

AN ELIZABETHAN CONNOISSEUR

BY W. A. THORPE AND JOSEPHINE
MAYNARD

THE celebrated inlaid chest (Fig. 1) in the Cathedral Church of St. Saviour, Southwark (St. Mary Overy), bearing achievements of the arms of Hugh Offley and of Harding, has been regarded as a national monument, and apart from its considerable beauty is certainly a document of the first importance for early marquetry in England. It has been illustrated and mentioned by several distinguished authorities,¹ but their accounts are so diverse that it is hardly possible to consider early inlay in England without re-consideration of the Offley chest.

Rather before the middle of the sixteenth century, a boy called Hugh Offley left Chester, the city of his birth, and journeyed to London to seek fortune and fame. His father, William Offley, had been a successful mercer at Stafford, where he was twice elected Mayor, but for reasons not quite certain, probably the death of his first wife² and his own increased prosperity, he moved to Chester, and in 1517 he attained the office of Sheriff of that City. So prominent a citizen might have done well by all his children, but "God gave yssue 26." Hugh was well down the list of Mr. William Offley's second family, and he had to fend for himself.

London for the newcomer was not entirely alien territory. Brothers and sisters³ had preceded him. Chief among them, Tom, Mr. William Offley's eldest child by his first marriage, had perhaps benefited by that fact, and was already a Londoner, with an assured position and a residence in Lime Street. Tom, born about 1500-05, and educated as a choirboy at St. Paul's School under William Lily (*c.* 1512-1522), had been apprenticed a Merchant Taylor, and in 1547 had risen to be Master

of that Company.⁴ On 3rd May, 1547, he was granted arms.⁵ In 1549 he became Alderman for the Portsoken Ward, and in 1553 one of the Sheriffs. On the 23rd October, 1556, when he took his oath as Lord Mayor, he gave a "godly pageant" which was thus described by one of the crowd:

"The xxiii day of October the new mare toke ys oythe, and so whent by water to Westmynster (with) trumpettes and the whettes ryalle, and a galant deckyd with stremars and gonnes and dromes; (the new) mayre master Hoffeley, marchand-tayller and marchand of the stapull of Calles, and ij heynchmen in cremeson velvett imbrodered with gold an ell brod. . . ."⁶

He was knighted on the following 7th February, 1556-7.⁷ At some later date he moved to a house in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch. After losing his wife Joan, daughter of John Michells, in 1578, he made his *Will*,⁸ dated 5th August, 1580, giving full directions for his burial in St. Andrew Undershaft, "wheare Dame Johan my late wieff lyethe now buried," and adding the injunction that "some convenient Tombe shalbe made as my Executors undernamed shall thinke meete." The convenient tomb (Fig. 5), by general consent one of the finest in London, will be mentioned presently. Sir Thomas, nearing his end, hoped to die among his own people, on the beautiful fringes of Staffordshire and Shropshire, where he was the Squire of Madeley; and he made provision accordingly. But the fates were against him. He died in London on 29th August, 1582. The funeral, with "50 poore men" to mourn and half London to follow, took place at St. Andrew Undershaft on 17th September.

Under the eye of this almost paternal brother, Hugh Offley went into leather, and made good. About 1560 he became intimate with the family of Robert Harding, a prosperous salter and citizen of London, and about 1562 he married Mr. Harding's daughter Anne. With her he received a "portion" of one thousand marks,⁹ a considerable sum, probably based on some form



FIG. 2. Detail (dexter portion of front) of the Offley chest.

of business association, as well as on personal regard. In after years Hugh never ceased to be grateful for this helping hand, and when he came to use a merchant's mark of his own he incorporated the initial *H* for Harding in his own device, and flanked it by his own initials *H* and *O* (Fig. 4). Old Mr. Harding was elected and sworn Alderman for the Broad Street Ward on 6th March, 1567,¹⁰ and attained the Shrievalty the following year. On 30th August, 1568, he received from Dethick, Clarenceux, Cooke, and Flower, his grant of arms (*Or on a bend azure three martlets of the field, on a sinister canton of the second a rose between two fleurs-de-lys argent. Crest: a demi stag proper attired or supporting with its forelegs an anchor in pale of the second*).¹¹ But his year as sheriff and armiger was his last. The dying man made his *Will*¹² on 20th November, 1568. On the following day he was still able to add a Codicil, bequeathing £100, at 21 or marriage, to his two-year-old granddaughter, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Hugh and Anne. He died on the 26th, and shares with Verzelini and other notable parishioners the honour of record in his own parish register, even though he was buried elsewhere: "1568 November 26 Mr. Alderman Harding Sherif dyed and was b^d at St. Magnus."¹³

Hugh and Anne lived through the terrible plague of 1563, and during their residence in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney had five children, four of whom (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5) were baptized in that Church. It will be noticed that old Mr. Harding, Sir Thomas, grandfather William Offley of Chester, and Hugh himself, gave their names to the boys *in that order*:—

- (1) ROBERT, bapt. 29 June, 1563, bur. 25 June, 1565 (St. Lawrence).
- (2) THOMAS, bapt. 10 Dec., 1564, d. London 23 Aug., 1630. He married soon after 20 Dec., 1592, Anne Clitherow, daughter of the Lord Mayor, and became deputy or court master of the Eastland Company at Elbing, and his father's sole Executor. He d. 23 Aug., 1630.

