

WARDROBE PLACE AND THE GREAT WARDROBE

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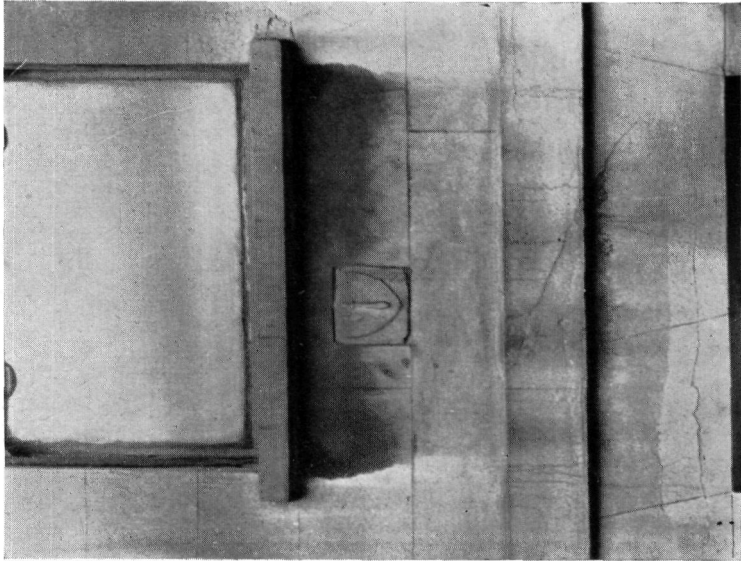
THIS paper is a confession of failure in that I have been unable to explain an inconspicuous mark in Wardrobe Place (Fig. 1). I had hoped to connect it with the history of the site through the Great Wardrobe, which was here from 1361 until it was destroyed in the Great Fire; or with Baynard's Castle, which was close by; or to show that it was a boundary mark of the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. Instead of a solution I can only offer a digest of much pleasant reading, and I do so in the hopeful and unselfish spirit of one of the Greek epigrams: "I am the tomb of one shipwrecked; but sail thou; for even while we perished, the other ships sailed on over the sea."¹

WARDROBE PLACE

Wardrobe Place may be entered from the south side of Carter Lane at No. 57; it was formerly called Wardrobe Court.² "The most picturesque bit of Restoration London as rebuilt after the Fire that is left to us is Wardrobe Place, Doctors Commons," wrote the late Walter G. Bell in these *Transactions*.³ Only three of its old houses are left, Nos. 3, 4 and 5⁴ (Fig. 2). Nos. 3 and 4 have been skilfully restored by the occupiers, who have thrown these two houses into one and, by removing the staircase of No. 3, have enlarged some of its rooms and have extended the staircase of No. 4. One of the rooms in No. 3 has retained one of its china-cupboard recesses. Two additions have been made to the exterior: a modern rainwater-head and an iron object which was found on the premises and supposed to be a torch extinguisher.

The mark in question is on the south elevation of No. 1, Wardrobe Place; it is below its most easterly second-floor window, on the part which extends over the entrance from Carter Lane. The charge on the shield has a rounded base and a tapering stem, with a short cross-piece or rim near the top; a flaw or mark on the shield makes it look like a battle-axe in the photograph.

The first thought to arise on seeing this shield is that it represented some exalted owner of the site in times past. This



[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 1. THE MARK IN WARDROBE PLACE.



[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 2. Nos. 3, 4 and 5, WARDROBE PLACE.



[Photo by Edward Yates

Fig. 3. THE SITE OF THE GREAT WARDROBE IN 1677.
(Ogilby and Morgan)

suggestion, however, led nowhere, and it then seemed possible that, as the sign resembles a lace bobbin, it had once marked a department or factory of the Great Wardrobe, from which Wardrobe Place derives its name, in spite of the improbability that such a small object should have survived and been saved from the Great Fire. It is interesting to note that Mills set out one foundation in Carter Lane on 3rd March, 1669, for one Ridges, "being part of the old pallas belonging to the said Esqr. Ridges."⁵ There were certainly houses in this part of Carter Lane in 1677, as Ogilby and Morgan's map of that date shows an entrance between them leading into a vacant space on which is written, "The King's Wardrobe was here" (Fig. 3). Leeke's *Exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes and Churches comprehended within the Ruines of the City of London in 1666* shows a vacant space called "The Wardrobe."⁶

In a Report of the Commissioners of the Treasury of 13th February, 1671, on the petition of Lord Buckhurst⁷ for a grant of the ground whereon the Great Wardrobe stood before the burning of London, it appeared that for a building lease for 60 years it might yield about 5s. a foot fronting every way, 50 feet in depth, which containing about 400 feet in front would amount to about £100 per annum.⁸ Later in the year there was a warrant for a grant to Charles, Lord Buckhurst, of the soil on which the Great Wardrobe formerly stood, with its appurtenances, for the term of 99 years from the date thereof, at the rent of 5 nobles per annum.⁹ In 1720 Strype could record that the garden of the King's Great Wardrobe "is covered into a large and square Court, with good Houses, and called Wardrobe Court."¹⁰

As Fig. 3 shows, the Great Wardrobe lay north of Baynard's Castle between Carter Lane north, St. Andrew's Church south, Puddle Dock Hill¹¹ west and Addle Hill east. The site is now occupied by the Rectory, Wardrobe Place, Wardrobe Terrace, etc.¹² Between Nos. 4 and 5, Wardrobe Place, is a Corporation of London plaque with this inscription: "Site of/The King's/Wardrobe¹³/Destroyed in the/Great Fire 1666."

