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## II. THE TWO COLDHARBOURS OF THE CITY OF LONDON

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As a subject for topographical study, the medieval waterfront of the city of London has several disadvantages over other areas, and one major advantage. The disadvantages are that the prime importance of the area for the city's economy has entailed continuous occupation and development: new roads, streets, bridges, embankments have been made, and in many cases even the underground traces of earlier streets and buildings have been obliterated. Continuous occupation and changing use have also meant that street-names have often changed: many of the minor lanes leading from Thames Street to the river had several alternative or successive names between the thirteenth century and the seventeenth, though name changes thereafter were less frequent.

The advantage, topographically speaking, of the waterfront area is the prevalence, from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth at any rate, of a very simple tenement-pattern. Most of the properties occupied a simple rectangle, bounded to north and south by Thames Street and the Thames and to east and west by lanes, public or private, or other similar properties. This means that the relationship of properties to one another and to a street-plan is usually easy to comprehend. This tenement-pattern is not universal, however; in certain areas, notably the Vintry, Queenhithe, near Dowgate and around the Bridge, where settlement south of Thames Street was probably early, the larger simple tenements had already been broken up into smaller units in separate ownership by the early fourteenth century, and it is much more difficult to reconstruct a plan of these properties.

One part of the waterfront where a more complete tenement-plan has combined with changes in street-plan

property-names and complete redevelopment to cause considerable topographical confusion is the area in Dowgate Ward where the churches of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less<sup>1</sup> and the medieval house called Coldharbour lay. The site, just to the east of Cannon Street railway station, is now largely occupied by Mondial House, so illumination by archaeological investigation is no longer a possibility. To make matters worse, John Stow's account of the area in his *Survey of London* (1598) contains several errors of fact and interpretation, especially in relation to Coldharbour itself.<sup>2</sup>

Stow gives a brief history of Coldharbour, saying that it had belonged in the fourteenth century to Sir John Pulteney, a London merchant,<sup>3</sup> and afterwards had passed to the Holland family, earls of Huntingdon and dukes of Exeter, to the College of Heralds, to the bishop of Durham and, in his own time, to the earls of Shrewsbury. The sources he cites for this history, however, refer to Coldharbour at first as being in the parish of All Hallows the Great but later as in All Hallows the Less, and this discrepancy is a clue to the true situation. There were in fact two separate properties, adjacent but not identical: Pulteney's house lay on the west side of Wolsey Lane in the parish of All Hallows the Great, and on the opposite (east) side of the lane lay another large house in the parish of All Hallows the Less. Both houses were known as Coldharbour for a time, Pulteney's until the end of the fourteenth century and the other from the early fifteenth century. The latter, which belonged in the 1370s to Alice Perrers, Edward III's acquisitive mistress,<sup>4</sup> was the one which descended in the Holland family as Stow described, and came eventually to the earls of Shrewsbury. It is shown on Braun and Hogenberg's map as 'Shosbury Place'.

The history of these two Coldharbours is traced below from the thirteenth century. It is necessary also to look at the four smaller tenements which adjoined them, and which with them and the two churches occupied a rectangular site stretching from Thames Street to the river, measuring approximately 185 feet from east to west. Two north-south

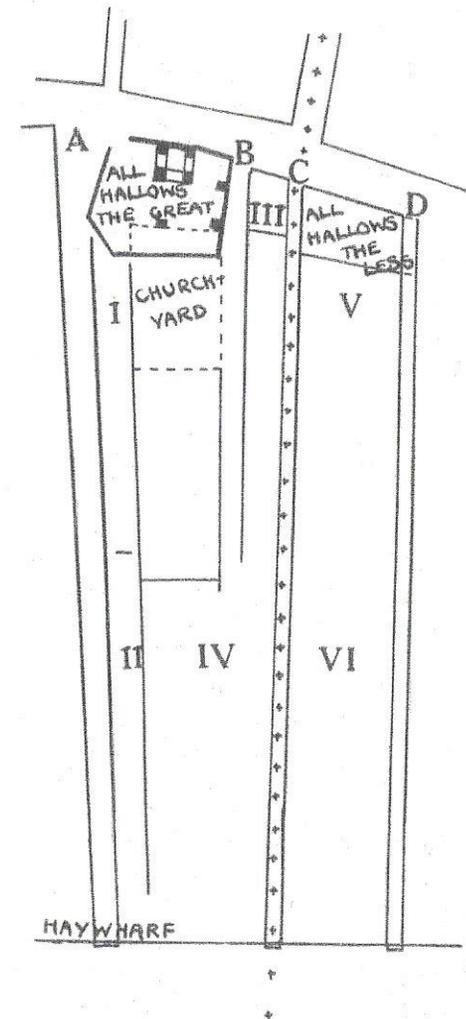


Fig. 1. The area of the two Coldharbours in the fifteenth century.