- (3) ROBERT. Replaced the lost firstborn. Baptism not recorded. Probably born when his parents were on a business trip to foreign parts. Became citizen and Leatherseller, of London and Putney. Married 20 Oct., 1594, d. 4 Nov., 1631.
- (4) ELIZABETH, bapt. 8 Dec., 1566, m. on 12 Dec., 1585, Sir James Deane, of London, Knt. (d. 1608), to whom Hugh bequeathed a silver cup, as below. The joy of old Mr. Harding's declining years—none of the boys got a penny. She married (2) John Brewster, of the Middle Temple.
- (5) WILLIAM, bapt. 12 Dec., 1568. An unsatisfactory boy, and too like his father to get on with him. He acquired fancy ideas at college and apparently an inclination for law instead of business. Hugh felt that "William Offley my sonne hath used himself disorderly and disobediently towards me." The reason is not far to seek, "if it shall happen that my said sonne William shall have no children lawfully by him begotten." He was a prisoner in the King's Bench in 1596.

Meantime the economic genius of William Cecil had taken its place behind the Throne (1558). On 19th July, 1567, a year before Mr. Harding's death, the Merchant Adventurers or Hambrough Merchants, with whom Sir Thomas was intimately associated,¹⁴ received their *privilegia et libertates*¹⁵ from the Hamburg *Rath* for trade in that city. In 1578 the Hanse merchants were obliged to withdraw from the Steelyard.¹⁶ On 17th August, 1579, the old-established Prussia Merchants of England received from the Queen their Charter¹⁷ of incorporation as the Eastland Company. "Hughe Offley," not yet an alderman, was listed among the 64 London merchants named in this document.¹⁸ Now began the "setled and constant possession of trade" in "the Balticke Seas."¹⁹ The resulting boom in the leather industry, which then depended for much of its "wild wares" on imports from Russia and Prussia, made a rich man of Hugh Offley, and it will not be far wrong to regard him as one of the "big six" who controlled leather in England.²⁰

Hugh was not slow to make London aware of his prosperity. Between 12th December, 1568, and 21st February, 1573-4, when his sixth child Simon was

christened (after Anne's brother²¹) at St. Andrew Under-shaft, he appears to have moved²² from St. Lawrence Pountney to a much more fashionable address in Lime Street, near the Church of his new parish.

Since the end of the fourteenth century the great names of Whittington, Nevill, FitzAlan, Burleigh, Bohun and many more had made Lime Street²³ the best residence in London for successful business²⁴; but even in this street of tradition there is evidence that Hugh was a man of distinguished taste. His fellow-parishioner John Stow, tailor and antiquary, who is buried and happily commemorated in St. Andrew's, and no doubt knew the Offleys well, singles out Hugh's new house as the finest in a fine street. He had surely watched the building of a black-and-white façade:—

“In Lime Street are divers fair houses for merchants and others; there was sometime a mansion house of the Kings called the King's Artirce, whereof I find record in the 14th of Edward I [1272-1307], but now grown out of knowledge. I read also of another great house in the west side of Lime Street, having a chapel on the south and a garden on the west, then belonging to the Lord Nevill, which garden is now called the Green yard of the Leaden hall. This house, in the 9th of Richard II [1377-1399], pertained to Sir Simon Burley and Sir John Burley his brother; and of late the said house was taken down and the forefront thereof new built of timber by Hugh Offley, alderman.”²⁵

It is likely that Hugh, as an Eastland merchant, was personally familiar with the Company's factories at Danzig and Elbing. His right-hand²⁶ man at Elbing, a Frenchman named Eustace Pattolier, settled later at Danzig, and there is independent evidence of Hugh's business trips to Paris²⁷ and Rouen.²⁸ A liberal mind and an ample purse bore fruit in the late 'seventies when the “educating” of his sons came to the front of his mind. Though he intended them for a business career, and two of the three followed one, he wished to give them advantages which he had been himself unable to enjoy. Thomas, now rising sixteen, was sent to Clare College,

Cambridge, as a pensioner at Michaelmas, 1580, and was followed at the same college by Robert and William at Easter, 1584.²⁹

Hugh reached the first rung in the ladder of fame when he was elected Master of the Leathersellers for 1577-78; and he marked the occasion by presenting his Company with "one gilt standing cup with a cover," weighing $42\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.³⁰ Then came, in 1582, the death of Sir Thomas, leaving Hugh a clear field as the most notable Offley in London. With the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley (1530-1587), and his own brother, Robert Offley (d. 1596), Hugh became one of Tom's three Executors, charged among many other things with erecting the "convenient tombe" in St. Andrew Under-shaft. Bromley soon afterwards took his seat in the Lords (16th January, 1582), and was at that time much occupied with affairs of state; Robert Offley seems to have been a successful haberdasher and merchant of the Staple, but little more of him is known; and it is likely that Hugh, the connoisseur of the family, was the Executor mainly responsible for choosing so excellent a design. Resemblances between chest and tomb and between the tomb and Hugh's *Will* tend to confirm such a suggestion.³¹

In the early 'eighties Hugh was constantly abroad on business, and enjoyed the confidence of the English ambassador in Paris and of Sir Francis Walsingham at home.³² But in 1585, when Mr. Richard Wallis died during his Mastership of the Leathersellers, Hugh found time to accept that office for the second occasion.³³ The following year he shows a further interest in sculpture, when the Company recorded "a monument with a silk curtain of the gift of Mr. Alderman³⁴ Offley." And it was probably about this time that he had a joint portrait painted of himself and Anne, for he subsequently bequeathed "to my Sonne Thomas Offley the picture of my selfe and my wyfe his mother deceased being made in oyle which my Will is he shall keepe in Remembrance

