

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY GRACES, TOWER HILL¹

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THE last great monastery to be founded in the London area was the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces on the eastern side of Tower Hill. The Royal Mint now stands there and its entry marks the way into the abbey, of which not a stone remains above ground, though to the last St. Mary Graces was a favourite of the citizens, and owed its foundation to a king.

This king was Edward III, a great builder,² one lavish in gifts, a venerator of the Church. His religion, which was often of a formal, conspicuous nature, had shown itself already in two foundations, the College of St. Stephen, Westminster (1348), for secular canons, and the magnificent knightly Order of the Garter, with headquarters in St. George's Collegiate Chapel at Windsor soon after 1344. Edward III also went on pilgrimages, and in thanksgiving for his preservation at sea he had made a rich offering of a golden ship at his murdered father's shrine at Gloucester.³ Sometimes he had stayed at the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, a royal foundation (King John) much favoured by his illustrious grandfather, Edward I.⁴ Edward III knew personally the abbey's quiet position with its lands stretching to Southampton Water, across which stood the daughter foundation of Netley, similarly situated.⁵ Both these abbeys had many cattle, for the marshy nature of the soil suited them well. The Beaulieu monks, besides being great dairy farmers, were also a sea-trading community: in 1281 they were arranging for the safe conduct from time to time of a shipload of corn and miscellaneous goods to Gascony and other English possessions.⁶ Edward III, with his economic interests, probably knew of these commercial and naval activities.

Edward III had himself crossed the sea to his victorious campaigns in France and the Low Countries. In 1347 he had been in grave danger of shipwreck. Several contemporary chronicles relate how he had cried to the Virgin Mary to preserve him, and the earliest patent relating to St. Mary

Graces bears out the traditional foundation story that the abbey was founded to commemorate the royal victories on land and the king's escape from the perils of the sea.⁷ It will be noted that the dedication was to the Virgin Mary, as with all Cistercian abbeys.

This abbey, however, was not founded as soon as the king returned home. Several years separate the victory of Crecy and the escape from shipwreck from the foundation date. There had intervened the Black Death. In all Edward III's military campaigns from 1338 onwards he had had continually with him his gentle trusted confessor, Thomas Bradwardine. In such esteem did the king hold him that on the deaths of Strafford and John of Ufford, successive Archbishops of Canterbury, Thomas Bradwardine had been appointed to the vacant archiepiscopal seat. He had begun at once to travel towards Canterbury, had done homage to the king at Eltham and had reached Lambeth, the archbishop's London house. There he had swiftly contracted the dread disease and had died in a few hours (1349). Within a year his royal master had begun to found the Abbey of St. Mary Graces, and for its site he chose a place in London, close by which his friend had died, and a place which was a burial ground for such as had died of the Black Death.

John Cory, a clerk, had selected this site for a cemetery when the city churchyards were full owing to this plague. The land lay outside the city wall in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, in the Portsoken Ward. The cemetery with its chapel was surrounded by a wall and measured 147 ells (441 ft.) from east to west, and 133 ells 2 feet (401 ft.) at the western end. Between the wall and the three highways of Hogg Lane (the later Rosemary Lane and Royal Mint Street), Tower Hill and the way from East Smithfield to Ratcliff stood a brewery and some mean houses inhabited by men of little consequence, such as a porter and a "waterledere."⁸ Eastward was an open plain (*commune campum*) sometimes referred to as the field of Smithfield, and once as "Horseleggesfurlong." Edward III bought up the whole area⁹ from John Cory, other private owners, and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity or Christchurch, Aldgate, who were in charge of the cemetery and were responsible for all the Portsoken as the heirs of the Knightengild.

The Portsoken was the easternmost ward of the city. Close by was the Tower of London, where Edward III often stayed.

Even as his foundation of St. George's was within Windsor Castle, and his other foundation, St. Stephen's, within the Palace of Westminster, a second favourite residence of his, so this third foundation as nearly as possible adjoined a royal residence.

