SOME MENAGERIE ACCOUNTS OF JAMES I

ROSEMARY WEINSTEIN

'It is a world also to see how many strange herbs, plants and unusual fruits are daily brought unto us from the Indies, Americas, Taprobane [Ceylon], Canary Isles and all parts of the world.'
William Harrison Description of England (1587)

Even more eye-catching than the strange plants being introduced to this country as a result of exploration overseas, were the new species of animals arriving in the capital. Londoners had enjoyed a royal zoo at the Tower since at least the time of Henry III, when an elephant was housed there in its own special quarters. James I shared his royal predecessor's interest and established a menagerie in Spring Gardens and St. James's Park; accounts for feeding fowl and animals here in 1611 are in the Museum of London collections.

St. James's Park (Plate 1), originally a marshy field, was enclosed, drained and laid out with walks and a pleasure ground for his new palace at St. James's by Henry VIII between 1536 and 1547.2 Spring Gardens lay between St. James's Park, Whitehall and Charing Cross—a garden dating from at least 1547,3 with bowling alleys, cockpit, tennis and pheasant courts. It was called Spring Garden by Paul Hentzner, a travelling tutor to a young German nobleman, because of 'a jet d'eau, with a sun-dial, at which, while strangers are looking, a quantity of water forced by a wheel, which the gardener turns at a distance through a number of little pipes, plentifully sprinkles those that are standing round'.4

Hentzner noted the 'great plenty of deer' in St. James's Park and by the reign of James I, wild fowl had also been introduced there. In 1605 the King ordered Sir Thomas Knyvet, then Warden of the Mint, 'to pay from monies in his hands, the expenses of certain houses, and defences for orange trees and for keeping of the ducks in St. James's Park which he was appointed to make.'5

Certain officials were now connected with the park and in charge of it. A bill dated March 16117 records payments to William Walker, Keeper of the Fowl, for the upkeep of such exotica as an opossum from Virginia (colonized in 1607) costing 5/- a month, and a cassowary presented to the King by Lord Salisbury, which cost 12d per day. More routine expenditure covered cages for the white parrots, optimistically 'to last forever', and coal for two stoves in an attempt to hatch ostrich eggs.

The same month (March 1611), Robert Carr⁸ was created Viscount Rochester and appointed Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, part of whose duty was to 'keep and preserve wild beasts and fowl in St. James's Park and Garden and Spring Garden'. His expenditure for maintaining the fowl and beasts during the next three months (April–June 1611) totalled £23 4/7d.⁹

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A watercolour from an album compiled by Michael Van Meer, a Dutch visitor to London in 1614, shows some of the animals and birds mentioned in the above accounts. The illustration (Plate 2) titled 'The Young Man from Virginia', shows an Indian (apparently drawn from life) wearing a fringed garment and holding a cane bow and long arrow. Pocahontas and her entourage reached England in 1616; a contemporary engraving of her portrait is in the British Museum. Clearly the new colony of Virginia and its Red Indians had caught the public's imagination: lottery tickets for the Great Standing Lottery for Virginia of 22nd February 1616 illustrate alongside the principal prizes, the Virginian chief Elakintomine and his wife Matahan (Plate 3), in similar stance to that in the Van Meer album; the playwright Philip Massinger also refers to the presence of Virginian Indians in London.

The caption to the watercolour (Plate 2) describes the animals as 'Indian', a term used to refer to any alien species. ¹² This is evidently the case here, since none of the creatures in the picture is of American provenance: the shaggy-haired lop-eared goat is certainly not English, the long pendulous ears being typical of 'oriental' examples, i.e. from India, the Near East and Africa. The polled (hornless) sheep with long tails are commonly found in medieval and Tudor illustrations—showing that, as in today's mountain sheep, the tail was not docked at birth. The artist has chosen to draw the sheep from the back as though wishing to emphasize this (?) enlarged tail possibly because the animal was special—an example of a fat-tailed sheep from India or Africa; if so

it is inaccurate since its haunches should be proportionately fatter.