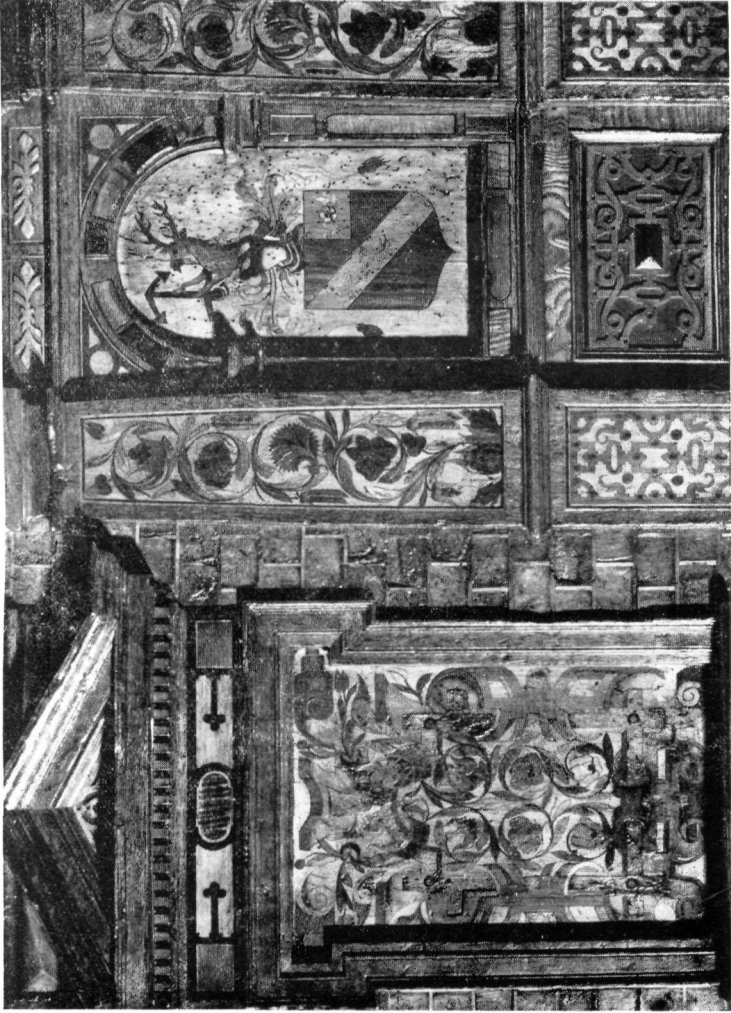


FIG. 3. Detail (sinister portion of front) of the Offley chest.

of us."³⁵ The circumstance is worth comparison with the circumstance of the two coats of arms on the chest.

Like other men of taste, Hugh was interested in archery,³⁶ and in the last months of 1587³⁷ he chose this theme for a wonderful black "prolusion"³⁸ which he gave in anticipation of civic preferment. A family manuscript "written in the Reign of King James I" describes how he:—

" . . . set forth, at his own expense, a costly show of Prince Arthur, with his Knights of the Round Table. He made choice of 300 archers, personable men, and well appointed in black satin doublets and black velvet hose; everyone having a bow of yew and a dozen of waxed arrows. He appointed certain stages and forts and marks to shoot at, with liberal rewards to them that won the prizes, and plentiful banquets for them all. They marched in goodly and orderly array, three together, every three a bow length from the other, from Merchant Taylors' Hall to Mile-end Green. Queen Elizabeth happened to pass by, and she ordered her chariot to be stopped, that she might see the show, and, speaking to the Nobility that attended her, said, 'that in her life she never saw a more stately company of archers.' They, approaching near to her Majesty, did their duty upon their knee, praying God long to prosper and preserve her Majesty; whereupon she most graciously bowed her body and gave them most hearty thanks, saying, 'she would love, maintain and advance her Citizens of the City of London'; and so prayed to God to bless all her good subjects therein."³⁹

It hardly required the praise of so experienced a critic as Queen Elizabeth. The "choice" of "personable men," the sable uniformity of dress, the precision of moving pattern, will surely bear witness that Hugh had an eye for an effect.

An effect it had, in a different sense. On Midsummer day, 24th June, 1588,⁴⁰ Hugh Offley was elected to the shrievalty,⁴¹ and was sworn on the Michaelmas Eve following (28th September).⁴² On the retirement of Sir Thomas Pullyson⁴³ from the Court of Aldermen, he was elected and sworn to the vacant aldermanry for Vintry on the 16th August,⁴⁴ 1588. Three weeks later, on the 5th September, Robert Cooke, *Clarenceux*, granted his application for his own coat of arms (*argent*

*a cross fleury vert between four ousels proper beaked or and legged gules. Crest: a demi-lion or collared vert between its paws an olive branch vert fructed or).*⁴⁵ It had been a great summer for him. He now had riches, possessions, children, honours, ambition. The Mayoralty was still to win. Then the wind changed.