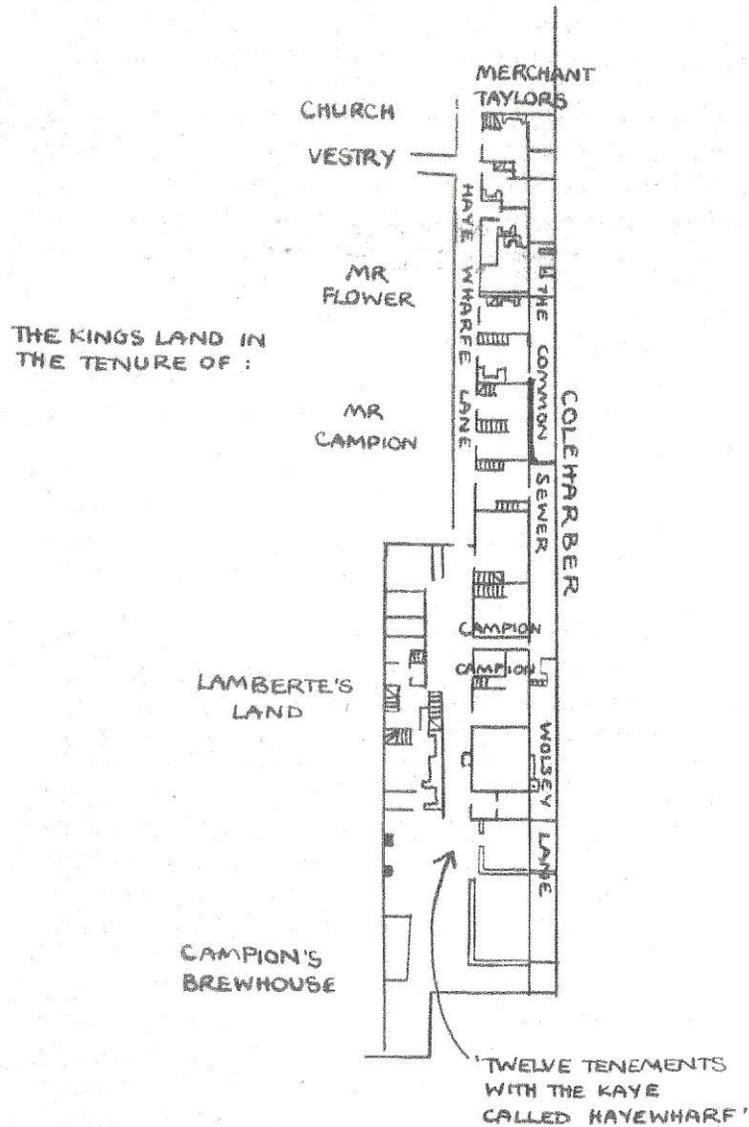


Fig. 2. The Clothworkers' Company's property (iv) in 1612.

lanes bounded the site and two more subdivided it, so that three narrow blocks of buildings were formed. The churches of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less occupied the Thames Street ends of the western and eastern blocks respectively; the central block was the narrowest, perhaps only 20 feet wide.

Three of the four lanes bounding and dividing the properties had several successive names; for the sake of clarity, each lane is additionally identified in the following account by a letter, as shown on the plan (Fig. 1). Lane A, at the western side, was known in the fourteenth century, and possibly still in the fifteenth, as Haywharf Lane; in the sixteenth century and later it was called Church Lane or Allhallows Lane.<sup>5</sup> The next lane, B, may also have been known as Haywharf Lane in the fourteenth century, as it was by the fifteenth; a fourteenth-century reference to Coldharbour Lane is probably also to this one. Battes Lane was an alternative name in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as were Hay Lane and Campion Lane in the sixteenth.<sup>6</sup> The third lane, C, was known only as Wolsey Lane, with various spellings. It was the boundary between the two parishes, and continued north of Thames Street towards Candlewick (Cannon) Street, before bending east to join St Lawrence's Churchyard.<sup>7</sup> The fourth and easternmost lane, D, was called successively Sayers Lane, Armenters Lane, and Weston Lane in the fourteenth century, after the owners of properties there, and Coldharbour Lane from the fifteenth.<sup>8</sup>

The six properties mentioned above are numbered I to VI in the following account, though only the history of the two largest, Sir John Pulteney's Coldharbour (IV) and Alice Perrers' inn, the later Coldharbour (VI), is traced in full from c. 1300 to the seventeenth century.

#### *Tenement I*

This property, which was quite small, lay to the south of the church of All Hallows the Great and faced west on to lane A. Luke de Havering sold it in 1317 to John de

Preston, who left it to his son John in 1339.<sup>9</sup> The younger John left it to his daughter Petronilla in 1353; she married first Ralph Blakeney and then John Northampton, leader of one of the factions that disrupted London's peace in the 1380s, for which he forfeited his lands, including this property, in 1384.<sup>10</sup> Afterwards the tenement returned to Petronilla's daughter and heir Idonia (Blakeney), who married Robert Cumberton, Northampton's brother. Cumberton's tenement, backing on to the church or churchyard of All Hallows the Great, is mentioned in 1406.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Tenement II*

The history of this property, which lay to the south of I, is less well documented. Thomas de Basing devised his wharf called Haywharf to John and Idonia, children of Nicholas de Winton or Winchester, *c.* 1300. It was divided between them; Idonia's half lay to the west of 'the lane leading from All Hallows the Great to the Thames' (A), John's to the east.<sup>12</sup> Idonia's property can be traced through several owners,<sup>13</sup> but there seem to be no further fourteenth-century deeds for John's.<sup>14</sup>