The crane, with the distinctive crest on its head, is probably what Topsell calls the 'Balearian crane', 13 this bird breeds in Africa and must definitely have been brought in, since it is not a migrant here. The goose could possibly be a Canada goose, but more likely the artist is representing the so-called Barnacle goose, an arctic breeding goose and a winter visitor to Britain, chiefly in the west of Scotland and north-west of England. There was a strange belief that these birds orginated from the so-called barnacle goose tree. 14 The third bird is difficult to identify, but resembles the Bittour or Astrean Hearne. 15

Other exotica in James I's menagerie included camels and an elephant received from the King of Spain, hawks and live sables from the Czar of Muscovy, two antelopes from the Great Mogal, an ounce-leopard from the King of Savoy, two young crocodiles and a wild boar from Hispaniola, and some flying squirrels presented by the gift of the Virginia Company. The menagerie, run at considerable expense—the elephant alone costing £273 p.a. exclusive of the gallon of wine a day it was said to drink from September till April—was reckoned amongst the curiosities of England. ¹⁶

In 1629 William Walker (Keeper of the Fowl) made 'a great bowling green' with turf from Blackheath, in Spring Garden and a 'new garden house for his Majesty to repose in'. ¹⁷ Unfortunately, the quarrels and scandals of the place, particularly the fight there on 3rd June 1634 between Lord Digby and William Crofts, led to the suppression of this popular resort. ¹⁸ After the Restoration the Spring Garden at Charing Cross became the Old Spring Garden, the entertainments removing to the New Spring Garden at Lambeth, later known

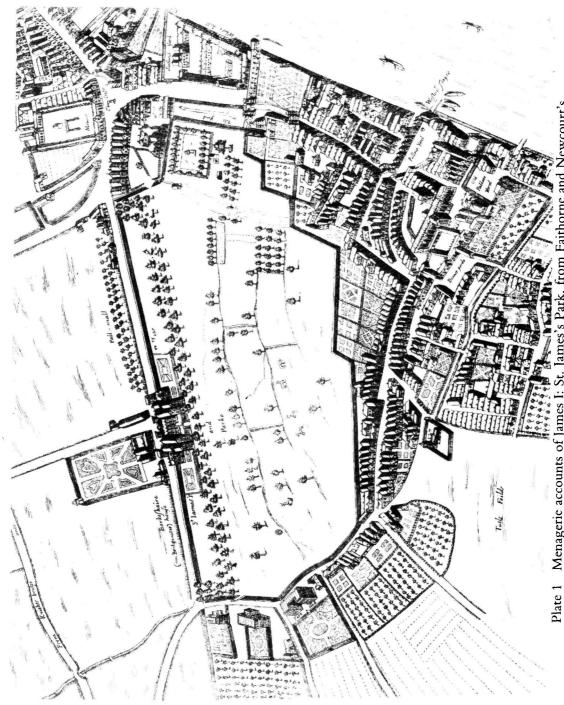


Plate 1 Menagerie accounts of James I: St. James's Park, from Faithorne and Newcourt's map, surveyed in 1643-7 and published in 1658. (British Museum)



Plate 2 Menagerie accounts of James I: A Viriginian Indian and exotic birds and animals in St. James's Park. (Van Meer Album, Edinburgh University Library)



Plate 3 Menagerie accounts of James I: Advertisement for the Great Standing Lottery of 22nd February 1616, showing two Virginian Indians on either side of the prizes. (Society of Antiquaries of London)

as Vauxhall.

St. James's Park was replanned and beautified by Charles II to include a canal, a decoy for ducks, ring fence for deer, avenues of trees and broad gravel walks. Evelyn visiting St. James's Park in February 1664–5, 19 records a variety of strange birds and beasts there: 'The Parke was at this time stored with infinite flocks of severall sorts of ordinary and extraordinary wild fowle, breeding about the Decoy. . . . Deere of severall countries, W[h]ite spotted like Leopards, Antelope: An Elke, 20 Red deeres, Robucks, Staggs, Guinny Goates; Arabian sheepe. . . . '21 It is probable that many of the creatures seen by Evelyn were gifts from the East India Company.

A white raven was recorded in 1663²² and in the same year two pelicans from Astrakhan were presented to Charles II by the Russian ambassador.²³ The Canadian goose is first recorded in Charles II's collection, and is significantly one of only four alien waterfowl to have been successfully naturalized, being now the largest British goose and widespread and common in many parts of the

country.24

Hentzner, writing in 1598,²⁵ had remarked on the great number of red deer in St. James's Park. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a visitor to London in 1700, made a similar observation but noted the dearth of wild fowl at this date:

'Since not only some of the finest English cows but also a considerable number of red deer graze there, it is called a park, although there is no real woodland but merely avenues. There are no birds to be seen, such as were to be found there formerly.'26

The enthusiasm of James I and Charles II for their collections of unusual beasts and fowl was evidently not shared by their successors. Today, however, St. James's Park can still boast the Canada goose, the Barnacle goose and the Grey heron amongst its waterfowl, three of the same species as those observed during the 17th century.