Anne's family achievements had not recently been attended by success. Simon, the first "Undershaft" child, died young.⁴⁶ The seventh child, Hugh, christened after his father at St. Andrew on 24th August, 1578, was buried on 28th December, 1582,⁴⁷ in the "Tombe or Vault" which had received Sir Thomas in September. Little Margaret, number eight, was born on 3rd May, 1585, and died the next day.⁴⁸ She was buried beside Sir Thomas and little Hugh. On top of it all came the labours and honours of office. Anne herself died on the 14th November, 1588, two months after Hugh got his arms. When Hugh buried her beside Sir Thomas and Hugh and Margaret, the Clerk of St. Andrew described her as "then shrevis."⁴⁹

So faded the civic glory. With Elizabeth well married,⁵⁰ the boys down from Cambridge⁵¹ and started in their own courses, the younger children all dead, Hugh Offley was left alone in his "great capital messuage."⁵² He struggled through the winter. The following spring he became intimate with a lady who like himself had associations both with Cheshire and the City. Dorothy Weld⁵³ was a widow of forty with four children, and perhaps Hugh's loss flattered her charms. At any rate he married her, at St. Mildred's, Poultry, on 25th March, 1589⁵⁴; and after some four years of her society he still spoke of her in terms of the warmest affection.⁵⁵ Their first and only child, Suzanna, was christened at St. Andrew Undershaft on 28th June, 1590.⁵⁶ Within the confines of legal phrase Hugh shows quite remarkable devotion to this little daughter of his old age. His liberalism now extended to the female sex, at least to this newest member of it. During his remaining years

he made elaborate provisions for her "custodye and educating," and entrusted them to Dorothy. As the hope of honour receded, its importance grew smaller in the distance. On 17th January, 1593-4, he was translated from Vintry to Lime Street. Though still "in good and perfect health" he seems to have felt that his end was not far distant. On the 17th May, 1594, he made his *Will* "knowing and well remembering that all men are mortall." As late as 29th October he was able to add a Codicil. He died on 25th November, 1594, the cause of death not stated. Shall we call it cardiac? He had never been Lord Mayor. He was buried in the family Church on 17th December, no doubt as he directed, beside Sir Thomas, Anne, Hugh and Margaret. His son Thomas, "full and sole executor," who was possibly abroad at the time, does not seem to have carried out his wish that "ther shalbe made erected and set up a monument in remembrance of me." But we surely have his epitaph. On Tom's monument are these fluent verses:—

BY ME A LYKELIHOODE; BEHOLDE,
 HOW MORTAL MAN SHAL TORN TO MOLD
 WHEN ALL HIS POMPE AND GLORI VAYNE
 SHAL CHAYNGE TO DUST AND EARTH AGAYNE
 SUCH IS HIS GREAT INCERTAINTYE
 A FLOWER AND TYPE OF VANITYE.⁵⁷

They could hardly be more inappropriate to Tom. Did Hugh write them, for Tom, but of himself?

In their *Wills*, as in their lives, the brothers are vividly contrasted. Tom was a puritan, and a simple soul. His ideas of art ran to bugles and bunting. He reminded Fuller⁵⁸ of the chief publican, who "because he was little of stature" . . . "ran before and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him"⁵⁹; and he remains in his statue⁶⁰ a thin, earnest little man. He was content with

“a plain and wholesome repast,” and well-fed wags in the City made a rhyme about this oddity in their midst:

“Offley *three* dishes had of daily Roast
An Egge, an Apple, and (the third) a Toast.”⁶¹

His “high charity” may be read in his *Will*,⁶² a third as long as Hugh’s, and not nearly so pretentious. Of his considerable fortune one “part” went to his son Henry,⁶³ his factor at Bruges; the other part, rightly estimated by Fuller at a half, was devoted to a “recreationn or repaste” after the funeral, negligent tythe-payers, charcoals at Christmas, the poor of Stafford, poor prisoners, poor students in the Universities, poor maydes marriages, and many other good works. His interest was in the utilities. As Mayor he introduced “the useful custome of the *Night* Bellman (preventing many Fires and more Felonies)”⁶⁴; and when the new form of transport, the coach, was introduced from Germany,⁶⁵ he made the road question his hobby-horse, devising “ffower hundred marke to be given . . . in making and amendynge high ways.” Even in his *Will* he mentions the matter twice. In the City, Offley on roads must have been an all too familiar theme.

With a sense of ornament and Catholic⁶⁶ sympathies Hugh had some of Tom’s virtues. He had a rare capacity for gratitude, to Mr. Harding, and for admiration, of Tom. Not unmindful of his youth, he left £200 to the Mayor and Dominalty of Chester to put forth four honest young men “that two of them shall be merchants and two retaylors.” There was a funeral dinner for the Leathersellers, bequests for the poor and the poor prisoners of London and Chester, for Bart.’s and Christ’s Hospital and Bridewell. £20 went to St. Thomas’s, of which “Hospital in Southwarke” Hugh had been Treasurer (1577–1579).⁶⁷ Dorothy got Green Yard House with her own “choice of household stuff” so long as she should “keep her selfe a widowe”⁶⁸ and maintain Hugh’s treasures “in good and sufficient reparacions.”