1350 was a very late date for an important new monastic foundation, though the Black Death had stimulated activity in this direction. By 1350 the friars as well as the monks were beginning to be criticised. The two monastic orders that had best maintained their early purity were the Carthusian and the Cistercian. Sir Walter Manny, for his new London monastery, the Charterhouse, chose the Carthusians. His *brother-in-arms, the king, preferred the Cistercians*. Edward III knew at first hand of the good lives and the useful secular activities of the Hampshire Cistercians, and it was to the Abbot of Beaulieu that he sent for monks,¹⁰ while it was from Garendon, in Leicestershire, another Cistercian foundation, also in a cattle-rearing district, that he fetched Abbot Walter de Sancta Cruce,¹¹ an able administrator, to be the first President of his new Free Chapel of St. Mary Graces, as the London foundation was called at first. Edward III naturally favoured the Order in which he saw most good and the men whom he could trust, and he chose well, for in 1368 the work of the monks of St. Mary Graces was specially commended by the Bishop of London.¹² The good work seems to have continued, for at the time of the dissolution the citizens of London singled out this abbey, together with the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and St. Mary without Bishopsgate, as specially worthy of preservation.¹³

One of the problems connected with the Abbey of St. Mary Graces has always been its late foundation date. Three-fourths of the hundred or so Cistercian abbeys in England had been founded in the 12th century, and all but this one before 1300. Edward III's career and interests offer a solution.

Another enigma has been the abbey's position on the outskirts of a large city. Without exception, all the other Cistercian houses were in lonely dales far from the haunts of men, as the statutes of the Order decreed. Why were the Cistercians willing to come? What of their traditions of isolation, of making waste places fruitful, of dairy-farming and sheep-rearing? The discovery among the Special Commissions of the Exchequer at the Public Record Office of a

very beautiful but much discoloured 16th-century plan has at last thrown a flood of light upon these questions, the answer to which had before rested on one statement only, made in 1368 by the monks and confirmed by the Bishop of London, that the abbey stood in a barren and uncultivated spot from which there was no revenue.

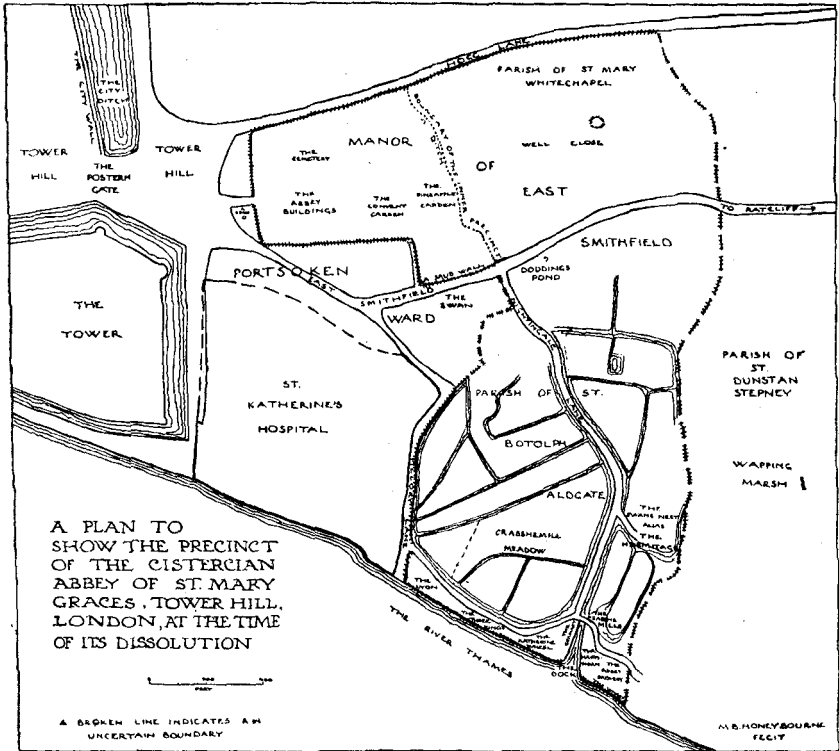
The plan,¹⁴ which can be dated 1589-92, shows the land directly east of St. Katherine's Hospital, founded by Queen Matilda in 1148 on the east side of the Tower of London. The whole area shown, which extends from the East Smithfield to Ratcliff Road on the north down to the River Thames on the south, was intersected by numerous water-courses, across which were little bridges, delicately drawn. On either side of Nightingale Lane (recently renamed for no apparent reason Thomas More Street), which runs from the highway to the river, were swiftly flowing ditches which, just before their junction with the Thames, turned two water-mills, probably tidal, called the "Crasshemilles."¹⁵ *En route* one ditch encircled an extensive group of premises named "The Swannes Nest *alias* the Hermitage." There was water across the East Smithfield road and to the east of the whole area was Wapping Marsh, only drained in the time of Henry VIII, as two statutes of his reign show.¹⁶ Except this Wapping Marsh, and probably the tenement called the Swan¹⁷ on the south side of the East Smithfield road, by the north-west corner of Nightingale Lane, all the land shown on the plan had belonged to the abbot and convent of St. Mary Graces. Undoubtedly, when they arrived the whole place, other than the lane with the mills, one of which was there as early as 1233, was an almost uninhabited swamp, like that of Wapping and Poplar,¹⁸ the "drowned land" of many records. Only a hermit, Brother John Ingram of Wroxton, himself sometime a Cistercian, had braved the rigours of the place. He had specially chosen it as being far from the society of man, and his retreat, described as a cavern or secret place, was named the "Swans Nest"¹⁹: only he and the water-birds lived there.

