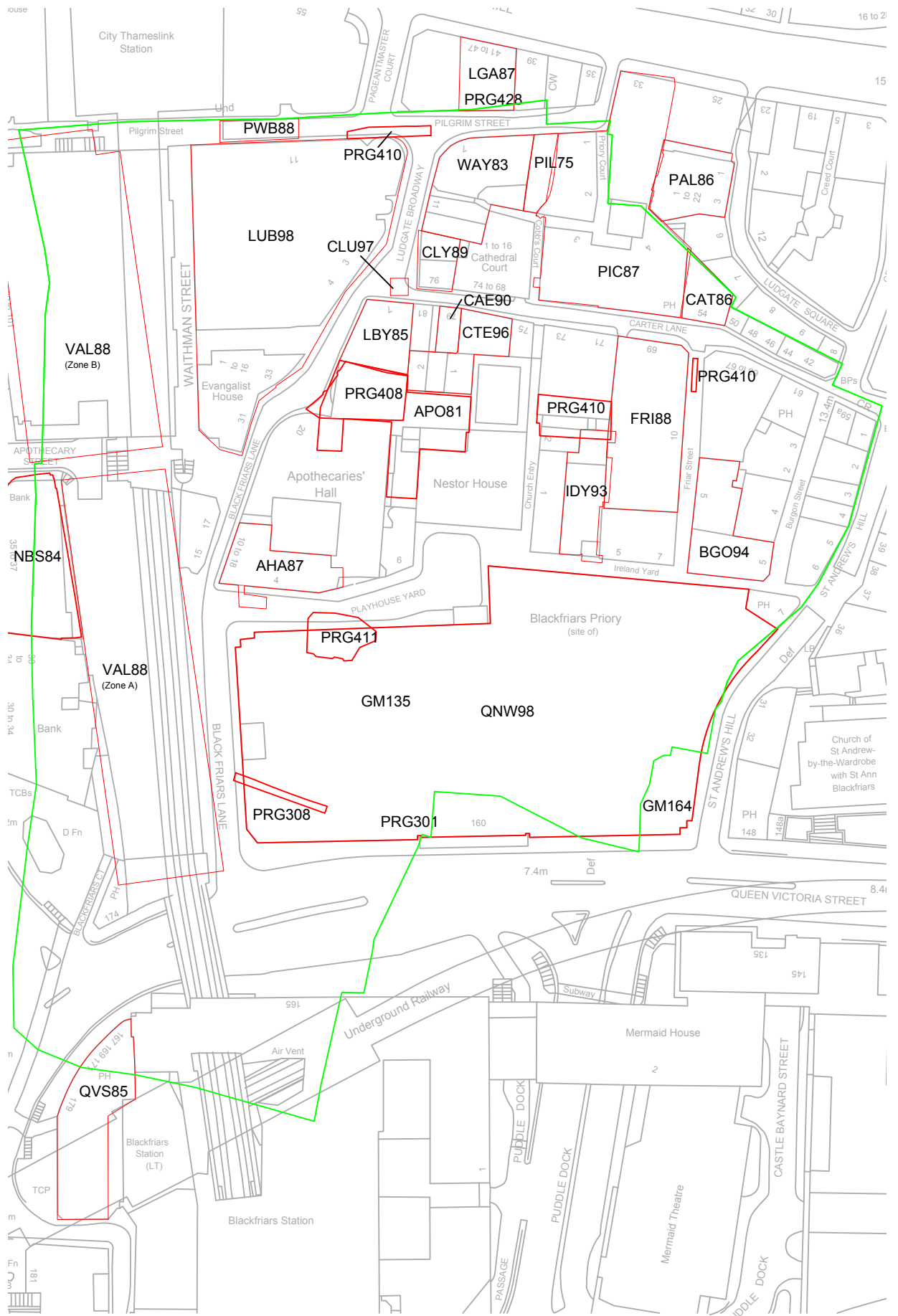
0 100m

**Fig 2** The technique of map regression: moving backwards in time in Whitefriars (scale 1:1500)  
(Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)

Fig 2

	wall (found and conjectured)
	wall foundation (found and conjectured, with conjectured wall line)
	wall (detailed documentary evidence including windows etc.)
	graves (found and conjectured)
< 21 feet >	documentary measurement
	building (documentary evidence)
F	fireplace
Ov	oven
P	privy
S	stairs
T	tenement
W	well

**Fig 3** Graphical conventions used in this thesis



**Fig 4** Map showing archaeological sites within the precinct of Black Friars (site outlines in red, medieval precinct in green) (scale 1:1250)  
 (Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)



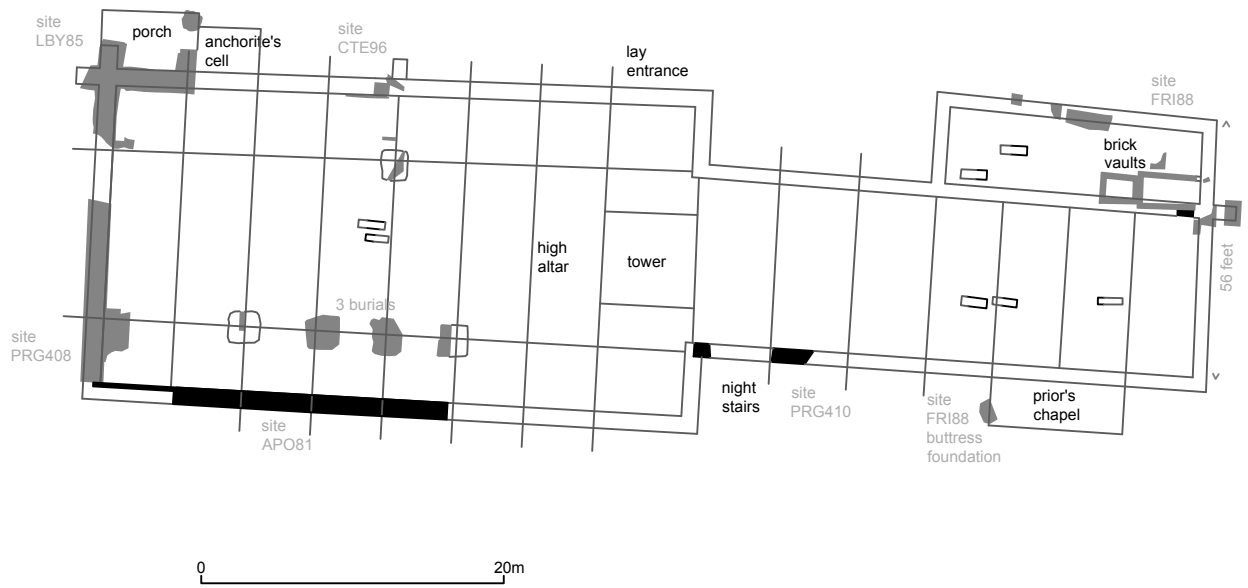


**Fig 5** View of the north precinct wall of Black Friars (the late thirteenth-century City wall extension) under excavation (1.0m scale just visible, approximately at medieval ground level) (LAARC, site VAL88, image 1324-89)

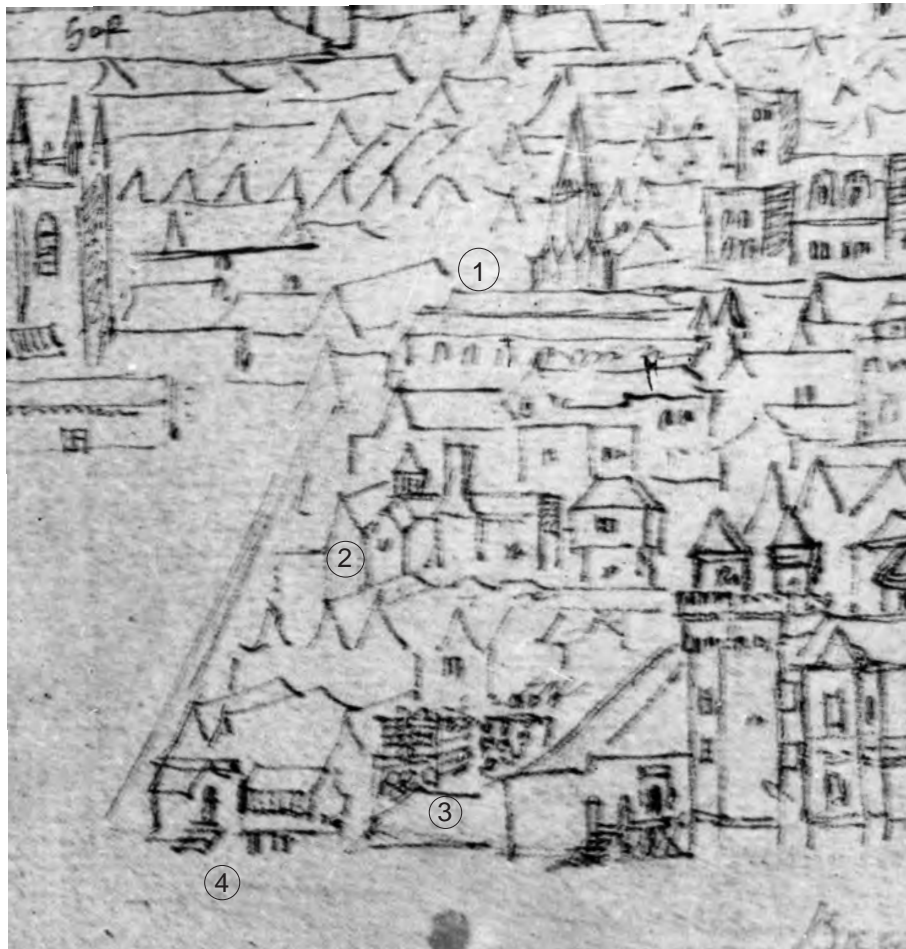


**Fig 6** Reconstructed map of the precinct of Black Friars shortly before Dissolution; 'T' indicates rented tenement (scale 1:1000)

**Fig 6**



**Fig 7** Reconstruction of the church of Black Friars (scale 1:500)

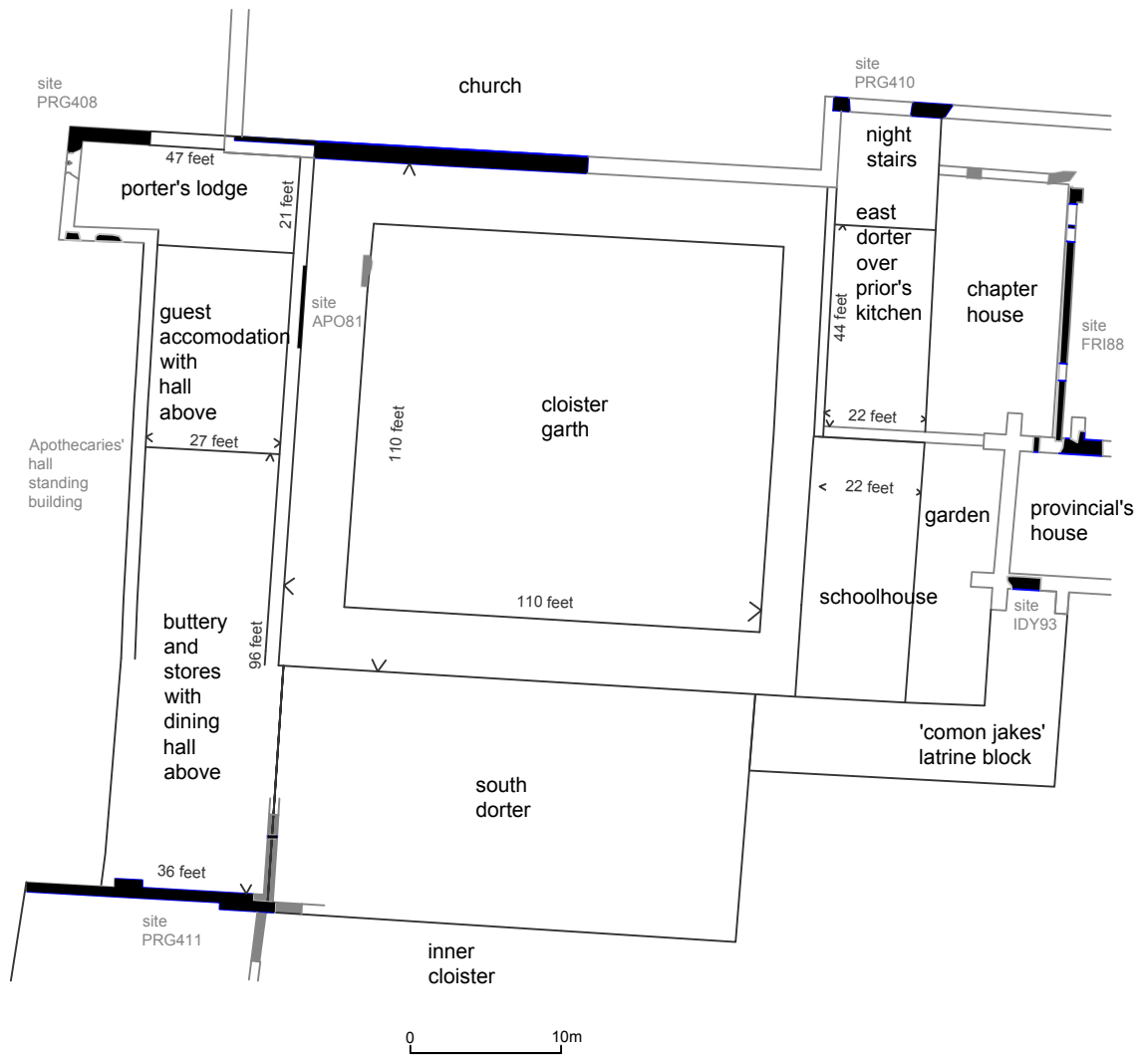


**Key to selected features:**

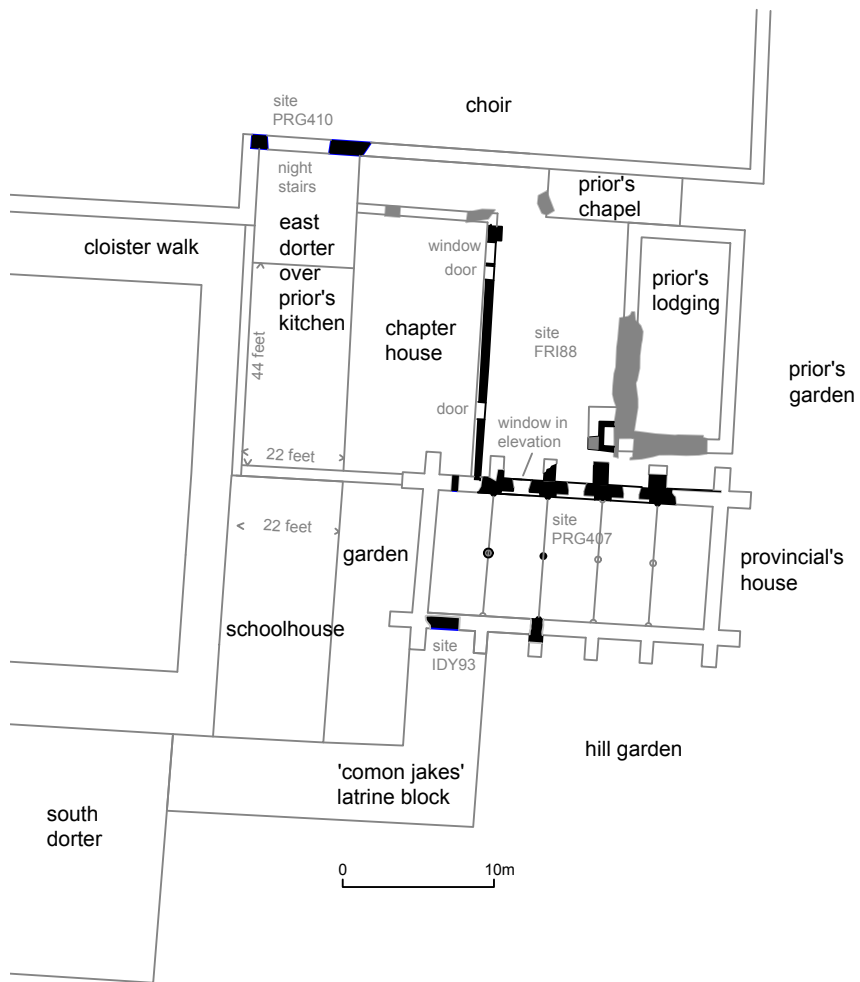
- 1 church
- 2 parliament hall?
- 3 medieval tenement
- 4 water gate

**Fig 8** Black Friars: detail of Wyngaerde's view of London, showing the former precinct in c. 1544 (reproduced from *The Panorama of London*)





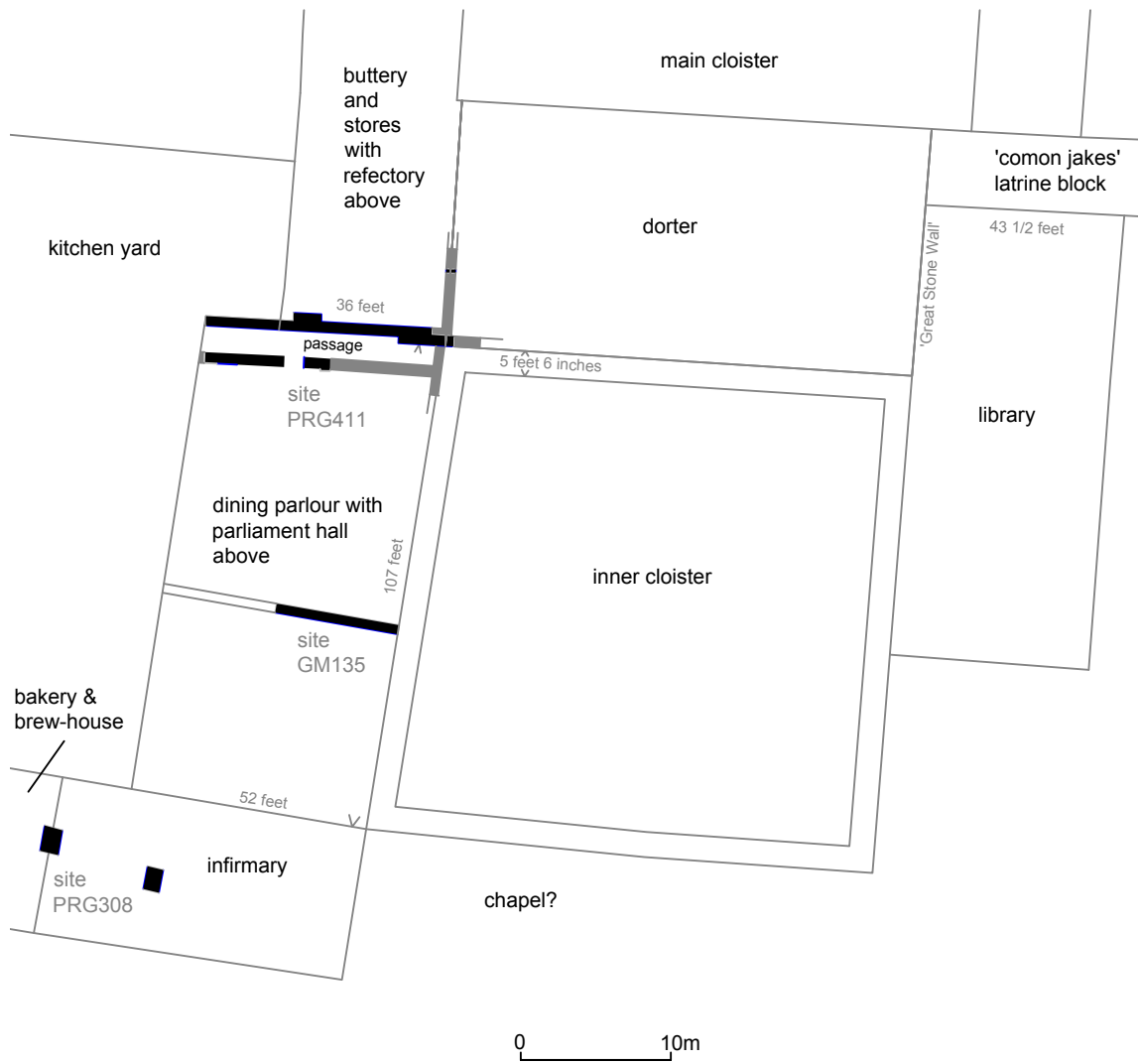
**Fig 9** Black Friars: plan of the main cloister (scale 1:500)



**Fig 10** Black Friars: plan of the prior and provincial prior's buildings (scale 1:500)



**Fig 11** Black Friars: exterior view of one of the bricked-up windows on the north wall of the provincial prior's building (0.5m scale) (LAARC, site FRI88, image 975-89)



**Fig 12** Black Friars: plan of the inner cloister (scale 1:500)





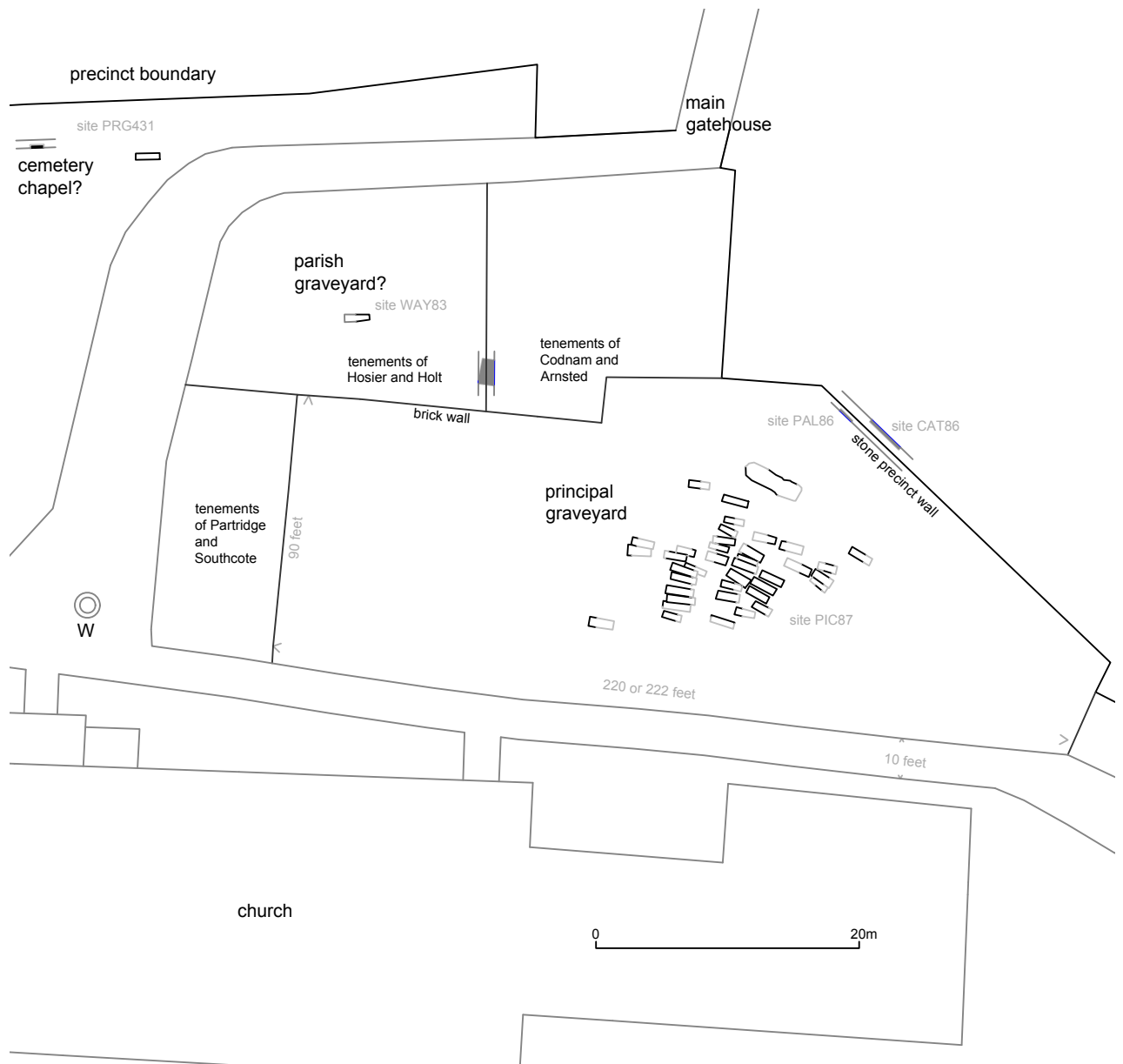
**Key to selected features:**

- 1 church (converted to mansion)
- 2 prior's garden
- 3 water gate
- 4 medieval tenements
- 5 houses built by Thomas Cawarden in c. 1550

**Fig 13** Black Friars: detail of the 'copperplate' map-view of the 1550s showing the friary shortly after the Dissolution (Museum of London)



**Fig 14** Black Friars: the kitchens and service courtyard (scale 1:500)

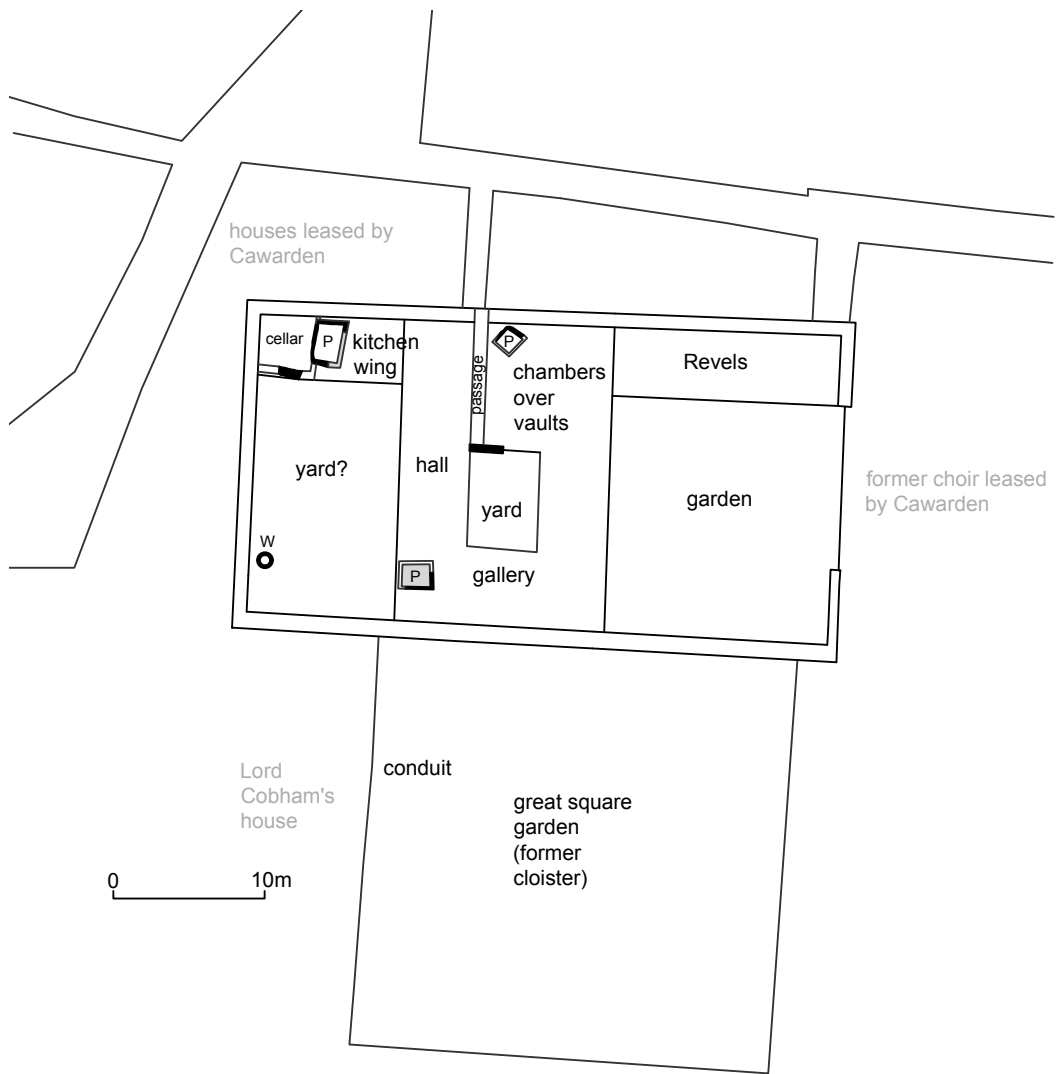


**Fig 15** Plan of the churchyard of Black Friars (1:500)



**Fig 16** Map showing the principal properties in Blackfriars following the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)