The Accounts

18° Julii i6ii Lord Viscont Rochesters Bill of Charges for keeping the fowle and Beastes att St James Parke and Gardens

> Aprill for May xi^h viii^h ix^d June i6ii

Aprill i6ii

Laborers ymployed in digginge in the Springe garden, and makinge cleane the Allies there.

At xii^d Richard Ireland — xiii dayes di. — xiii^s vi^d per diem Roger Porter — iii dayes di. — iii^s vi^d

Weeders ymployed in weedinge in the Springe garden.

at vi^d per diem Barbara Davies — xxii dayes — xi^s Francis Williams — xxii dayes — xi^s Elizabeth Jepsey — vii dayes — iii^s vi^d Mary Charnter — xii dayes — vi^s

at vi^d per diem A keeper of the Springe garden George Johnson²⁷ — xxx dayes — xv'

at iiii^d per diem A keeper of the Duckes, and other Fowle, John Barnes —— xxx dayes —— x*

Aprill i6ii

Provicions

To George Johnson for money by him layed out for meate for his Majestys Fowle in the Springe garden, viz For a bushell of wheat for the guiney hens²⁸ — iiii*, for a bushell of barley for the Duckes — ii* viii*, for fleshe & bread for the Bustardes²⁹ — v* vi*, and for two broode hens to sitt upon the Fesents egges — iiii*. All is

xvi^s ii^d

To Thomas Bowles for money layed out by him for meate for the Beaver³⁰ viz for bread — vii^s, for Rootes — iii^s

 \mathbf{X}^{s}

To William Nicholls for money by him layed out for meate for the Indian beastes, 31 viz for bread and Apples — x3, for powder and shott, to kill the vermyn in the parke, — xiid

xis

To John Barnes for money laied out by him for meate for the Duckes Hearnes, ³² Crane, ³³ Goates etc viz for xiiii bushells of Oates at xviiid the b¹¹ — xxi¹³, for iii buz¹⁴ of otemeale at iiiii vid the b¹¹, — xiiii vid, for Eeles Livers and frogges for the Hearons — vid for ii b¹¹s of pease for the Pigeons — vid, for bread for the Crane — ii

xlix^s vi^d

Aprill i6ii

To Richard Wakelin for digginge and caryinge of xiiii loades of sand out of St James Parke unto the Springe garden at viii^d a loade

 ix^s $iiii^d$

Summa totalis of the month of Aprill i6ii

viii ix vid

William Palmer

May i6ii

Laborers ymployed in gatheringe of Antes for the yonge Fesantes in the Springe garden and doinge other worke there.

Richard Ireland — xiii dayes — xiii' Roger Porter — iii dayes di. — iii' vi^a

A keeper of the Springe garden George Johnson — xxxi dayes — xv^s vi^d

A keeper of the Duckes and other Fowle John Barnes —— xxxi dayes —— x* iiii^d

Provicions

To Thomas Bowles by him layed out for meat for the Beaver in St James Parke viz for bread — vii* for fruite and rootes

To Thomas Bowles, more by him laied out unto Thomas Ladbrooke and other laborers for often wateringe the yonge Elmes latelie sett in the walke before St lames Howse

To William Nicholls by him layed out for meate for the Indian beastes viz for breade — viii's, for fruite ii's

xs

 xv^s

May i6ii

To John Barnes by him layed out for meate for the Duckes, Hearnes, Storke³⁵ Goates, Pigeons Turtle Doves³⁶ and Crane, viz for xii buz of Oates at xx^d the buz — xx^t, for vi buz of Oates at xxii^d the buz — xii^t, for ii buz of Oatemeale — ix^t, for ii buz of pease — vi^s viii^d, for Eeles and livers for the Hearnes and Storke — v^s, for bread for the Crane — ii^s

liii^s viii^d

To George Johnson by him layed out for meate for the fowle in the Springe garden viz for one buz of wheat for the guiney hens — iiii' for bread and meat for the bustardes — iiii', for a buz of Oates for the great Duckes — xx^d, for a Hen to sett the Fesantes eggs upon — ii'

xis viiid

Summa totalis of the month of May i6ii viii viiid

William Palmer

June i6ii

Laborers ymployed in gatheringe Antes for the yonge Fesantes in the Springe garden, caryinge in of sand into the Allies, makinge cleane the walkes there etc.