The papers relating to this picture plan and another, of the Convent Garden and the Pineapple Garden or Yard, reproduced in these *Transactions* in 1856 and 1929,²⁰ tell the same tale in regard to the north side of the East Smithfield road. Take, for example, the Pineapple Garden, where the abbot's cattle had grazed. It was 3 acres in extent and formed the eastern

part of the abbey's inner close. More than one witness described it as having been even within their memory very damp.²¹ Directly east of the Pineapple Garden, in the parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel, cut off from St. Dunstan's, Stepney, in 1338, was Well Close, significantly named. Apart from one small hill in its centre, shown as late as 1746 by Rocque, there is every reason to believe that this area, the north-eastern part of the abbey's outer close, was also damp, since there is mention in 1653²² of a ditch on its western side, where the city boundary had once run, while its eastern side was bounded by the low-lying lands of Stepney. Further evidence of dampness is the lack of building there till at least the late 17th century, as witness Daniel Defoe,²³ who said in about 1725 that Well Close had been so remote from houses that it used to be a very dangerous place to go over, and that all the way thence to East Smithfield was a track over the fields. Even nearer the city, the eastern boundary of which had receded westwards because the Abbey of St. Mary Graces became an exempt precinct, it is known that the above-mentioned Pineapple Garden had had in monastic times a mud wall, not houses, on its street side, and that as late as 1718 dwellings in Sun Yard and Vinegar Yard, new alleys off Nightingale Lane, were so mean that in most cases several of them were together sold for five shillings.²⁴ Moreover, off this Nightingale Lane there was in Henry VIII's reign a piece of land in the occupation of a basket-maker and called "an osyer yard,"²⁵ a sure sign of water. The site may indeed have been upon the border of a great city, even close to the Tower of London, but apart from St. Katherine's Hospital and the site of the actual abbey buildings on the eastern part of Tower Hill, the land was waste. It evidently consisted simply of the new cemetery with its little chapel, a few small houses, the great open plain, the fellow to that of West Smithfield (also damp in places) and, south of this, a stretch of deserted reedy marshland,²⁶ the whole only crossed by the way leading by Doddings Pond²⁷ to Ratcliff, with a side track, the later Nightingale Lane, to the water-mill. The district was not too dissimilar after all to the shores of Southampton Water. There was scope here for the Cistercian monks' accustomed activities. The Romans and Normans had viewed this watery desolation as a sure defence on the eastern side of their city: the Plantagenet Edward and the Cistercians in quieter times saw

other advantages in this land ; it could be turned to good account for pasture and shipping if only it were drained.²⁸