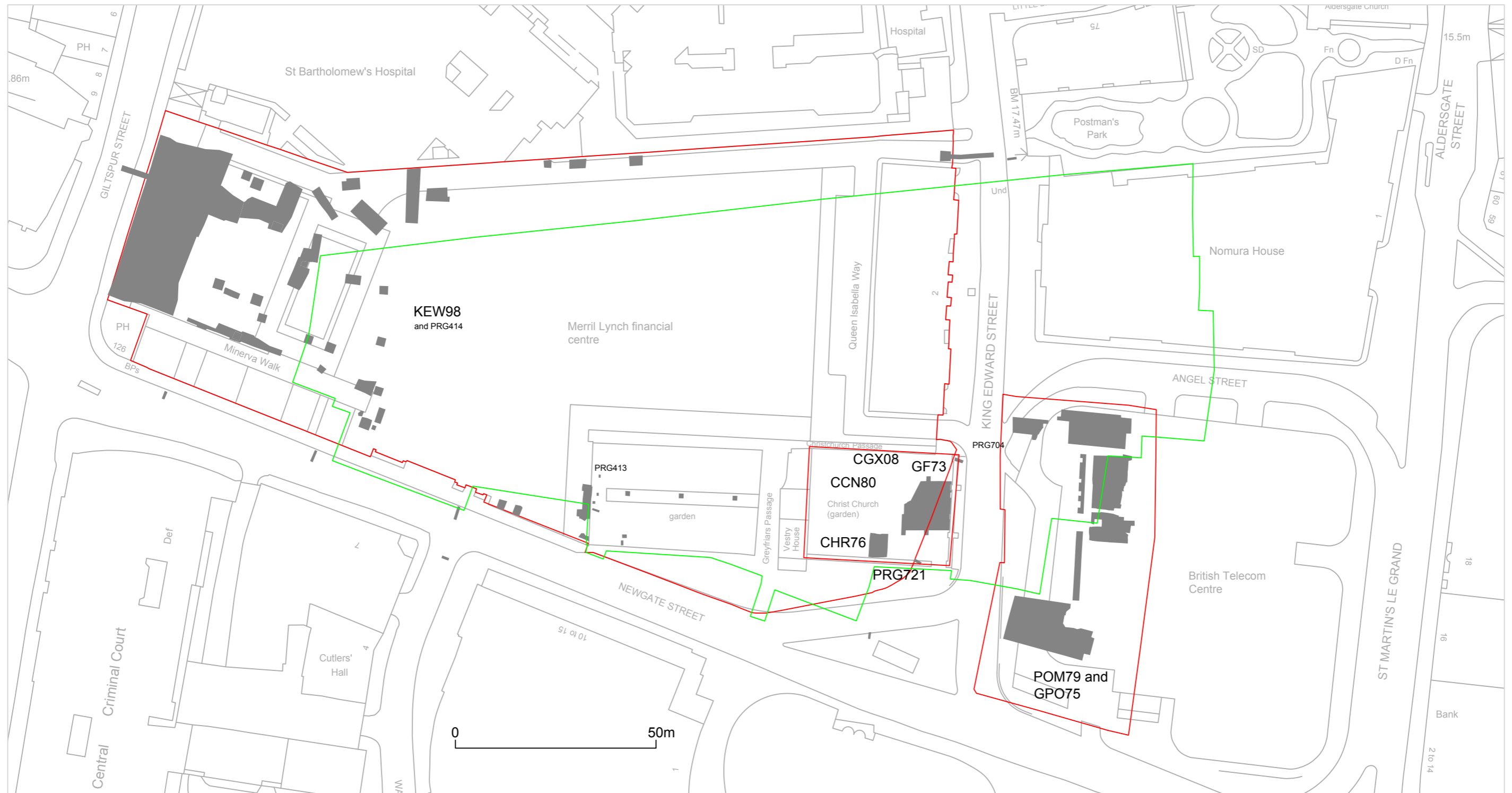




**Fig 17** Black Friars: reconstruction of Thomas Cawarden's mansion in the former nave, combining documentary and archaeological evidence; 'P' indicates privy and 'W' indicates well (scale 1:500)



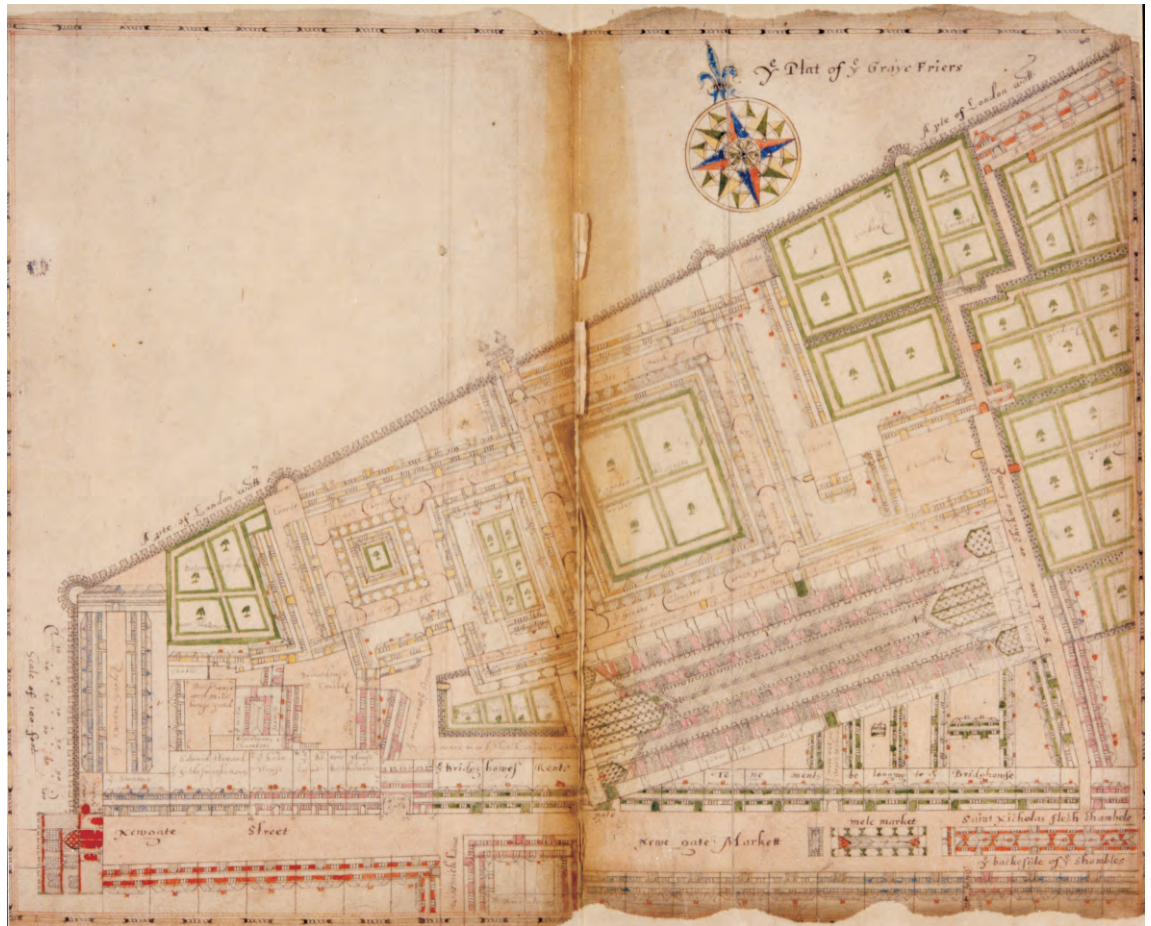
**Fig 18** Black Friars: map showing Thomas Cawarden's development of new houses in c. 1550 (scale 1:500)



**Fig 19** Map showing areas of archaeological excavation and recording in Grey Friars (green indicates medieval precinct boundary, grey tone shows areas of hand excavation) (scale 1:1000)  
 (Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)



Fig 20 Reconstructed plan of the precinct of Grey Friars (scale 1:1000)



**Fig 21** Plan of the western part of the former Grey Friars entitled 'The Plat of the Graye Friars', drawn by Martin Llewellyn around the second decade of the seventeenth century (St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives, HC 19, f. 59)





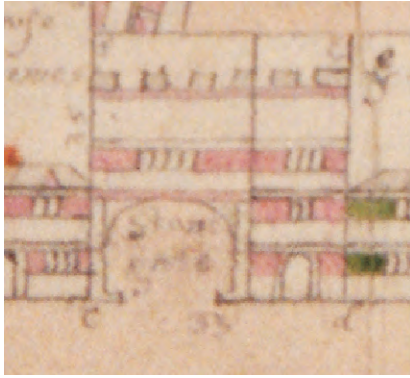
Fig 22 Grey Friars: plan of the eastern part of Christ's Hospital (and its rented tenements), surveyed in 1656; north is to the left (London Metropolitan Archive, COLLAGE 21718)



**Key to selected features:**

- 1 main gate
- 2 great cloister
- 3 gardens
- 4 infirmary

**Fig 23** Detail of the 'copperplate' map-view of the 1550s showing Grey Friars shortly after the Dissolution (Museum of London)



**A** main gate-house on Newgate Street



**B** porch leading into church from Newgate Street (two views superimposed)



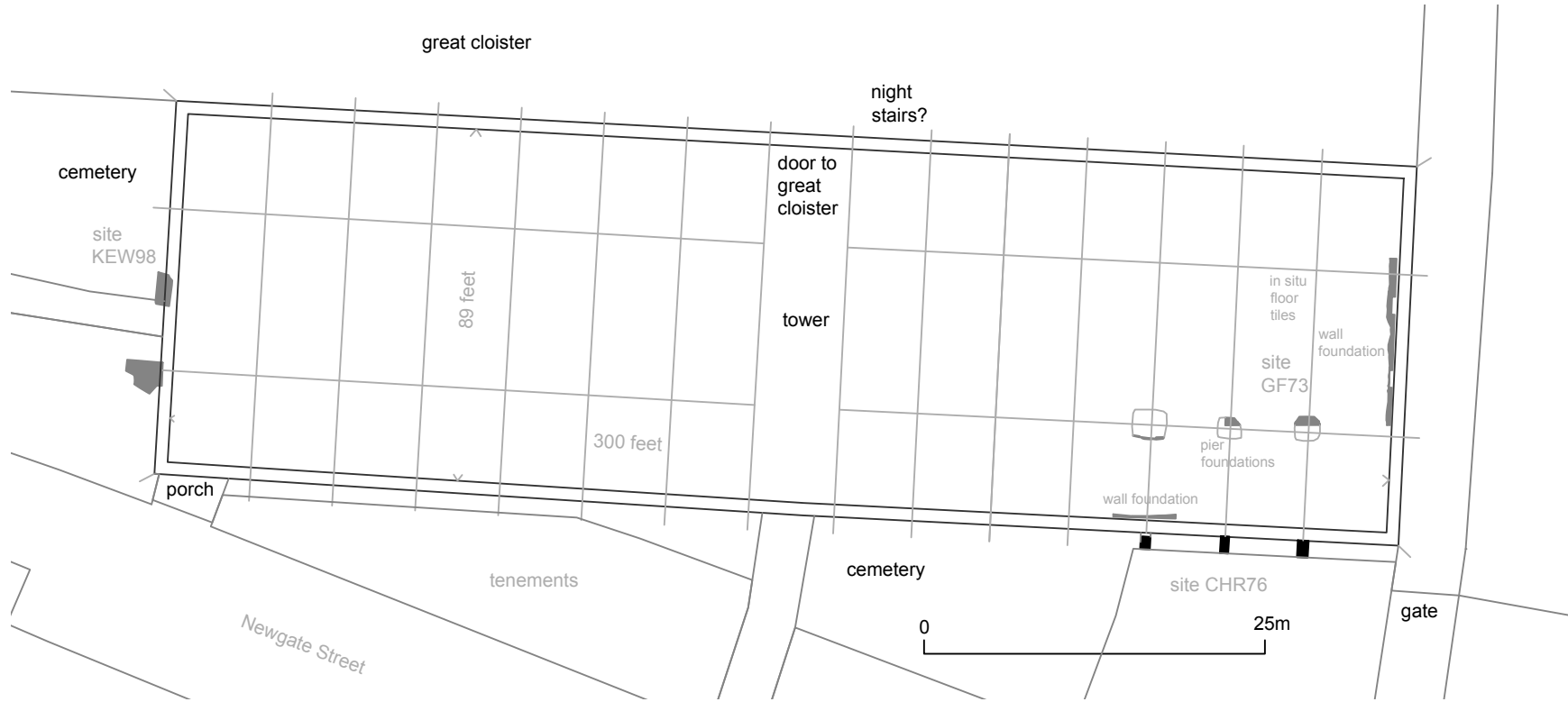
**C** gate on Newgate Street leading to 'walking place' through church



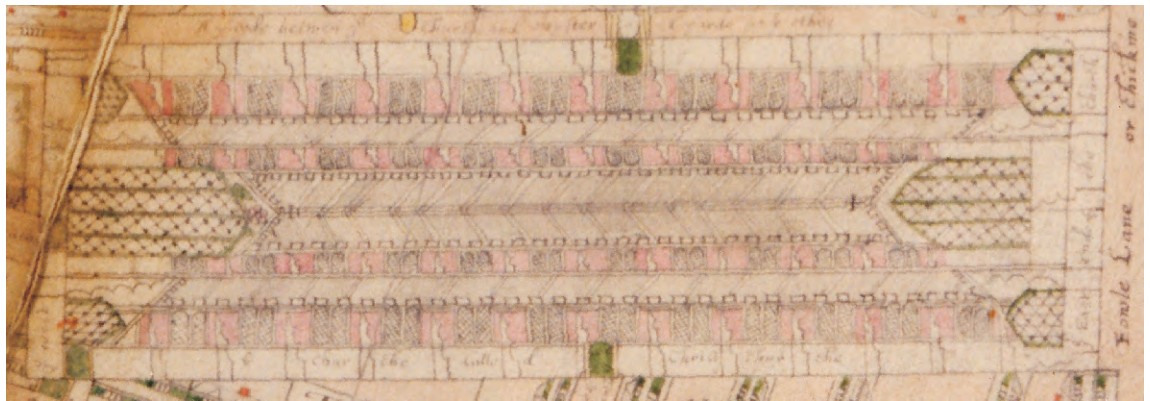
**D** gate in city wall giving access to precinct from St Bartholomew's Hospital

**Fig 24** Grey Friars: details of the friary gates (St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives, HC 19, f. 59)

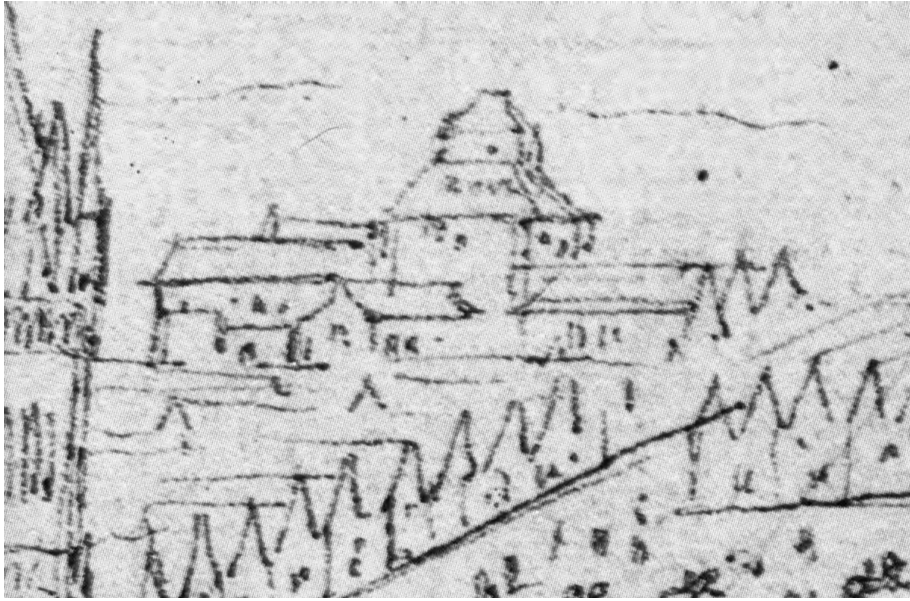




**Fig 25** Archaeological and documentary evidence for the medieval church of Grey Friars (scale 1:500)



**Fig 26** Early seventeenth-century plan-elevation of the Grey Friars church by Martin Llewellyn (St Bartholomew's Hospital Archives, HC 19, f. 59)



**Fig 27** Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church of Grey Friars in c. 1544 (reproduced from *The Panorama of London*)

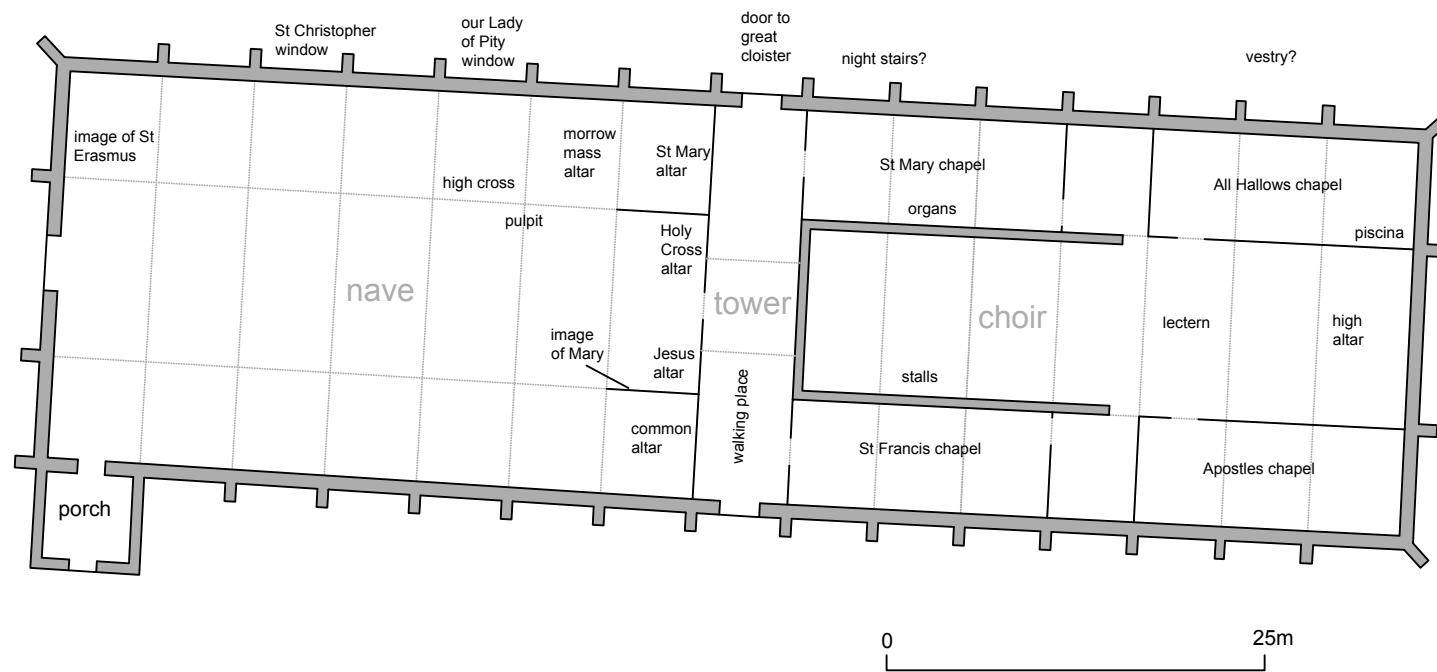
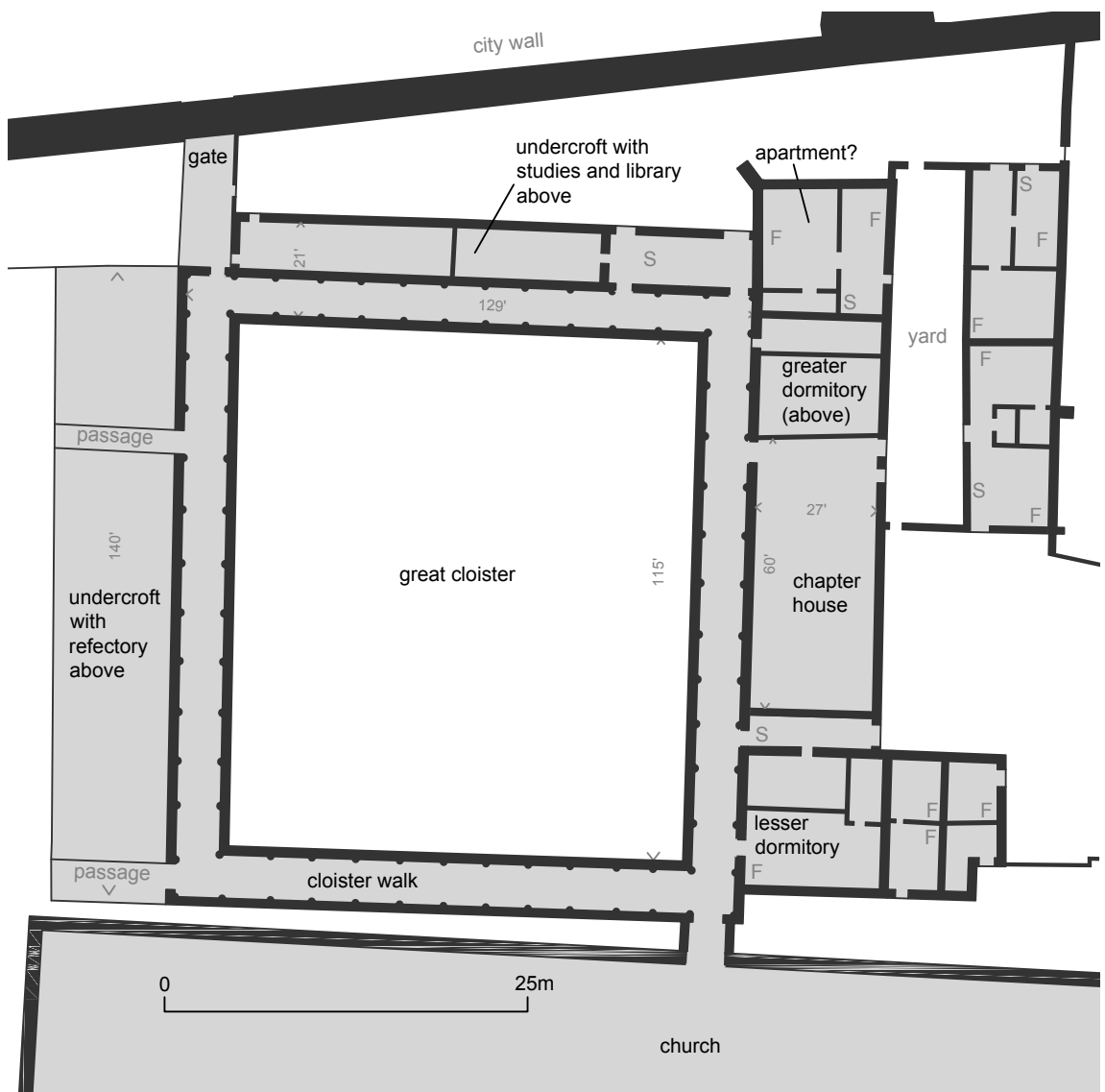


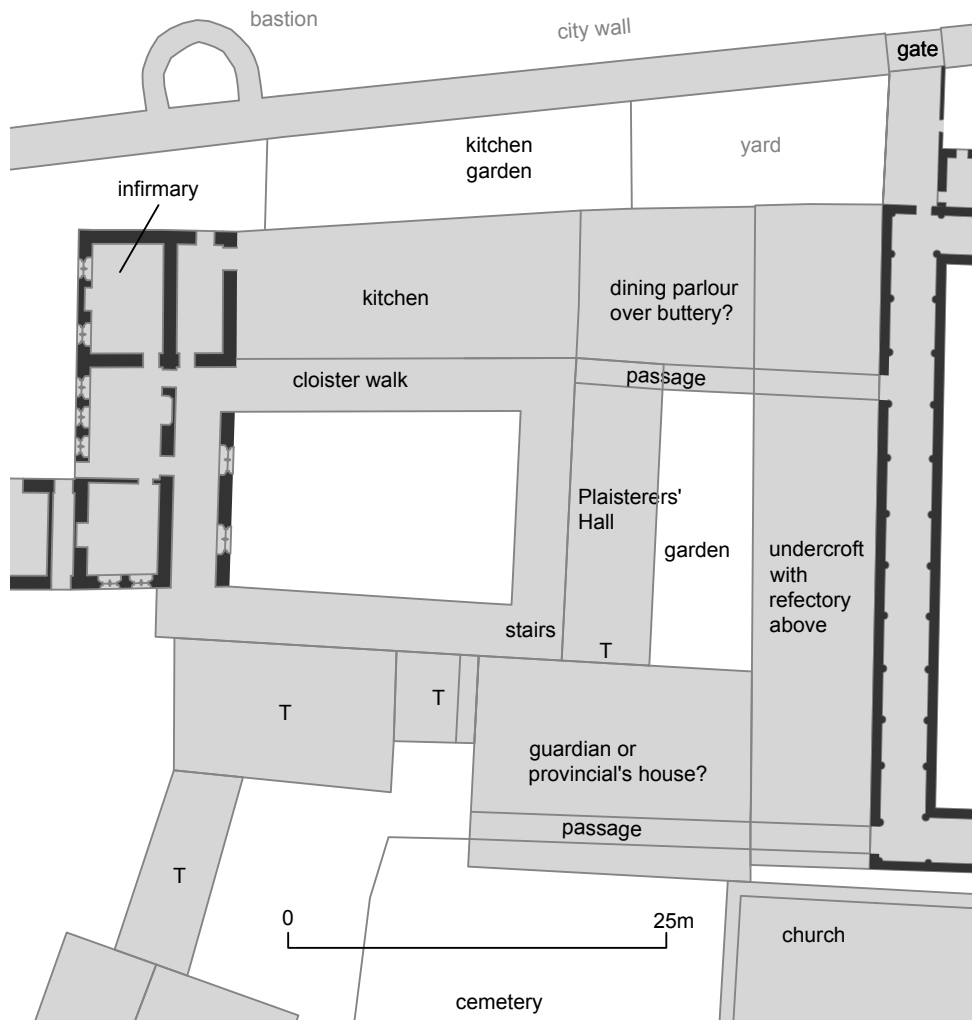
Fig 28 Reconstructed plan of the church of Grey Friars (scale 1:500)



**Fig 29** Grey Friars: view looking north in the great cloister of Christ's Hospital in 1825: the medieval library is on the second floor on the far side of the cloister (London Metropolitan Archive, COLLAGE 1332)