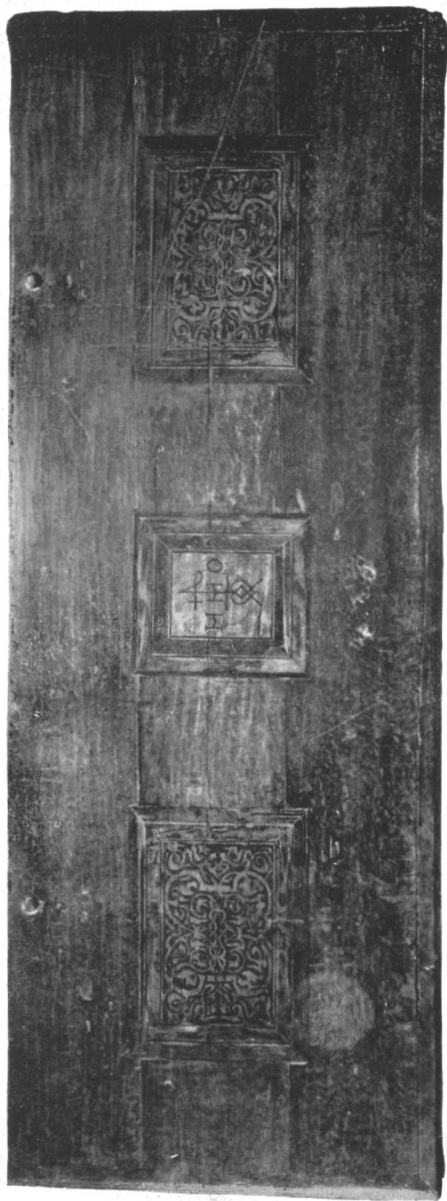


FIG. 4. Exterior of lid of the Offley chest showing merchant's mark of Hugh Offley, incorporating the initial *H* (for Robert Harding), flanked by the initials *H* and *O* (for Hugh Offley.)

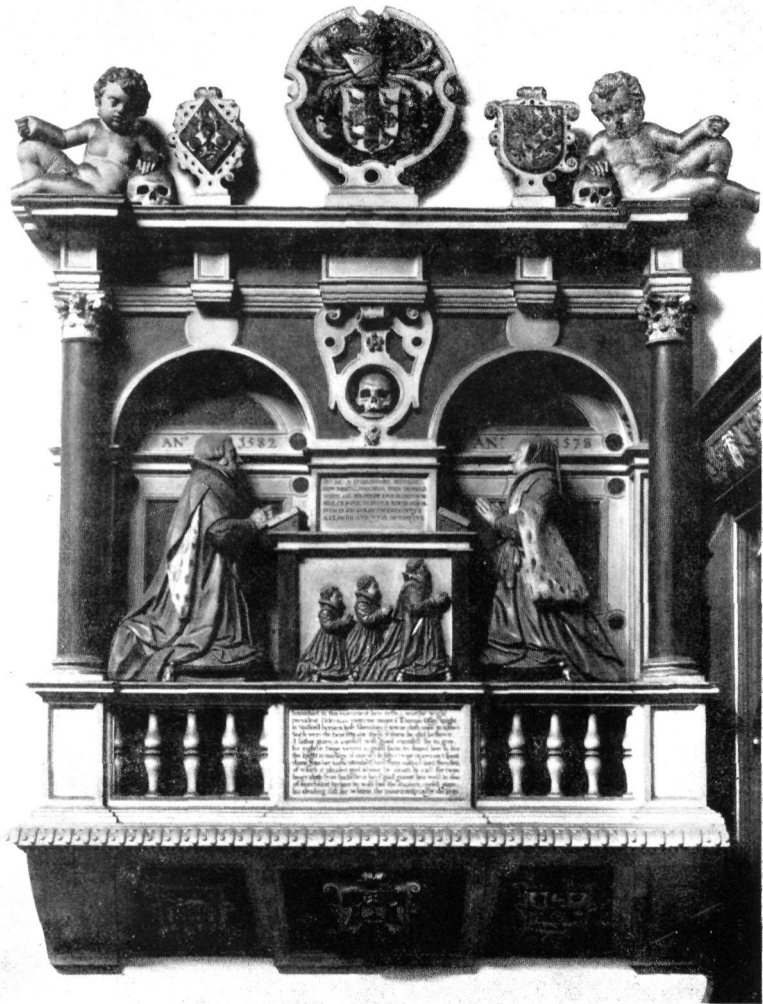
The residue was divided into "three equal indifferent parts," one for Dorothy, one for Suzanna, one between the boys. Poor William was forgiven. And in more senses than these Hugh's *Will* is the testament of a great gentleman. He had the swagger of his time and type. He liked the sight and sound of his name, the thought that having made money he knew how to spend it. He was a great user of his merchant's mark, as the chest itself bears witness, and by his *Will* he bequeathed to at least half a dozen friends and relations "a Ringe of gold of fforty shillings a peece Wherein I will my name and marke shalbe engraven and a death's head." There are three death's heads on Tom's monument. Hugh's own brother Robert received "one standing cup of silver gilte," value £20, "whereuppon I will that my name and mark shalbe engraven." Cups similarly "engraven," value £16 and £15, went to his brother William and his son-in-law Sir James Deane. To these things add Green Yard House and its "chattels plate jewels," the silk-curtained monument, the 42½ oz. cup, Tom's monument, the archery, prolusion, portrait, and not least the chest itself; and it will surely appear that long before the "father of vertu in England" Hugh Offley was a man truly interested in "objects." Unless circumstances lie, his taste was no part of any mania for Italian craftsmen. It was formed by constant vetting of goods on wharf and warehouse floors, and it belonged to the new culture of the North.