The Cistercian monks came then and set to work. They built their church and offices on the high ground to the west and walled in their inner close, which stretched from Tower Hill on the west to the eastern boundary of St. Botolph, Aldgate, on the east, and from Hogg Lane on the north to



the East Smithfield road on the south. The monks also tended the old, the sick and the needy, and entertained many guests, for this London house became the headquarters for Cistercians passing through the capital. Only the abbots of Beaulieu, Kirksted, Stratford Langthorn and Waverley had separate London houses or "Inns." As to the monks' hinterland, the outer close, which extended east to Stepney and Wapping Marshes and south to the Thames, the Cistercians

by skilful drainage gradually turned this land into a place not only fit for cattle, but also for market gardens, breweries, wharves and a dock. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries the royal ministers' accounts and Henry VIII's grants and leases²⁹ reveal the existence of numerous ditches and meadows here, one being Crasshemille meadow, a pasture lying west of Nightingale Lane and measuring 28 roods on the north side, 35 roods on the east, 24 roods on the south and $15\frac{1}{2}$ roods on the west. This plot can probably be identified on the 16th-century plan as the piece of land close by the mills of the same name and enclosed on three sides by water. There was also by 1536 a "great garden," 100 ft. by 155 ft., which was opposite the Swans Nest and near the Swan and had been leased only seven months before the dissolution. Another garden was between the ditches feeding the abbot's mills, and a third, next the Swans Nest, was known as the "rose garden." This Swans Nest, once a hermitage, had by then become a valuable brewery, with a stage and several gardens. All along the river bank, a distance of 60 perches (900 ft.), there were other breweries, each with a wharf. Most of these breweries were not shown on the picture plan because they were not needed for the lawsuit which the plans illustrate. From the ministers' accounts and the grants of Henry VIII already mentioned a line of these breweries can be plotted. Beginning from the east, by Lewens' Wharf, which was south-east of the Swans Nest and marked the boundary of the precinct of St. Mary Graces, identical with the manor of East Smithfield, there stood first the Abbey Brewery with "le Wharffe" in front. Then came the Hartshorn. This was 56 ft. wide along the river bank and 80 ft. across its centre. It adjoined Crasshemille Dock, along which it measured 179 ft. 2 in. West of the dock were the Katherine Wheel, the Three Kings (244 ft. 5 in. from east to west) and the Lyon, all between the Thames and the way leading from the Crasshemilles to Pillory Lane, part of the eastern precinct boundary of St. Katherine's Hospital. Returning to the Katherine Wheel, on its east were not only the dock but the abbey granary or "garnerhouse," worth 17s. 4d. yearly. It stood next the mills, which had come to the abbey in 1375, the gift of Sir Nicholas Loveyne,³⁰ and then and thenceforth described as two mills under one roof. Some idea of their capacity can be obtained from the fact that the abbot had recently granted a lease of them for

twenty years to a miller in return for 60 quarters 2 pecks of wheat meal yearly, valued at £20 os. 10d.³¹ These mills were half in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, but they were looked upon as outside the Portsoken. The dock below the mills was of no mean account judging from the Hartshorn measurement given above and the strength and careful workmanship of the wooden supports shown in the 1589-92 plan, which also reveals a large crane. The abbot and convent of St. Mary Graces had in time many estates across the Thames, at and near Gravesend and up the River Medway beyond Maidstone. Corn in large quantities was probably shipped across³² to be ground at these abbey mills. In the time of the Cistercian occupation, Nightingale Lane, once called Crassenielane or Toddyngslane, must have become the scene of great activity: there was the flour to be taken to the abbey bakehouse, there were the vegetables to be carried to the kitchens, and the cows to be milked. And all the time on either side the great work of entrenching was going steadily on and on. No records can be found of the monastic economy of the abbey, no details of who did the work,³³ of what was bought or sold, but thanks to many scattered references and this beautiful coloured plan, a monument of Elizabethan draughtsmanship, it has been possible to reconstruct with no uncertainty the way of life of these Cistercian monks in their secluded corner by the Tower, in sight of the city but off the beaten track. Rarely do the city records take any account of these monks³⁴ and only sporadically, if at all, do they appear in most records. Even their foundation called for no comment, and in the same quiet unobtrusive manner their work seems to have been done. Apart from various transactions, financial and otherwise, with the king, who gradually added to their endowment and in 1367 gave them £10 for certain books³⁵; with the abbot and chapter-general of the Cistercian Order³⁶; and with the prior and canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, to whom 100s. was due for the site or part of it,³⁷ almost all one hears of the abbey is that in 1377 a great muster of troops was held "al nouvelle abbaye de blaunk moignes de Londres,"³⁸ that in 1415 the mitre was conferred upon the abbot,³⁹ that in 1440 a fair was to be held by St. Katherine's Hospital on Tower Hill opposite the abbey,⁴⁰ that in the late 14th century the Pope arranged for a legal case to be tried there,⁴¹ that in Henry VIII's reign the abbey bailiff took a case to the

chancery,⁴² and that at intervals the kings sent their old servants thither to end their days in peace.⁴³