In this part of the parish of St. Andrew by Baynard's Castle (as the church was then called), to the east of the great convent of the Black Friars and not far north of Puddle Dock, which gave it access to the river, Sir John Beauchamp, younger son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, governor of Calais and a hero of Edward III's French wars, had built on his own land a spacious town

house, with shops and houses adjacent, giving on to a small square. After his death in 1360 his executors sold the whole site, mansion, shops, houses and square, to the King, who resolved to transfer to these roomy quarters the office of the Great Wardrobe. The removal was completed on 1st October, 1361.¹⁴ Stow supplies some interesting details in his account of Castle Baynard Ward, though the last lines of the passage quoted below contain an inaccuracy (see later).

Then is the king's Great Wardrobe: Sir John Beauchamp, knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover, Warden of the Sinke ports (son to Guido de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwicke), built this house, was lodged there, deceased in the year 1359, and was buried on the south side of the middle aisle of Paule's church. His executors sold the house to King Edward III, unto whom the parson of St. Andrew's complaining that the said Beauchampe had pulled down divers houses, in their place to build the same house, where through he was hindered of his accustomed tithes, paid by the tenants of old time, granted him forty shillings by year out of that house for ever.¹⁵ King Richard III was lodged there in the second of his reign.

In this house of late years is lodged Sir John Fortescue, knight, master of the wardrobe, chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council. The secret letters and writings touching the estate of the realm were wont to be enrolled in the king's wardrobe, and not in the chancery, as appeareth by the records.¹⁶

THE GREAT WARDROBE.

Before the purchase of Sir John Beauchamp's house, other houses in the City had been used by the Great Wardrobe. Among these was the messuage of the Bardi merchants in Lombard Street, which was bought by Edward III in 1328¹⁷; in the latter part of Edward II's reign the Great Wardrobe occupied a house in Bassishaw,¹⁸ and in the fourth year of this reign (1311) the Mayor and Aldermen were ordered by writ of Privy Seal to deliver to Ingelard de Warlee, the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, certain houses for the purposes of the King's Wardrobe.¹⁹ Its first home in London seems to have been in the Tower.²⁰ After the Fire the office was removed outside the City, first to Buckingham Street in the Savoy, and later to Great Queen Street.²¹ It was abolished in 1782 by Burke's Act for Economical Reform.

The plaque in Wardrobe Place commemorates the King's Wardrobe instead of the Great Wardrobe and, in so doing, perpetuates a mistake which, in the words of the late Professor Tout (from whose work much of this section is taken), "has at least the excuse of being a venerable one." He points out

that "a good historian, like Stow, knew that the place was really the king's great wardrobe, yet in connection with it he tells us that 'secret letters . . . were wont to be enrolled in the king's wardrobe,' though the great wardrobe had, of course, never been the place of such enrolment. A similar want of clarity made the keeper of the great wardrobe the 'wardrober' or 'the master of the wardrobe,' with his lodging still in Beauchamp's house."²²

The Wardrobe itself was a branch of the Exchequer for the receipt of monies and the disbursement of them in the personal expenditure of the Sovereign.²³ In spite of its name the Great Wardrobe, in its origin and for the first century and a half of its history, was a department of the King's Wardrobe.²⁴ The term "great" referred to the size and quantities of the goods stored, and not to the status of the office. These goods included furniture and equipment, tapestry and hangings for rooms, wearing apparel, cloth, silk, canvas, furs and the like.²⁵ In the course of time the Great Wardrobe enlarged its functions and purchased, stored, repaired and made all sorts of arms and armour, tents, harness, saddles and other articles. Early in the 14th century the arms and armour department became a separate institution, called the Privy Wardrobe of the Tower.²⁶

Beauchamp's old mansion and grounds were so roomy that they could accommodate much more than the Great Wardrobe office. The official residence of the Keeper or Master was there, and there was space to group round the central office some, at least, of the factories where some of the articles were made in which it dealt.²⁷ After the Restoration of 1660 there were still 800 workmen employed in the Wardrobe.²⁸ A small colony of them lived in the precincts to carry out the manifold functions of the office: the knitting, spinning, weaving, lace-making, button-making, and silver-winding. All kinds of State clothes were there, and choice linen for the King's household.²⁹ Pepys, however, recorded a lack of the last named on 2nd September, 1667, when:

After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend; and there I was witness of a horrid rating, which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the Grooms of the King's Bed-chamber, did give him for want of linen for the King's person; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the King would not endure it, and that the King his father would have hanged his Wardrobe-man should he have been served so; the King having at this day no handkerchers, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money, and the owing of the linen-draper £5,000; and that he hath of late got many things made—

beds, and sheets, and saddles, without money, and he can go no farther: but still this old man, indeed, like an old loving servant, did cry out for the King's person to be neglected. But, when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the grooms taking away the King's linen at the quarter's end, as their fee, which makes this great want; for, whether the King can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the King get more as he can.