It is probable, however, that this was the property held by the Priory of Dartford (founded in 1346) from before 1392 to the Reformation.<sup>15</sup> John Lambard bought it from the Crown in 1544; in 1597 his son William Lambard had eight small tenements in 'Allhalloes Lane *alias* Haywharfe Lane' (A), part of a dyehouse in the occupation of Abraham Campion, a brewer.<sup>16</sup> The Clothworkers' Company's book of plans of their properties *c.* 1612 shows 'Lamberte's land' and 'Campion's brewhouse' to the west of the tenements (IV) then held by Campion of the Clothworkers.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Tenement III*

The Thames Street frontage of the central block, between lanes B and C, was occupied by a small house or tenement, belonging in the early fourteenth century to William de

Leyre (*d. c.* 1328). It passed to Thomas de Swanlond, and in 1364 from him to Thomas and Edelena atte Legh.<sup>18</sup> Thomas (*d.* 1373) and Edelena (*d.* 1375) left rents from this property to a chantry in the church of St Michael Crooked Lane.<sup>19</sup> The tenement had passed to the Merchant Taylors' Company by 1612 and remained theirs until after 1861.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Tenement IV*

This property, Sir John Pulteney's Coldharbour, occupied part of the western and central blocks. It was bounded to the south by the Thames, where there was a wharf, to the east by Wolsey Lane (C), to the west by the backs of Tenements I and II, and to the north by the church of All Hallows the Great and Tenement III. Lane B divided the property; it seems to have been a private way, at least at first.<sup>21</sup>

In the thirteenth century this tenement belonged to John de Gisors, one of the merchant oligarchs of that period.<sup>22</sup> In 1297 William de Hereford devised it to his sons William and Robert.<sup>23</sup> Robert granted it by the name of 'le Coldherberghe' to Sir John Abel for ten years from 1317, and Abel assigned the rest of his term to Henry Stow, draper, in 1319.<sup>24</sup> Robert Hereford's two daughters sold it to (Sir) John Pulteney in 1334;<sup>25</sup> Pulteney's tenement in Wolsey Lane (C) is mentioned in 1343.<sup>26</sup> In 1347 he granted a rent of £80 out of Coldharbour to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, with the right to the reversion of the property for life if the rent were in arrears at Pulteney's death.<sup>27</sup>

Pulteney (*d.* 1349) left Coldharbour to be sold, and it was bought in 1353 from his executors by Sir Nicholas Loveyne and his wife Margaret, Pulteney's widow.<sup>28</sup> In 1355 the bishop of Winchester claimed a quitrent of 26*s.* 8*d.* from Loveyne's messuage called Coldharbour and the tenements situated 'on either side of the said lane' (? lane B).<sup>29</sup>

Sir Nicholas Loveyne died in 1375, survived by his second wife Margaret, son Nicholas (*d.* before 1398) and daughter Margaret.<sup>30</sup> In 1398 Sir Philip Seintclere and Margaret his wife, Loveyne's daughter and heir, had

permission to alienate two messuages, part of Coldharbour, to the church of All Hallows the Great, to enlarge it and make a cemetery and also a chapel or chantry in the church.<sup>31</sup> The cemetery and church enlargement had been made by 1406, when Seintclere and his wife granted them to trustees to maintain an obit for Nicholas Loveyne.<sup>32</sup> Seintclere died before May 1408, and Margaret in June of that year. She was seised of two messuages, nine shops with solars, some cottages and a wharf in the parish of All Hallows the Great, worth £8 yearly; her heir was Richard Chamberleyn, aged 15.<sup>33</sup> The Seintcleres seem to have been the last family of note to live in the tenement. From this time it was in commercial use, and ceased to be known as Coldharbour; the name passed to the tenement on the other side of Wolsey Lane.<sup>34</sup>

Richard Chamberleyn let the property first to William Baron, dyer, and then from 1431 to John Bederenden, draper, and Robert Holland, shearman; it seems at this time to have been used for brewing.<sup>35</sup> John Aynes, carpenter, had a 19-year lease from 1436.<sup>36</sup> In 1438 the whole property and the advowson of the chantry for Sir Nicholas Loveyne were settled on the legitimate male issue of Richard Chamberleyn senior and Margaret his wife, with remainder to Richard Chamberleyn junior, his (?illegitimate) son.<sup>37</sup> By 1473 the tenement had come to Richard brother of William Chamberleyn.<sup>38</sup>

Richard (d. 1496) was succeeded by his son Edward, who in February 1509 granted 36 messuages and the Haywharf in Batteslane (B) to Robert Scrace and Robert Cressy.<sup>39</sup> James Fynch, William Blundell, William Carkeke and Lancelot Holme recovered the tenements from Scrace and Cressy by writ of right in the Court of Husting, and the other parties released their right to James Fynch on 14 February, as did Edward Chamberleyn.<sup>40</sup> Fynch, by his will of 15 February 1509, devised the property to the Fraternity of Shearmen of London, to whom Edward Chamberleyn made a further quitclaim in 1517.<sup>41</sup>

The Shearmen united with the Fullers in 1528 to form the Clothworkers' Company, and this property passed with