Richard Ireland — xvi dayes — xvi Roger Porter — iii dayes di. — iiis vid

Weeders imployed in weedinge in the Springe garden.

Barbara Davies — xvi dayes — viii^s Elizabeth Williams — xvi dayes — viii^s Elizabeth Jepsey — xvi dayes — viii^s

A keeper of the Springe garden George Johnson — xxx^a daies — xv^s

A keeper of the Duckes & other Fowle John Barnes —— xxx⁶ dayes —— x⁸

June 1611

Provicions
To Thomas Bowles by him layed out for meat for the Beaver in St
James Parke viz for bread — vii^s
and for carrett rootes — iii^s

To William Nicholls by him laied out for meat for the Indian beastes viz for bread viii' for fruite ii'

To George Johnson by him layed our for meat for his Majestys Fowle in the Springe garden viz for one bushell of wheat for the guyney hens — iiii, for one bushell of barley for the great Duckes—iii

To John Barnes by him layed out for meat for his Majesteys Fowle in the Parke viz, for xii b^{lles} of Oates for the Duckes and Goates at ii^s ii^d the b^{ll} — xxvi^s, for viii b^{lls} of Oates nowe at ii^s the bushell — xvi^s — for ii b^{lls} of Pease for the Pigeons at ii^s iiii^d ye b^{ll} — vi^s viii^d, for Eeles and Livers for the Hearons and Storke — v^s, for bread for the Crane — ii^s for a pecke of wheat for the Turtle Doves — xv^d

lvis xid

 \mathbf{X}^{s}

viis

Summa totalis of the month of June i6ii vii^h xii^s v^d William Palmer

	The whole charges of these three moneths together amounteth to a	xxiii ⁿ	iiiis	viid
	viz			
	For feeding the Beasts and Fowle For Laborers and weeders & for carrieng	xii ^h	XV ^s	xi ^d
	sand into the Spring Garden For watering the yong Elmes lately	\mathbf{v}^{li}	xviis	\mathbf{X}^{d}
by Debentur ³⁷ 45 ^s 6 ^d	set neere St James To Georg Johnson keeper of the Orange		xv^s	
	trees vid per diem		xlv^s	vi^{d}
by Debentur 30s 4d	To John Barnes keeper of the Fowle			
	at iiiid per diem		XXXs	iiii ^d
	Summa totalis	xxiii	xxiii ^h iiii ^s vi	
		19 — 8	3 — 9 al	lowed

R. Salisbury³⁸

NOTES

- Museum of London, Accession No. Z6312, Viscount Rochester's accounts for the maintenance of animals in St. James's Park and Gardens, April-June 1611.
- 2. For the development of St. James's Field and environs see F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.) St. James Westminster Pt. 1 Survey of London (London, 1960) XXIX 23.
- 3. PRO. Ministers Accounts, Edward VI, 298 and 37 Elizabeth Middlesex 1450. For another garden of this name see C. L. Kingsford *The Early History of Piccadilly, Leicester Square, Soho* (Cambridge, 1925) 81
- 4. Paul Hentzner A Journey into England in 1598 (1757) 263.
- 5. (a) 16th, April 1605; Cal. of State Papers Domestic 1603-10 (London, 1857) 211. The orange tree, a native of North India, was introduced into this country from Italy in the 16th century (although a ship load of the fruit was recorded in Southampton in 1290); first cultivated by the Carew family of Beddington, Surrey, in 1595. (As one of his projects, Henry, Prince of Wales, established an orangery at St. James's Palace in 1610.)
 (b) Knyvet was also ordered to provide for fountains, walks, and waterworks to be made by him in
- tains, walks, and waterworks to be made by him in St. James's Park, houses for the reindeer, red deer, ducks, and foreign fowl; also for lodgings built for the gentlewomen of Lady Mary the King's daughter, and wages for two attendants to keep the foreign fruit trees, deer, and fowl. Cal. of State Papers Domestic 1580–1625 (London, 1872) 469.