Some of the varied functions of the Great Wardrobe are illustrated in the following passages. The Keeper of the King's Wardrobe had the care of the robes of the Knights of the Garter.³⁰ In May, 1432, he was instructed by the Privy Council to provide Alice Countess of Suffolk with the necessary robes when she had been granted the distinguished privilege of wearing the habit of the Order of the Garter.³¹ William, 5th Earl and afterwards 1st Duke of Bedford, was installed as Knight of the Garter on 3rd June, 1672. The material for the mantles or mantlings—fifteen yards at least of blue velvet, with white taffeta for lining, and the crimson velvet for the surcoat, came from the Wardrobe. Sometimes this department also supplied the crimson velvet to make the cushion on which the robes, collar and insignia were placed to be carried before the Knight Elect. At the death of a Knight, the Wardrobe awaited his robes, though sometimes it waited in vain, as they were often left as a legacy to a son or close friend.³²

On 13th February, 1668, Pepys recorded that "Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of the King's Fool or Jester." On 31st January, 1671, there was a warrant to the Master of the Great Wardrobe for payment to Dr. Wren, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works, of £12 15s. 10d. for his livery due at All Saints last, and also for the allowance of several parcels for his livery at All Saints in every year during his life.³³

MASTERS OF THE GREAT WARDROBE.

The Master or Keeper of the Great Wardrobe held an office of great antiquity and dignity. He was usually a personage of high political consideration, and subordinate to him were a comptroller, a patent clerk, and many other officers and servants.³⁴ King Henry VI granted many privileges to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe,

amongst others that no officer should have power to enter to make arrests, which grant was confirmed and enlarged by Queen Mary by letters patent, whereby the Wardrobe was made a body corporate for ever and a free place

exempt from the jurisdiction of the Corporation, and the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe was empowered to let the houses, etc., thereto belonging, and the tenants were exempted from paying all taxes and duties and from bearing any offices in the civil government and from being compelled to keep watch or ward, with divers other privileges, which were likewise confirmed by Queen Elizabeth and King James.³⁵

The last Master was Thomas, Lord Pelham, afterwards 1st Earl of Chichester, who was appointed in 1775, as "the principal officers of the Great Wardrobe" were "utterly suppressed, abolished, and taken away" in 1782 by Burke's Act for Economical Reform (22 Geo. III cap. lxxxii). This Act further "enacted and provided that whenever his Majesty shall be pleased to order for the use of his Majesty's palaces or any other house, any of such furniture or goods as were formerly under the direction of the office of the great wardrobe, or any such other work to be done as formerly was done by or under the direction of the said wardrobe, the same shall be done and executed (so far as regards the previous estimate and subsequent controul and account) in the manner by this act directed for works undertaken by the surveyor of the buildings."³⁶ There is an echo of past glory at a coronation, when "the Armill and Robe Royal or Pall of cloth and gold shall be delivered by the Officer of the Great Wardrobe to the Dean of Westminster, and by him put upon the King, standing; the Lord Great Chamberlain fastening the clasps."³⁷

Sir Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich.

When Sir Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich, went to the Great Wardrobe as Master in 1660, he found the official residence on St. Andrew's Hill ruinous and unfit for use and had to spend £1,200 during his first three years of office to make the house even "pretty pleasant."³⁸ The place was the centre of varied life. Besides the workmen who lived in the precincts, there were children connected with some charity.³⁹ Pepys mentions these children when he went on 21st June, 1660, "with my Lord to see the Great Wardrobe, where Mr. Townsend brought us to the governor of some poor children in tawny clothes, who had been maintained there these eleven years,⁴⁰ which put my Lord to a stand how to dispose of them; but he may have the house for his own use."

The grounds and houses belonging to the Great Wardrobe were granted to the Earl of Sandwich as Master for his life, and after the Great Fire he was given compensation for them.⁴¹

Pepys recorded many visits to the Wardrobe, such as the following:—

29 October 1660: I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day,⁴² and neglecting my office, I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children.

16 May 1661: To the Wardrobe, and there we found my Lord newly gone away with the Duke of Ormond and some others, whom he had had to a collation; and so we, with the rest of the servants in the hall, sat down, and ate of the best cold meats that ever I ate in all my life.

22 May 1661: To the Wardrobe, where my Lord and all the officers of the Wardrobe dined, and several other friends of my Lord, at a venison pasty.⁴³

24 July 1661: To the Wardrobe, but came too late and dined with the servants.

13 August 1661: To the Wardrobe and found my young Lord very ill, so my Lady intends to send her other three sons, Sidney, Oliver, and John, to my house, for fear of the smallpox.