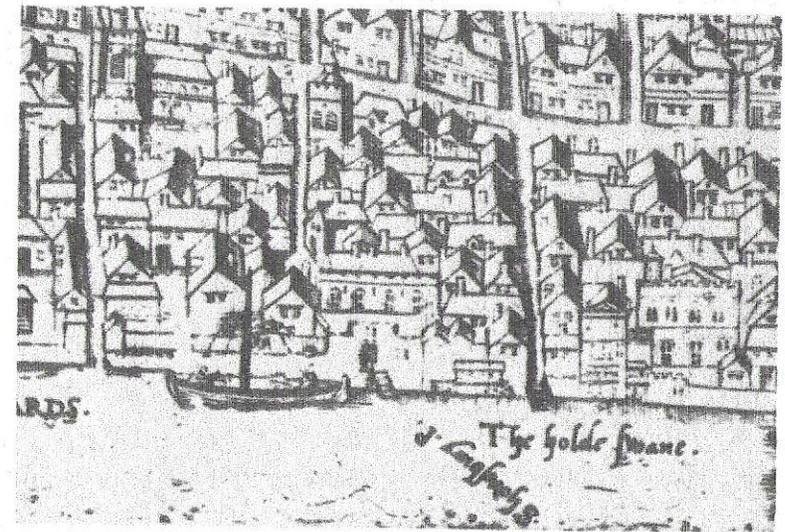


Fig. 3. The area c. 1553-9. Coldharbour (vi) appears as 'Showsbury P.' Detail from Copperplate map.

its deeds to the new organization.<sup>42</sup> From the mid-sixteenth century the Campion family were the Clothworkers' Company's tenants; by 1597 they also leased the adjoining tenement to the west (II) from William Lambard.<sup>43</sup> The Clothworkers' book of plans of 1612 includes one of this property, with Wolsey Lane (C) to the east and 'Lamberte's land' to the west.<sup>44</sup> James I confirmed the company's charters and possessions in 1619, mentioning the Haywharf, eight messuages in Battes Lane (B), and other tenements in the occupation of Abraham Campion.<sup>45</sup>

The plan of 1612 shows a large rectangle labelled 'the King's land' to the west of lane B, between All Hallows the Great and the Clothworkers' property. The name suggests that it may be former chantry land taken by the Crown in 1548;<sup>46</sup> it was probably part of the lands granted out of Coldharbour by the Seintcleres to the church of All Hallows the Great in 1398/1406. It is considerably larger than the plot (66' by 55') which they were licensed in 1398

to alienate to the church to enlarge it and make a churchyard, and in any case this plot is wholly accounted for by the cemetery and the south aisle of the pre-Fire church.<sup>47</sup> It seems clear, however, that more than this plot was included in the grant, to provide an income for Sir Nicholas Loveyne's obit or chantry, and it seems probable that 'the King's land' of 1612 represents this. That land was obviously once part of Coldharbour, and no further grants from the property are known.<sup>48</sup>

#### *Tenement V*

This small tenement was once part of a larger one, which occupied the whole of the third block between lanes C and D, and stretched from All Hallows the Less to the river. This larger property belonged to John de Armenters (d. 1306), from whom Lane D took one of its names. He divided it in his will between his children; Robert de Armenters received a shop under or beside the church of All Hallows the Less.<sup>49</sup> It is not clear whether the property was literally under the church; as this was said to stand on vaults or cellars this may have been the case.<sup>50</sup> Margaret, widow of Sir Robert Kendal, held the tenement in 1347; she left it for a chantry in Hitchin church, but it seems nevertheless to have passed to her son Edward Kendal (d. 1373), and to his sons Edward and Thomas (both d. 1375).<sup>51</sup> Their sister Beatrice was their heir; her husband Robert Turk held it in 1400.<sup>52</sup> A tenement described as 'under and beside' the church, late of John Hyham, belonged to the duke of Exeter by 1447.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Tenement VI*

This tenement comprised the larger part of John de Armenters' property, and stretched from Tenement V to the river.<sup>54</sup> Bartholomew Deumars owned it by 1343; he occupied part and leased part to John Weston, specifying in his will of 1352 that the rent and reversion of Weston's part should be sold with the freehold of his.<sup>55</sup> The property

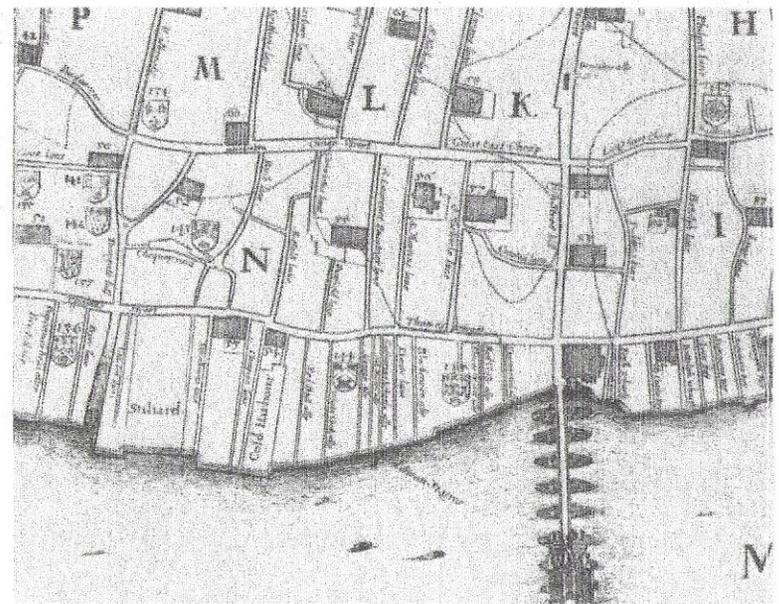


Fig. 4. The burnt city, 1666-7 (Hollar).