**Fig 30** Grey Friars: reconstructed plan of the great cloister ('S' indicates stairs, 'F' fireplace) (scale 1:500)



**Fig 31** Grey Friars: reconstructed plan of the little cloister ('T' indicates rented tenement) (scale 1:500)



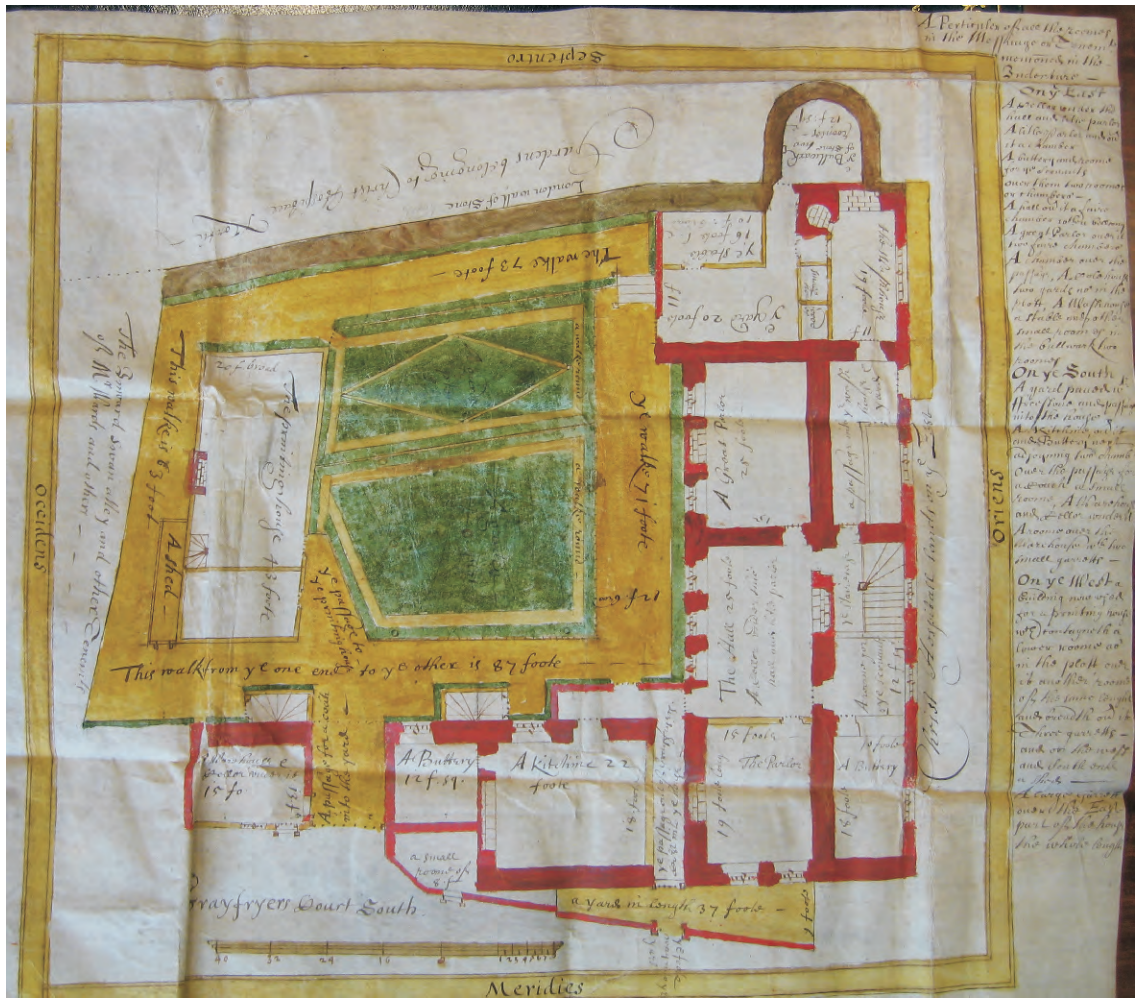
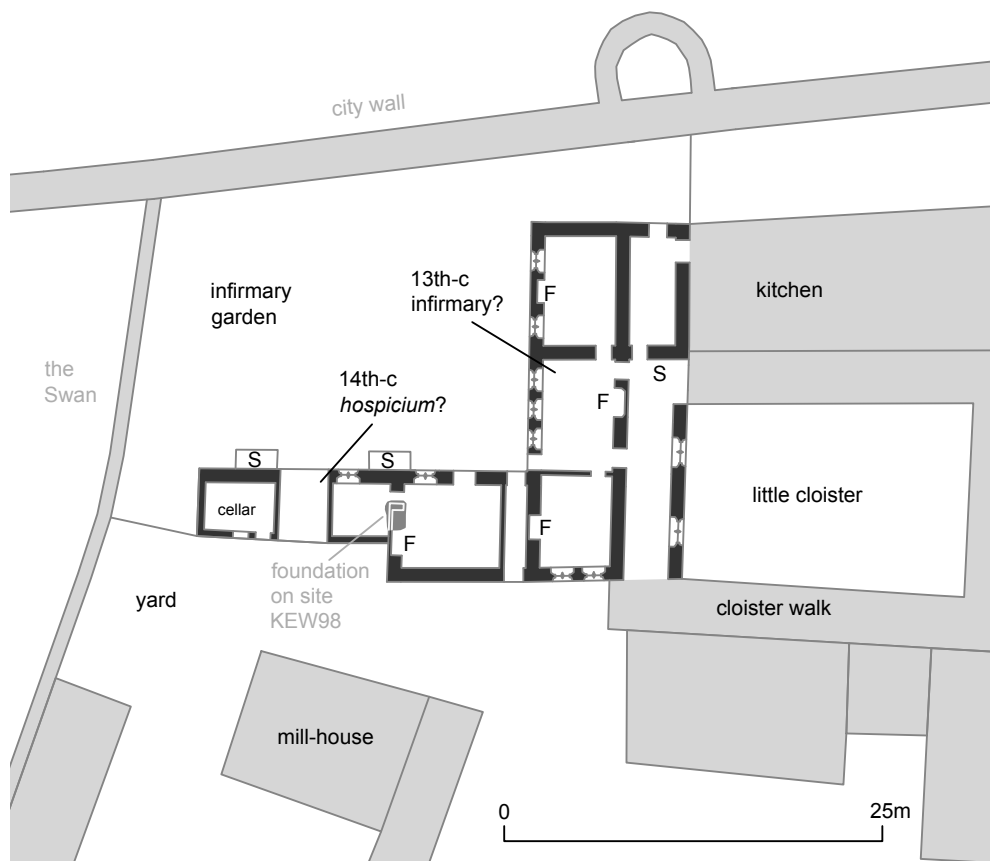
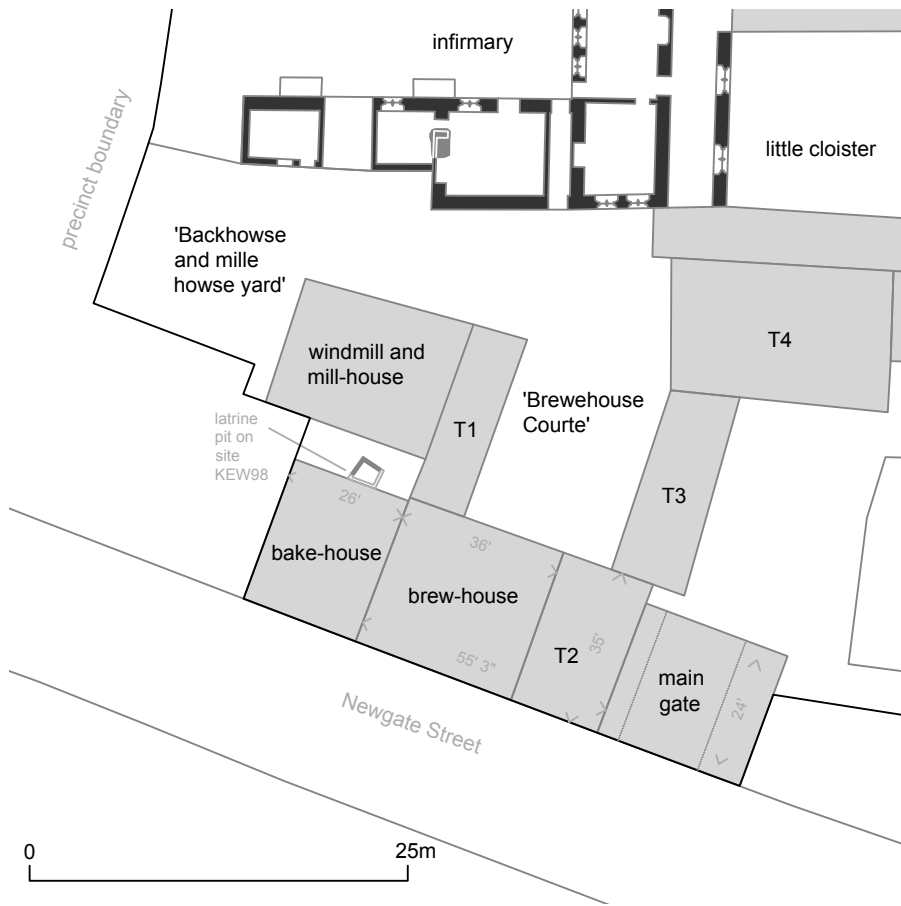


Fig 32 Early seventeenth-century plan of the infirmary (Nomura, unnumbered plan)

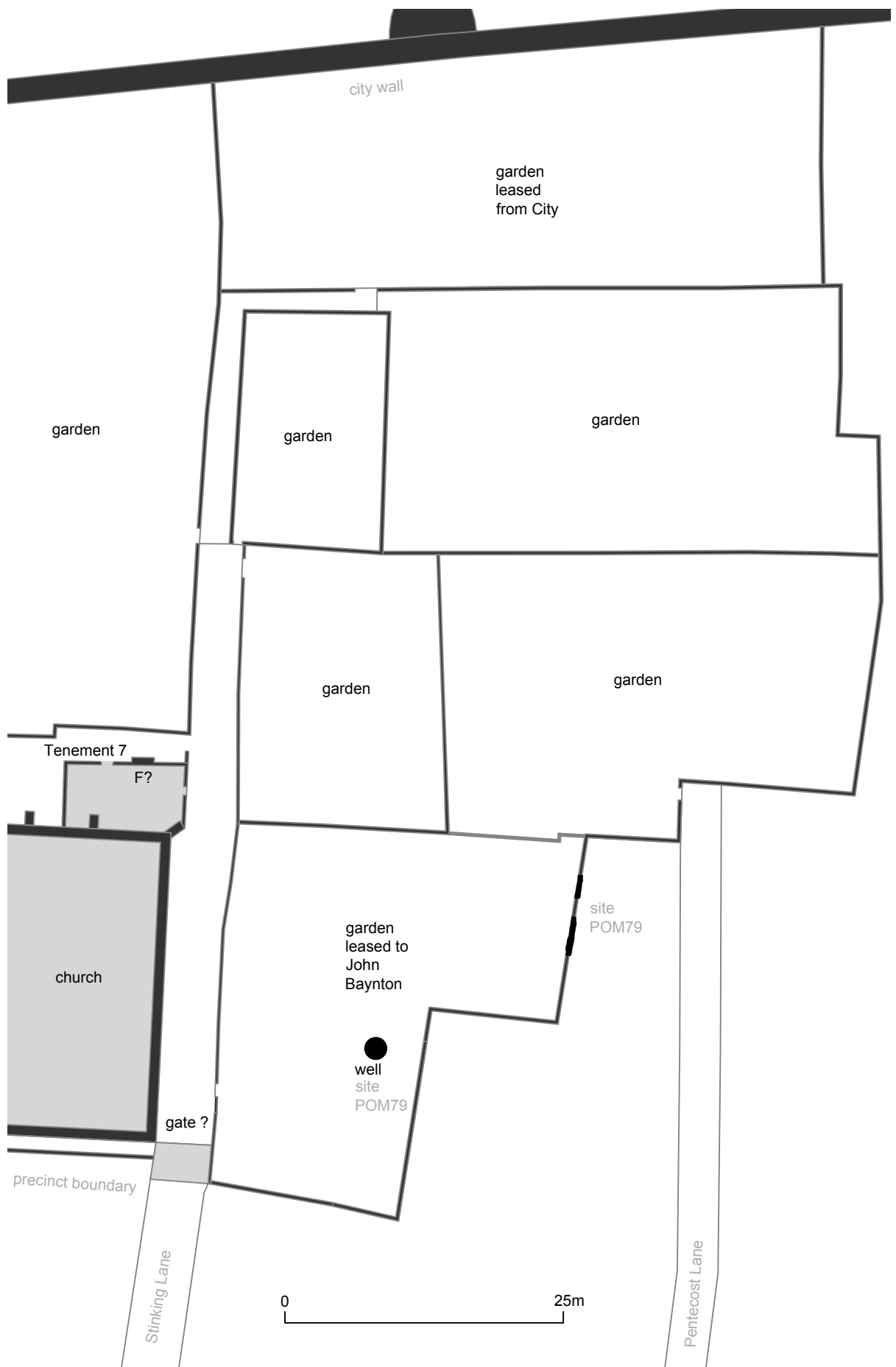




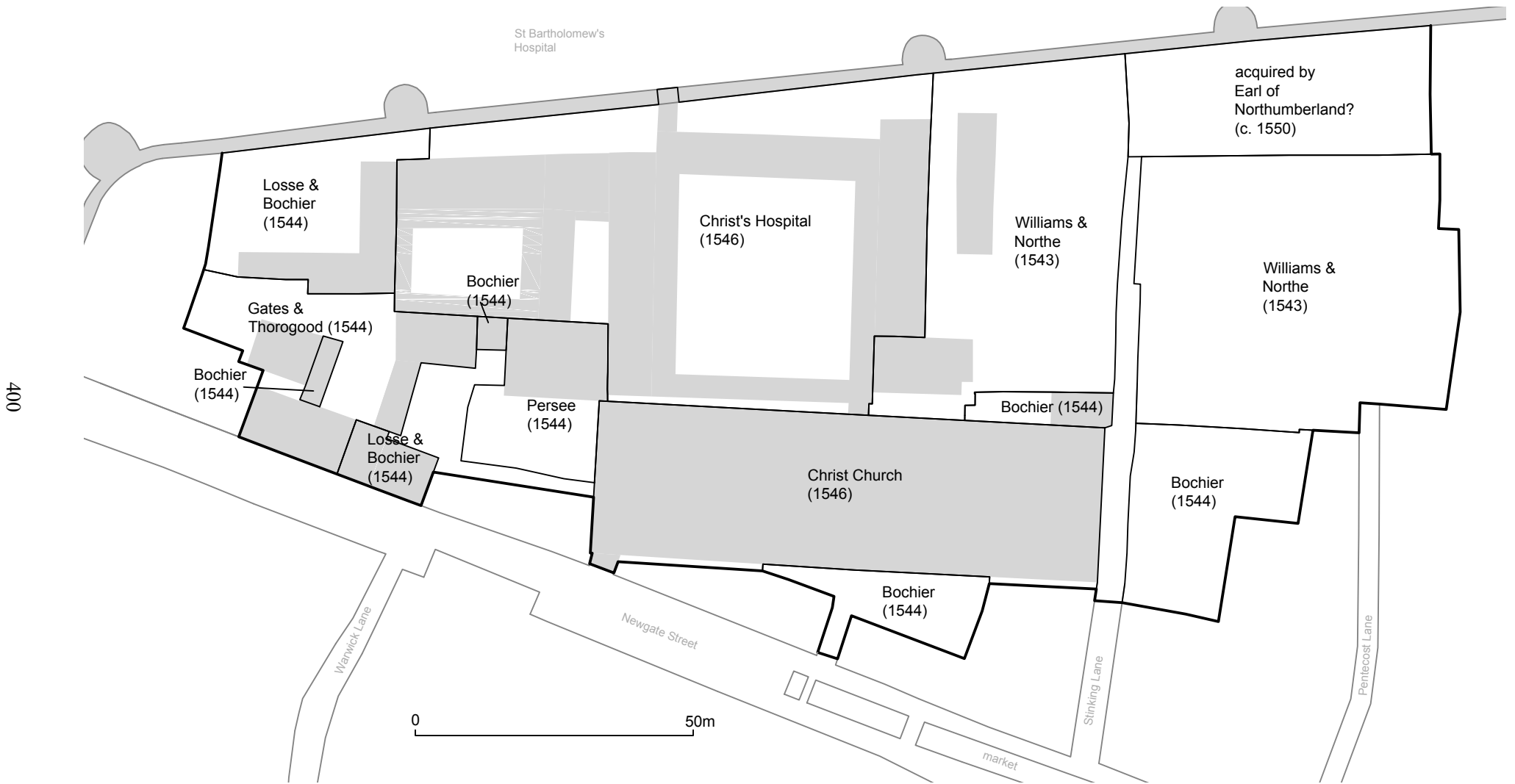
**Fig 33** Reconstructed plan of the medieval infirmary court, largely based on seventeenth-century plan (Fig 32) 'S' = stairs, 'F' = fireplace (scale 1:500)



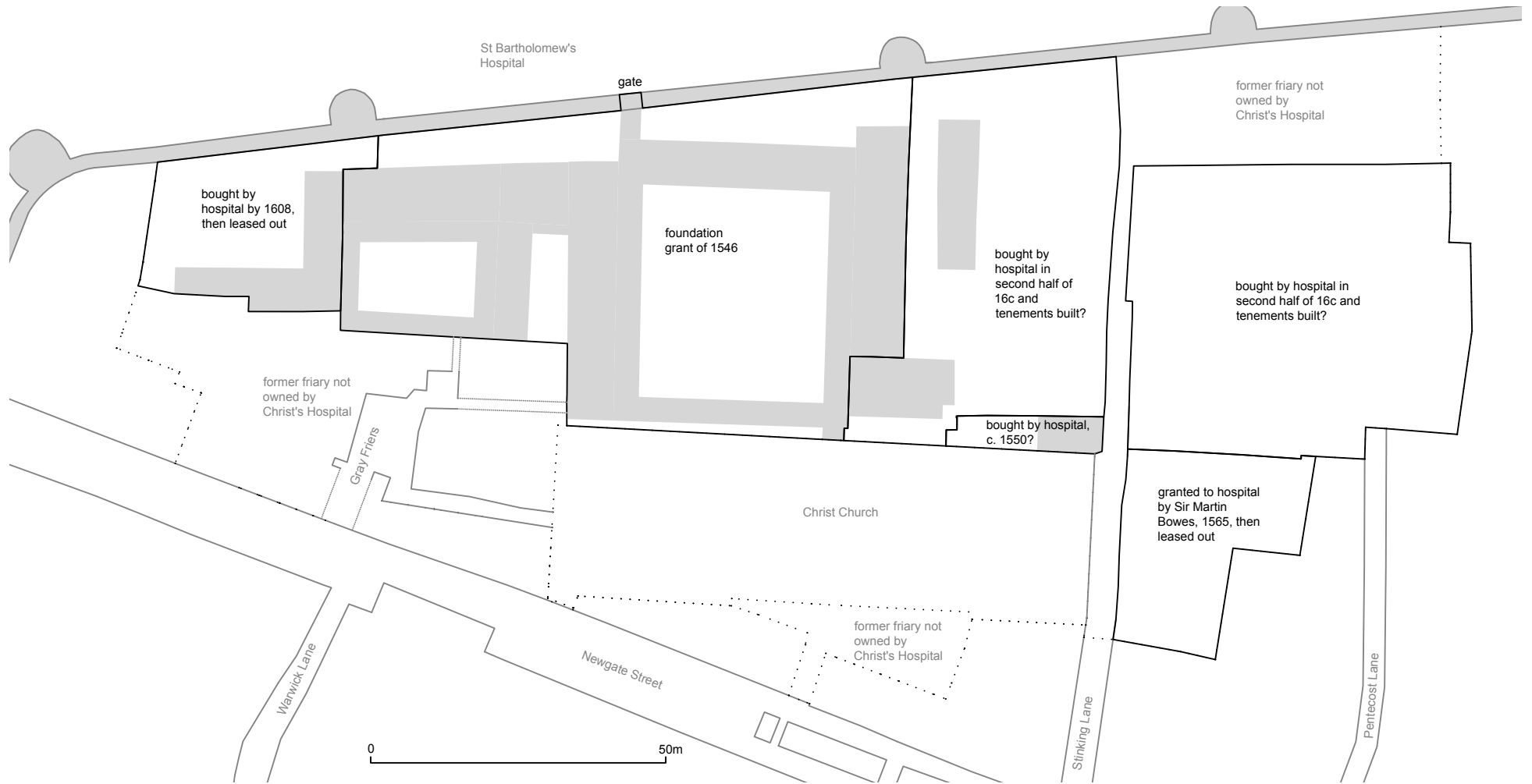
**Fig 34** Grey Friars: reconstructed map of the service court ('T' indicates rented tenement) (scale 1:500)



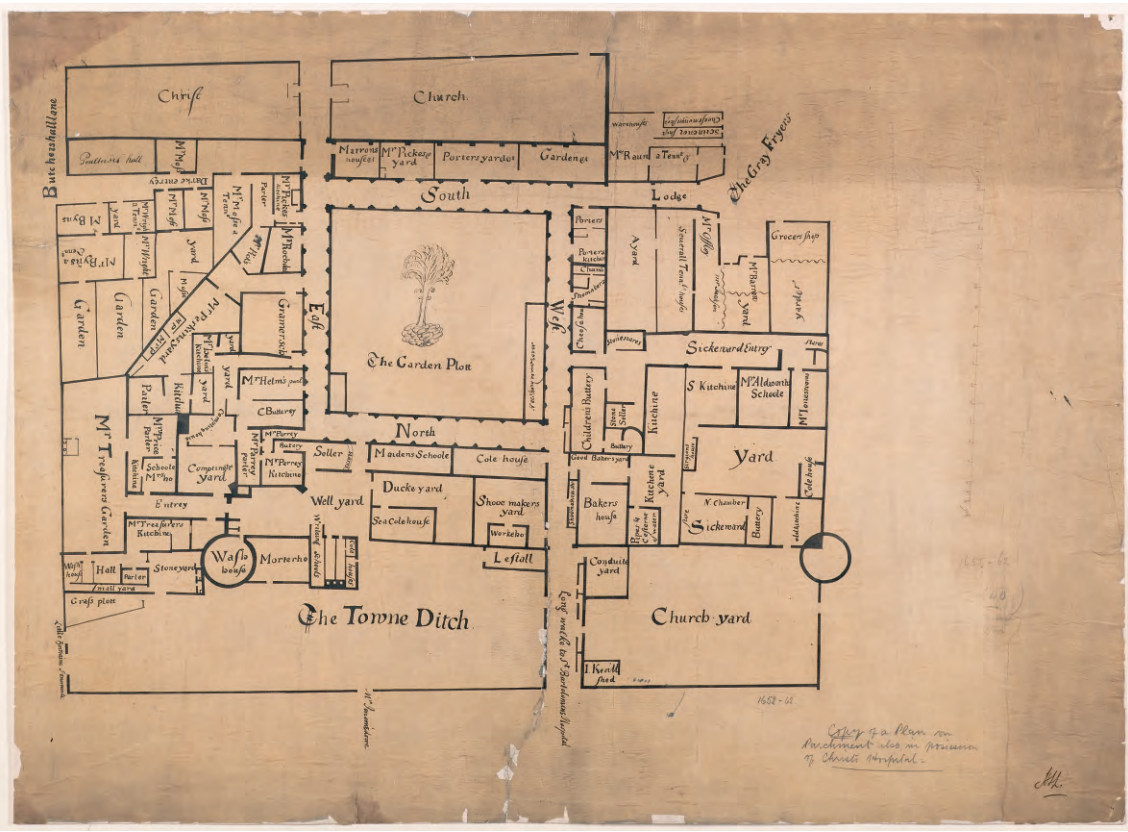
**Fig 35** Grey Friars: plan showing the gardens and tenements in the east of the precinct (scale 1:500)



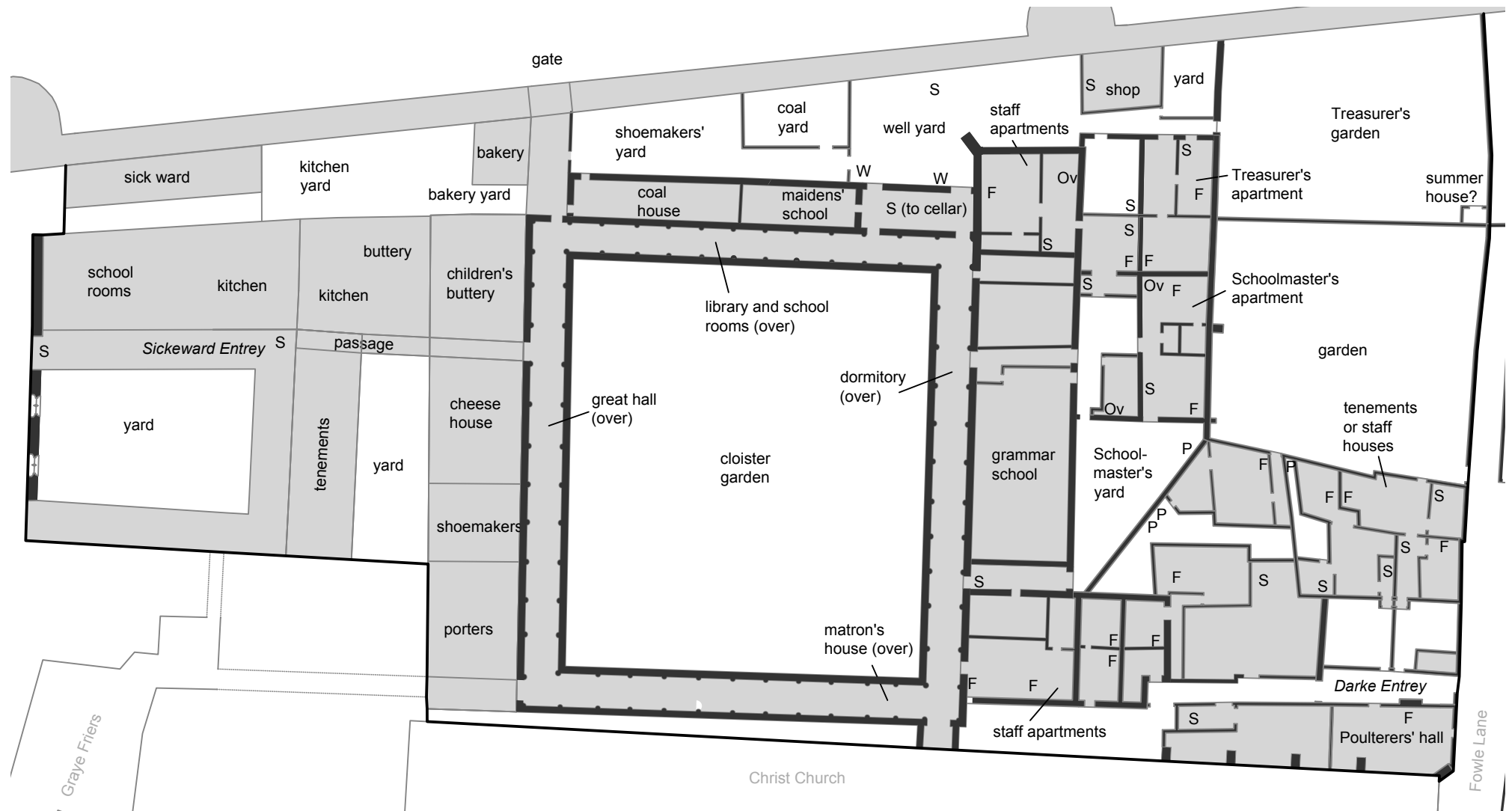
**Fig 36** Map showing the properties in Grey Friars sold by the Crown in the 1540s (scale 1:1000)



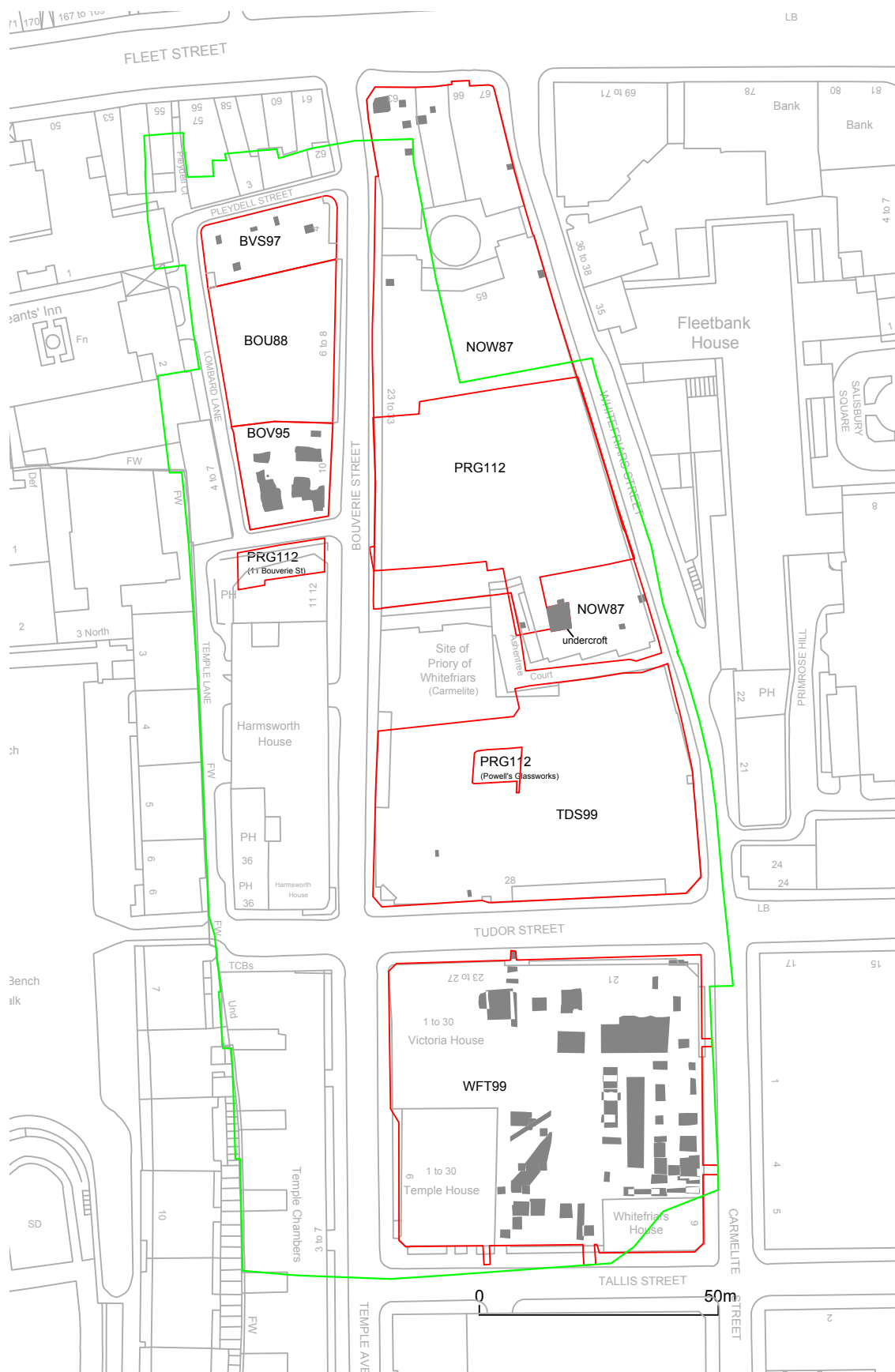
**Fig 37** Greyfriars: map showing the post-Dissolution properties acquired by Christ's Hospital (scale 1:1000)