On 27th November, 1660, Pepys "found my Lord gone abroad to the Wardrobe, whither he do now go every other morning, and do seem to resolve to understand and look after the business himself." On 8th June, 1661, "my Lord . . . did tell me that he would have me go to Mr. Townsend, whom he had ordered to discover to me the whole mystery of the Wardrobe, and none else but me, and that he will make me deputy with him, for fear that he should die in my Lord's absence."

The charge for the Wardrobe was upon the first-fruits of a diocese; when that did not answer, it was shifted to the hearth-money. In Charles II's time it was impossible to get any money from the Treasury.⁴⁴ To Lord Sandwich the Wardrobe had never been a very profitable affair: his old home there was destroyed in the Great Fire, and in 1668 the perquisites of the Master were cut down when, instead of an appropriation of the surplus, he was given a salary of £2,200, in compensation of all other ancient fees and allowances.⁴⁵ Pepys's entries amplify these statements:

On 20th December, 1662, "my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while . . . , he acquainting me with his late inquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and he tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about £3,000 to him, and the next about as much; so that, at this day, if he were paid, it will be worth about £7,000 to him." On 15th July, 1664, Lord Sandwich told Pepys "that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, £7,000 to him there, if he knew how to get paid." On 7th June, 1667, Pepys was "With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's business; for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be

in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord." On 2nd September, 1667, "By and by Sir G. Carteret, and Townsend, and I to consider of an answer to the Commissioners of the Treasury about my Lord Sandwich's profits in the Wardrobe; which seem, as we make them, to be very small, not £1,000 a year; but only the difference in measure at which he buys and delivers out to the King, and then 6d. in the pound from the tradesmen for what money he receives for him; but this, it is believed, these Commissioners will endeavour to take away."

Lord Sandwich's expenses may well have been heavy, to judge from his appearance at "the King's going from the Tower to Whitehall" on 22nd April, 1661, the eve of his coronation, when it was "impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rode, and their horses and horse-clothes. Among others, my Lord Sandwich's embroidery and diamonds were not ordinary among them."⁴⁶ In the evening Lord Sandwich talked with Pepys "about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him £200, and very rich it is with embroidery."⁴⁷ On Coronation Day Lord Sandwich carried the sceptre.⁴⁸

On another occasion (2nd January, 1668) Pepys recorded the King's disregard for economy:

This day at Whitehall I overheard Sir W. Coventry propose to the King his ordering of [*dealing with, directing*] some particular thing in the Wardrobe, which was of no great value; but yet, as much as it was, it was of profit to the King and saving to his purse. The King answered to it with great indifferency, as a thing that it was no great matter whether it was done or no. Sir W. Coventry answered: "I see your Majesty do not remember the old English proverb, 'He that will not stoop for a pin, will never be worth a pound.'" And so they parted, the King bidding him do as he would; which, methought, was an answer not like a king that did intend ever to do well.

Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu.

Lord Sandwich very soon tired of the new arrangement and sold the office of Master to his cousin, Ralph Montagu,⁴⁹ who held it from 1671 to 1685, and from 1689 until his death in 1709.

Ralph Montagu succeeded his father as Baron Montagu of Boughton in 1684; he was created Duke of Montagu in 1705, after the marriage of his son John with Mary, youngest daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough. In a letter dated 13th April, 1672, to Lord Arlington from Paris, where he was ambassador, Ralph Montagu, hoping to be one of the Commissionaires of the

Prizes, wrote discontentedly about the bargain he had made with his cousin:

At the return from my Embassy, such a distinction would do me credit in the world; and methinks it is natural and lies fair enough that since his Majesty has done me the honour to employ me or trust me in many things relating to the war, that I should have some share in the employments it produceth; for as for my office in the Wardrobe, you know with what difficulty I purchased it, to save my credit and [at] home and abroad; and yet, as the matter is ordered it is so far from being a credit or advantage to me, that it has prejudiced me in both.⁵⁰

He did not, however, want to give up this post, judging by the following letter to him of 16th March, 1704, from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough:

Finding your Lordship so uneasy as you were t'other day at the proposal of exchanging your own life for your son's in the Great Wardrobe, and the apprehension I had, myself, that there was a possibility (in one case) that it might happen to your prejudice, I have done all I could to procure it, as I hope you will like, the Queen having at last consented that your son shall have the reversion of the Master (*sic*) of the Great Wardrobe for life, with the same appointments your Lordship now has, reserving only a power to herself, in all other particulars, to appoint such regulations as she may at any time think proper and necessary for her service, in the execution of the office.⁵¹

In the following letter to her son-in-law's father, which was written from Windsor about 1706, the Duchess of Marlborough refused point blank to try for further advancement:

I have received the honour of your Grace's letter by Lady Monthermer, and I think it so needless to make professions of my inclination to serve your Grace, or to assist my Lord Monthermer, in anything that is in my power, that I will not take up your time upon that subject. I will only say that there is so few employments, and so many to be gratified for the Queen's service, that I can't think of asking the Captain (*sic*) of the Yeomen of the Guards for my son-in-law, who has (in reversion) one of the best things the Queen has to give, and for his life.⁵²

John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.