had been sold by 1355, and was bought and sold again several times before being bought between 1370 and 1377 by Alice Perrers, Edward III's mistress, then at the height of her power.<sup>56</sup>

Alice Perrers rebuilt the property extensively, but immediately after Edward III's death all her properties were forfeited.<sup>57</sup> Richard II granted it to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, in 1378, by the name of the New Inn between Weston Lane (D) and Wolsey Lane (C).<sup>58</sup> Gaunt surrendered it in 1379, and it was granted during pleasure to Edmund earl of Cambridge.<sup>59</sup> In 1380, when part of the tenement was occupied by Raymond Berce or Bers o Aquitaine, the reversion was granted to William de Wyndesore, husband of Alice Perrers; he and Alice then granted part of it to John Holland, earl of Huntingdon half-brother of Richard II.<sup>60</sup>

Huntingdon opposed the accession of Henry IV and his lands were forfeited in 1399; he himself was killed in 1400.<sup>61</sup> Alice Perrers died c. 1400, and her lands appear to have escheated too: in 1401 Henry IV granted 'la Tour' late of Alice Perrers and the earl of Huntingdon to his brother John earl of Somerset for life.<sup>62</sup> The latter died in 1409, and in 1410 the King granted the inn or place called Coldharbour to Henry Prince of Wales.<sup>63</sup> This can hardly refer to Pulteney's Coldharbour, now belonging to Richard Chamberleyn, but it may well be the first reference to Tenement VI by this name, by which it was certainly known 35 years later.

John Holland, son of the forfeited earl of Huntingdon, was restored to his father's lands and titles in 1417, but this property seems to have been held for some time by his mother Elizabeth (d. 1425) and Sir John Cornewaill (d. 1443), her second husband.<sup>64</sup> Henry VI confirmed Coldharbour, late of Sir John Cornewaill, to Holland, now duke of Exeter, in 1444.<sup>65</sup> On his death in 1447 Exeter was seised of a hospice called le Tour *alias* Coldharbour, formerly of Alice Perrers, in Coldharbour Lane (?D); he also appears to have held Tenement V. His heir was his son Henry.<sup>66</sup>

Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, forfeited his lands in 1461 for supporting the Lancastrian side, but his wife Anne, sister of Edward IV, retained some of them.<sup>67</sup> She died in 1476, and Coldharbour was granted to Elizabeth Woodville.<sup>68</sup> Richard III granted it to the College of Heralds in 1484, but their tenure was brief: Henry VII's mother, the countess of Richmond, appears to have been in possession by September 1485, and had a formal grant of the property in 1487.<sup>69</sup>

The countess of Richmond died in 1509, and later that year Henry VIII granted Coldharbour for life to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1538); Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, had it before 1543.<sup>70</sup> Edward VI gave it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1560), and his heirs in 1553.<sup>71</sup> Stow, in 1598, described Coldharbour as a great house, entered by an arched gate under All Hallows

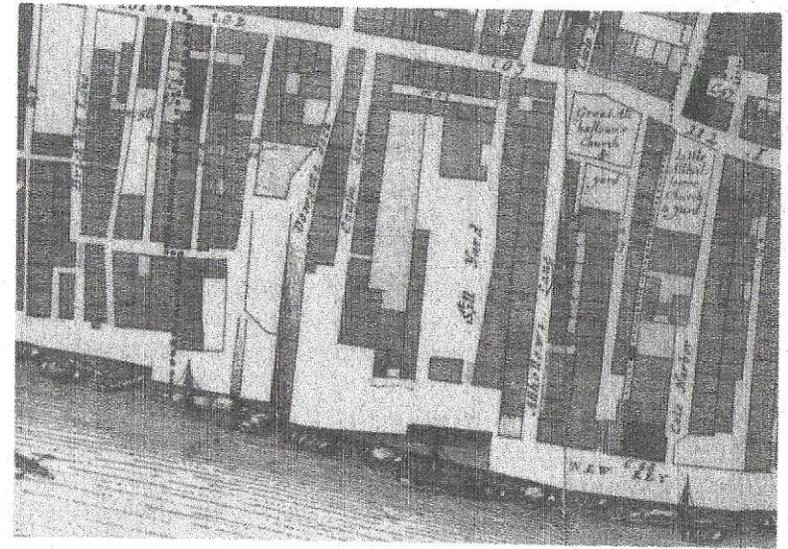


Fig. 5. The city rebuilt, 1676. (Ogilby and Morgan.)

the Less, and added 'the last deceased earl (of Shrewsbury) took it down, and in place thereof built a great number of small tenements, now letten out for great rents to people of all sorts'.<sup>72</sup>

The history of the six properties can be traced rather more briefly from the seventeenth century. The whole site, and both the churches, were burnt in the fire of 1660. All Hallows the Less was never rebuilt, and the parish was united with All Hallows the Great.<sup>73</sup> That church, rebuilt by Wren, survived until the nineteenth century; the tower and north aisle were demolished in 1876 and the body of the church in 1894.<sup>74</sup> Watermen's Hall was built on the site of Coldharbour, and rebuilt in 1719; in 1779 it was sold to Henry Calvert of Calverts' Brewery.<sup>75</sup>