**Fig 38** Greyfriars: plan of Christ's Hospital in the early seventeenth century; the plan is aligned with north at the bottom (Guildhall Library, MS 22637/02)

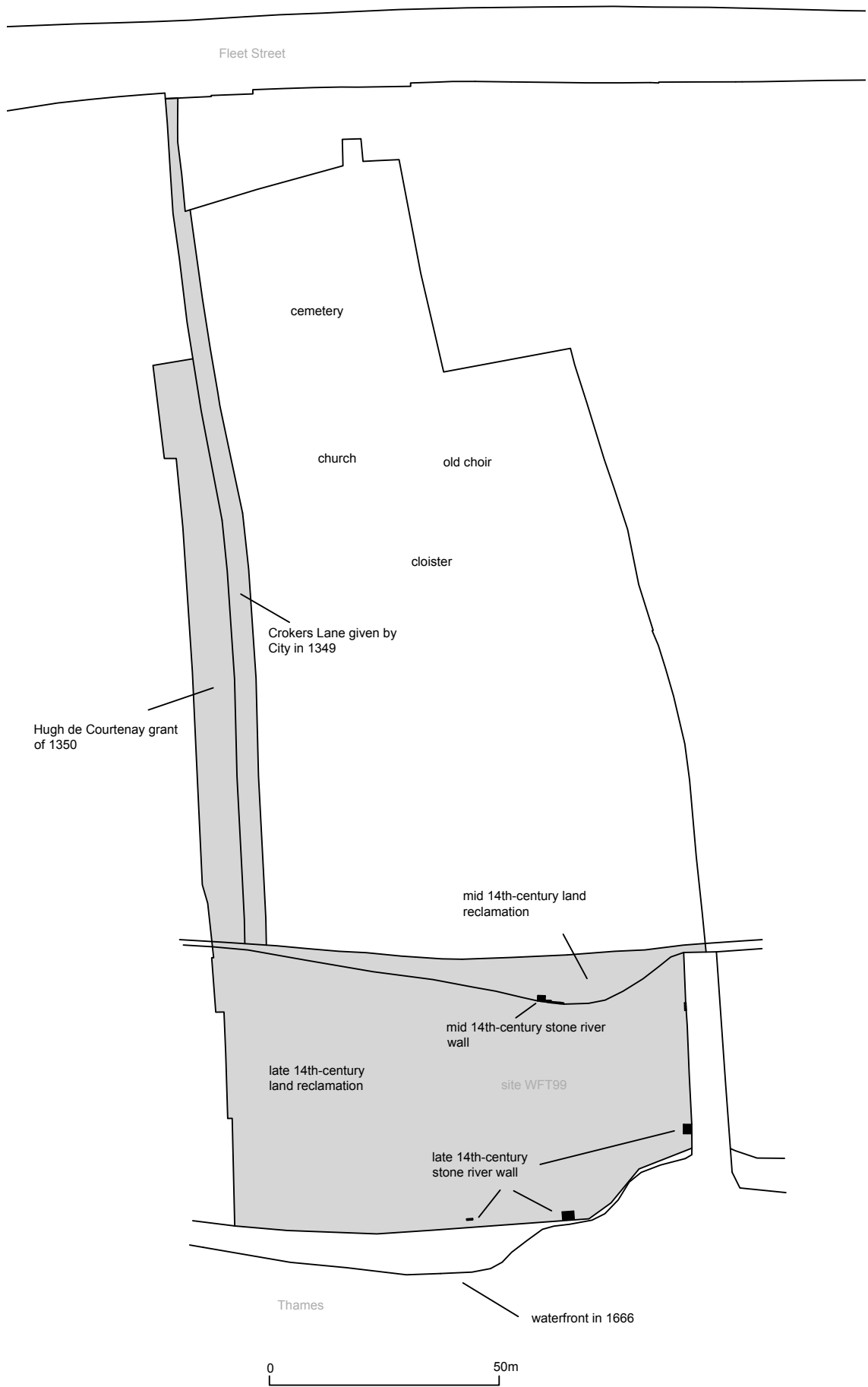


**Fig 39** Greyfriars: reconstructed map showing the principal school buildings of Christ's Hospital in the late sixteenth century; 'F' = fireplace, 'Ov' = oven, 'P' = privy, 'S' = stairs and 'W' = well (scale 1:500)



**Fig 40** Map showing location of archaeological sites in White Friars (green outline is medieval precinct; grey tone indicates hand-excavated areas) (scale 1:1250)  
 (Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)

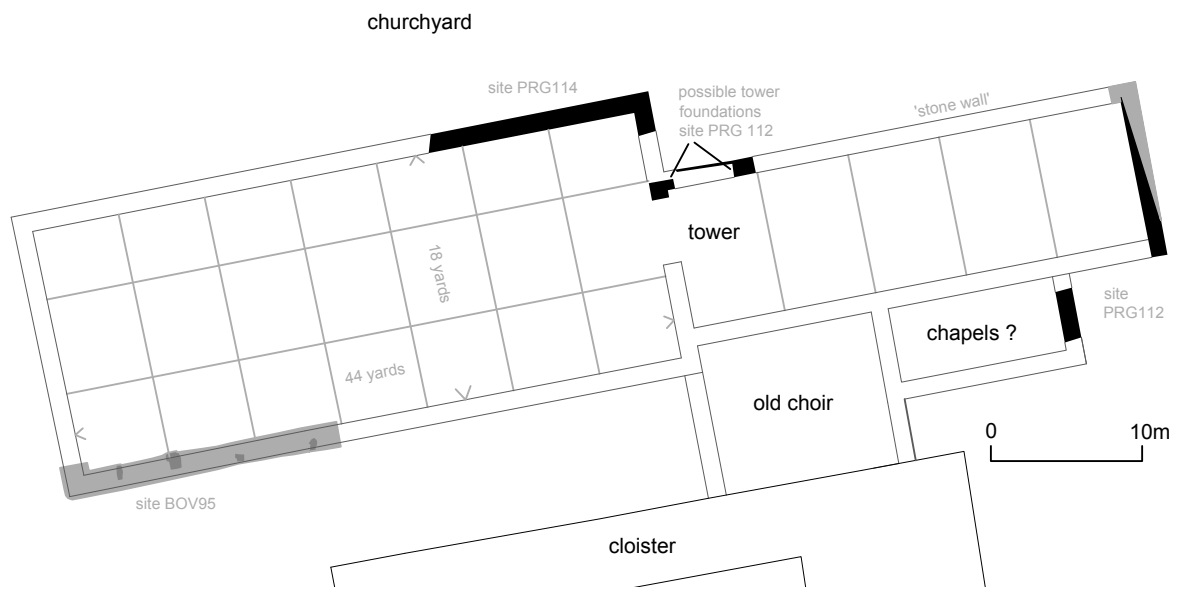




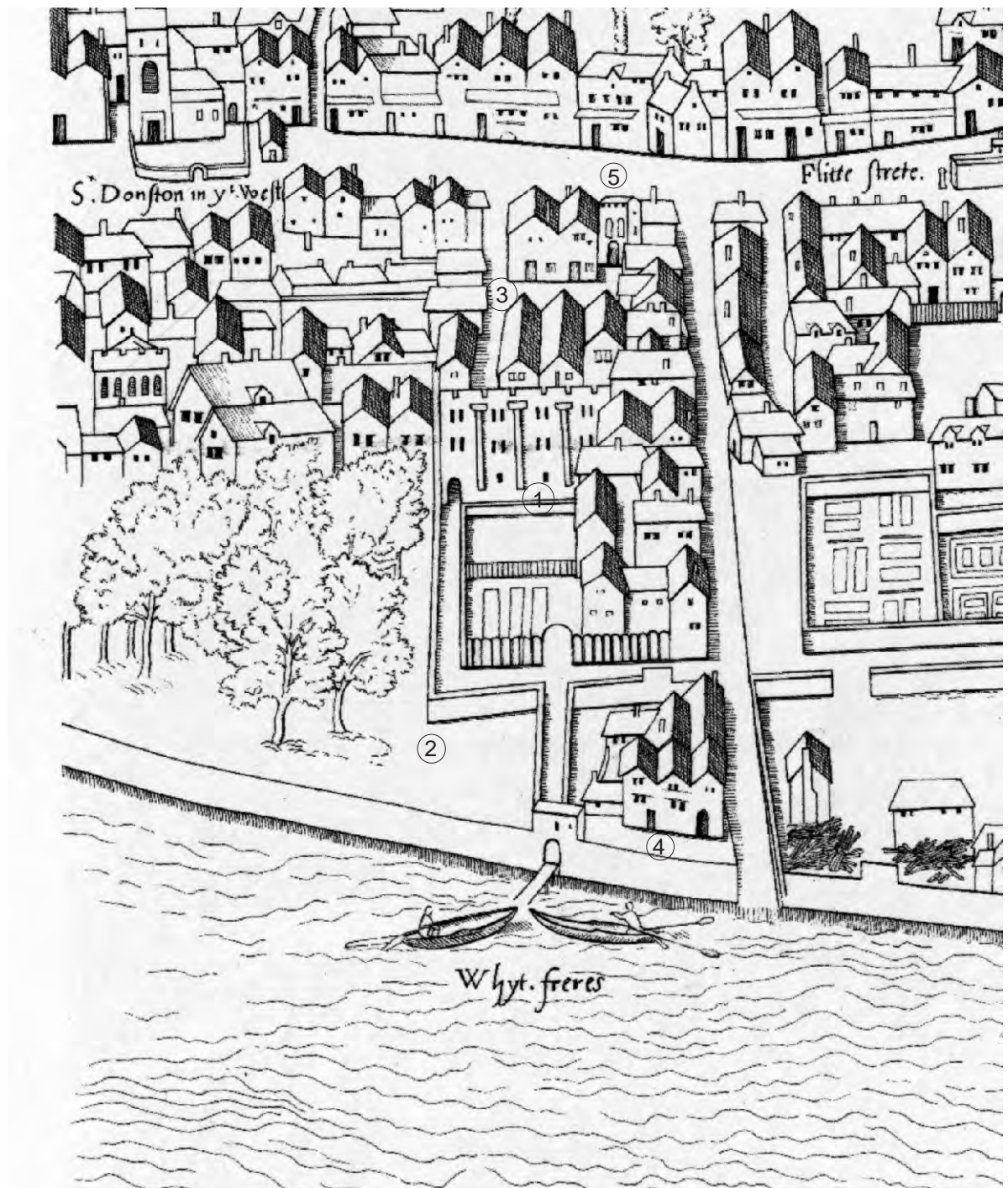
**Fig 41** Map showing the expansion of the White Friars precinct in the fourteenth century (scale 1:1250)



Fig 42 Map reconstructing the medieval precinct of White Friars (scale 1:1000)



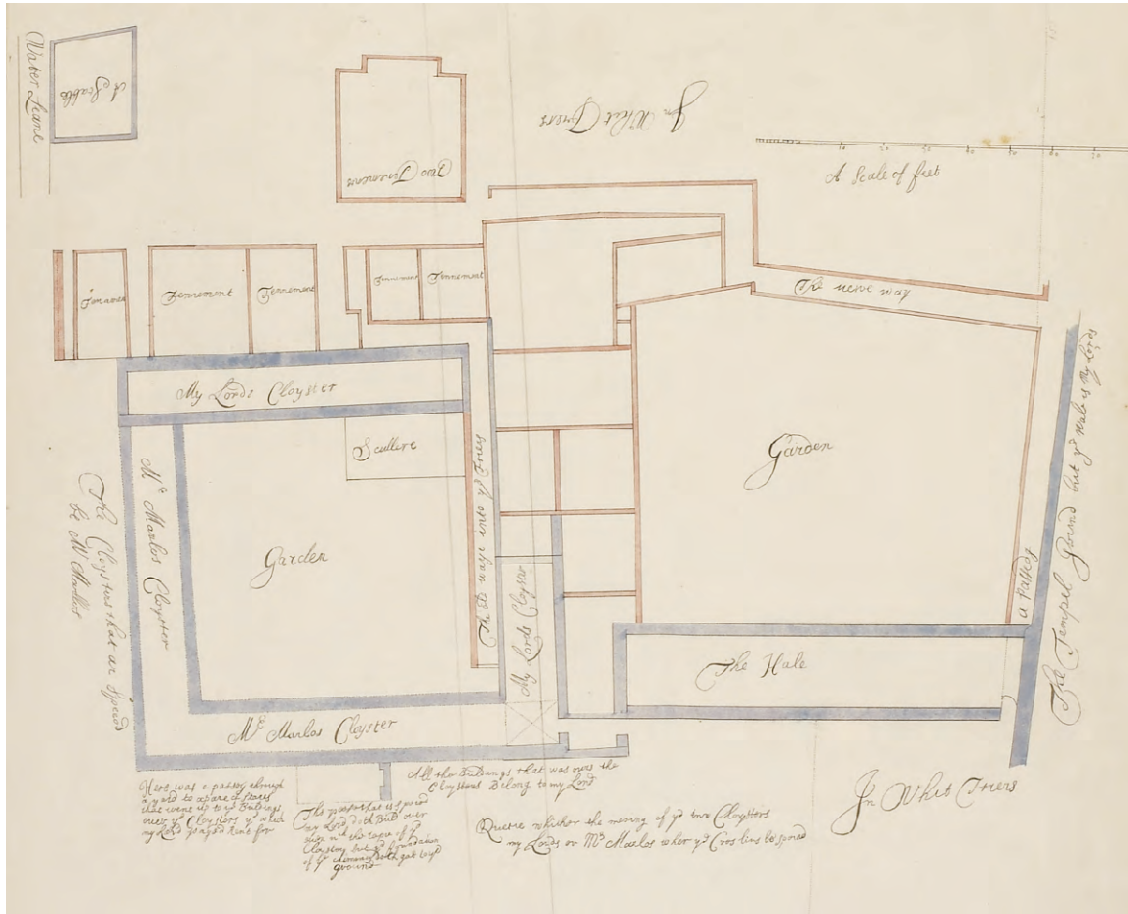
**Fig 43** Reconstruction of White Friars church in the sixteenth century (scale 1:500)



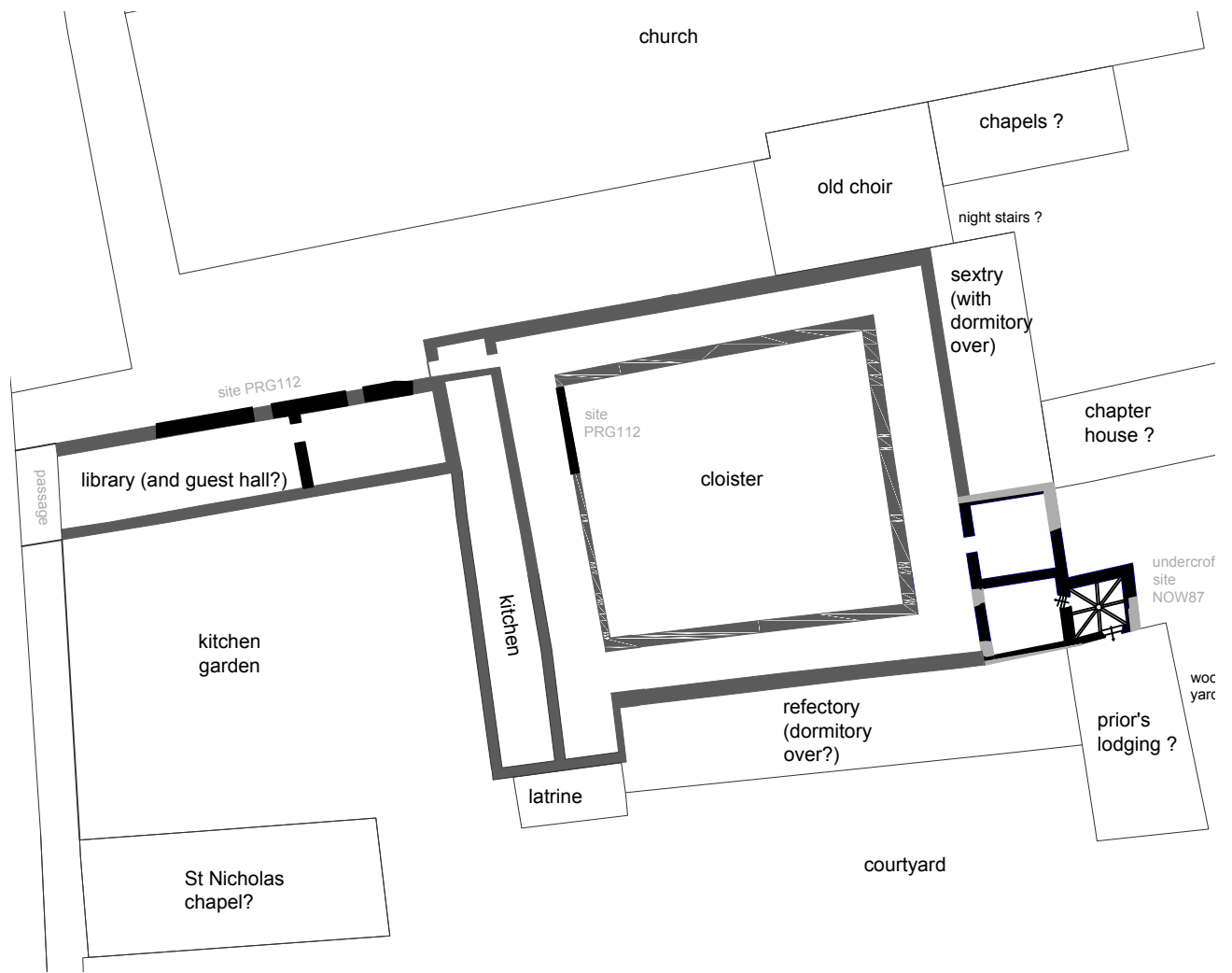
**Key to selected features:**

- 1 church
- 2 garden
- 3 cemetery
- 4 brewery tenement
- 5 gate

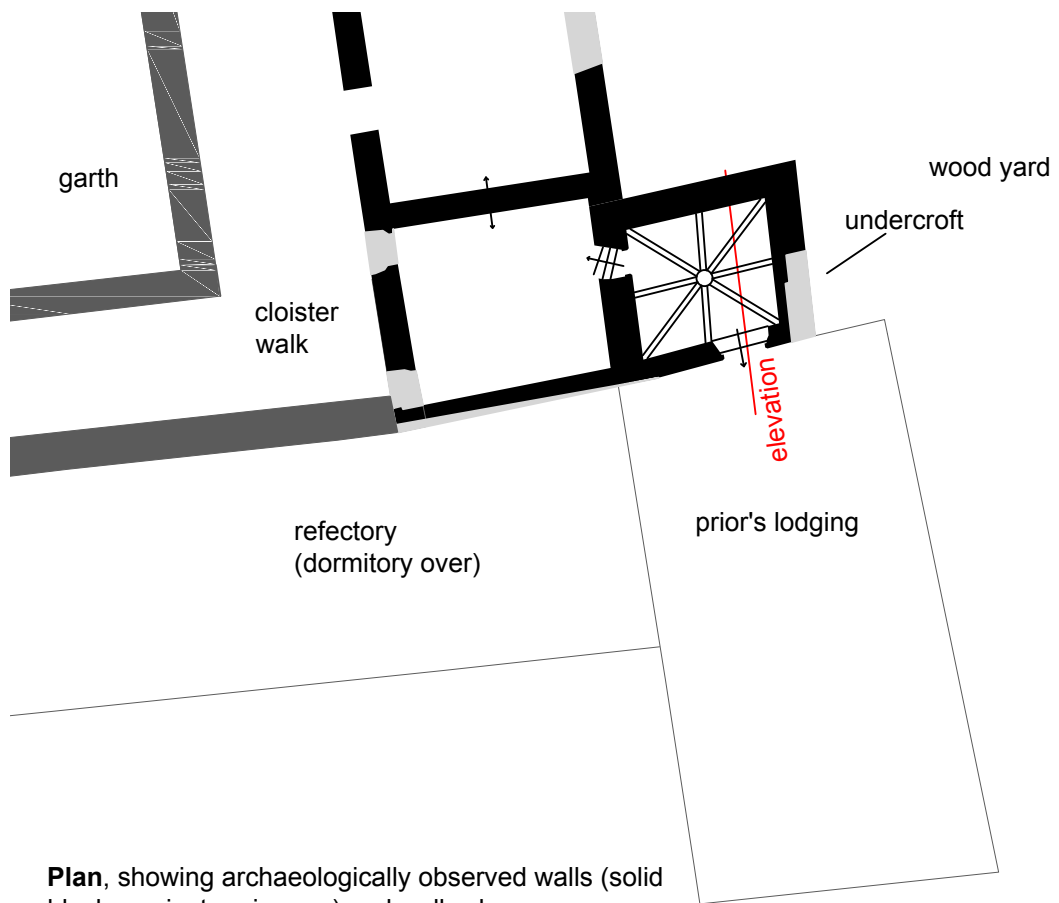
**Fig 44** Detail of the 'copperplate' map-view of the 1550s showing White Friars shortly after the Dissolution (Museum of London)



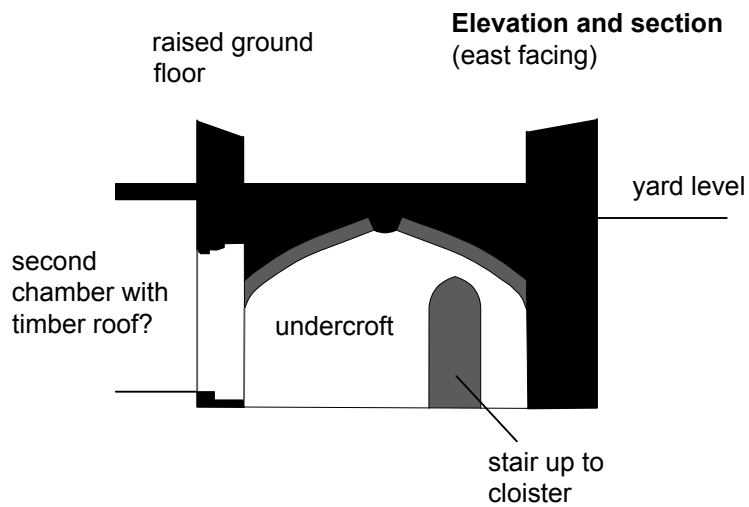
**Fig 45** Nineteenth-century copy of a survey of c. 1627 showing the area of the White Friars cloister; the plan is drawn with south at the top (British Library, Department of Maps, Crace, Portfolio 8, no. 104)



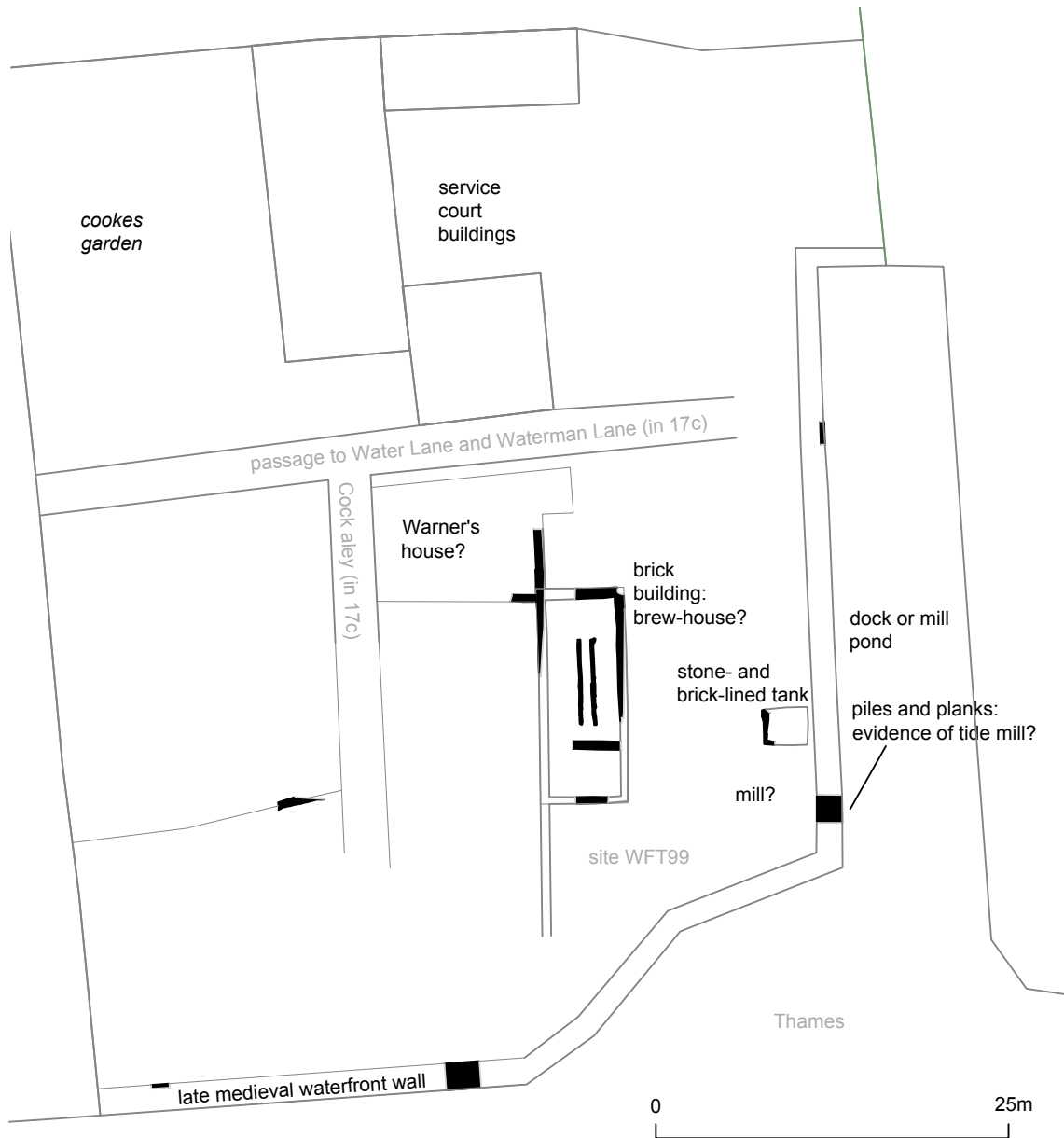
**Fig 46** Reconstruction of the cloister of White Friars in the early sixteenth century (scale 1:500)



**Plan**, showing archaeologically observed walls (solid black, conjecture in grey) and walls shown on 17th-century survey (dark grey)