As the Duchess of Marlborough had arranged, her son-in-law, Lord Monthermer, became Master of the Wardrobe at his father's death and held this office until his own death. He succeeded his father as John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. He was Lord High Constable⁵³ at the coronation of King George I and he bore the sceptre with the cross at the coronation of King George II. He was buried at Warkton, where the monuments of himself and his duchess are by Roubiliac.⁵⁴

Among the Buccleugh MSS. in Montagu House there is a series of amusing letters from Lord Tyrawley, British Ambassador

at Lisbon, to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, in which the writer relates many personal anecdotes and criticizes the manners and customs of the Portuguese. The following extracts concern the Wardrobe; the first is dated 19th December, 1732; the second, 29th July, 1735:

I have in my house at Lisbon a great room, and a most noble one, that overlooks the whole town, the river and the sea à *perte de vue* . . .; in short, a great prospect. This room is 46 foot long, 20 foot broad, and 15 foot high; so that the room has a wall on one side of 46 foot; on the opposite side are four very large windows; *les lambris* between the windows are 6 foot and a half, and from the top of the window-case to the cornice is 4 and a half; and the end walls of consequence are the breadth of the room, and a slip of 46 foot long by 4½ broad over the windows. This room few of my predecessors made use of, because it would cost a vast sum to furnish it; and, by what I can find, such of them as did furnish it, did it very scrubly (*sic*). Hitherto I have hung it with good tapestry hangings, which by the by were not my own, but lent me by a friend here, to whom they were pawned by the Vice-Roy of Goa; he some time ago redeemed his hangings, and my room is demolished.

Now what I mean by all these particulars is, that in case it is possible for you to help me but with any of the old trumpery of the Great Wardrobe, you will vastly oblige me. Whether what I ask of you is practicable, I really can't say, or whether the old furniture is not the perquisite of your under-officers; or what are your methods in the office, as you may imagine, I am quite a stranger to; but upon the whole, if any such thing could be done, you would save me a great deal of money, for the house loses its whole beauty without that room.

I have four other rooms of the same size, and the prospects as beautiful, but they are all furnished. One is my chapel, handsomely fitted up; another a library (*cabinet de Monsieur, où il depeche avec ses secrétaires*); the other *la salle à manger*, that opens to a terrace 60 foot long, that looks to the sea; and the fourth room is a billiard room. But this room, of which I have sent you the dimensions, lies so in the middle of the house, that if I shut it up, the whole house is spoiled.

When I say my rooms are 15 foot high, I mean from the ground to the cornice; for they are vaulted rooms, and rise from the cornice several foot higher, with the vaults all painted in fresco, and very ill painted. I know I should not call them vaults, but I have forgot the other term; in short, like the great room below stairs at Ditton. This I thought necessary to explain to you, for the honour of my rooms. If your Grace can equip me, Colonel Wilton, Dela Haye Street, Westminster, upon any message from you, will take care to send me the hangings.⁵⁵

They have now made me Plenipotentiary, which by the by I am sure they would not have done, only that I suppose Norris would not come abroad without being so, and they could not with any decency do it for him and leave me out. We are indeed joint and separate Plenipotentiaries, and I am told I shall continue so, after he goes home. A man should not brag of his own performances, but I may modestly say I have done great services to

the Ministers since I have been in Portugal, and upon very little reflection upon this country, they may know it.

I think my Plenipotentiary powers give me a claim to a State (*sic*), though different from that of Ambassador; if any such thing is due to me out of the Great Wardrobe, pray, my Lord, send for Colonel Wilson, and put him in the way of making a proper demand of it, for I have a noble great room, and very handsomely furnished, that only wants such an ornament to make it complete. I have also a notion the King's picture is due to a Plenipotentiary; if so, I shall hope it comes likewise from your Office, and I should be very glad of the King's countenance; 'twas a shrewd saying.⁵⁶

ST. ANDREW BY THE WARDROBE.

Wardrobe Place is in the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, in Castle Baynard Ward. The northern boundary of the parish is formed by the part of Carter Lane which runs between St. Andrew's Hill (formerly Puddle Dock Hill) and Addle Hill. It therefore seemed possible that the mysterious mark might be a parish boundary mark and that its design might have something to do with the history of the parish.⁵⁷ O.S. Map 1894-6, vii, 65, does not, however, show a mark in this position, and the Rector, the Rev. V. C. Morton, has negated this suggestion.