The Calvert family had also been acquiring the freeholds and leases of adjoining properties. They became the tenants of the Clothworkers' Company's property (Tenement IV) in 1732, and of two small tenements beside and belonging to the church of All Hallows the Great in 1741.<sup>76</sup> Tenement I,

devised in 1717 by Sir Benjamin Maddox to the parish of Little Bookham, Surrey, was probably also leased by Calverts in the eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> In the nineteenth century the whole site, from Allhallows Lane (A) to well beyond Coldharbour Lane (D) became the City of London Brewery.<sup>78</sup> In 1861 the Brewery owned about two-thirds of the site and held the rest on lease from the church, the parish of Little Bookham, the Clothworkers, the Merchant Taylors, and others.<sup>79</sup> The Brewery closed in the early years of this century, to be replaced by a number of small businesses, including a garage and a wine-merchant.<sup>80</sup> The remaining buildings were demolished to make way for Mondial House, completed in the mid-1970s.

The kind of jigsaw-puzzle topography that this study is made up of does not readily produce conclusions of a general nature. Nevertheless two points seem to be worth stressing. The first is that, in this kind of topography, no coincidence should be ruled out, no improbability discarded out of hand. The existence of two Coldharbours, not to mention two Haywharf Lanes and two churches with the same dedication, in such proximity, surely demonstrates this. The second point is that, when a study is not of its nature limited to a single archive, the range of useful sources is very wide. Actual deeds, whether enrolled in the Husting, retained in original by individuals or corporations, or listed in a cartulary, will provide the most detailed information, but inquisitions post mortem and royal grants and licences will also prove very useful. Minor references in other records, often to disputes over property, maps and plans, and a whole range of secondary sources from Stow to the latest publication of the London Topographical Society may also contribute to solving a problem.

I am grateful for the advice and information I have received while preparing this article from Dr Caroline Barron, and from John Schofield and Tony Dyson of the Department of Urban Archaeology of the Museum of London. Figures 4 and 5 are reproduced by permission of Guildhall Library, fig. 3, from the southern section of the Copperplate map of London, by permission of the Museum of London. Fig. 2 is based on a tracing made by Alison Balfour-Lynn of the Department of

Urban Archaeology of a plan drawn for the Clothworkers' Company in 1612 by Ralph Treswell. This plan, in a book of such plans in the Company's archives, seemed unlikely to reproduce well enough, when reduced sufficiently, to be useful; the tracing was made by permission of the Company, to whose archivists Mr Keefe and Mr Wickham I also owe thanks. The plan is referred to below as Clothworkers' Company Records, Plan (1612). In the following notes, references to the deeds and wills enrolled in the Court of Husting, in the Corporation of London Record Office, have been abbreviated to H.R. (Deeds).

- 1 All Hallows the Great was also known as All Hallows at Hay, at the Haywharf, and in the Ropery, the latter being an alternative name for the adjoining stretch of Thames Street. All Hallows the Less was also known as All Hallows on the Cellars. See H. A. Harben, *Dictionary of London*.
- 2 John Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), i. 236-7. Other errors include the statements that Sir Philip Seintclere gave two messuages to the church of All Hallows the Less; that Edmund earl of Cambridge was at Coldharbour in 1398; and that 'Pulteney's Inn' was another name for Coldharbour. For the first two, see notes 32 and 60 below; for the third, see *Archaeologia*, lvii. 257-84, though the account given there of Coldharbour follows Stow's other errors. See also *Lond. Top. Rec.* x. 94-100; *Archaeologia*, lxxi. 21-8.
- 3 Pulteney (d. 1349), four times mayor of London, knighted in 1337, was the founder of the secular college of Corpus Christi in the church of St Laurence Candlewick Street, thereafter known as St Laurence Pulteney or Pountney (whence Pountney Hill, etc.): *D.N.B.*; *V.C.H. London*, 574-6; Harben, *Dictionary*.
- 4 Alice Perrers was Edward III's mistress in the late 1360s and 1370s. She received grants of lands, wardships and jewels, and was one of the objects of the Good Parliament's attack in 1376. The sentence of forfeiture then passed was revoked in 1377, but confirmed later that year after the death of Edward III. The sentence was again revoked in 1379, and she and her husband William de Wyndesore had a grant of her lands in 1380. She died in 1400 or 1401: *D.N.B.*
- 5 H.R. (Deeds) 29(54), 39(143), 45(52), 66(122); *Charters of the Clothworkers' Company* (London 1881), 91; *Abstracts of Inquisitions post mortem relating to London 1485-1603*, iii. 302-4.
- 6 H.R. (Deeds) 99(177), 166(22), 203(24), 238(41); *Calendar of Wills enrolled in Court of Husting*, ii. 614; Stow, *Survey*, i. 235; *Charts. Clothworkers*, 91; Guildhall MS. 76, f. 857. Earlier names for Haywharf Lane (? A or B) were Batteslane, Germaineslane, and Wauncelines Lane: E. Ekwall, *Street-names of London*, 127, 131-3, 153.
- 7 H.R. (Deeds) 91(142), 93(123), 106(87); *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1377-81*, 105; Clothworkers' Company Records, Clothworkers' Hall, Plan (1612); Guildhall MS. 76, f. 857. By the sixteenth century the northern part of Wolsey Lane was known as Suffolk Lane: Harben, *Dictionary*, 558; Ogilby and Morgan, map.