Hugh's first marriage is the only connection between Offley and Harding recorded in the extensive Offley pedigrees. In any but extraordinary circumstances the chest⁶⁹ must have been ordered by or for Hugh before 14th November, 1588. Apart from tinctures,⁷⁰ Hugh's arms, as achieved on the chest, are the same as those granted to Tom on 3rd May, 1547, and achieved on Tom's monument; and, tinctures apart, they are different from the drawing of Hugh's final grant of 5th September, 1588.⁷¹ Shortly⁷² before that date Hugh, who was a

rather self-important person, submitted to the heralds a more elaborate coat, in order to be armigerous for his shrievalty (24th June). This "overcharged" application was pruned ("altered in some things") by the heralds before the grant of 5th September. There was thus a short period when Hugh, contemplating use of arms, was confident, though not certain, what the grant would be; and to this period must be assigned the order for the chest, on which Hugh's arms, identical with Tom's in possession of the lion passant guardant, are "overcharged" in comparison with the grant of 5th September, where the said lion is absent and the stated tinctures differ. Thus if the chest achievement represents the premature coat, the order for the chest may be placed between 24th June and 5th September, 1588.

We have found no contemporary documentary evidence for any alleged gift of chest to Church.⁷³ Mr. Harding can have done nothing on earth in 1588. If, however, an oral tradition of vergers is true in part, as is by no means impossible, it is highly consistent with the view that the chest, so far from being given "to mark the year of his shrievalty," was sent away, as to a museum, to get rid of it. No doubt the second Mrs. Offley, who took over the keys of Green Yard House in March, 1589, and lived as she died "in the true faith of Christ,"⁷⁴ may be forgiven if she resented such a relic of her predecessor. But the oral tradition does not mention her. And consider the feeling of a sensitive man. Hugh and Anne had a fine new chest with both their arms, but Anne had died, and the chest was dead too. May we not think that it was Hugh himself who sent away the chest, out of sight and mind, to a known⁷⁵ church on the Surrey side, during those black months in the winter of 'eighty-eight?

The origin and style of this West German chest are a larger question, and may be left for later consideration with cognate types of inlay.



CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT.

FIG. 5. Monument to Sir Thomas and Lady Offley (N. Chancel wall), for the erection of which Hugh Offley was one of three Executors.

NOTES.

1. P. Macquoid, *Hist. of English Furniture*, Vol. I, 1904, p. 63; Canon W. Thompson, *History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour (St. Mary Overie), Southwark*, 2nd ed., 1904, p. 190; F. Roe, *Old Oak Furniture* (1st ed., 1905), 2nd ed., 1908, p. 151; Rev. J. C. Cox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (1st ed., 1907), 2nd ed., 1908, p. 308; H. Avray Tipping in *Country Life*, Vol. XLIX, 1921, p. 530; Canon T. P. Stevens, *The Story of Southwark Cathedral*, 1922, p. 54; P. Macquoid and R. Edwards, *Dictionary of English Furniture*, Vol. I, 1924, p. 39; Miss M. Jourdain, *Decoration and Furniture in England*, Vol. I, 1924, p. 264; R. Edwards in *Country Life*, Vol. LVII, 1925, p. 980; A. Feulner, *Kunstgesch. des Möbels*, 3rd ed., 1927, p. 231; R.C. Hist. Mon. (Eng.), Lond., Vol. V, 1930, p. 63b; Exhib. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Committee including M. Jourdain and H. Clifford Smith), 1933, *Catalogue*, No. 194. These versions and their dates of publication will repay careful comparison with one another, and are here necessarily taken as read.
2. His second wife was a Chester girl, Elizabeth, daughter of William Rogerson, Alderman of Chester, who by *Will* dated 18th April, 1519, proved 31st May, 1519 (P.P.R., 17 Ayloff), made bequests to "Will'm Ofeley my sonne in lawe" and "my daughter Elizabeth his wife." See also Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ed. 1881, Vol. I, 212 and 363; Stowe, *Survey*, ed. Strype, 1755, Vol. II, 226; G. C. Bower and H. F. W. Harwood in *Genealog.*, Vol. XIX, 1903, 221 ff., and Vol. XX, 1904, 78 ff. See also the inscription on William Ofeley's tomb in St. Peter's, Chester, now lost, but transcribed by Ashmole, 854, p. 280 (Bodl.), in Bower and Harwood, Vol. XX, 1904, p. 271.
3. For those who became, or married, prominent Londoners, see Bower and Harwood, Vol. XIX, 1903, 222 ff.
4. C. L. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, 1875, p. 525.
5. *Argent on a cross fleury azure between four Cornish choughs sable beaked and legged gules a lion passant guardant or.* Crest: *a demi-lion rampant per pale or and azure collar counter-charged holding in his paws an olive branch vert fructed or.* Add. 16940, fo. 202 b.
6. *Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nicholls, 1847, 23rd October, 1556.
7. Shaw, *Knights*, 1905, Vol. II, 69.
8. P.P.R., Tirwhite 64.
9. The mark was then equivalent to 13s. 4d. The largest sum in marks in Tom's and Hugh's *Wills*, when both were rich men, is only 400.
10. A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 1908, 1st ed., p. 74, from City Rep. 16, fo. 172, Letter Bco's, Vol. V, fo. 88.
11. Harl. 1359 and Stowe 703. There are slight variants in Harl. 1463. Visit of 1568, with later additions in a itograph of Nicholas Charles (d. 1613), in Harl. Soc., Vol. I, 1868.
12. Proved 13th December, 1568 (26 Babington).
13. Register quoted by H. B. Wilson, *History of the Parish of St. Lawrence Pountney*, 1831, p. 11.
14. On Sir Thomas' monument in St. Andrew Undershaft the arms of the Merchant Taylors are flanked by those of the Hambrough Merchants (*nebulee of six argent and azure on a chief gules a lion passant guardant or*) and the Turkey Merchants.
15. Printed verbatim from the Lübeck Archives, Anglicana, IVa, by R. Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, 1896, pp. 312-326.