The church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe was burnt in the Great Fire and rebuilt (by Wren) in 1692. By the Act of 22 Car. II, c. 11, entitled "An additional Act for the rebuilding of the City of London, uniting of parishes and rebuilding of the cathedral and parochial churches within the said City," the parishes of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and St. Anne Blackfriars were united into one parish, and the church theretofore belonging to the said parish of St. Andrew was made the parish church of the said parish so united. The presentation to the rectory of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe is made alternately by the Mercers' Company and the inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne Blackfriars, being house-holders.⁵⁸

The name of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe was not the original name of the church. In 1279-80 it was called St. Andrew at Castle Baynard.⁵⁹ It was the manorial church of Baynard's Castle, which it adjoined, and the boundaries of its parish were the same as those of the soke of the castle;⁶⁰ the FitzWalters were its patrons.⁶¹

BAYNARD'S CASTLE AND THE FITZWALTERS.

The most illustrious of the FitzWalters was Robert, leader of the remonstrant barons against King John in 1215, under the

title of "Marshal of the Army of God and of Holy Church."⁶² He was Baron of Dunmow in Essex, owner of Baynard's Castle in the City of London, and lord of a soke which embraced the whole of the parish of St. Andrew Castle Baynard. He was castellan and chief bannerer or banneret of London and was possessed in right of the soke and these offices of considerable privileges in peace and war, which were claimed by his grandson in 1303.⁶³

Baynard's Castle was destroyed in 1213 because of Robert FitzWalter's opposition to King John. In the third year of Edward I (1275) the second Robert FitzWalter, grandson of the first, received licence from the Crown to transfer Baynard's Castle to Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the purpose of the foundation of the house and church of the Friars Preachers or Black Friars, provided always, that by reason of this grant, nothing should be extinguished to him and his heirs which to his barony did belong.⁶⁴ In the fourteenth year of Edward II (1321) the same Robert again pressed his claims to the ancient privileges and franchises appendant to Baynard's Castle, stating that in the time of Edward I he had disposed of Baynard's Castle, but had especially reserved to himself all rights in virtue of the said castle and barony to him belonging; though he very considerably added that he was quite ready to disclaim all right and title to drown traitors at Wood-wharf.⁶⁵ It may, however, be concluded that the citizens of London strenuously and successfully resisted these claims, as in the 21st year of Edward III (1347) it was reported to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty in the Guildhall of London assembled that Sir John FitzWalter claimed to have franchises in the ward of Castle Baynard wholly repugnant to the liberties of the City, and to the prejudice of the estate of the King, and of the liberties of the City aforesaid; whereupon it was agreed by the same that the said John had no franchise within the liberty of the City aforesaid, nor was in future to intermeddle with any plea in the Guildhall of London, or with any matters touching the liberties of the City.⁶⁶ Thus in all probability came to an end the extraordinary rights and privileges once enjoyed within the walls of the City of London by the powerful family of FitzWalter.⁶⁷

The arms of FitzWalter are *or, a fesse between two chevrons gules*. They may be seen on the shield and horse-clothes on Robert FitzWalter's seal in the British Museum.⁶⁸ The ancient

barony of FitzWalter continued uninterruptedly from 1295 to 1756. On 30th September, 1924, the abeyance was determined in favour of Henry FitzWalter Plumtre, who then became 20th Baron, but since his death in 1932, the succession has not been established.

A new Baynard's Castle was built in 1428, east of the old site, on Thames side. It was burnt in the Great Fire and the remains were converted into buildings and wharfs.⁶⁹ A City of London plaque at 12-13, Upper Thames Street marks the site. In Stow's time it belonged to the Earl of Pembroke.

William Herbert, K.G., 1st Earl of Pembroke, who married as his first wife Anne, sister of Queen Katherine Parr, obtained the rich estates belonging to the abbey of Wilton in Wiltshire; in 1546 he became Keeper of Baynard's Castle, which was granted to him in 1551 and which became the London residence of the Earls of Pembroke until the Great Fire of 1666.⁷⁰ The first Earl of Pembroke was one of the most powerful noblemen of his time. He raised a body of 300 horse for the special service of the Crown and rode to his mansion of Baynard's Castle in great state on 17th February, 1552-3, at their head, "of which 100 of them were gentlemen in plain blue cloth, with chains of gold and badges of a dragon on their sleeves."⁷¹

Baynard's Castle subsequently became the residence of the Earls of Shrewsbury, with whom the Earls of Pembroke were connected by marriage.⁷²

The Herbert crest is a green wyvern. To judge from its style, Green Dragon Inn, St. Andrew's Hill, which was pulled down in 1896, must have dated from immediately after the Great Fire.⁷³ Considering the connection between the name of this inn with the Earls of Pembroke, it seemed reasonable to wonder if the mark in Wardrobe Place might refer to the same noble family, but this line of enquiry also led to nothing.

The problem presented by the mark in Wardrobe Place remains, therefore, unsolved. The writer of this paper has given "great argument About it and about, but evermore Came out by the same door where in I went," and can but repeat the exhortation in the first paragraph: "Sail thou."

NOTES

1. J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, 1906, p. 155.
2. Harben, *Dictionary of London*, pp. 609-10.
3. *Trans. L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. IV, Pt. III, 1920, "Surviving City Houses built after the Great Fire," p. 203.
4. Built late in the 17th or early in the 18th century (R.C.H.M., *The City*, p. 59a).