- 8 *Cal. Wills*, i. 143-4; H.R. (Deeds) 30(1), 106(87), 112(37), 130(5); *Liber Custumarum* (Rolls Ser.) i, pt. 2, 448; *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 105; *ibid.* 1461-7, 10.
- 9 In 1317 it was said to lie between the church of All Hallows at Hay to the N., the tenement late of Thomas de Basing to the S., that of Robert de Hereford to the E., and the lane leading to the Haywharf to the W.: H.R. (Deeds) 46(52). In 1339 it was described as 'in Haywharf Lane': H.R. (Deeds) 66(122). Cf. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway, *Assize of Nuisance* (L.R.S. x), no. 275.
- 10 *Cal. Wills*, i. 669; R. Bird, *Turbulent London of Richard II*, 7-11. A blacksmith claimed payment from Northampton's estate for hinges, locks and keys supplied for the brewhouse behind (*apres*) or against (*encontre*) the church of All Hallows the Great: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, iv, no. 275.
- 11 Bird, *Turbulent London*, 7-11; H.R. (Deeds) 133\*(66).
- 12 Idonia's half was bounded by the lane to the E., the Thames to the S., the tenement of Bartholomew Nicholas to the N., and the tenement late of Arnald Tedmar to the W.; John's, bounded W. and S. by the lane and the Thames, abutted N. on Luke de Havering's house (I) and E. on the tenement late of William de Hereford (IV): *Cal. Wills*, i. 147; H.R. (Deeds) 29(54).
- 13 H.R. (Deeds) 39(143), 89(48)(101).
- 14 In 1317 it was referred to as 'late of Thomas de Basing': H.R. (Deeds) 46(52).
- 15 The Priory had property in the parish in 1392, worth £8 13s. 4d. yearly: A. K. McHardy, *The Church in London 1375-92* (L.R.S. xiii), no. 538. In 1535 its value was £8 3s. 10d.: *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Com.), i. 120.
- 16 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xix, pt. 1, no. 1035(47); *Abs. Inq. p. m. Lond.* iii. 302-4.
- 17 Clothworkers' Company Records, Plan (1612); see Figs. 2-5.
- 18 In 1364 its bounds were Thames Street to the N., Coldharbour (IV) to the S., Wolsey Lane (C) to the E., and All Hallows (the Great) to the W. The occupants of this tenement had the right of access to the Thames by means of a lane from Thames Street, probably lane B: H.R. (Deeds) 91(142); cf. *Cal. Wills*, i. 330, 337; *Assize of Nuisance* (L.R.S. x), nos. 50, 164.
- 19 *Cal. Wills*, ii. 153-4, 178-9; H.R. (Deeds) 103(189); cf. *Cal. Wills*, ii. 527.
- 20 Clothworkers' Company Records, Plan (1612); *ibid.* Box 61, plan of Brewery, 1861.
- 21 H. M. Chew, *London Possessory Assizes* (L.R.S. i), no. 117; cf. *Cal. Wills*, i. 133.
- 22 H.R. (Deeds) 46(52); G. Williams, *Medieval London: from Commune to Capital*, 325-6.
- 23 *Cal. Wills*, i. 133.
- 24 *Cal. Letterbook E*, 108-9; H.R. (Deeds) 46(6).

- 25 Stow, *Survey*, i. 236.
- 26 *Liber Custumarum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, pt. 2, 448.
- 27 *Cal. Letterbook F*, 158; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1346-9, 236.
- 28 *Cal. Wills*, i. 609; P.R.O., C 131/15/17; H.R. (Deeds) 81(107). Cf. Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1a. Loveyne could only purchase the reversion, as Margaret his wife held  $\frac{1}{2}$  in dower and the earl of Hereford had the remaining  $\frac{3}{4}$  for life.
- 29 *London Possessory Assizes* (L.R.S. i), no. 117.
- 30 *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, xiv, no. 172; *Complete Peerage*, iv. 296-8.
- 31 *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, 353; P.R.O., C 142/427/18. This is the grant which Stow said was to All Hallows the Less: *Survey*, i. 236.
- 32 H.R. (Deeds) 133\*(66); Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1 b.
- 33 *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, 440; P.R.O., C 137/70/5. Their relationship is not given, but it is possible that he was her son by an earlier marriage: see P.R.O., C 136/91/15.
- 34 See below.
- 35 Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, nos. 1 c, 1 d, 1 f; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1413-37*, 252.
- 36 Aynes was to maintain the property and to build, within a year, a new building of two tenements in place of one old and ruinous one, in the manner and materials of the other tenements adjoining to the S. towards the river: Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1 e.
- 37 *Ibid.* nos. 1 g, 1 h, 1 j; H.R. (Deeds) 166(22).
- 38 H.R. (Deeds) 203(24)(25); Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1 m. Richard Chamberleyn leased a part of the tenement to Gerard Codde in 1474: *ibid.* no. 1 n.
- 39 *Abs. Inq. p. m. Lond.* i. 13; *Cal. I. p. m. Henry VII*, i, no. 1236; Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1 o.
- 40 Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, nos. 1 p, 1 q.
- 41 *Cal. Wills*, ii. 614; Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, James Pynch's will.
- 42 *Charts. Clothworkers*, 8-15; Clothworkers' Company Records.
- 43 *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Soc. xliii, 1848), 302; Stow, *Survey*, i. 235; *Abs. Inq. p. m. Lond.* iii. 302-4.
- 44 Clothworkers' Company Records, Book of plans, 1612; Fig. 2.
- 45 *Charts. Clothworkers*, 76, 91.
- 46 C. J. Kinching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate* (L.R.S. forthcoming 1980).
- 47 *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, 353; P.R.O., C 143/427/18. The deed of 1406 (H.R. (Deeds) 133\*(66); Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 1 b) states that 'la Southyle' and the vestry of the church stood on part of the plot, the rest of which formed the churchyard. For a plan of the late medieval church, see *Architectural History*, vol. 13 (1970), 32, fig. 12. A building to the S. of the churchyard was still known as 'the Cloisters' in the early nineteenth century: Guildhall MS. 2142. Cf. Guildhall MSS. 76, 9328.