 6. 26th Dec. 1603; Cal. of State Papers Domestic 1580–1625 (London 1872) 435. Warrant to Sir John
- 26th Dec. 1603; Cal. of State Papers Domestic 1580-1625 (London 1872) 435. Warrant to Sir John Stanhope, Vice Chamberlain to the Treasurer of the Chamber, to pay to Richard Hampton, who had been appointed mole taker in St. James's Park, the

- fee of fourpence a day and twenty shillings yearly for livery.
- 7. PRO. SP 14/62 f49

 opossum: general name of the small marsupial
 mammals of the American family Didelphyldae;
 first recorded in England in 1610.
 - cassowary: a genus of large cursorial birds related to the ostrich, inhabiting New Guinea and standing about 5 foot high, the cassowary must have bemused spectators in St. James's Park! First recorded in England in 1611. Shorter Oxford Directory (1973).
 - 'A legge and claw of the Cassowary or Emeu that dyed at St. James's Westminster' were recorded in the Musaeum Tradescantianum at Lambeth in 1656. See also Country Life (April 15 and May 13, 1971) for cassowary illustrations by Francis Barlow (1626–1704).
- Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (d. 1645) favourite of James I; accompanied the King from Scotland and served as his page, knighted 23rd December 1607; the first Scot promoted by the King to a seat in the English House of Lords, he openly adopted the principles of the Spanish party. Replaced as Keeper of St. James's Park by Henry Lord Danvers in 1613. Dictionary of National Biography 3 (London, 1908) 1081-5.
- 9. Op. cit. in Note 1.
- Edinburgh University Library. For a discussion of the album see J. L. Nevinson in 'Sketches of 17th century London' Country Life 142 (16th November 1967) 1256–1257
- 11. (a) The earliest lotteries in England sanctioned by the Government were for such purposes as the repair of harbours in 1569 and the Virginian Company in 1612. In the lottery of 1569, 40,000 chances were sold at 10/- each, the prizes being 'plate, and certain sorts of merchandises'. In 1698 lotteries, with the exception of the Royal Oak

lottery for the benefit of the Royal Fishing Company, were prohibited as common nuisances. (b) Massinger City Madam (1632) III, iii, 'Receive these Indians lately sent him from Virginia into your house'. See Bruce G. Trigger (ed.) The Handbook of North American Indians (Smithsonian Institution, 1978) for further discussion.

12. Indian beasts. According to Edward Topsell this term was used to describe any foreign animal: 'They call all strange beasts by the names of Indians, if they find them not in their own country', The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects I (London, 1658) 186. Edward Topsell (1572–1625) perpetual curate of St. Botolph Bishopsgate and author of two elaborate manuals of zoology. Topsell's exhaustive account of the prevailing zoological traditions and beliefs give his work historical value. (See *Dictionary of National Biogra*phy for further details.)

13. Balearian crane: mentioned in Topsell's treatise on birds, T. P. Harrison and F. D. Hoeniger (eds) The Fowles of Heaven or History of Birdes (Austin,

University of Texas, 1972).

14. Certain trees, resembling willows, in Pomona, Orkney, produced swollen balls at the ends of their branches which contained the embryo of a goose suspended by the bill; when ripe these fell off into the sea and took wing. The story is promulgated by (amongst others) Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Topo*graphia Hiberniae, see J. E. Harting The Ornithologie of Shakespeare (London, 1871) 247–256.

15. Bittern, Botaurus stellatus, Topsell op. cit. in note 13,

16. Jacob Larwood The Story of London Parks 4 (London, 1877) 71-2.

17. Wheatley and Cunningham (eds.) London Past and Present 3 (London, 1891) 293-7.

18. Sheffield City Libraries, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Strafford Papers, 14(90): Garrard to Lord Strafford, 3rd June 1634.

19. E. S. De Beer (ed.) The Diary of John Evelyn 3 (Oxford, 1955) 398-400.

- 20. Archaeological evidence has revealed that the elk became extinct in Britain during the Boreal period, c. 7000 BC. Sawn palm segments of elk antler have been found in a late 15th century refuse dump at Baynard's Castle, possibly imports from Scandi-
- 21. Arabian sheep. Perhaps the animal described is the fat-tailed sheep, as illustrated in Van Meer's album; first recorded during the time of Herodotus, ϵ . 450 BC. See H. Epstein The Origin of the Domestic

Animals of Africa 2 (London, 1971) 160. 22. Peter Mundy The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1606-1667 The Hakluyt Society, Vol. V, Second Series, No. LXXVIII (London 1936) 155-8.