5. Oliver and Mills, *Survey for the Rebuilding of London after the Fire* (Guildhall MS. 84, Mills, Vol. II, fol. 131a).
6. See later for this confusion in terms.
7. Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, inherited the estates of his maternal uncle, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, and was created Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex in 1675. He succeeded his father as 6th Earl of Dorset in 1677. He was joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex with his father from 1670 to 1677 and was sole holder of this office from 1677 to 1687-8. Reappointed in 1689, he held the office until his death. (G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*.) On 20th February, 1684-5, he became Custos Rotulorum of Sussex. (Collins, *Peerage*, ii, p. 168.) He was the Lord Buckhurst of Pepys's *Diary*. His portrait as 6th Earl of Dorset, K.G., may be seen at the National Portrait Gallery in the room devoted to portraits by Kneller of members of the Kit-Cat Club.
8. *Cat. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-1.
10. Stow, ed. Strype, 1720, iii, p. 230.
11. Now called St. Andrew's Hill.
12. Harben, p. 335.
13. See note 6.
14. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, The Wardrobe, The Chamber and the Small Seals*, Vol. IV, 1928, chap. xiv, The Great Wardrobe, pp. 405-6.
15. In *Ibid.*, p. 406, Professor Tout mentions that "William Everdon, parson of the parish, complained bitterly of the loss of dues and offerings which resulted from the conversion of a knight's mansion, filled with followers and soldiers, into a government office and store, guarded, at times, only by a clerk and a yeoman. In the end, the disgruntled rector of St. Andrew's was placated by a pension of 40s. a year for life [*Enrolled Accounts* (W. & H.), 4-8], and the adoption of a policy of letting the houses and shops to various tenants prevented the complete disappearance of parishioners from Beauchamp's old property [*Ibid.*, m. 23]."
16. Stow, ed. Everyman, p. 327.
17. Tout, op. cit., p. 401.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 399.
19. *Cal. Letter-Book D.*, p. 254. To quote Professor Tout (p. 398) on this writ, "these houses were not specifically said to be for the use of the great wardrobe, but it is difficult to see for what else they could have been needed, and in 1311, of course, the great wardrobe was still strictly subordinate to the keeper of the wardrobe."
20. Tout, op. cit., p. 397.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 411. For the house in Great Queen Street see Bristol House, eastern half, in *Survey of London*, V, St. Giles' in the Fields, Pt. 2, 1914, pp. 65-6.
22. Tout, op. cit., pp. 408-9.
23. *Lib. Cust.*, ii, p. 804 (Glossary, *Garderoba*).
24. Tout, op. cit., p. 349.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 411, note 1.
29. F. R. Harris, *The Life of Edward Montagu, K.G., first Earl of Sandwich*, 1912, Vol. I, p. 242.
30. J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, Vol. II, 1803, p. 361.
31. *Country Life*, 22nd March, 1941.
32. Gladys Scott Thomson, *Life in a Noble Household*, pp. 330-2, and *Two Centuries of Family History*, p. 305.
- In 1442 the Infant [Prince Henry the Navigator] was created a Knight of the Garter of England. He was the 153rd Knight of the Order; and his collar descended, through many holders, to the late Earl of Clarendon. (Gomez Eannes de Azurara, *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. ii, Hakluyt Society, 1899.)
33. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 60.

34. Haydn, *Dignities*, 1890, p. 295. At p. 296 of this publication is a list of Masters of the Great Wardrobe from the reign of James I to the abolition of the office in 1782.
35. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
36. *Statutes at Large*, p. 143.
37. *The Times*, 11th May, 1937, Coronation Number, p. vi. See also Dr. Jocelyn Perkins, *The Crowning of the Sovereign*, 1937, p. 161.
38. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 241. Cf. Pepys's *Diary*, 13th November, 1660: "By water to the Wardrobe. A great deal of room in the house, but very ugly, till my Lord had bestowed great cost upon it."
39. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242.
40. In *London and the Kingdom*, Vol. II, p. 324, Sharpe quotes from *Journal of the House of Commons*, vi, 226, that on 6th June, 1649, Parliament had assisted the City with the sum of £1,000 towards the relief of the poor, and had consented to convey to the municipal authorities a certain storehouse in the Minories, as well as the Wardrobe near the Blackfriars, the latter to be used as a workhouse. This passage exactly accounts for the eleven years mentioned by Pepys.
41. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, p. 80.
42. In 1752, Lord Mayor's Day—the day of presenting and swearing the Lord Mayor Elect in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster—was changed to 9th November in accordance with the Act of Parliament of 24 Geo. II, c. 48 (*An Act for the abbreviation of Michaelmas Term*). By the Calendar Act of 25 Geo. II, c. 30, the day for the Lord Mayor's admission and swearing in Guildhall was changed from 28th October to 8th November. (*Statutes at Large*, pp. 298 and 368–70 respectively.) These two days in November are the New Style equivalents of 28th and 29th October, and in 1752, when 3rd September was reckoned as 14th September at the reform of the Calendar, the then Lord Mayor was continued in office until 8th November.
43. There was another "good venison pasty" on 27th July, 1661, "it being my Lord of Sandwich's birthday."
44. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 257.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 187.
46. *Pepys's Diary*.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. F. R. Harris, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 188. On 4th July, 1671, there was a warrant for a grant of the place of Master of the Great Wardrobe to Ralph Montagu in reversion expectant on the death of, or other voidance thereof by, the Earl of Sandwich, the present Master; and on 6th August, there was a warrant for a grant to Ralph Montagu, Master of the Horse to the Queen, of the office of Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, surrendered by the Earl of Sandwich. (*Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1671, pp. 363 and 418 respectively.)
50. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bucleugh MSS. at Montagu House*, Vol. I, p. 520.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
53. A list of the holders of this office at the coronations of our sovereigns from Edward VI to Queen Victoria is given in Haydn's *Book of Dignities*, p. 289. The following additions bring this list up to date: the Duke of Fife was Lord High Constable at the coronations of King Edward VII and King George V, and Lord Crewe was Lord High Constable at the coronation of King George VI.