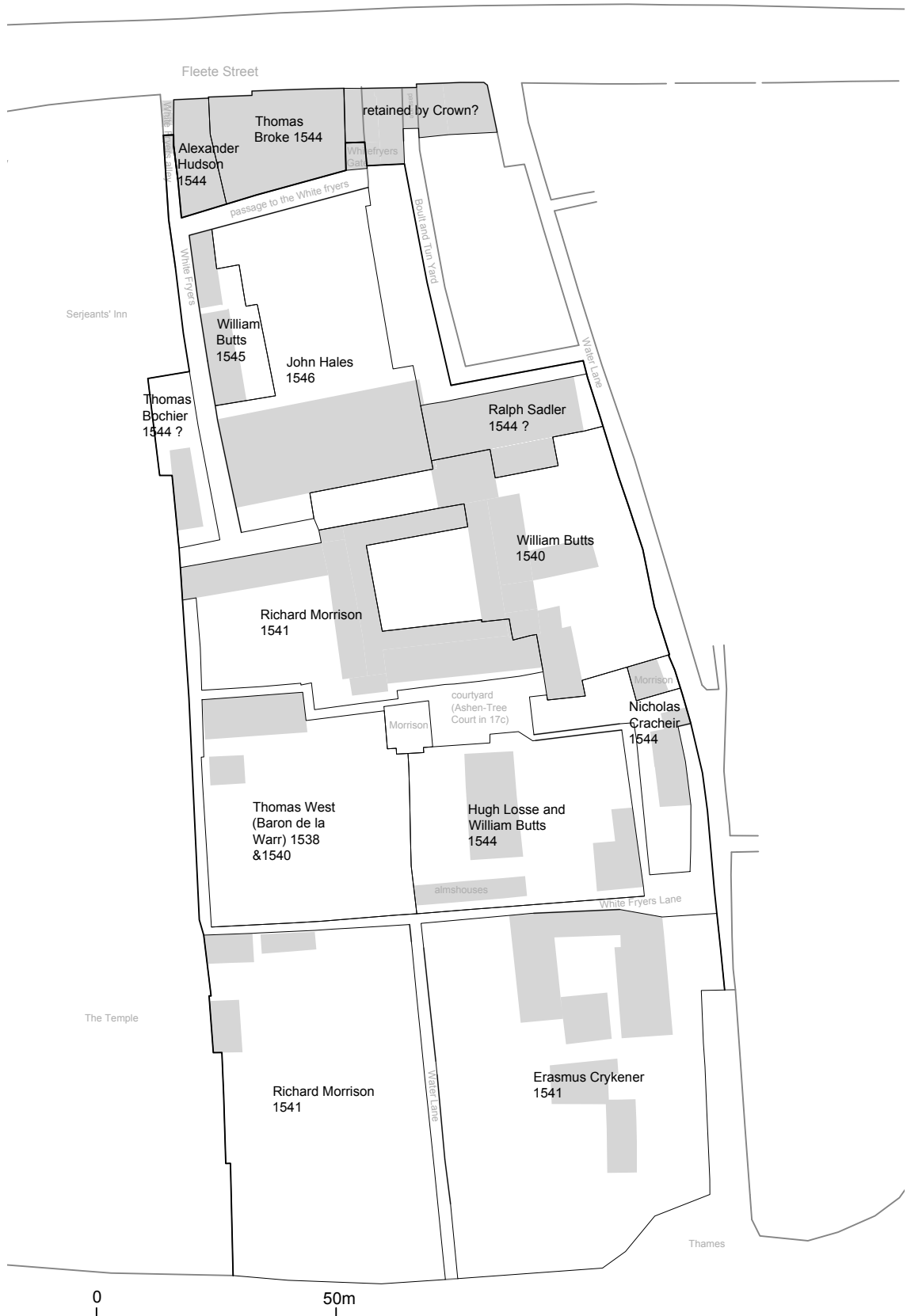


**Fig 47** Detailed plan and elevation of the undercroft of the prior's lodging (based primarily on English Heritage recording of 1987) (scale of plan 1:200; scale of elevation 1:100)

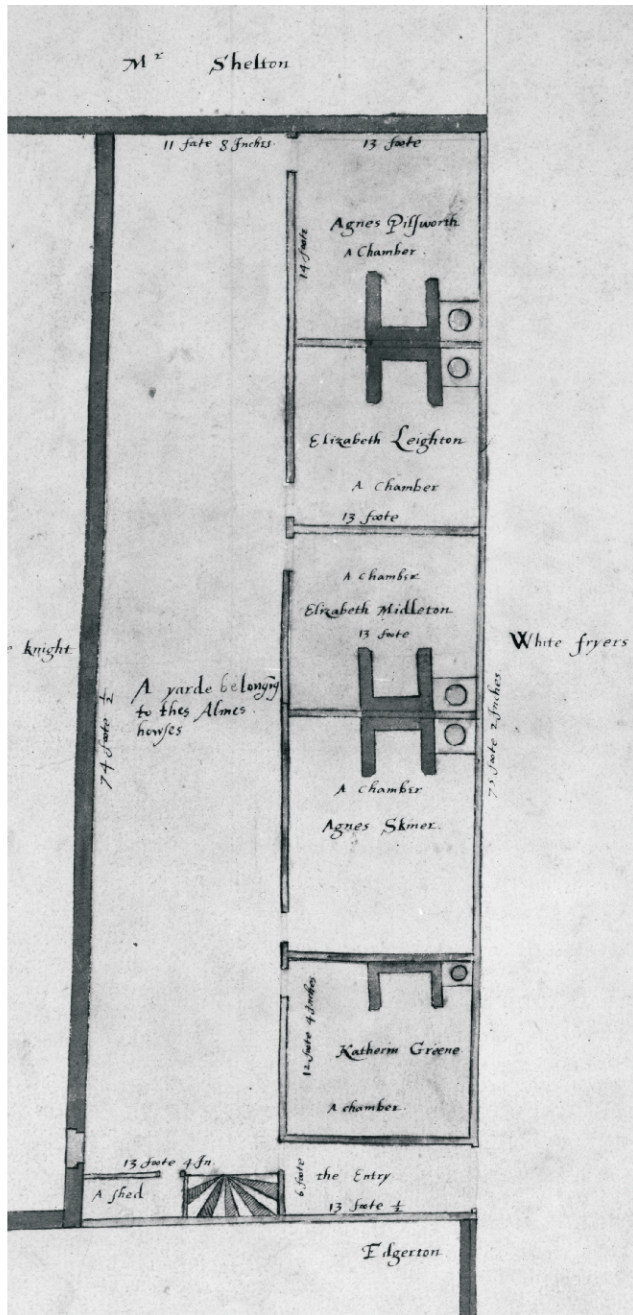


**Fig 48** Reconstructed map of the service court and Hilary Warner's brew-house in the south-east of White Friars (scale 1:500)





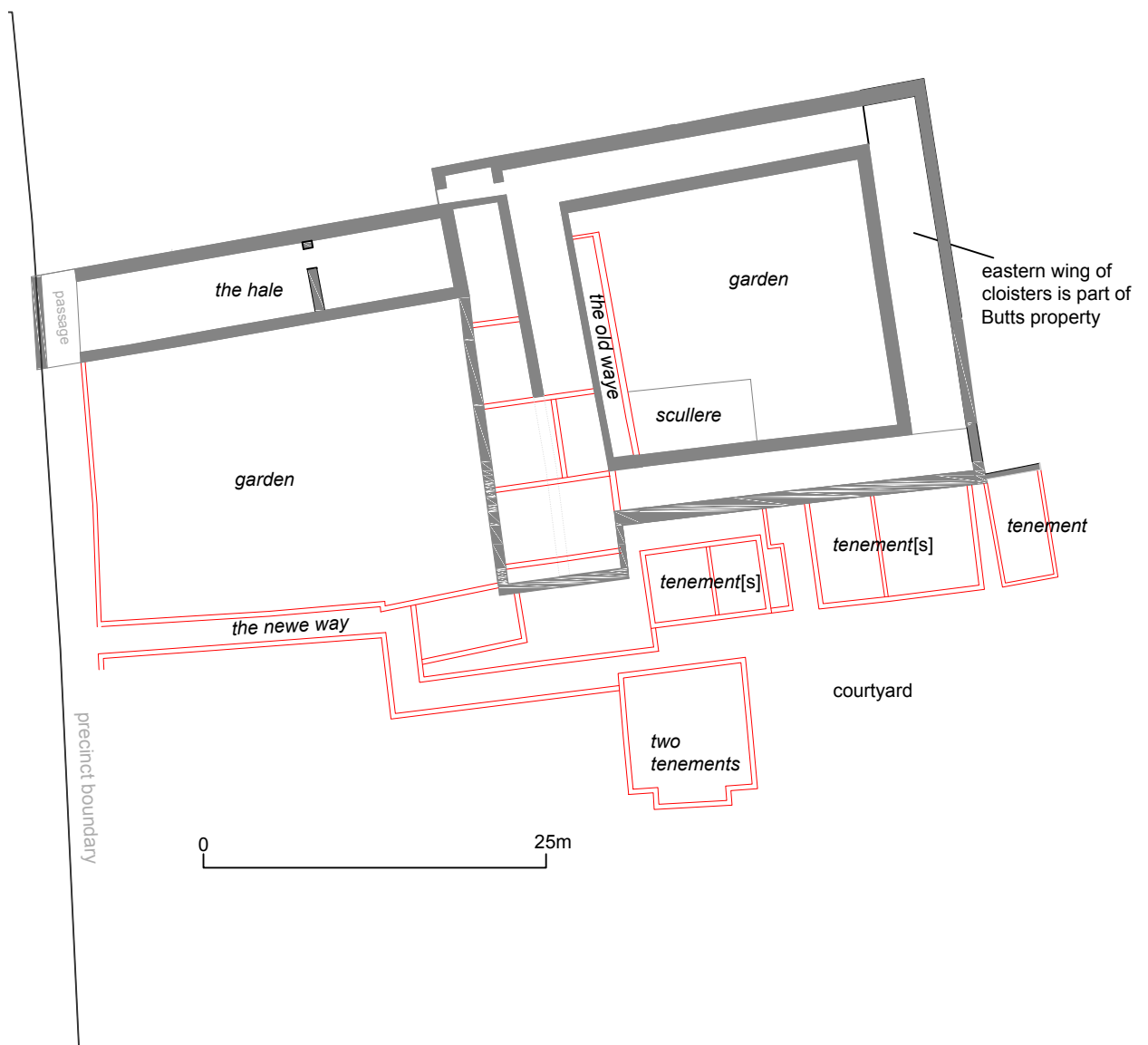
**Fig 49** Map showing the principal properties carved out of the former White Friars following the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)



**Fig 50** Ralph Treswell's 1512 survey of the Clothworkers' Company almshouses at Whitefriars; north is to left of page (Clothworkers' Company, Plan Book, f. 33; photo John Schofield)



**Fig 51** White Friars: map showing the new tenements created from the partly demolished church after Dissolution (scale 1:500)



**Fig 52** White Friars: map of the former cloisters after the Dissolution, showing the new properties converted or built by Richard Morrison and Lucy Harper, probably in the 1540s or '50s (brick walls on seventeenth-century plan shown in red) (scale 1:500)



**Fig 53** Map showing location of archaeological sites in Austin Friars (medieval precinct in green) (scale 1:1250)

(Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)



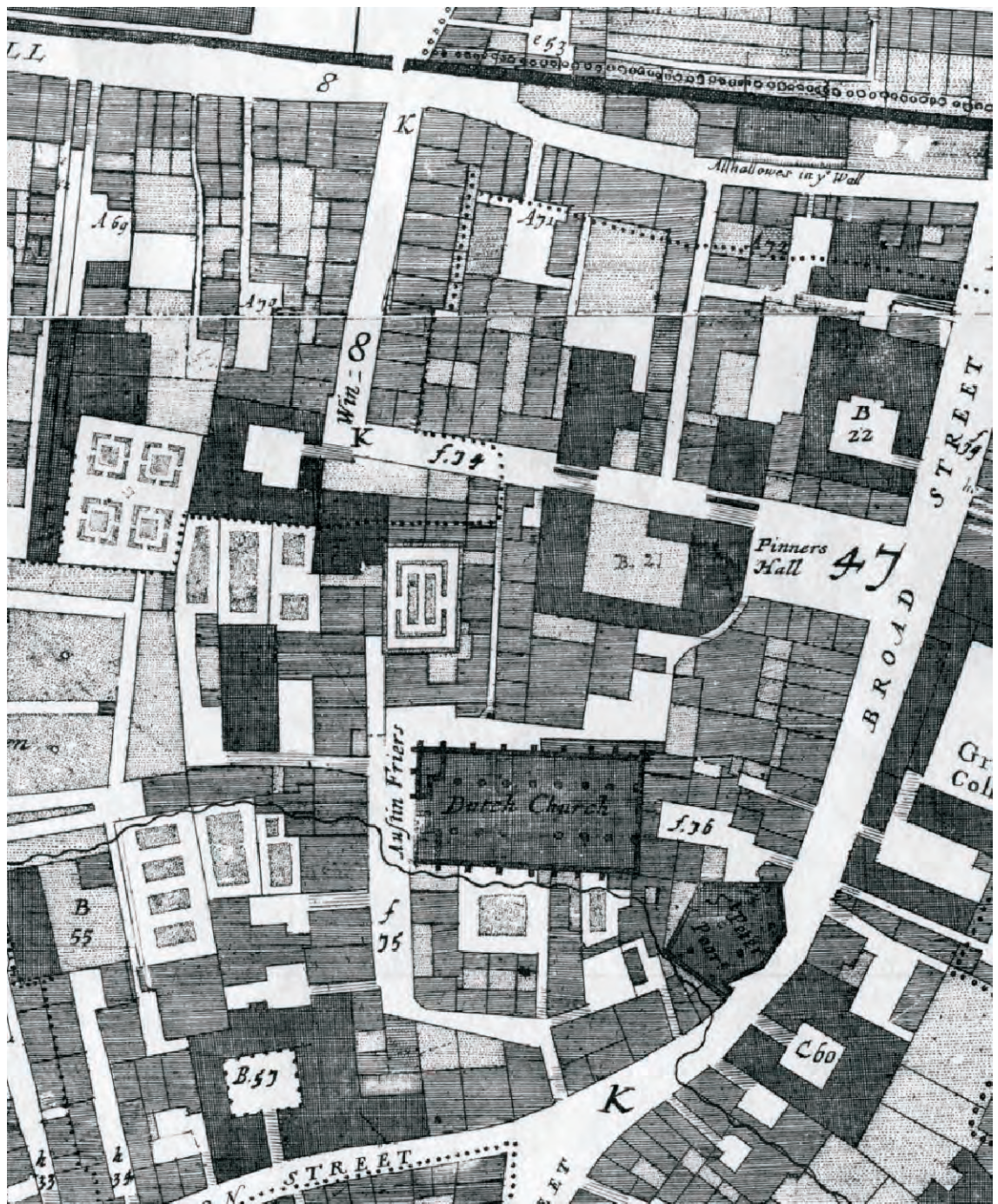
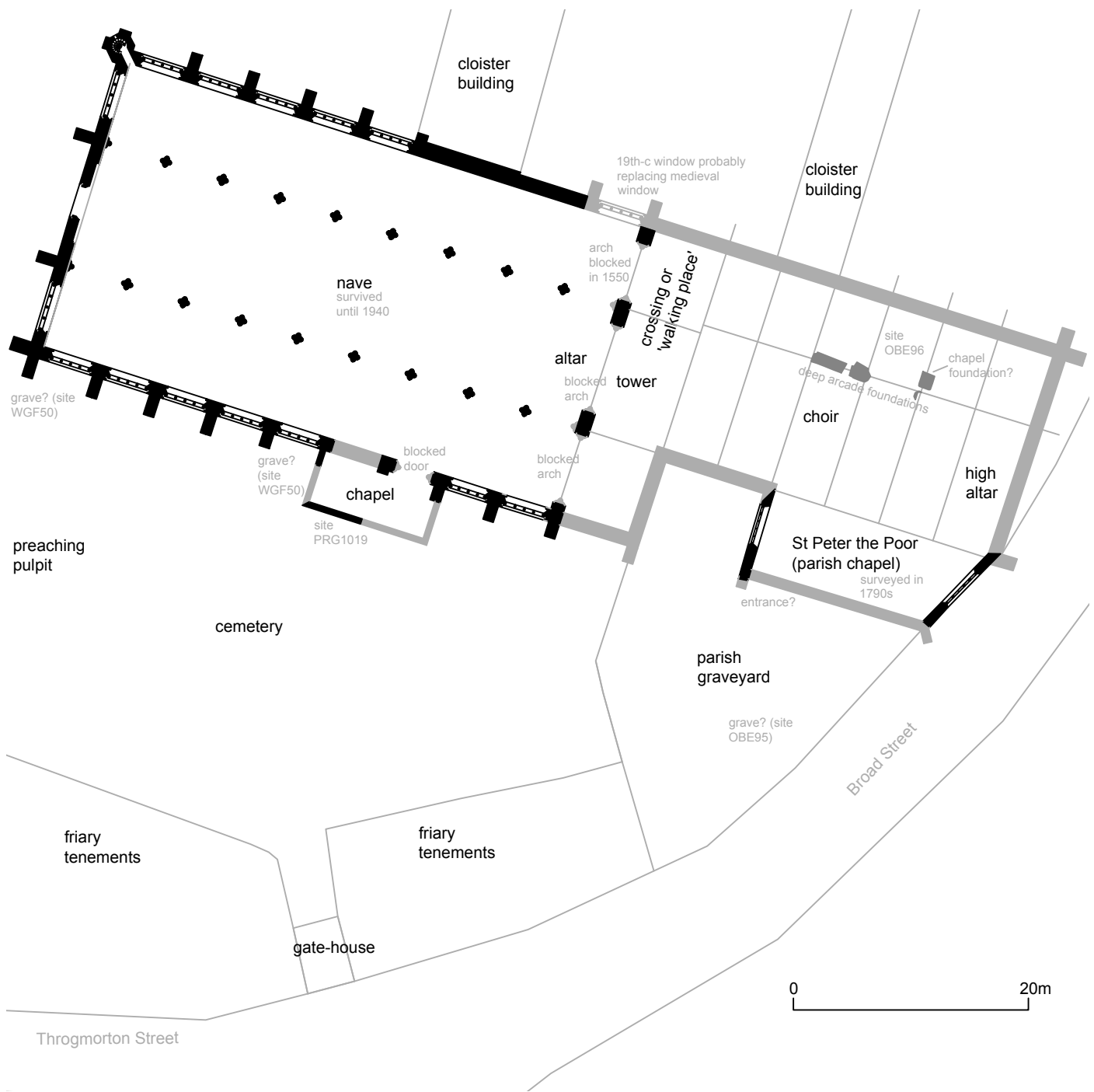


Fig 54 Austin Friars: detail from Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 showing the area of the medieval friary (on two separate sheets of original map) (Guildhall Library)



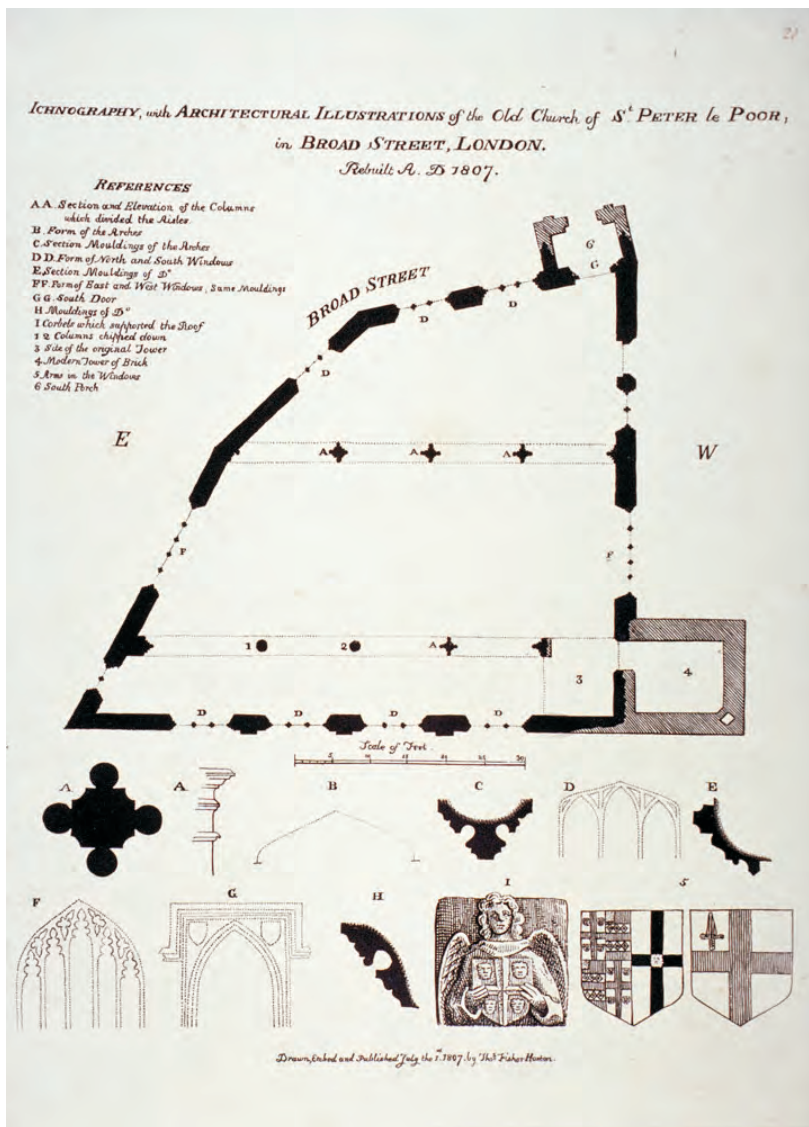
**Fig 55** Reconstructed plan of the medieval precinct of Austin Friars in c. 1530 ('T' indicates rented tenement) (scale 1:1000)



**Fig 56** Reconstruction of the church of Austin Friars (scale 1:500)

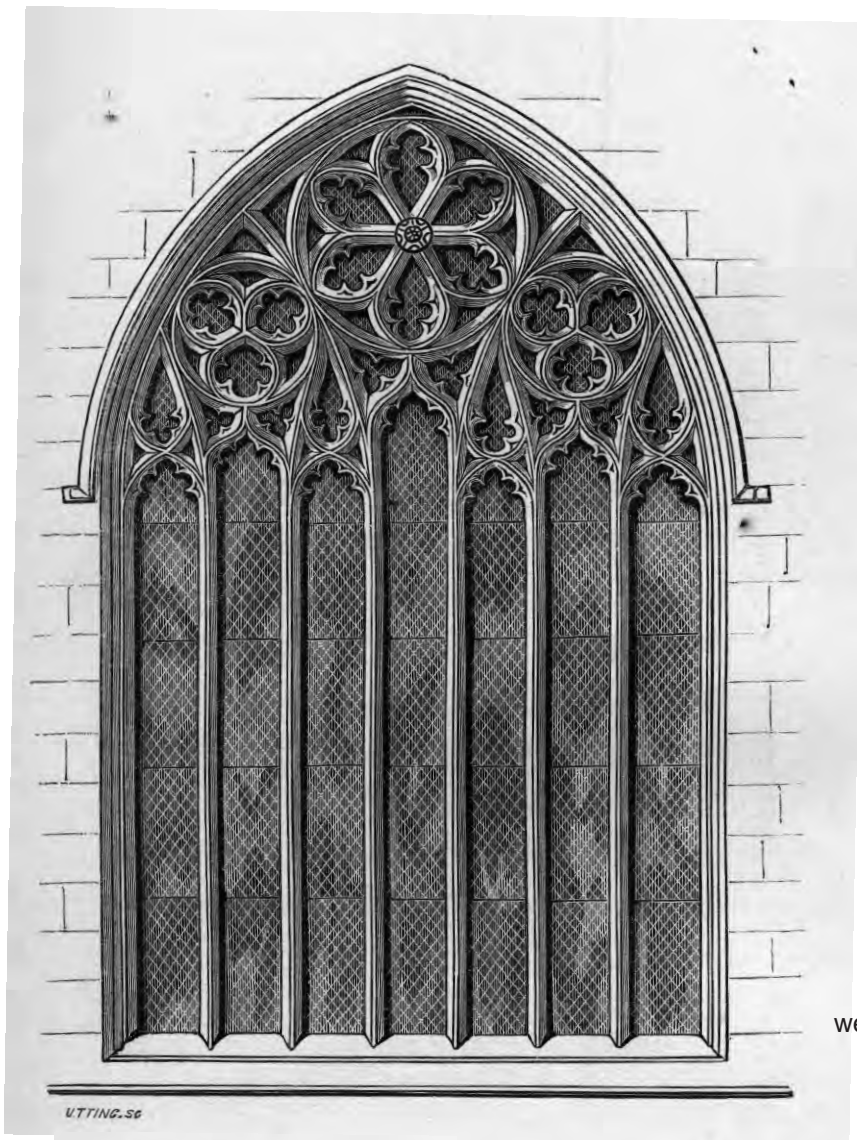




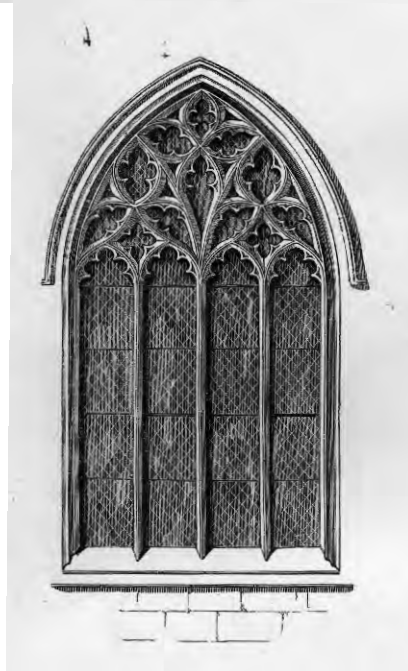


**Fig 58** Austin Friars: survey of St Peter the Poor shortly before its demolition in the 1790s (south is at the top of the drawing); note the medieval form of windows marked 'F' and the Tudor/Jacobean form of windows marked 'D') (London Metropolitan Archive, COLLAGE 5470)





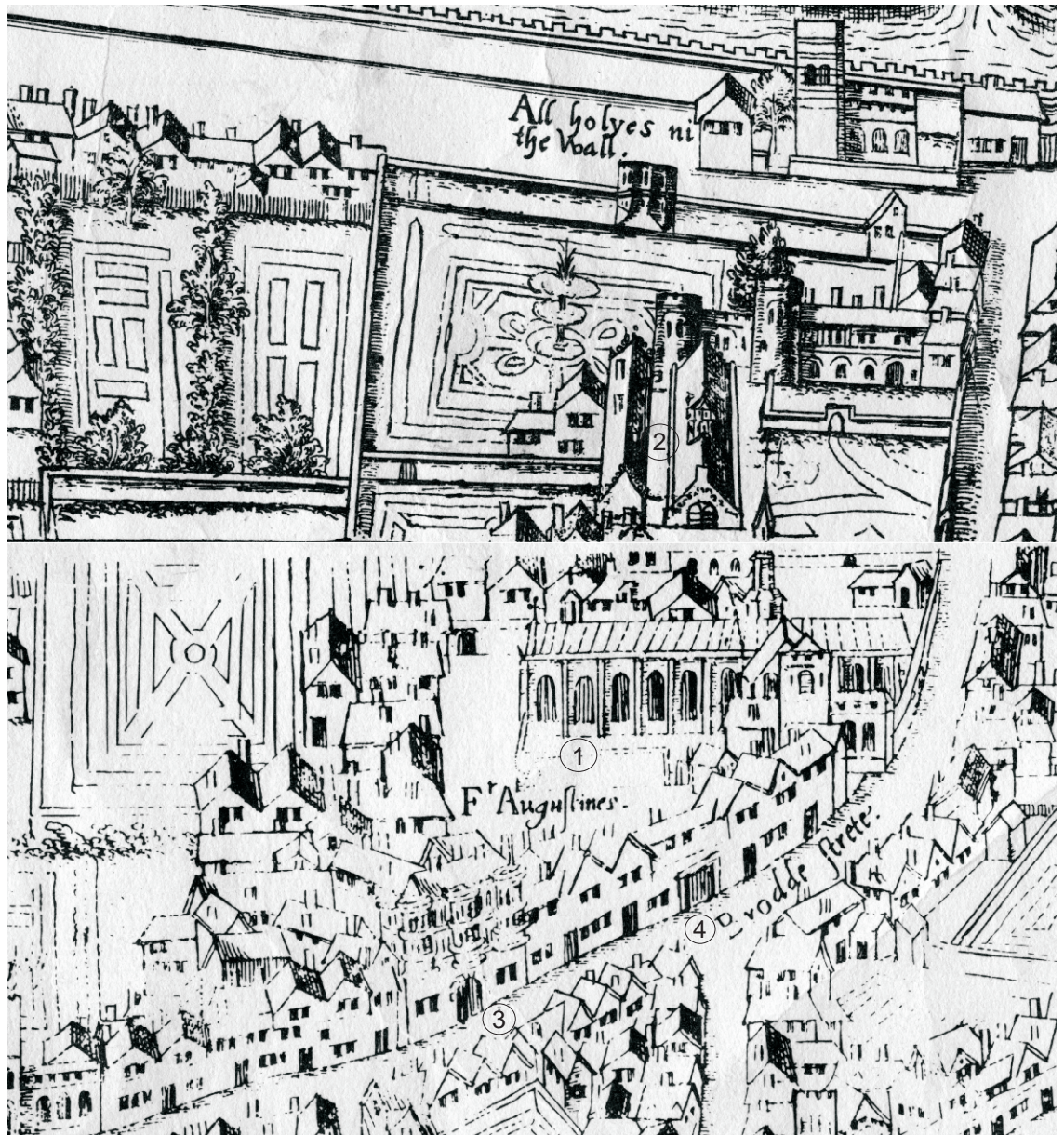
west window of nave



aisle window

**Fig 59** Austin Friars: external views of the fourteenth-century west window and an aisle window, drawn in c. 1860 before restoration (from Thomas Hugo, 'Austin Friars') (scale c. 1:100)