The only continuous mention of the abbey in the public records relates to sewers and river defences. Here always the abbot was to the fore, being apparently on every commission to survey the river banks.⁴⁴ It was probably a work very much after his own heart: without question the abbey's greatest service to the city and the State, apart from its religious functions, was this draining and protection of the river bank. This Thames site on the east of the city and the Carthusian site on the north-west were the only two large tracts of unoccupied land left by 1350 close to the city, except for the moor on the north. By their conferment on religious bodies the ring of great ecclesiastical houses in and around London was complete and numbered one of every Order except the Premonstratensian, for there were secular and Austin Canons and nuns, Benedictine monks and nuns, knights of the Temple (till 1312), St. John of Jerusalem, St. Thomas of Acon and St. Mary of Bethlehem, Black, Grey, White, Austin and Crutched Friars, and Minorettes. Each made their contribution to London life, and the late Cistercian gift was not the least. Edward III and the white monks both knew what they were about. The Abbey of St. Mary Graces may have been founded at too late a date to be in line with other Cistercian foundations, but it was certainly not in such a position as to be inconsistent with the Cistercian ideal and way of life.

NOTES

1. The chief accounts of this abbey are by M. Reddan in *Victoria County Histories, London* (1909), pp. 461-4; and by A. W. Clapham in *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1915), pp. 353-64. See also J. Stow (1908 ed.), I, pp. 124-5. The precinct boundaries were worked out in the writer's M.A. thesis (1929).
2. He built Queenborough Castle, a bulwark of the Thames estuary, and extended the Tower of London, Windsor Castle and Westminster Palace.
3. I. S. Leadam in H. W. C. Davis (ed.), *Mediaeval England* (1924), p. 507.
4. V.C.H., *Hants.*, II (1903), pp. 11, 104, 140-4; and *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1343-46, pp. 70, 162, 219.
5. The kinship principle was fundamental in the Cistercian Order, the result being that the characteristic features of the work of a house tended to recur in allied foundations, however distant (A. M. Cooke in *Eng. Hist. Review*, VIII (1893), p. 642). The Cistercians were the pioneers of pasture farming. On their land reclamations see G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (1923), p. 387; and *The Mediaeval Village* (1925), pp. 218-22, 512-14.
6. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1272-81, p. 457.
7. *The Brut* (E.E.T.S., 1908), II, pp. 295-6; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (R.S., 1863), I, pp. 271-2; Stow, I, p. 125; C.C.R., 1349-54, p. 283.
8. P.R.O., Rot. Pat., 30 Ed. III, p. 3, m. 3 = C. 66, 250 (*Cal.*, 1354-58, pp. 487-8). The *Calendar* omits the dimensions and the reference to the plain, "the king's green place" of another record. See also P.R.O., Ancient Deeds, A. 2643-4 (*Cal.*, II, p. 104; and pp. 287-9).