- 48 A quitrent or annuity of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) charged on the tenement can be traced from the fourteenth century, and may in fact derive from the thirteenth century, when the Gisors family owned the property, as it was associated with property in the Vintry owned in 1383 by William Burcestre and Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Gisors: H.R. (Deeds) 112(75)(103)(105). It came in the fifteenth century to John Brickles, draper (d. 1451), who left it to the church of All Hallows the Great: H.R. (Deeds) 158(81), 159(2); *Cal. Plea & Mem. R.* 1413-37, 252; Guildhall MS. 76, pp. 740, 742; Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 18; cf. *Lond. and Mdx. Chantry Cert.* (L.R.S. forthcoming 1980). For notes on 'Brikles' Gift' in the eighteenth century, see also Guildhall MS. 2142.
- 49 *Cal. Wills*, i. 179; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vii, no. 20.
- 50 See for example Stow, *Survey*, i. 235.
- 51 *Cal. Wills*, i. 501, ii. 459-60; *Cal. I. p. m.* xiii, no. 241; *ibid.* xv, nos. 152, 153, 154.
- 52 *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, 162-3; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vii, no. 20.
- 53 P.R.O., C 139/127/25.
- 54 *Cal. Wills*, i. 179.
- 55 *Liber Custumarum* (Rolls Ser.) ii, pt. 2, 448; *Cal. Wills*, i. 662; H.R. (Deeds) 80(135).
- 56 *London Possessory Assizes* (L.R.S. i), no. 117; H.R. (Deeds) 83(102), 89(37), 94(119), 98(5); *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iv, no. 17. John Weston surrendered his interest in 1370: H.R. (Deeds) 98(164).
- 57 *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iv, no. 17; cf. *D.N.B.*
- 58 *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 105; H.R. (Deeds) 106(87).
- 59 *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 343. Stow says that Edmund of Cambridge was at Coldharbour in 1398 (22 Richard II) but this is probably a misreading for 1378 (2 Richard II). By 1398 Edmund was duke of York; see *Survey*, i. 236.
- 60 *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 504.
- 61 *Complete Peerage*, v. 195-200; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vii, no. 122. While Huntingdon's lands were in the King's hands, the bishop of Winchester sued for arrears of a quitrent of 60s. due in equal parts from Huntingdon's tenement, Alice Perrers', and Robert Turk's (V): *Cal. Inq. Misc.* vii, no. 20; *Cal. Close R.* 1399-1402, 160. This quitrent probably originated at a time when Tenements V and VI were one property; cf. *London Possessory Assizes* (L.R.S. i) no. 117.
- 62 *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, 546.
- 63 P.R.O., C 137/80/44; *Cal. Pat.* 1408-11, 172.
- 64 *Complete Peerage*, v. 205-12.
- 65 *Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, 230.
- 66 P.R.O., C 139/127/25; see above.
- 67 *Complete Peerage*, v. 212-16; *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, 10.
- 68 *Complete Peerage*, v. 212-16; *ibid.* iv. 418; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 137; P.R.O., C 140/53/36; *Archaeologia*, lxxi. 21.
- 69 *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, 422; *ibid.* 1485-94, 154-5; *Archaeologia*, lxxi. 22.

- 70 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i, pt. 1, g. 132 (13, 29); *ibid.* xviii, pt. 1, p. 548; *Complete Peerage*, xi. 706-9.
- 71 *Cal. Pat.* 1553, 230; *Complete Peerage*, xi. 710-12; cf. *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Soc. xlii, 1848), 74, 224, 258, 393.
- 72 Stow, *Survey*, i. 237.
- 73 W. Jenkinson, *London Churches before the Great Fire* (1917), 114.
- 74 G. Cobb, *London City Churches* (pamphlet, 1971), 10; *Architectural History*, vol. 13 (1970), 32.
- 75 Harben, *Dictionary*, 160-2, 614; cf. *Archaeologia*, lvii, pl. xxxv.
- 76 Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, no. 3; Guildhall MS. 2142 (3).
- 77 Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, plan of Brewery (1861); cf. *V.C.H. Surrey*, iii. 338.
- 78 Harben, *Dictionary*, 150; O.S. map of London (1878).
- 79 Clothworkers' Company Records, Box 61, plan of Brewery (1861).
- 80 *P.O. Directories of London* (1902 and later editions).