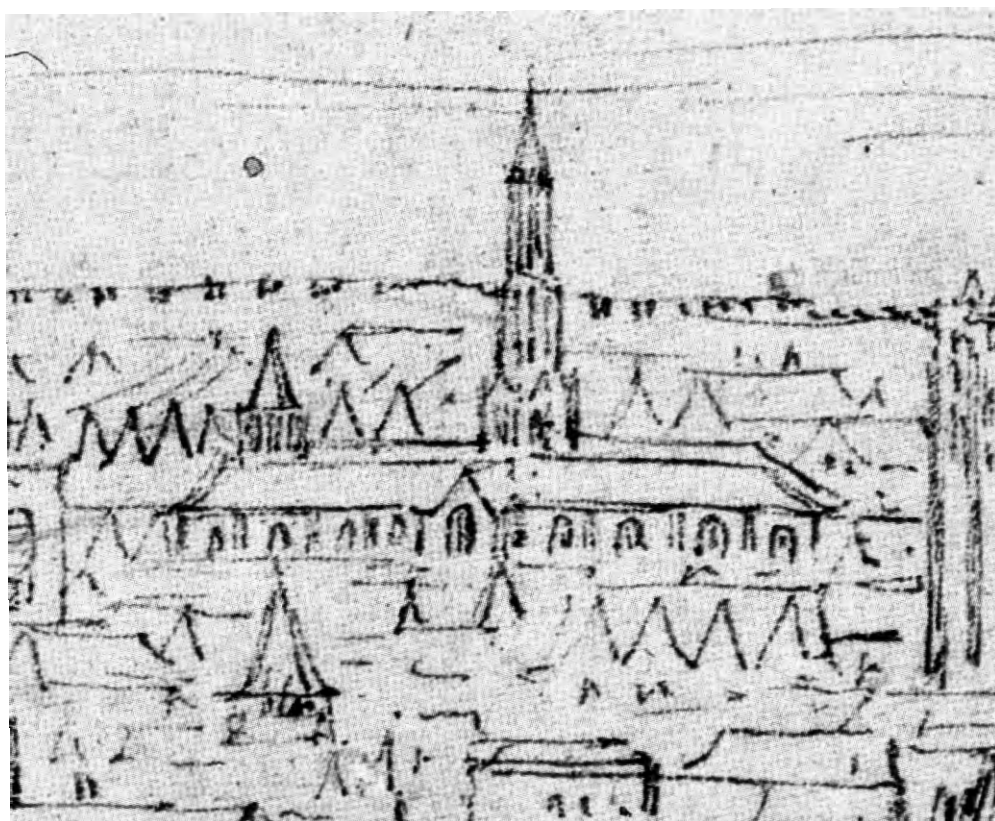




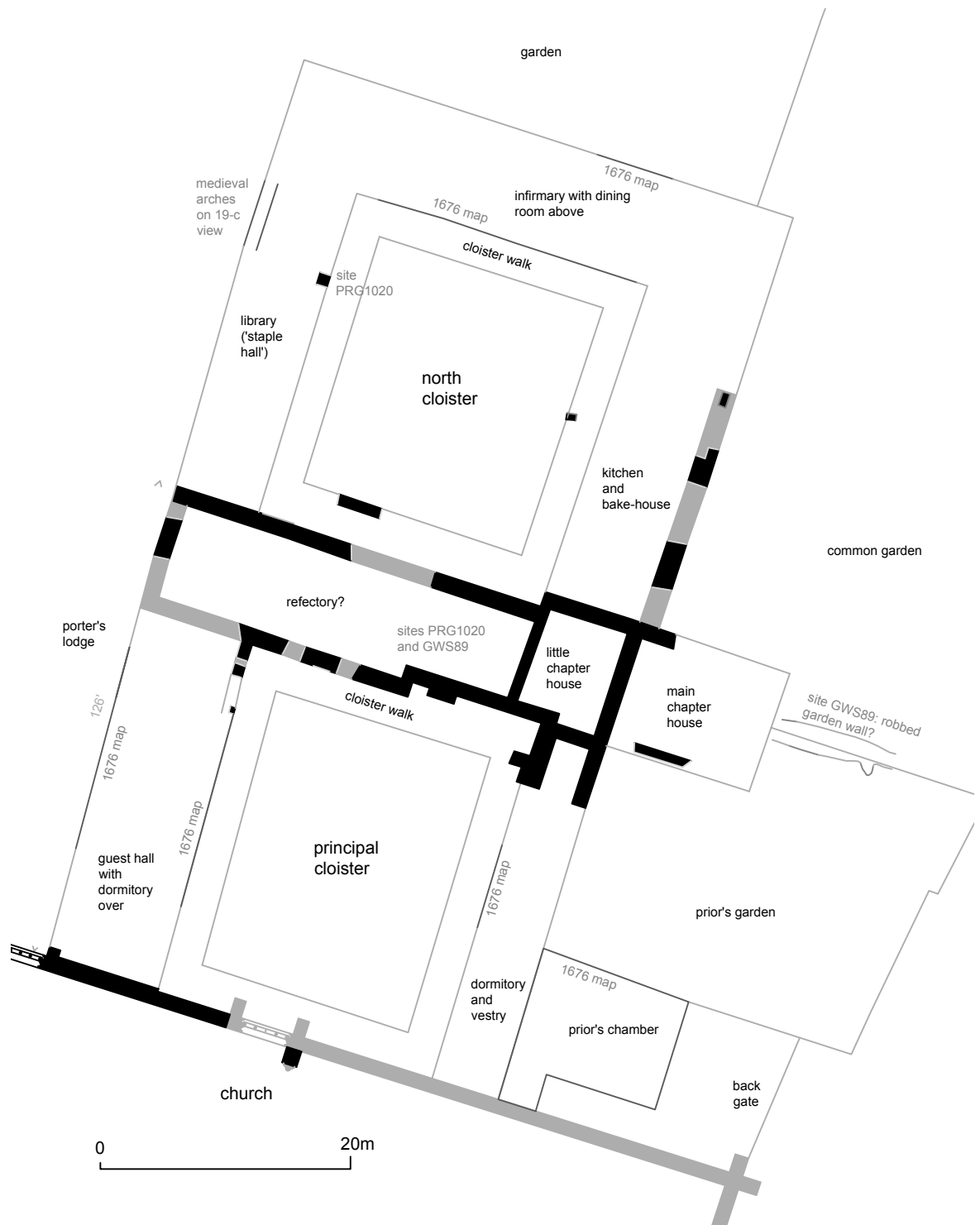
**Key to selected features:**

- 1 church and churchyard
- 2 cloister wings
- 3 Thomas Cromwell's house
- 4 main gate

**Fig 60** Detail from the 'copperplate' map-view of the 1550s showing Austin Friars shortly after the Dissolution (note that the friary is on two separate sheets of the engraving) (Guildhall Library)



**Fig 61** Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church of Austin Friars in *c.* 1544 (reproduced from *Panorama of London*)



**Fig 62** Map showing the two cloisters of Austin Friars (scale 1:500)





**Fig 63** Austin Friars: service buildings in the north-west of the friary (scale 1:500)



**Fig 64** Map showing the division of Austin Friars into various properties at the Dissolution (scale 1:1250)





**Fig 65** Thomas Cromwell's first house in Austin Friars (based on seventeenth-century survey) (scale 1:250)



**Fig 66** Map showing the plots acquired by Thomas Cromwell in the 1520s and 1530s (measurements on the inside of the plots are from the respective sale documents; other measurements are from the 1543 sale to the Drapers' Company) (scale 1:1000)



**Fig 67** Austin Friars: detail of a survey of the former Cromwell property drawn for the Drapers' Company in the mid-seventeenth century (Drapers' Company, A XII 121)

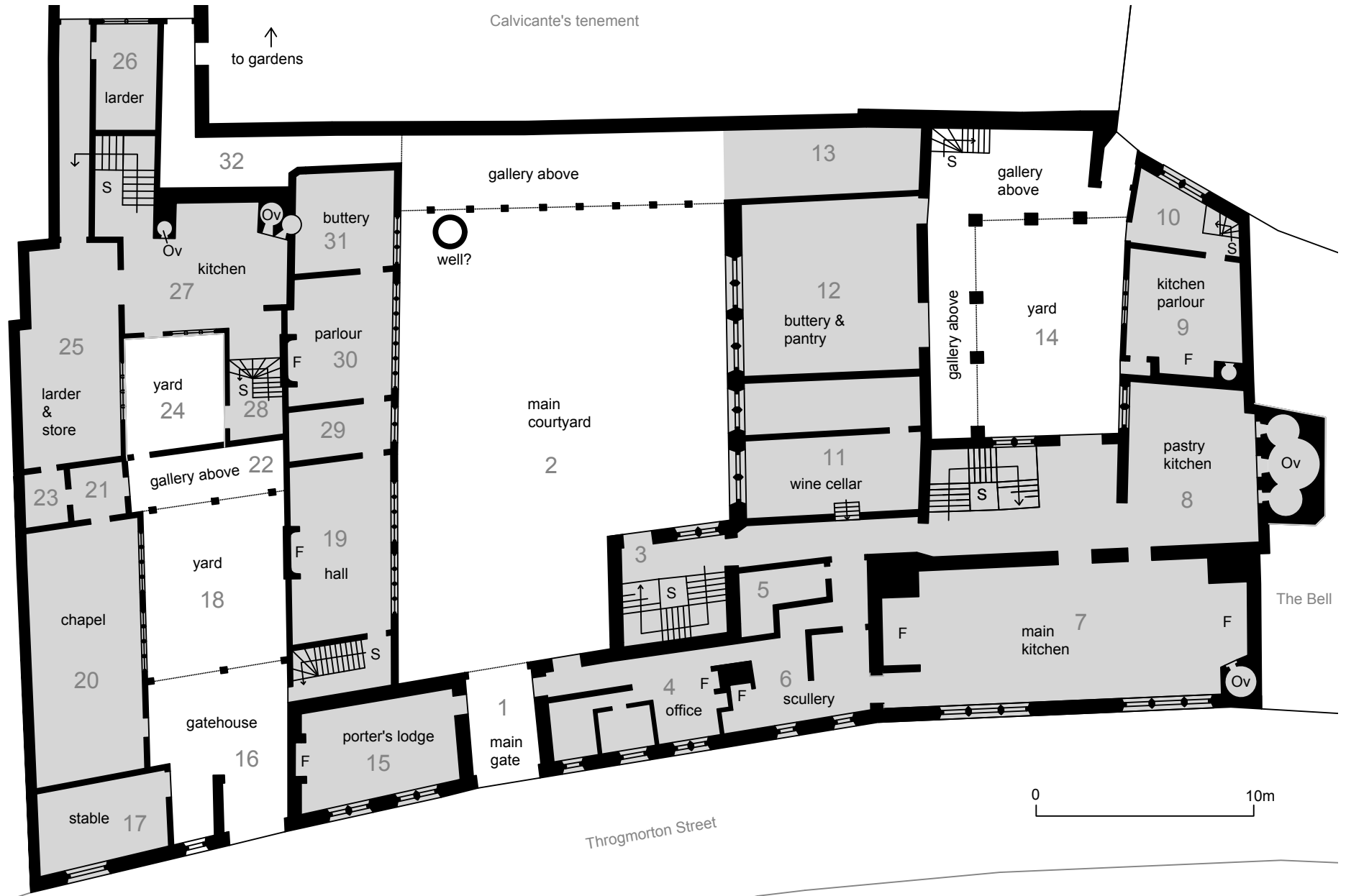


Fig 68 Austin Friars: detailed ground-floor plan of Thomas Cromwell's mansion, redrawn from the Drapers' Company plan (Fig 67) (scale 1:250)

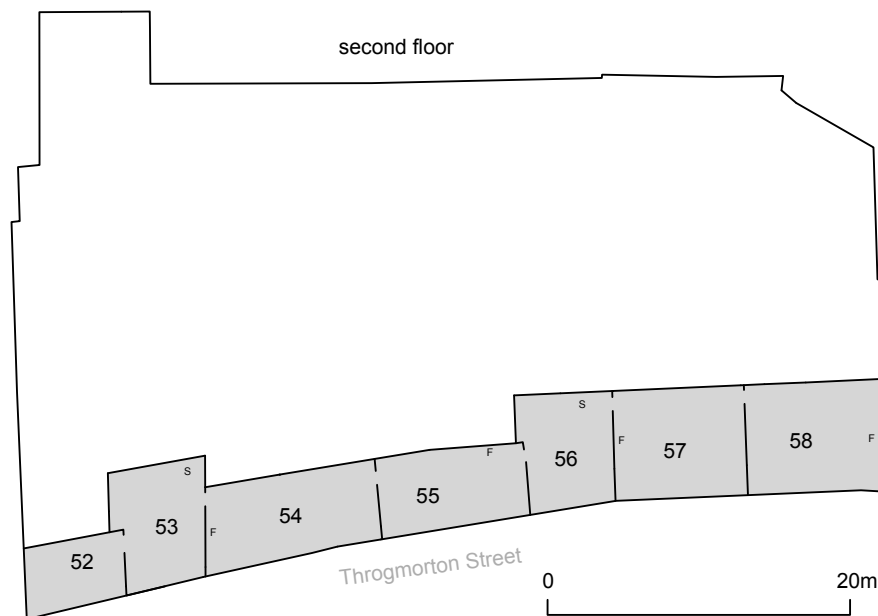
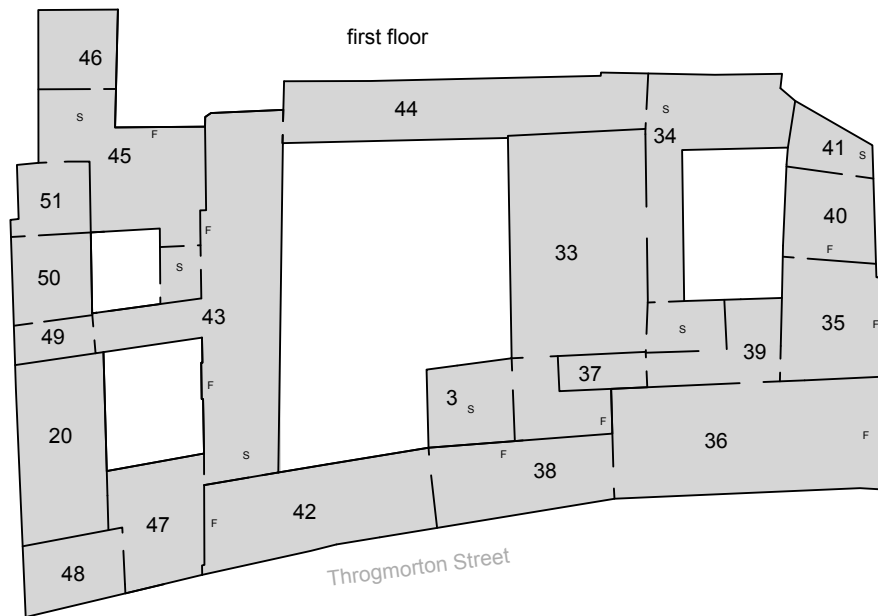
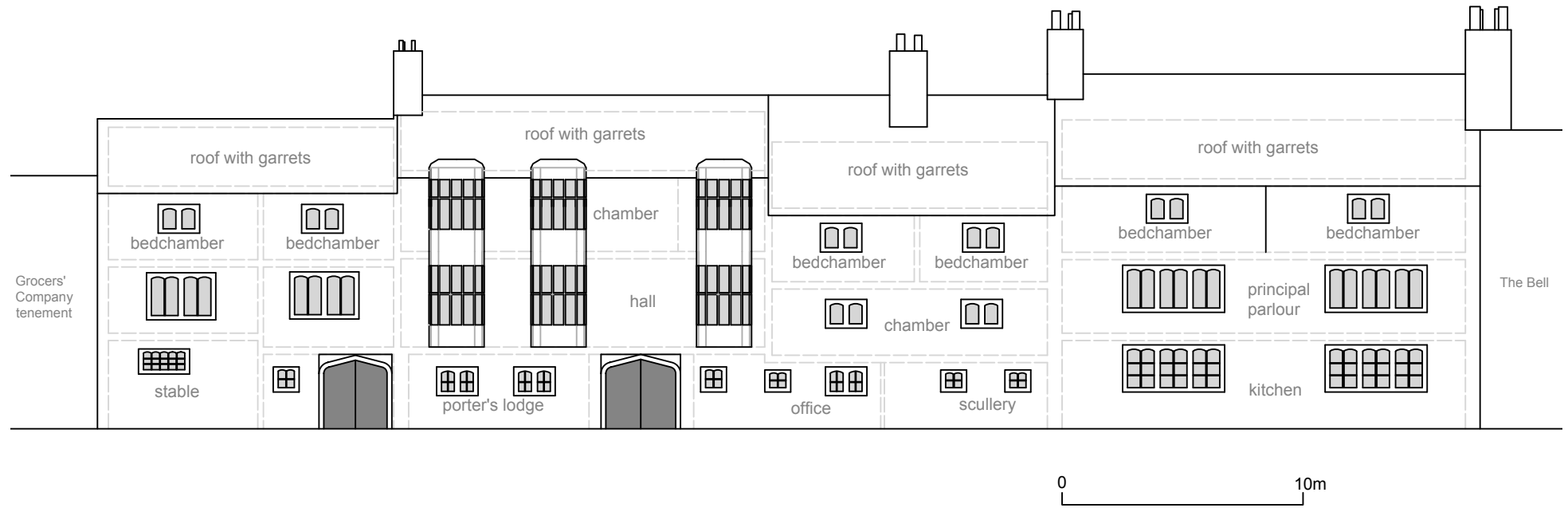
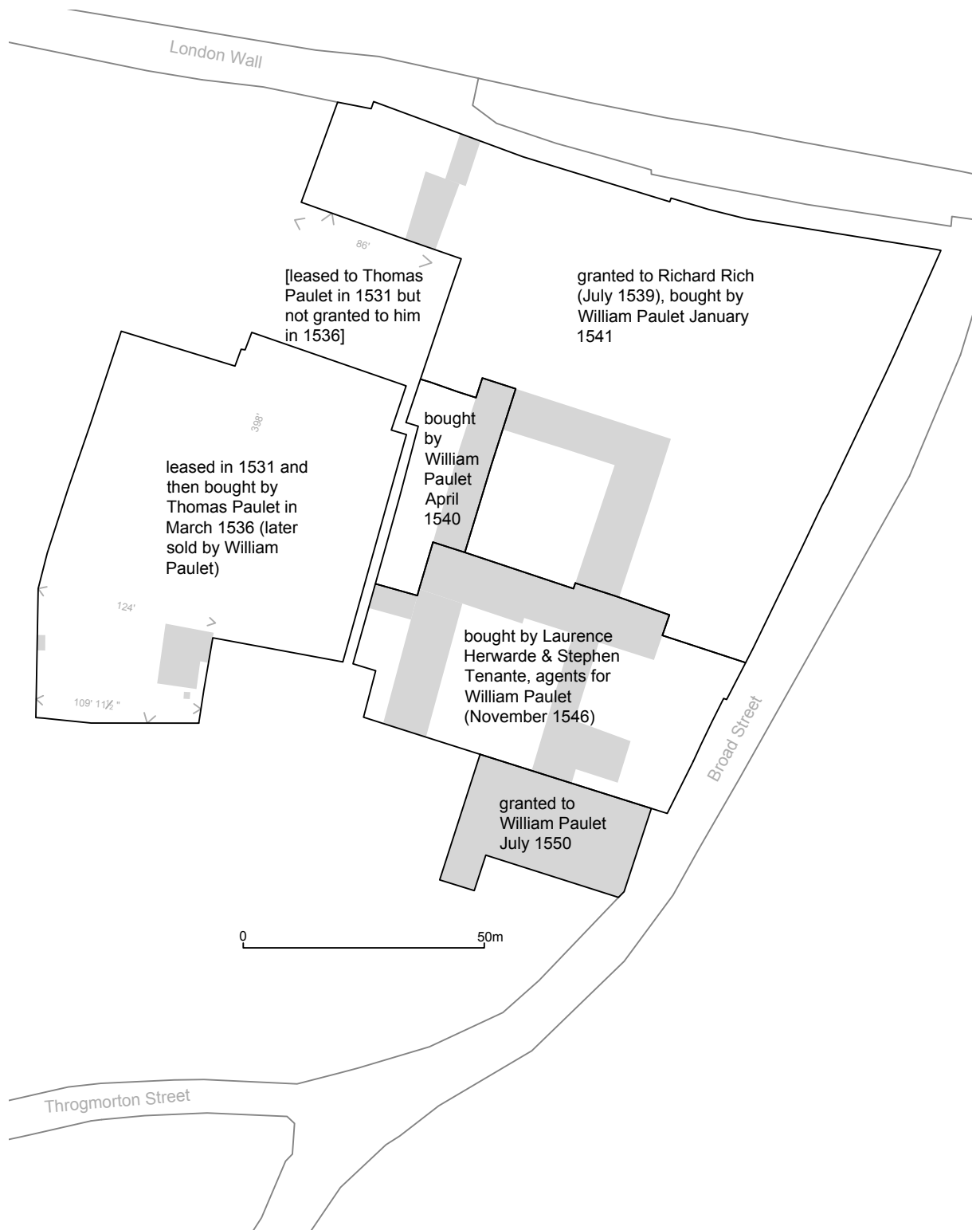


Fig 69 Simple ground-, first- and second-floor plans of Thomas Cromwell's mansion (scale 1:500)



**Fig 70** Reconstructed elevation of Thomas Cromwell's mansion, Throgmorton Street frontage (scale 1:250)



**Fig 71** William Paulet's property in Austin Friars (scale 1:1250)



**Fig 72** Austin Friars: map showing the adaptations William Paulet made to the medieval cloisters in the 1540s, creating Winchester House (scale 1:500)

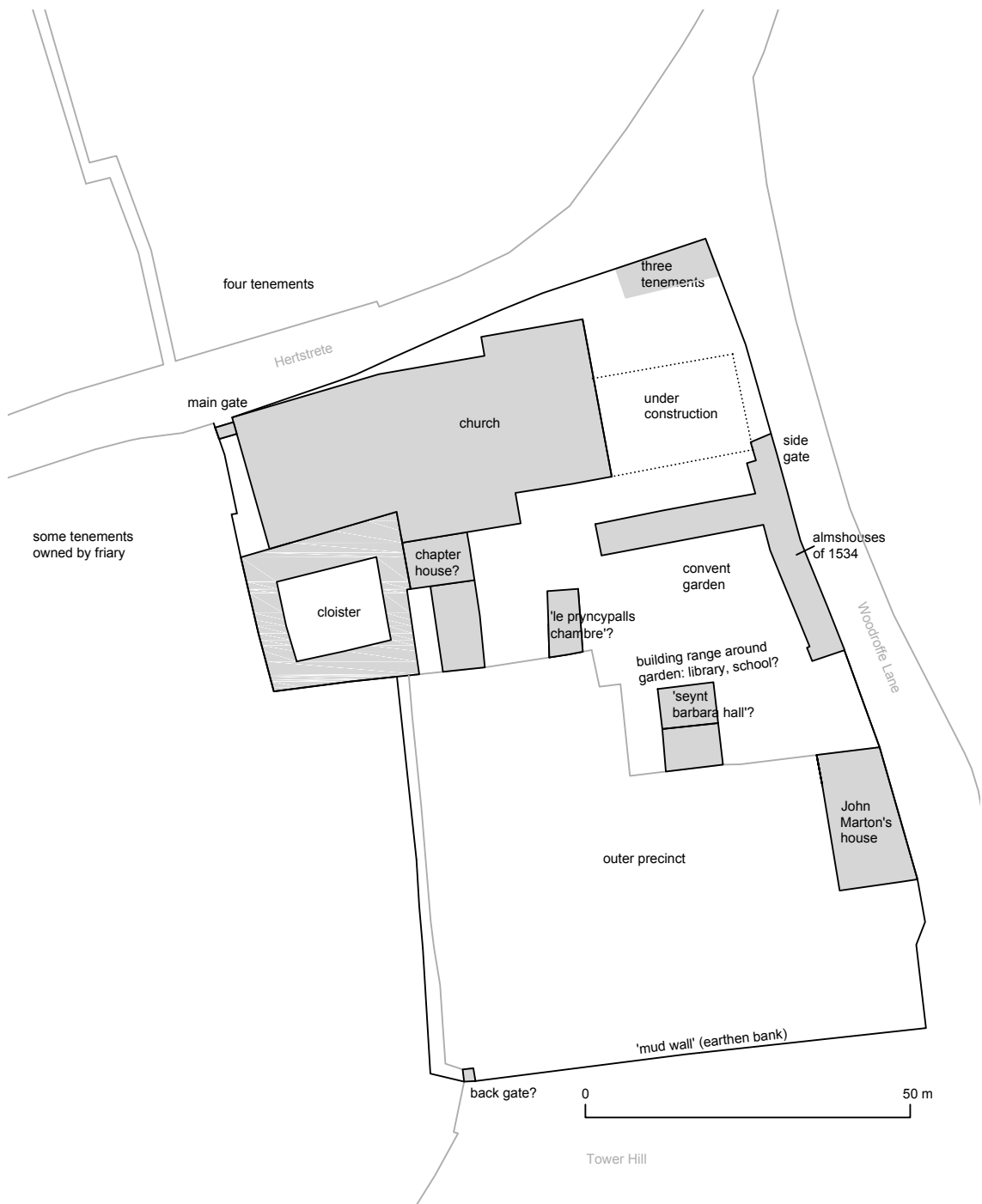




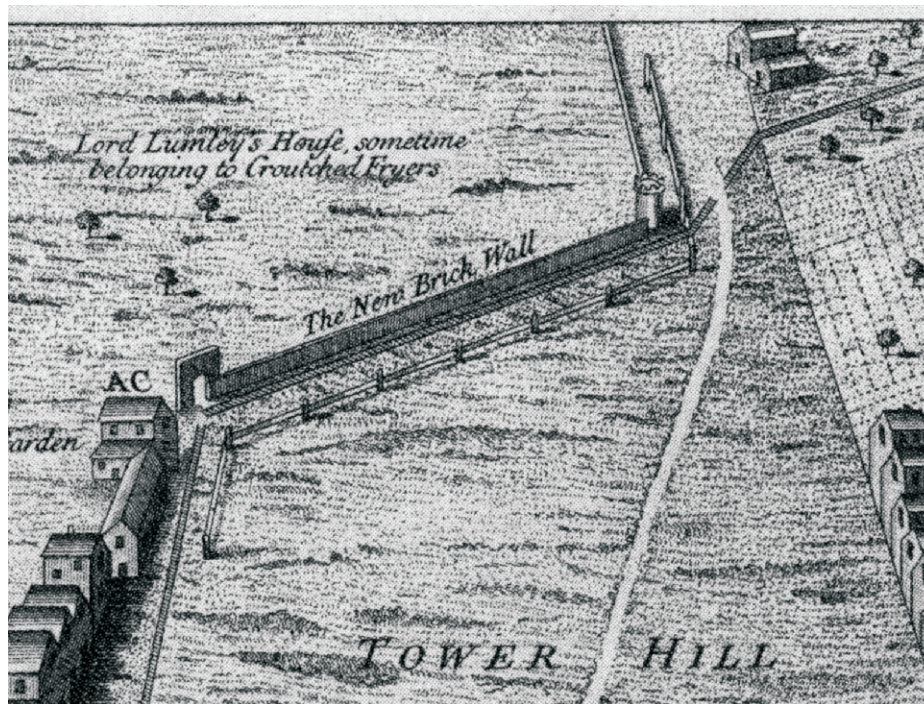
**Fig 73** Austin Friars: watercolour by Robert Schnebbelie of the west façade of the north wing of Winchester House during its demolition in 1839 (London Metropolitan Archive, COLLAGE 18532)