The office of Constable was probably granted by Henry I to Walter of Gloucester, and was certainly enjoyed by his son Miles. It was early recognized as hereditary, and Miles's daughter carried it by marriage into the great house of Bohun, which was raised to the earldom of Hereford in 1200. The male line became extinct in 1373 at the death of Humphrey de Bohun, when his vast inheritance was divided between his two daughters, Mary and Eleanor. Mary Bohun married Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV, and Eleanor became the wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. At the coronation of his nephew, Richard II, Thomas of Woodstock claimed to act as Constable of England by right of his wife. (*Lib. Cust.*, Vol. ii, p. 457.) When Henry IV ascended the throne the claim

to the Constabship was treated as dormant but, on the death of Henry VI and the extinction of the Lancastrian line, the sole representation of the Bohuns was vested in the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, who were the descendants of Thomas of Woodstock. Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was accordingly acknowledged as Constable by Richard III. He rose in revolt against his patron and died on the block at Salisbury. His honours were forfeited by posthumous attainder. His son Edward was restored in blood; he claimed the Constabship in 1514 but, having aroused the jealousy of Wolsey and the alarm of the King, he too was committed to the block, when the office of Constable became forfeited to the Crown. Since then the office has only been granted for the single day of the coronation to a peer whose duty it is to accompany the Earl Marshal in the procession, walking on his right as his superior officer and bearing a black staff. (See *The Times*, 11th May, 1937, Coronation Number, p. xxix.)

54. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed., Vol. IX. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of English Freemasons. His portrait is among the paintings by Kneller of members of the Kit-Cat Club.
55. *Buccleugh MSS.*, Vol. I, pp. 382-3.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
57. See *J.B.A.A.*, viii, 1943, "Boundary and Property Marks in London" for the history recorded in the boundary marks of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, and St. James, Duke's Place.
58. *Endowed Charities* (London), vi, p. 96.
59. See Harben, p. 25, for variants of the name.
60. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. 150.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
62. Sharpe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 74, quoting Matthew Paris, ii, 154-6.
63. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. lxxvii.
64. *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi.
65. *Lib. Cust.* i p. lxxvii. If any traitor were taken within his soke or jurisdiction it was the Castellain's duty to sentence him to death by drowning in conformity wherewith the offender was bound to a pillar in the Thames, used for mooring vessels, at Woodwharf, near Baynard's Castle, and left there two floods and two ebbs of the tide. A similar punishment, of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin probably, was inflicted upon the freemen of the Cinque Ports; it being their questionable privilege, when capitally condemned, to be drowned in the sea, while non-freemen had to submit to the indignity of being hanged. (*Lib. Cust.*, i, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.)
66. *Letter-Book F.*, fol. cxlii (Latin), of which a translation is given in Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 236-7, and *Lib. Cust.*, i, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.
67. *Lib. Cust.*, i, p. lxxviii. The services and franchises of Robert FitzWalter in war and peace are set forth at pp. 147-51 of this volume. They may also be read in Stow's *Survey* (Everyman ed., pp. 58-60).
68. They may be seen in Westminster Abbey for her first husband, Walter, Lord FitzWalter, on the tomb of Philippa de Mohun, wife of Edward, Duke of York. They were also placed in the nave among the painted shields which are believed to commemorate benefactors to Henry III's rebuilding of the Abbey. They were placed for his first wife, Jane, daughter of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, Viscount FitzWalter, Lord FitzWalter, among the quarterings on the monument of Sir Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, which is now in Easebourne church.
69. Strype, ed. Stow, 1720, i, 62.
70. *Complete Peerage*, new ed., p. 406, note f.
71. *Burke's Peerage*.
72. The first Earl of Pembroke married as his second wife Anne, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury; the third Earl of Pembroke married in 1604 Mary, daughter of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury.
73. Philip Norman, *Catalogue of Drawings of Old London* V. and A. Museum), p. 29.