9. C.C.R., 1349-54, pp. 211-12, 618-19; 1364-68, pp. 211-12; C.P.R., 1354-58, pp. 487-8; 1361-64, pp. 20, 176-7, 246, 272-3; *Cal., Ancient Deeds*, II, pp. 104-5; V.C.H., *London*, p. 461. The cemetery covered at least 4 acres, and 4s. 8d. was due yearly to the Dean of St. Paul's (*Valor Eccles.*, I, pp. 398-9).
10. C.C.R., 1349-54, p. 283. See also C.P.R., 1422-29, pp. 71, 89. Only five monks came. Another was added in 1358 and two more in 1378 (V.C.H., *London*, pp. 461, 463). The usual number was twelve plus an abbot.
11. C.C.R., 1349-54, pp. 370-1; 1354-60, p. 22; C.P.R., 1348-50, p. 560. These are the only known references to him.
12. *London Episcopal Reg., Simon de Sudbury*, fo. 105d (Cant. and York Soc., 1918, pp. 83-6; parts cited, V.C.H., *London*, pp. 461, 462). This deed relates to the appropriation to the abbey of the church of All Hallows Steyning, *London*. In 1366, John Cory was instituted to the living (*Reg.*, p. 251).
13. B.M., Cott. MS. Cleop. E, iv, fo. 222 (summary, R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom* (1894), I, pp. 404-5). The last abbot became Vicar of Stepney, 1545-54.
14. P.R.O., M.P., B. 4; *it belongs to Exchequer, Special Commission, 1374* (*List, XXXVII*, p. 59). A tracing by the writer was published in 1931 by the London Topographical Society (Publication No. 61).
15. The meaning of this name is unknown. For variations of it, see C. L. Kingsford in *Lond. Topog. Record*, X (1916), pp. 101-2. In 1233 the mill was called "the mill of Crassenielane" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rep.*, IX, app. 49a), while in 1265-66 it was "la Cressemilne" (*Cal. Feet of Fines, Lond. and Midd.*, I, p. 43). There was a mill at St. Katherine's Hospital too, there in Stephen's time (see *Cal. City Letter Book C*, pp. 216-18; *K*, pp. 81-3).
16. Statutes 27 Henry VIII, c. 35; 35 Henry VIII, c. 9 (printed, *Statutes at Large*, III, pp. 586-7, 966-7). The work was done by Cornelius Vanderdelff, of Brabant. He drained 130 acres, called St. Katherine's Marsh, lying between the Ratcliff highway and the Thames in Stepney.
17. There is no evidence that the Swan ever belonged to the abbot and convent. In 36 Henry VIII the messuage with 3 gardens, 2 pools and a dovehouse was sold by Francis and Elizabeth Typlady to John Crompton for 200 marks of silver (P.R.O. Feet of Fines, Midd., Hilary, 1 Ed. VI, No. 25 = C.P. 25/2; 61/473 (*Cal. Lond. and Midd. Feet of Fines*, II, p. 70)). See also *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1872-3 (*Cal.*, II, p. 9); *Cal. City Husting Wills*, II, p. 760.
18. Five acres of Poplar Marsh abutting on the Thames and belonging to St. Mary Graces were "greatlie subiecte to the Rayges of the water" (P.R.O., Spec. Comm. 1364 (*List, XXXVII*, p. 58)). In the *Valor Eccles.*, I, pp. 398-9, the five acres are called a grove and were worth 20s. yearly. The abbey held the manor of Poplar, worth £61 15s. 10½d. and Bromley Marsh (*Valor*). See also J. Strype, *Survey*, II, iv, 49.
19. P.R.O. Ancient Deed A. 2559 (*Cal.*, II, p. 94). Other references to the Hermitage are Ancient Deed B. 2314 (*Cal.*, II, p. 288); C.P.R., 1367-70, p. 463; 1370-74, p. 51; 1374-77, pp. 213-14, 246; 1476-85, p. 466; J. Maskell, *Collections in Illustration of the Parochial History . . . of the Ancient Parish of All Hallows, Barking* (1864), p. 72. Three acres of land in Hackney Marsh were also called the Swansnest (L.C.C. Survey of London, VIII, *St. Leonard, Shoreditch* (1922), p. 94).
20. Vol. I (1860), p. 26 n.; N.S., VI, p. 200.
21. "The pineapple yard was . . . oftyme well ground." After the dissolution a brick gutter was made under the street to Nightingale Lane (P.R.O. Exch., Spec. Comm. 1374). A pineapple tree in Tudor times meant simply a pine tree.
22. P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys, Parlia., Midd., No. 2 (*List, XXV*, p. 209; and see S. J. Madge in these *Trans.*, N.S., IV, pp. 296-7, 302). From the deed it is clear that Patricks Garden had been cut off from the northern part of the Pineapple Garden. For Patricks Garden, see Hist. MSS. Comm., *Hatfield House MSS.*, VI, p. 505; and P.R.O. Chancery, Petty Bag Office, Spec. Comm., Bundle 14, No. 17 (MS. List). For another reference to the Pineapple Garden, see Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2396, m. 44 (*List, XXXIV* (1910), pp. 100-1).
23. *A Tour* . . . II, p. 116. See also Stow, II, pp. 70-1.
24. L.C.C. Harben Deeds, D. 58, 59, 65-7 (*List*, pp. 69-71).

25. Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2396, m. 43; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIX (ii), 690 (5).
26. There were reeds at St. Katherine's Hospital, nearer the city (P.R.O., *List*, XVI (Early Chancery Proceedings), p. 440).
27. This pond seems to have been by the north-east corner of Nightingale Lane. Two other references to the pond are Rot. Pat. 35 Henry VIII, p. 2, m. 2 = C. 66, 723 (*L. and P.*, XVIII (i), 623 (43)); and Rentals and Surveys, Portf. II, No. 13 (*List*, p. 198).
28. The French kings in the 13th century had definitely employed monks as middlemen for clearing and drainage work (Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, pp. 221-2). There is no evidence of Edward III's relations with the abbot and convent of St. Mary Graces on this matter.
29. Rot. Pat. 34 Henry VIII, p. 3, m. 15 = C. 66, 712 (*L. and P.*, XVII, 714 (18)); Rot. Pat. 35 Henry VIII, p. 2, m. 2; Rot. Pat. 36 Henry VIII, p. 3, m. 31 = C. 66, 742 (*L. and P.*, XIX (i), 1035 (137, ii)); Augmentation Book 212, fo. 7 (*ibid.*, XV, p. 559); Exchequer, Spec. Comm. 1374; Rentals and Surveys, Portf. II, No. 13 (*List*, p. 198); Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2396, m. 43 (*List*, XXXIV, pp. 100-1); Chancery, Petty Bag Office, Spec. Comm., Bundle 14, No. 17. There was a Willow Tree Alley in the neighbourhood until about 1800 (see "Star Court" in H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (1918), p. 547).
30. B.M., Add. Charter 39405 (partly summarised, V.C.H., *London*, p. 464).
31. *Valor Eccles.*, I, pp. 398-9; *L. and P.*, XV, p. 559.
32. The abbot and convent of Abingdon owned their own boats for carrying goods up the Thames (L. F. Salzmann, *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (1931), pp. 136-7). There is no evidence about St. Mary Graces.
33. The "Conversi" or lay-brother system adopted in about 1101 had dropped out by 1400. There is no mention of lay-brothers at St. Mary Graces and the plan of the church seems to preclude them. The 1368 deed (see note 12) mentions "familiares."
34. In 1389-90 the mayor and commonalty granted the abbot and convent two pieces of waste land outside the west gate of the abbey on Tower Hill (City Letter Book H, fo. ccliiib (*Cal.*, p. 356)). On one piece a cross was erected. See also Letter Book P, fo. 142b-144b (MS. Index, under "Tower").
35. *C.C.R.*, 1354-60, p. 22; 1360-64, p. 179; 1364-68, p. 259; 1377-81, p. 19. For the grants, see the Close Rolls from 1364 to 1399.
36. One Chapter-General for the English Cistercian abbeys was held here (V.C.H., *London*, p. 462).
37. *Ibid.*, 1360-64, p. 5; 1374-77, p. 314; 1381-85, p. 24; *C.P.R.*, 1354-58, pp. 487-8.
38. *Anonimale Chronicle*, 1333-81 (1927), pp. 116-17.
39. *Cal. Papal Letters*, VI, p. 465.
40. A. Ducarel in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, II (1790), pp. 14-15, and app. vii, pp. 43-53.
41. *C.C.R.*, 1389-92, p. 479.
42. P.R.O., *List*, XLVIII (Early Chancery Proc.), p. 244. For the bailiff, see *Valor Eccles.*, I, pp. 398-9.
43. *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, p. 439; 1392-96, p. 295; *Valor*, I, pp. 398-9.
44. See the Patent Rolls from 1446 to 1509; and *L. and P.*, I, 1972.

The reconstructed plan accompanying this article is based on J. Rocque's Survey of London, 1746. The parish boundaries are from Morden and Lea's Map of the Metropolis, 1682, and the maps in J. Strype, *Survey of London*, 1720 (I, i, 65; II, iv, 44, 46, 47). The other details are from the plan of 1589-92 and the deeds cited in the article.