**Fig 74** Map showing location of archaeological sites in Crossed Friars (medieval precinct in green, excavated areas in grey tone) (scale 1:1000)  
 (Reproduced from 2005 Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright 2011)

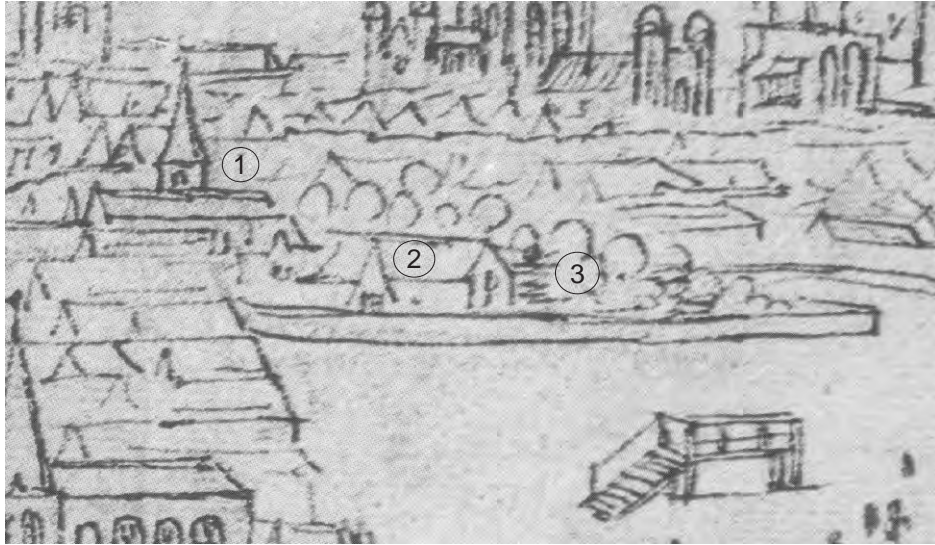


**Fig 75** Reconstructed plan of the precinct of Crossed Friars in the early sixteenth century (scale 1:1000)



**Fig 76** Crossed Friars: eighteenth-century copy of a plan-view of the Tower of 1597: the gateway on the north-west side of Tower Hill may be medieval (reproduced from Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps*)

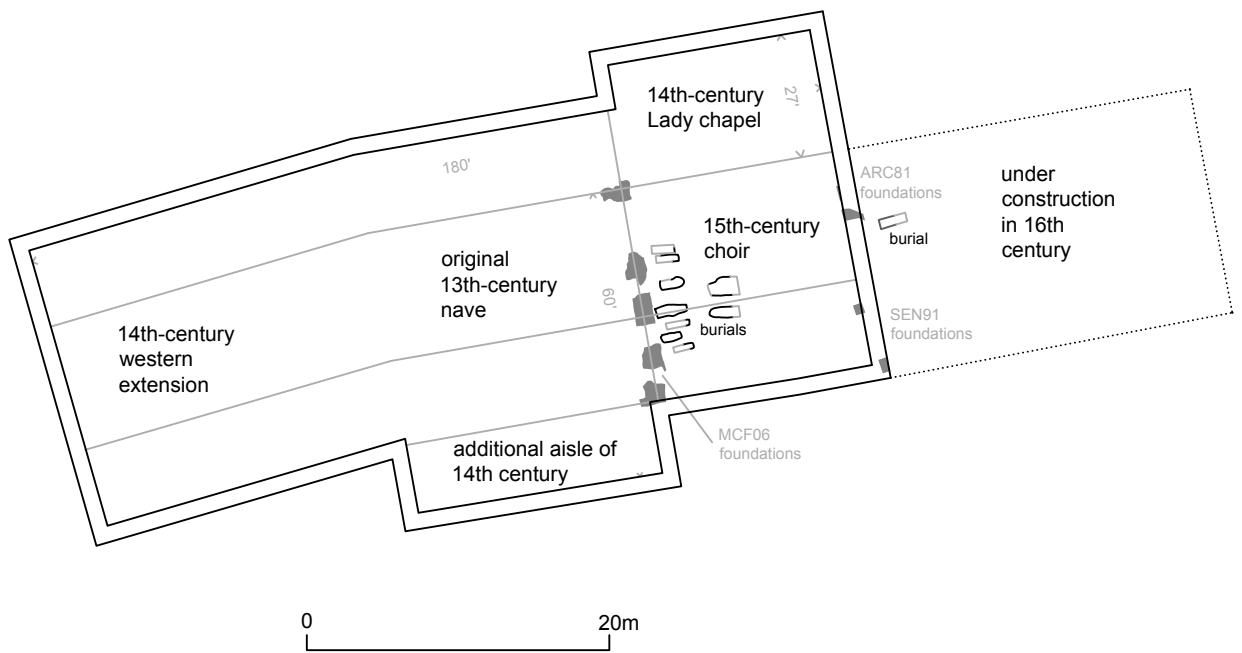




**Key to selected features:**

- 1 church
- 2 cloister buildings
- 3 outer precinct

**Fig 77** Detail of Wyngaerde's view of London showing the church and precinct of Crossed Friars in c. 1544 (reproduced from *Panorama of London*)



**Fig 78** Reconstruction of the medieval church of Crossed Friars (scale 1:500)

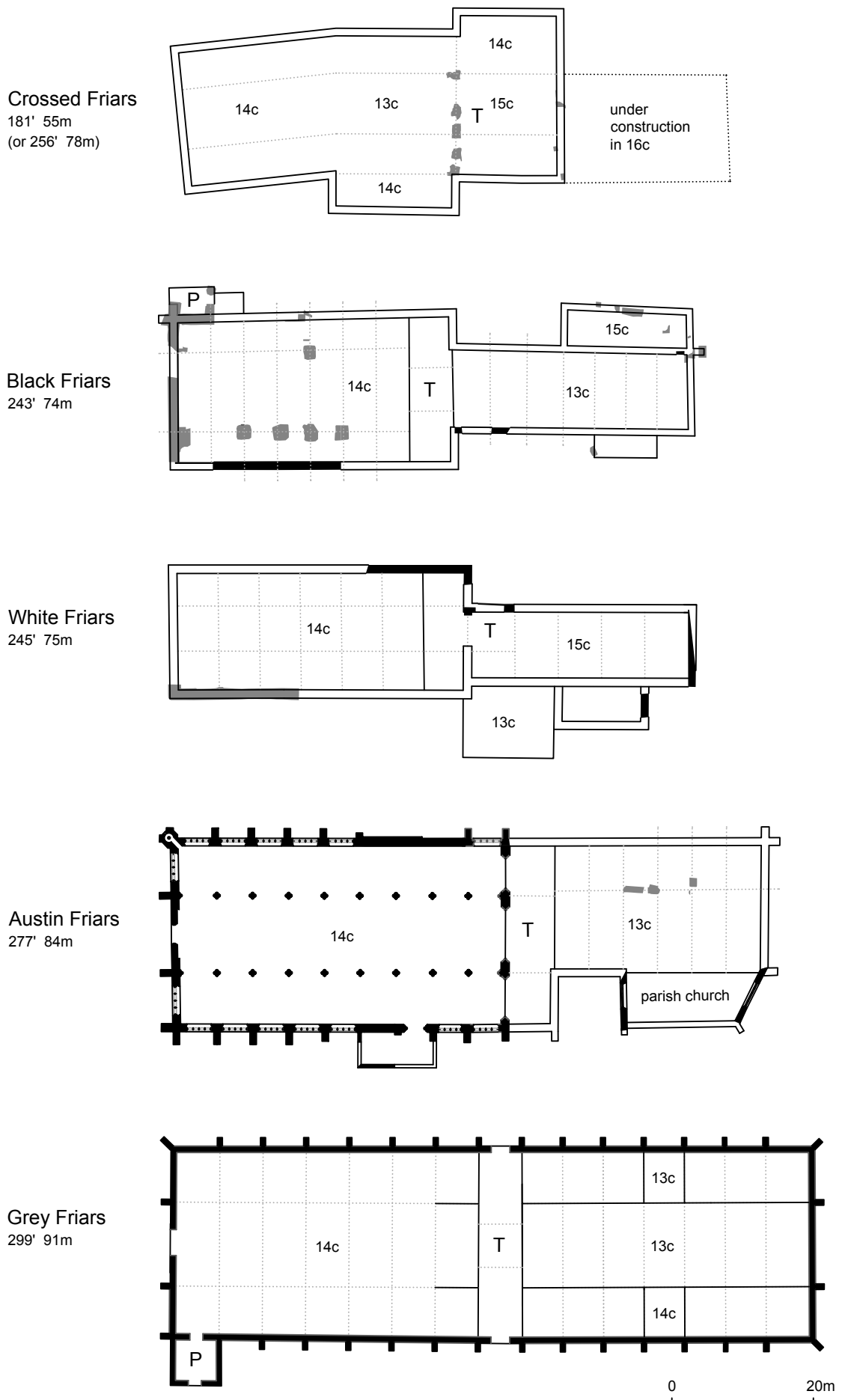


**Fig 79** Crossed Friars: view of 1852 looking south-west down Woodroffe Lane (Cooper's Row) at the Drapers' almshouses (Thomas Shepherd; London Metropolitan Archive, COLLAGE 1805)

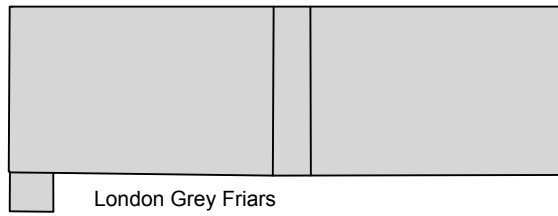


**Fig 80** Crossed Friars: archaeological and documentary evidence for Lumley House (scale 1:500)

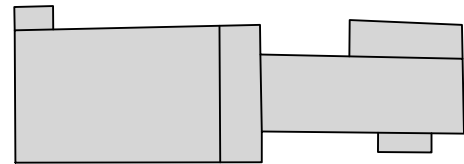




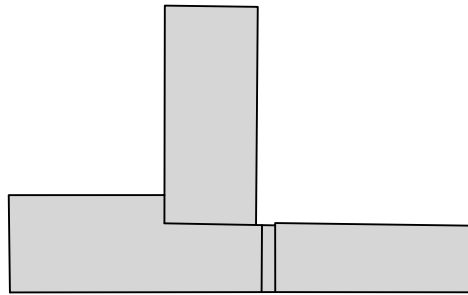
**Fig 81** Comparative plan of the five friary churches in *c.* 1530, showing external lengths and approximate dates of construction; 'T' = tower and 'P' = porch; black tone indicates detailed archaeological or documentary evidence; grey tone indicates excavated foundations (scale 1:800)



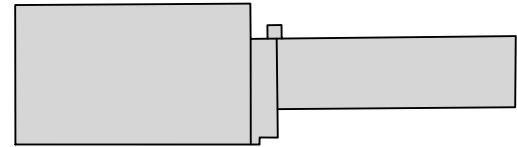
London Grey Friars



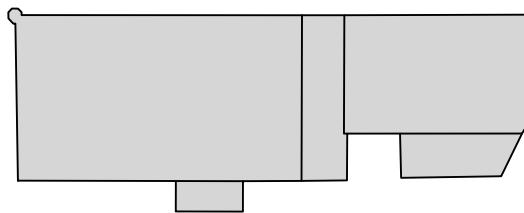
London Black Friars



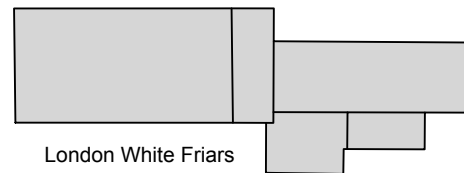
Oxford Grey Friars



Norwich Black Friars



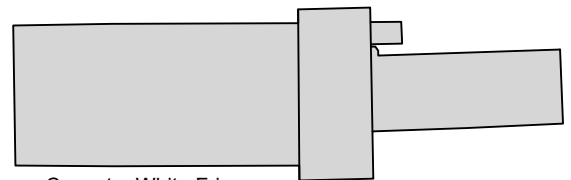
London Austin Friars



London White Friars



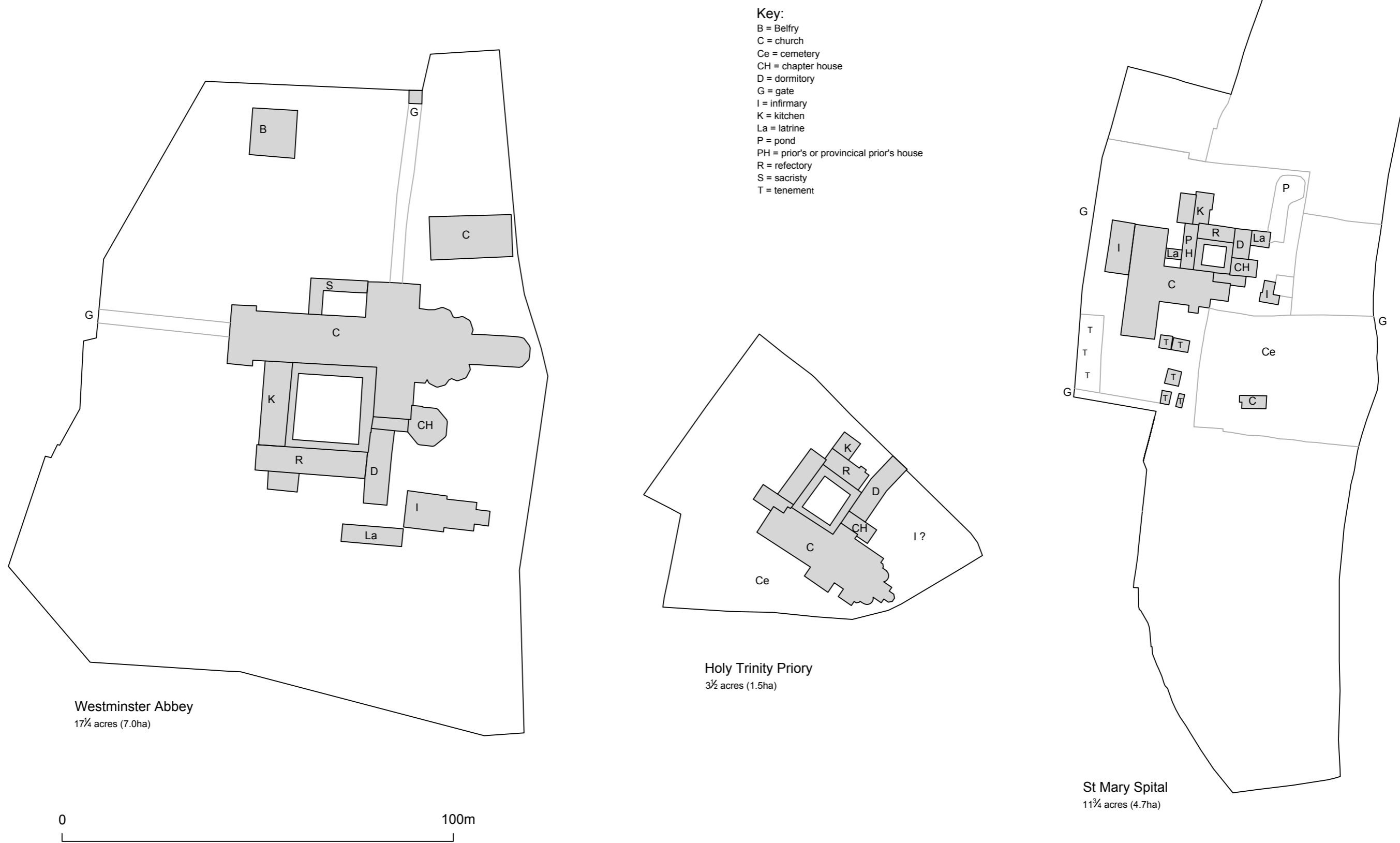
Leicester Austin Friars



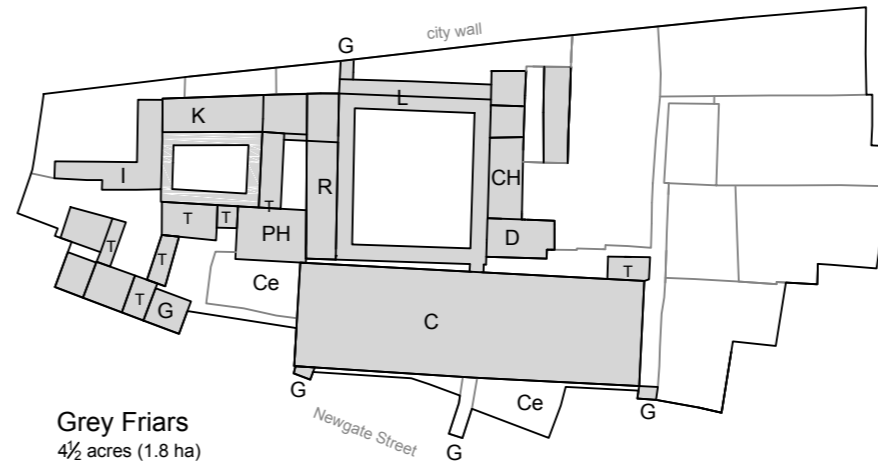
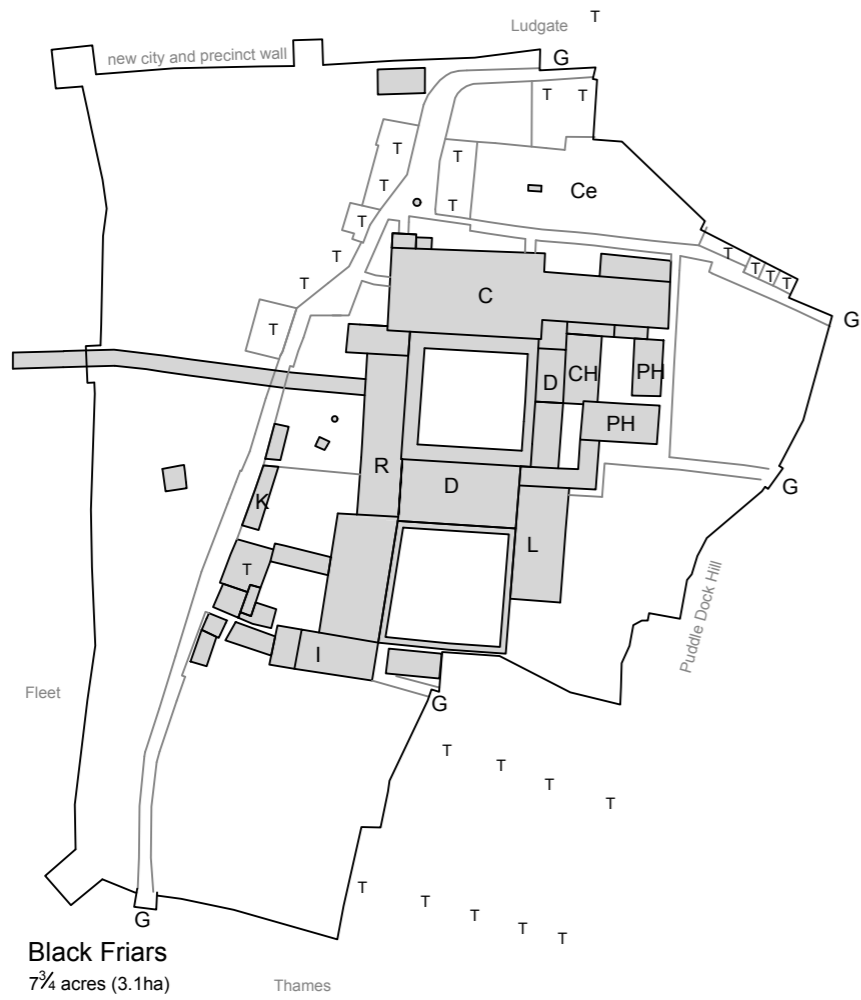
Coventry White Friars

0 50m

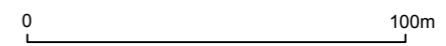
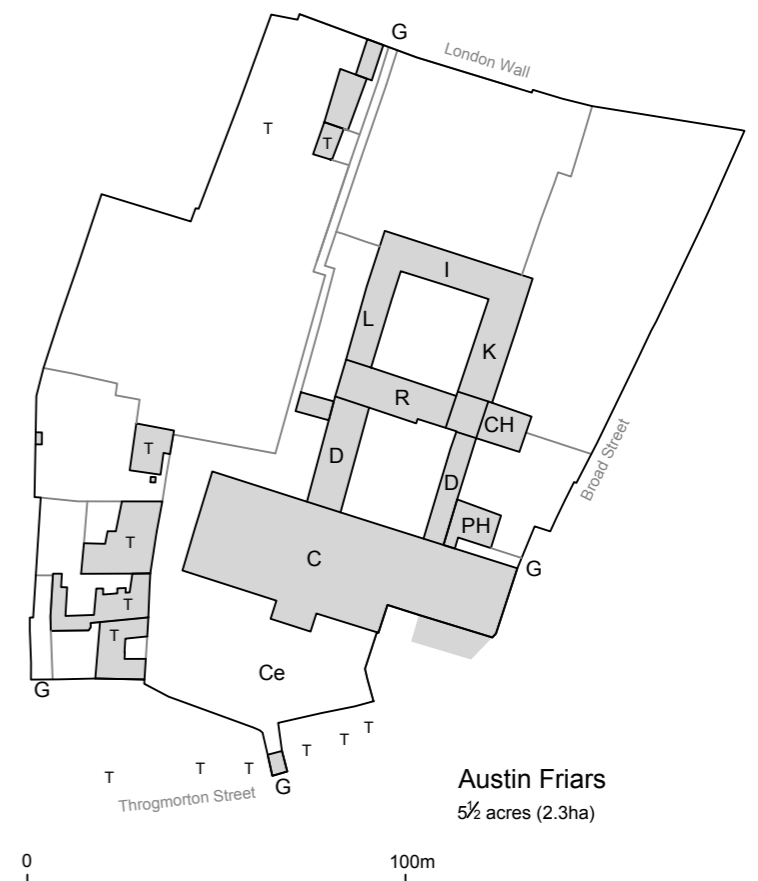
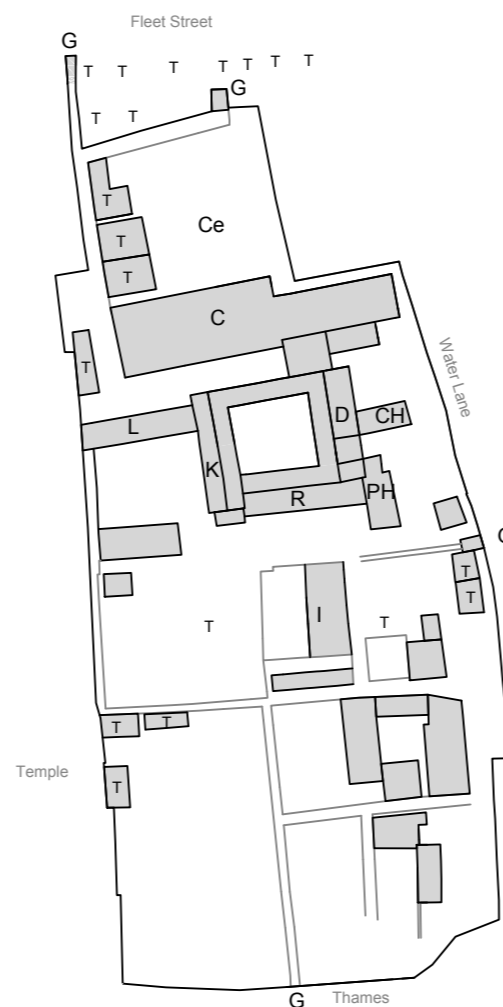
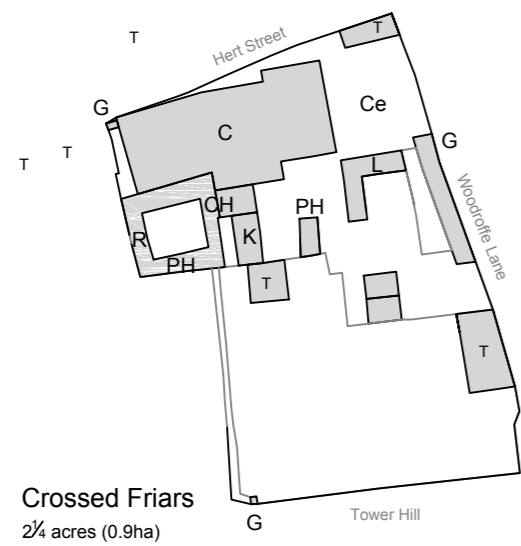
**Fig 82** Plan comparing the four main London friary churches with other English mendicant churches (scale 1:1250)



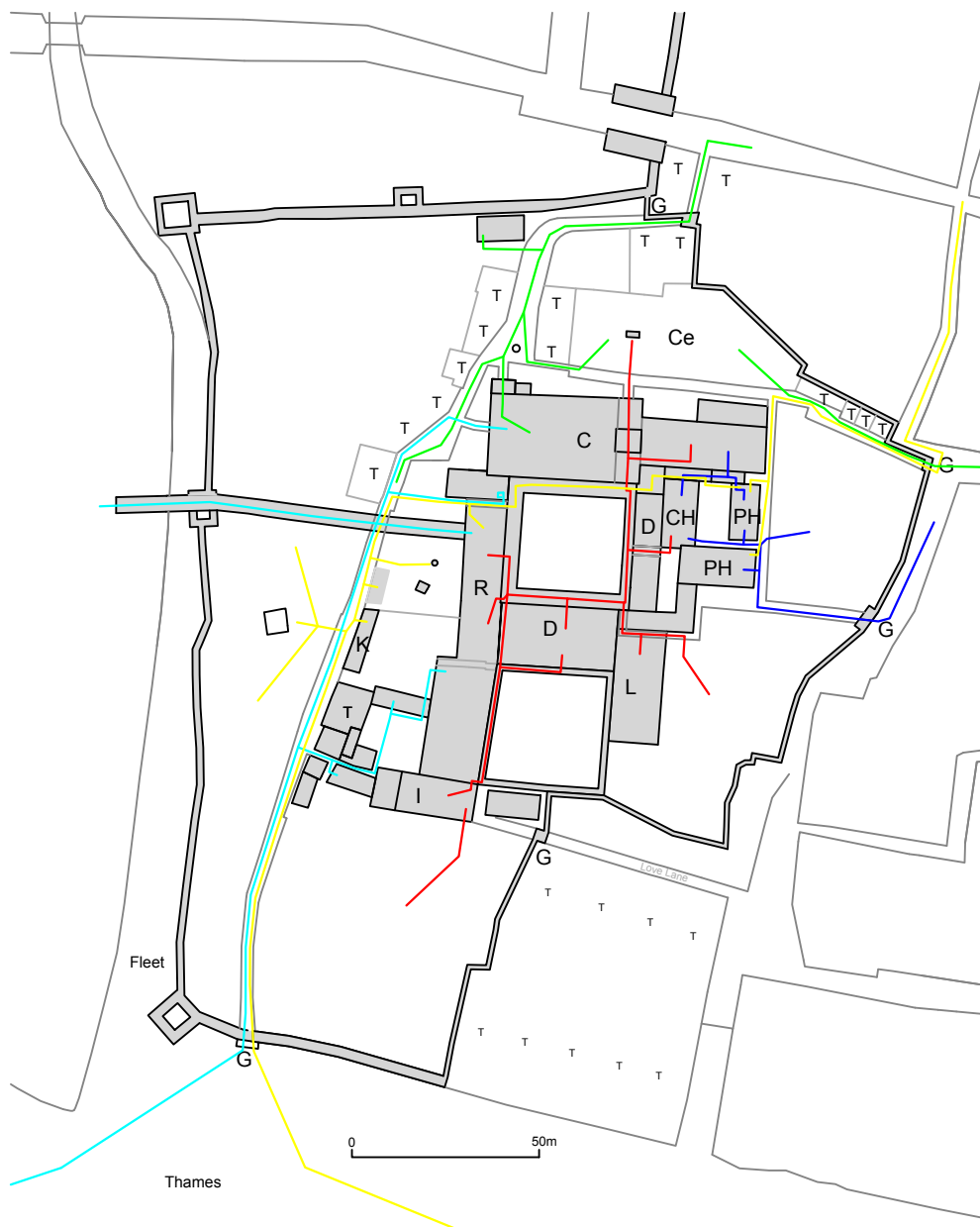
**Fig 83** Three London monastic precincts of the thirteenth century: Benedictine Westminster Abbey and the Augustinian priories of Holy Trinity and St Mary Spital (scale 1:2000) (map data courtesy of Museum of London Archaeology)