16. W. Cunnington, *Eng. Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II (1), 6th ed., 1925, p. 224.
17. Printed, not completely, from Pat. 21 Eliz., part 11, membranes 21 ff., by Maud Sellers, *Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, 1906, pp. 142-151.
18. Pat. 21 Eliz., part 11, membrane 21. Miss Sellers omitted this important list of names from her transcript.
19. On 21st July, 1622, this had continued "by the space of forty years past at the least." See Procl. B.M. 506, h. 11 (116).
20. Cf. L. F. Salzman, *Mediaeval English Industries*, 1923, p. 252.
21. For Simon Harding, see Bower and Harwood, Vol. XVI, 1899, p. 267 (*Will* of Robert Harding, P.C.C., 26 Babington). Simon Offley died young (Vol. XX, 1899, p. 84).
22. The seventh child, and the eighth and last child, were also baptized at St. Andrew Undershaft (see below).
23. The beautiful interiors of Lime Street are well illustrated by views of Richard Langton's early seventeenth-century house in G. H. Birch and R. Spiers, *Old House, Lime Street, City*, pp., 1875, plate 7, and by the mantelpieces from it in V. and A. Mus. (1188, 1192, 1194-1875).
24. The nobility were moving westwards into the Strand by this time.
25. J. Stow, *Survey of London* ("written in the year 1598 . . . since by the same author increased, and published in the yeare 1603"), Everyman ed., p. 137. Hugh was not Alderman until 16th August, 1588, but Stowe wrote after that.
26. "To Eustace Pattoleire my Late Servnte now dwelling at Dansiske the some of twenty pounds"—Hugh's *Will*, dated 17th May, 1594 (82 Dixy). Cf. Letter, dated Elbing, 4th April, 1581, of Dr. John Rogers to Sir Francis Walsingham, in *S.P.F. Cal.*, 1583, Addenda, p. 582: "Hugh Offley, a great trader in France, maintains a French factor here, named P'attelier, who has (as it were) a licence to destroy the trade of Elbing, and maintains with defiance of the deputy, his actions for Danske."
27. France, XVI, 14-15, in *S.P.F. Cal.*, Vol. XXI (1), 1927, p. 23, letter dated Paris, 24th June, 1586, of Sir Edward Stafford, British Ambassador in Paris, to Walsingham. Cf. *S.P.F. Cal.*, Vol. XX, 1921, p. 631.
28. France, XII, 58, in *S.P.F. Cal.*, Vol. XIX, 1916, p. 40, letter dated Rouen, 31st August-10th September, 1584, of Thomas Beckner to Walsingham.
29. J. and J. A. Venn, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, s.vv.
30. W. H. Black, *History and Antiquities of the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers*, 1871, p. 65.
31. See below, p. 39 Robert Offley's four extensive wills (the last, being 15 folio sides, dated 9th April, 1596, Drake 30) offer little indication that he was an "art" man. He directed his tomb to be "Without anye Pompe or wayne expenses," words which may indicate some contribution to the verses on Tom's monument (below p. 39). As a character he seems to have been betwixt and between Tom and Hugh.
32. See above notes 26-27 and below note 66.
33. Clode, *loc. cit.*

34. Clode, *loc. cit.* The note was written a little later, since Hugh was not alderman until 1588.
35. Hugh's *Will*. Does the portrait exist?
36. In his *Will* (dated 17th May, 1594) he left £30 to the Leathersellers "to lend deliver and put out the some to six honest poore young men free of the Company of Bowyers using the trade of making bows."
37. Ending 24th March, 1587-8.
38. Recitations and performances of the speech-day order were called *prolusiones* at St. Paul's, where Hugh, a mercer's son, may have followed Tom.
39. John Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, new ed., Vol. II, 1823, p. 529. The MS., then in possession of Samuel Shore, Esq., of Norton (co. Derby), where the Offleys had connections, was communicated to Nichols by the Rev. Dr. Pegge. Nichols dates the prolusion "a little before 1588," apparently following unquoted portions of the MS., and places it between events of New Year's Day (1st January), 1587-8, and 28th February, 1587-8.
40. Beaven, II, 1913, p. xxxiii.
41. Beaven, I, 1908, p. 208.
42. Beaven, II, 1913 p. xxxii.
43. Beaven, II, 1913, p. 39.
44. Beaven, I, 1908, p. 208.
45. See below.
46. Bower and Harwood, Vol. XX, 1904, p. 79.
47. Registers.
48. Registers.
49. Registers: "November 25 M^{rs} Anne Offley then shrevis was Buryed ye 25th, 1588."
50. See above.
51. *Thomas* graduated B.A. in 1583-4 (Venn, *Ath. Cant., u.s.*). In 1594 he appears from his father's *Will* to have been living, as a married man (Bower and Harwood, *u.s.*), in one of several "messuages or tenements" which Hugh owned in Lime Street. *Robert* graduated B.A. in 1587-8. It appears that poor *William*, who had gone up with Robert, failed to achieve a degree (Venn, *s.v.*), a circumstance not inconsistent with his father's opinion of him.
52. Hugh's *Will* so distinguishes Green Yard House, "wherein I now inhabite" (17th May, 1594), from his other house property in Lime Street.
53. She, only daughter of Roger Greswolde, Merchant Taylor of London and of Solihull (Warwickshire), married (1) John Weld, Haberdasher of London, second son of John Weld, of Eaton, Co. Chester, gentleman, and by him had four issue (John, Elizabeth, Joane, Dorothy). See inscription on her monument in St. Andrew Under-shaft (south wall). She died 29th June, 1610, "of the age of sixty years."
54. The first day of the new (O.S.) year. See Bower and Harwood, Vol. XX, 1904, p. 199, n. 2.
55. Hugh's *Will*: ". . . my saide deere and well beloved wyfe."
56. "Susan Offlie, the daughter of Mr. Hugh Offlie, Alderman, was christened the 28 day of June, Anno 1590"—Registers. Dorothy's monument states that she married Hugh Offley and "by him had