23. Mercurius Publicus, 8th Jan., 1663, 3.24. Christopher Lever The Naturalized Animals of the British Isles (London, 1977) 2.

25. Op. cit. in Note 4.26. W. H. Quarrell and M. More (eds.) London in 1710, from the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach

(London 1934) 12.

- 27. On 29th Nov. 1601, a payment of £6 was made to Johnson, Keeper of the Spring Garden for a scaffold which he had erected against the park wall in the Tilt Yard for the use of Count Egmond to see the tilters. Privy Council Registers (PC2)26.475. 28. Guiney hen: a native of Africa and also known as

the turkey hen at this time, the latter having been introduced into England from the New World via Spain in 1524. Harting op. cit. in Note 14, 176-179.

29. The Bustard or Great Bustard (Otis tarda) the largest European bird is thus described by Edward Topsell in his treatise on birds, (op. cit. in Note 13): "These fowles love the open and plane Fields . . . They are common to many Countreys, to Spayne, Greece, England, Scotland . . . In Belgia, especialle in Holland, they alsoe are very plentifull. The Great Bustard is mentioned as early as 1544 (see W. Yarrell A History of British Birds 2 (London 1856) 1428) and features in the list of game provided for a banquet given in the Inner Temple Hall on 16th October 1555:

'Bustards, 10s each; Swans 10s; Cranes 10s;

Pheasants 4s; Turkeys 4s'.

The list first appeared in Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales reprinted in Yarrell ibid. (433)

A specimen of bone from a Great Bustard was found in the 1520 refuse at Baynard's Castle, London and it is believed that this bird must have been obtained outside London possibly from the Sussex Downs or the Chilterns. See D. Bramwell 'Bird remains from medieval London' The London Naturalist 54 (1975) 15-20.

The Bustard became extinct in Britain by about 1838 as a result of changes in land usage, collection of skins and eggs, and its use as a food.

30. Beaver (Castor fiber Linnaeus 1758). It is possible that the MS is referring either to the European beaver or the North American beast. Literary references suggest the presence of beaver in Wales in the 10th and 12th centuries whilst the latest archaeological 'find' comes from Wirrall Park Farm, Somerset and is dated to 11th-12th century (skeletal remains identified by Jennie Coy of DoÉ Faunal Remains Project, Southampton University). The beaver became extinct in Britain soon after the 12th century due to deforestation and hunting (G. B. Corbet 'The distribution of mammals, in historic times' in *The Changing Flora and Fauna of Britain* (London, 1974) 179–202).

31. Indian beasts, see Note 12.

- 32. Heron; the common heron is indigenous to Britain and resident in most parts of the British Isles. Baynard's Castle, London, deposit 100 (1499-1500) yielded two bones of Grey heron Ardea cinerea (Bramwell op. cit. in note 29). The heron was hunted with hawks and regarded as a delicacy (Yarrell op. cit. in note 29, 228).
- 33. Crane, Grus grus. Remains found at Baynard's Castle, in deposit 100, 1499-1500 and deposits 1 and 23, 1520 (Bramwell 1975). Harrison and Cowles have identified bones of the Sarus Crane, Grus antigone from Bronze and Iron Age sites in Britain (Bronze Age/early Iron Age site, King's Cave, Loch Tarbet, Isle of Jura, Scotland. Iron Age site, Glastonbury Lake Village, Somerset). See also Notes 13 and 29.

34. 'buz' i.e. bushell:— a measure of capacity contain-

ing 4 pecks or 8 gallons.

35. Stork. The white stork is a very rare visitor to this country-its winter quarters are in northern Africa and during the summer months the stork migrates to Spain, France, Holland, Germany, Poland and Russia (Yarrell op. cit. in note 29, 586). Turtle dove; a summer visitor, coming from its

breeding grounds in Africa, arrives in England

- about the end of April (Yarrell op. cit. in note 29, 310).

 37. By debentur, i.e. a voucher given in the Royal
- 37. By debentur, i.e. a voucher given in the Royal household, the Exchequer or the Government office, certifying to the recipient the sum due to him
- for services rendered, salary, expenses, etc.

 38. Robert Salisbury (i.e. Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury), Lord High Treasurer of England—d. 1612; the office was then put in commission.

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