**Key:**  
 C = church  
 Ce = cemetery  
 CH = chapter house  
 D = dormitory  
 G = gate  
 I = infirmary  
 K = kitchen  
 L = library  
 PH = prior's or provincial prior's house  
 R = refectory  
 T = tenement



**Fig 84** Comparative plan of the five friary precincts (scale 1:2000)



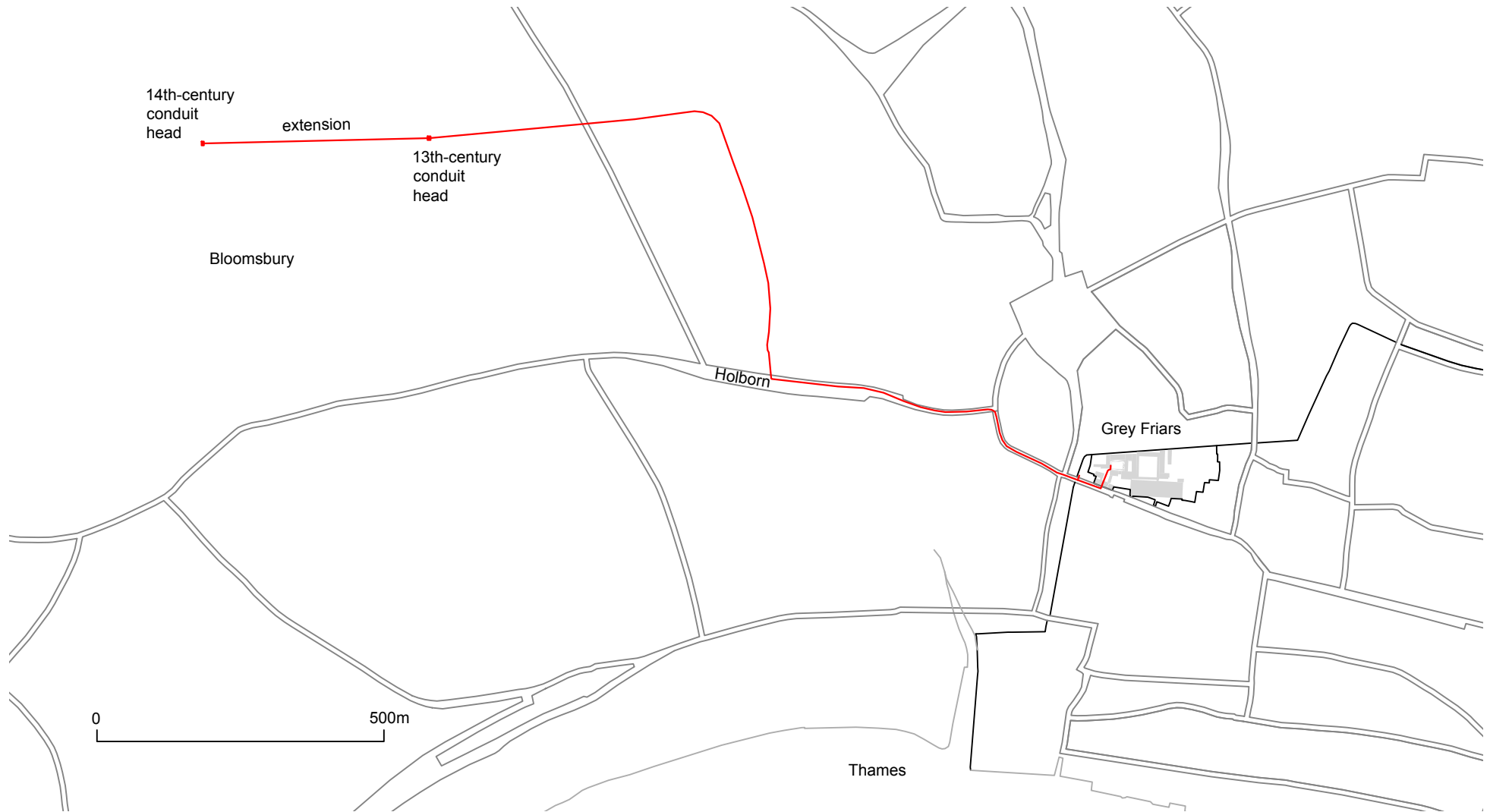
**Key to buildings:**

- C = church
- Ce = cemetery
- CH = chapter house
- D = dormitory
- G = gate
- I = infirmary
- K = kitchen
- L = library
- PH = prior's or provincial prior's house
- R = refectory
- T = tenement

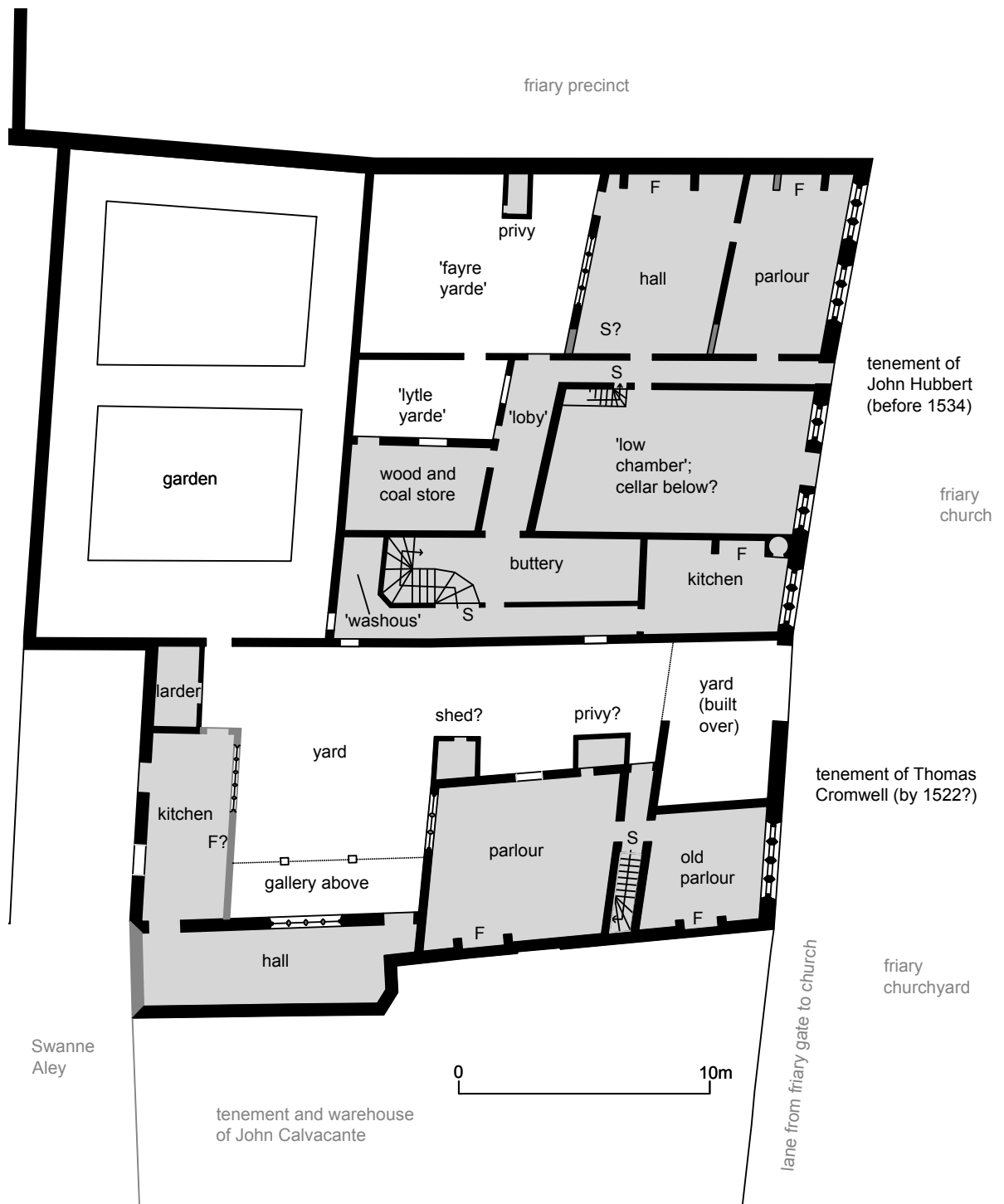
**Key to circulation:**

- friars
- prior and provincial prior
- lay visitors and residents
- servants
- important visitors

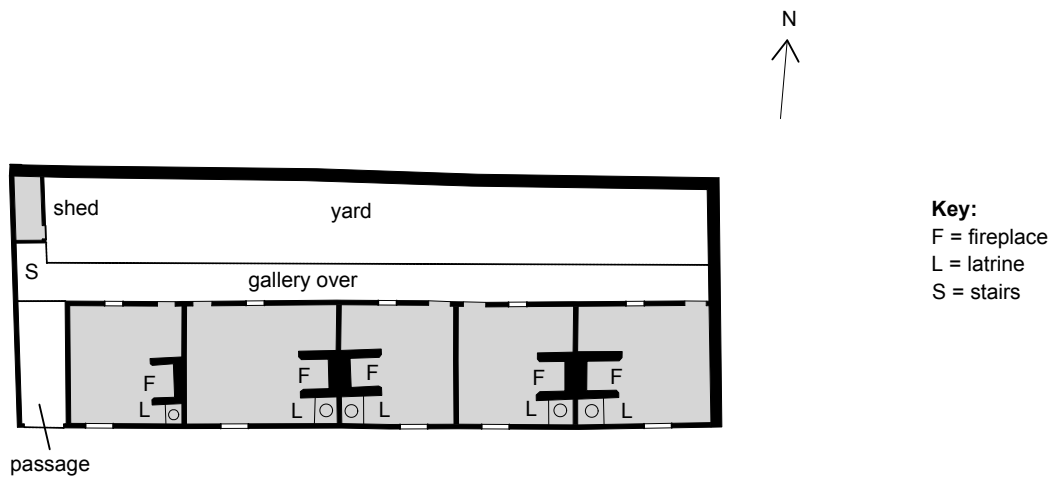
**Fig 85** Plan of Black Friars showing how friars, servants and visitors may have circulated (scale 1:2000)



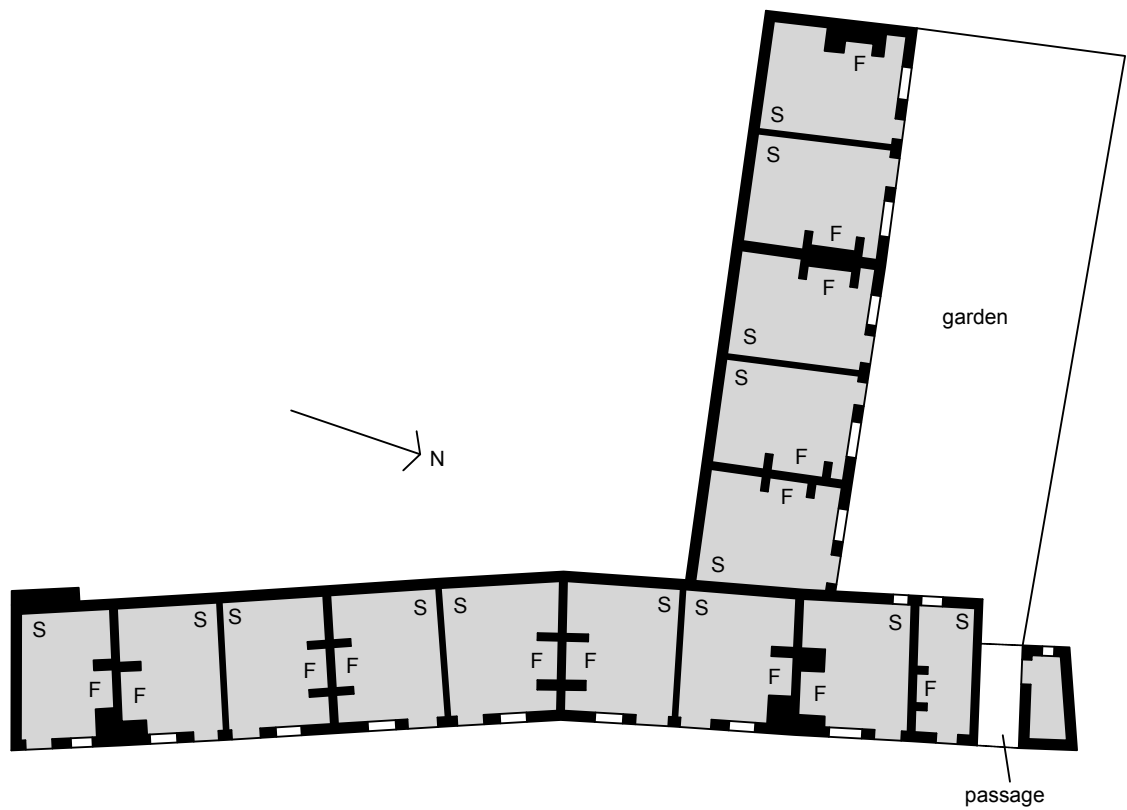
**Fig 86** Map showing the Grey Friars water supply (source: Norman, 'On the white conduit') (scale 1:10,000)



**Fig 87** Plan of two lay tenements built in Austin Friars in 1510 (scale 1:250)



White Friars almshouses of 1536: ten 'bedsits' for women

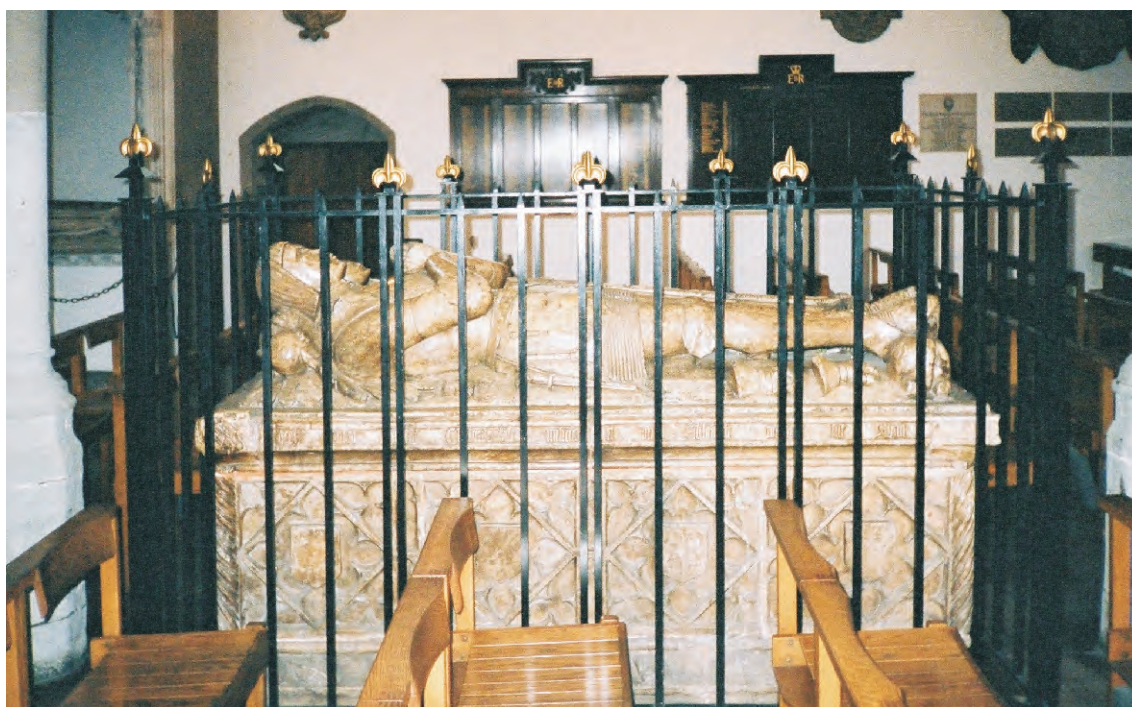


Crossed Friars almshouses of 1534: thirteen houses for men (enlarged in the sixteenth century to fourteen houses)



**Fig 88** Comparative plans of the Crossed Friars almshouses of 1534 and the White Friars almshouses of 1536 (scale 1:250)





**Fig 89** Tomb of Sir Richard Cholmeley and his wife Elizabeth, probably transferred from the church of Crossed Friars to St Peter ad Vincula at the Dissolution (photograph: Christian Steer)

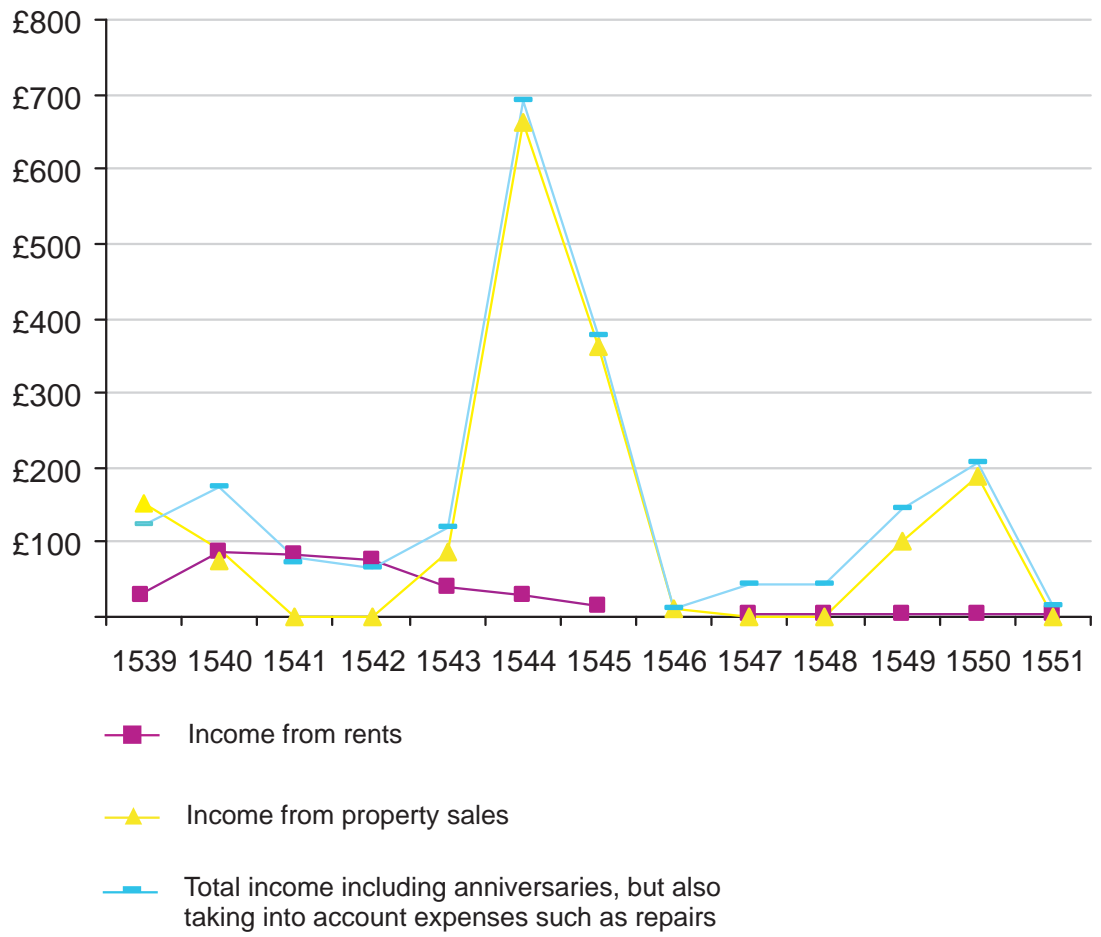
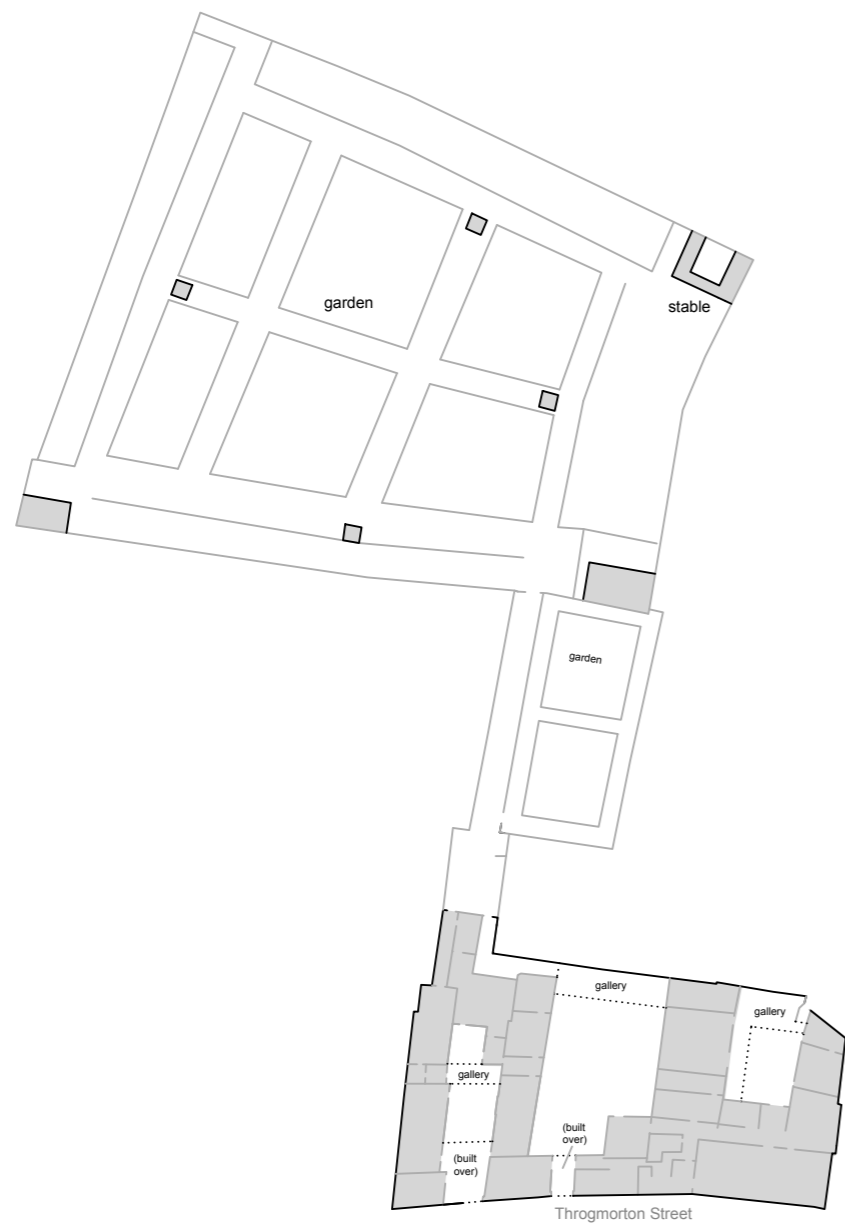
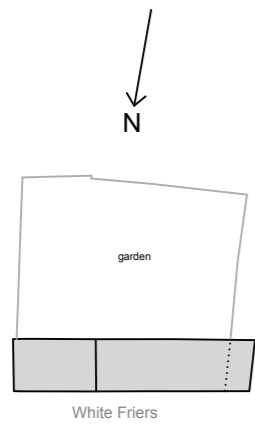


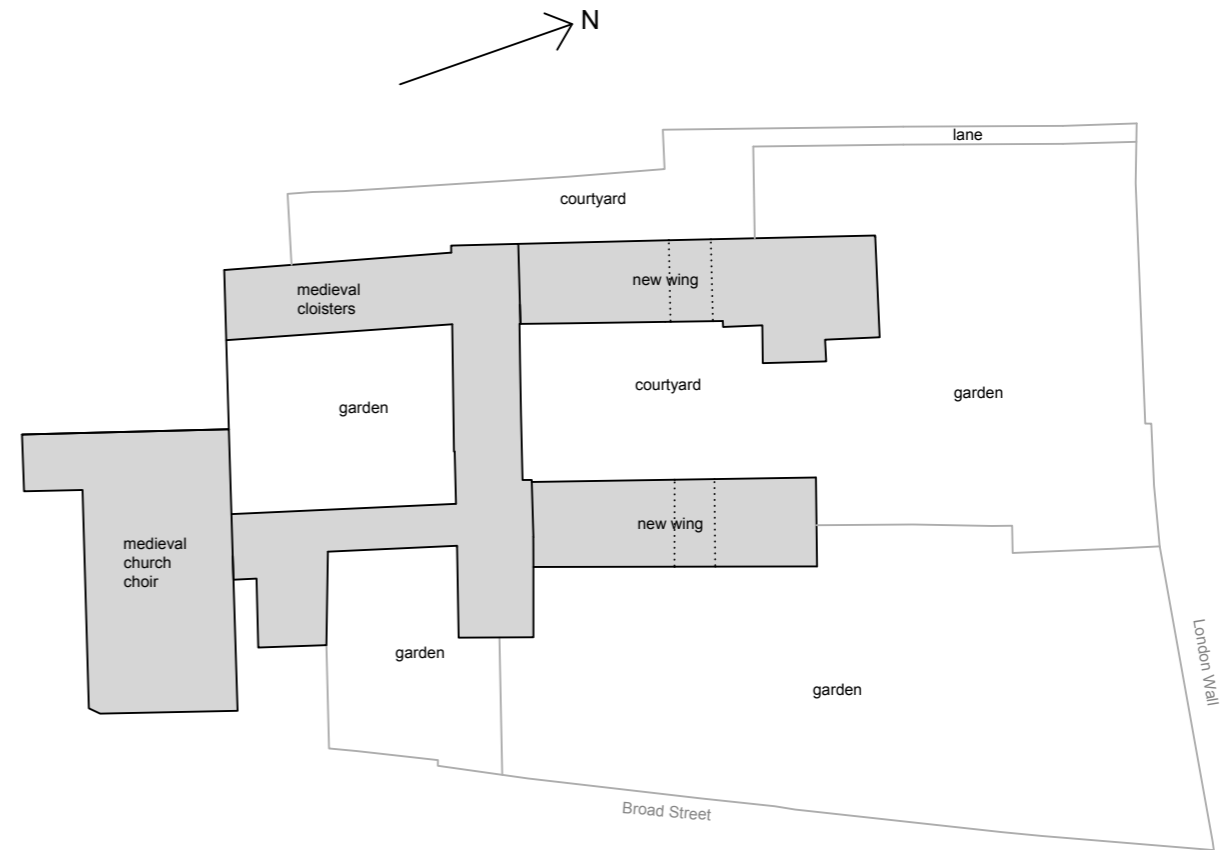
Fig 90 Chart showing Crown income from Black Friars after the Dissolution



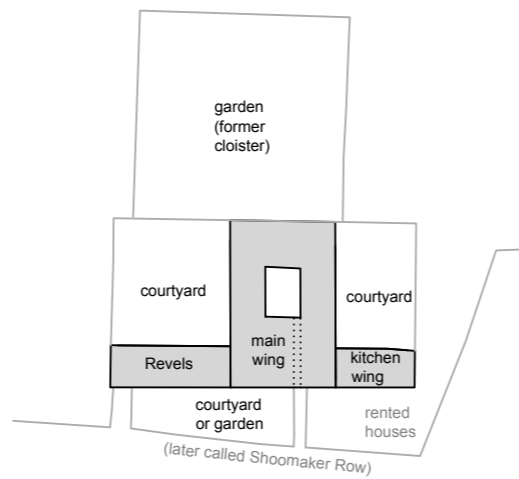
Thomas Cromwell's mansion of 1535-9



Richard Morrison's house at White Friars: medieval library converted c. 1541



William Paulet's mansion at Austin Friars: the new northern wings begun in 1540



Sir Thomas Cawarden's mansion at Black Friars: conversion of medieval church nave in 1545



Sir Thomas Wyatt and Baron John Lumley's mansion at Crossed Friars: house of 1534 with alterations of the 1540s and 1550s (and of the second half of the 16th century)

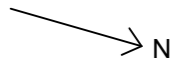


Fig 91 Comparative plan of the mansions built and converted in the friaries after the Dissolution (scale 1:1000)