- only one daughter, Susanna." Dorothy, by her *Will*, dated 7th March, 1609 (proved 6th July, 1610, 70 Wingfield), bequeathed to Suzanna "my gold bracelets which her father gave mee."
57. Cf. above note 31.
 58. *Worthies of England* (1st ed., 1662), ed. J. Nicholls, 1811, Vol. I, p. 203.
 59. Luke xix. 2-8 (A.V.).
 60. On monument.
 61. Fuller, *loc. cit.*
 62. Tirwhite 64.
 63. For Henry see Bower and Harwood.
 64. Fuller, *u.s.*
 65. Stow, *Survey* (1598), *u.s.*, p. 77, ". . . now of late years the use of coaches, brought out of Germany, is taken up and made so common. . . ."
 66. Letter of Thomas Beckner to Walsingham, dated Rouen, 31st August-10th September, 1584, in *S.P.F. Cal.*, Vol. XIX, 1916, p. 40: "Some of London that trade hither have none to deal for them but papists, as Mr. Hugh Offley for the chief, not that I think them other than her Majesty's friends, but in time the increase may bring mischief." An "Offley, gent.," was listed on 27th April, 1580, among papist students in Paris (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, 1904, pp. 250-1).
 67. Beaven, Vol. II, p. 43.
 68. She did (her monument); and in her *Will* she refers to "such temporal goods and substance as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me."
 69. Stand of course modern.
 70. Not expressed on the chest by inlay, as noted by W. Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 1833, pp. 97-98 (" . . . arms which being merely formed with inlaid woods the colours are not expressed"), but vaguely indicated by wood differentiation for the birds' legs, beaks, etc., etc. Tom's arms on the monument have been re-coloured.
 71. "This Armes and Creaste beyng over/much charged at the first was altered in som/things and confirmed to Hughe/Offeley of London Alderman and to/his posteritie, by Robart Cooke ass/Clarenci^x Kinge of Armes, under/his hand and the seale of his Office bearinge date the fyvth day of Sep-/tember, An^o Dñi, 1588, and in the/30th year of . . . Queene Elizabeth"—Add. 14295, fo. 9 *recto*. Similar briefer statements with less complete drawings in Harl. 1359 ("Coates and Creastes gathered together by me John Withers 1620") fo. 109, and in Harl. 1463 (Visit. 1568 "since augmented both with descents and armes" in hand of Nicholas Charles, who died 1613).
 72. The precise date of Hugh's *first* application for arms has not been found, but his circumstances in 1587-88, and the parallels of Mr. Harding's and Tom's grants, seem to point to a date recent in a measure of months before 5th September, 1588.
 73. No mention in Hugh's *Will*; or in Arthur Tiler, *Hist. and Antiquities of St. Saviour*, 1765; or in M. Concanen and A. Morgan, *Hist. and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1795; or in W. G. Moss, *Church of St. Saviour*, 1818; or in Taylor, *loc. cit.*, where chest and arms are fully described, without identification of the latter (pp. 97-98), and reference is made to this "fine Old Chest which prior to the construction of the iron safe, now used, contained

the parish records, etc." This is the earliest reference to the chest that we have found. Canon T. P. Stevens, in a kind letter of 18th April, 1938, states that he "can find nothing conclusive." Mr. Sydney Bentley, Hon. Clerk to the Trustees of the Rectory of St. Saviour, is good enough to write (22nd April, 1938) that he has "no documentary inventories or other MSS. relating to the history of the Offley chest." In March, 1563, the Church seems to have already possessed a perfectly good chest with "three keys," containing on 2nd March, 1567, the sum of £3 18s. 10d. (Taylor, p. 127, quoting parish documents).

74. Her monument. Her *Will* (70 Wingfield) also shows that she was a woman of exceptional devoutness.
75. *Cf.* note 67 above. Mr. Harding had associations with Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas' Hospital and Bridewell, for which institutions he left three gardens with appurtenances in Southwark, and owned land and tenements in Smyths Alley, Southwark (*Will*, 26 Babington).