

THE 17TH CENTURY "COCK ALE-HOUSE" AT TEMPLE BAR AND SOME FULHAM STONEWARE BOTTLES

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INTRODUCTION

In about 1672, in King Charles II's reign, John Dwight (c. 1635–1703), who was a trained chemist and ceramic enthusiast, embarked on a new career with the aim of commercially reproducing both fine china, as imported from the East, and also the non-porous salt-glazed stoneware drinking and other vessels which had long been brought to England from the German Rhineland area. He established himself at Fulham, some 6 miles up river from London Bridge. With the stoneware, at least, he achieved remarkable success and was able for the first time to establish the manufacture in England.

During the 1970s it was possible to undertake extensive archaeological excavations at the Pottery at Fulham where the business which Dwight began has been carried on. A definitive report is being completed and published separately¹. The present mainly historical essay refers to the context of one feature only of the excavations, the evidence which appeared of the making in the first phase of successful manufacture, from 1675 or 1676, of a uniquely large supply of stoneware bottles for one customer, with their decorative medallion displaying a Cock and the letters "H. C."

Some of these bottles, with the same medallion device, were already known. More than 50 years ago, discussing an example which was excavated at Oxford and 2 more from London, E. T. Leeds

readily saw them, in comparison with more or less contemporary Rhineland vessels of similar form, as products of Dwight's factory. 15 years later, in 1948, an example was excavated at the Pottery itself. Leeds had also been able to suggest that this design could well have been made for a certain Henry Crosse as the master of the Cock Ale-house at Temple Bar in London, a 17th century house for eating and drinking to which (among many such establishments) visits were recorded by Samuel Pepys in his *Diary* of the 1660s. Although, as Leeds also noted, this had long been assumed to have been the same house as the later very well known Cock Tavern within Temple Bar on the north side of Fleet Street, it had recently been shown to have been a short distance away, immediately outside Temple Bar on the south side of the Strand (Plates 1 and 2)².

Following the 1970s excavations further enquiry to seek confirmation of the context and likely period of manufacture of these bottles seemed to be important. This has led, tortuously but inexorably, into unexpected ramifications, such as activity in the brewing trade, drinking of bottled ale in Charles II's London and previously unexplored aspects of topographical and family history. There are uncertain aspects in the story, and Leeds' association of the bottles with Henry Crosse still cannot be claimed to have been completely proved, but it appears to have been put beyond reason-

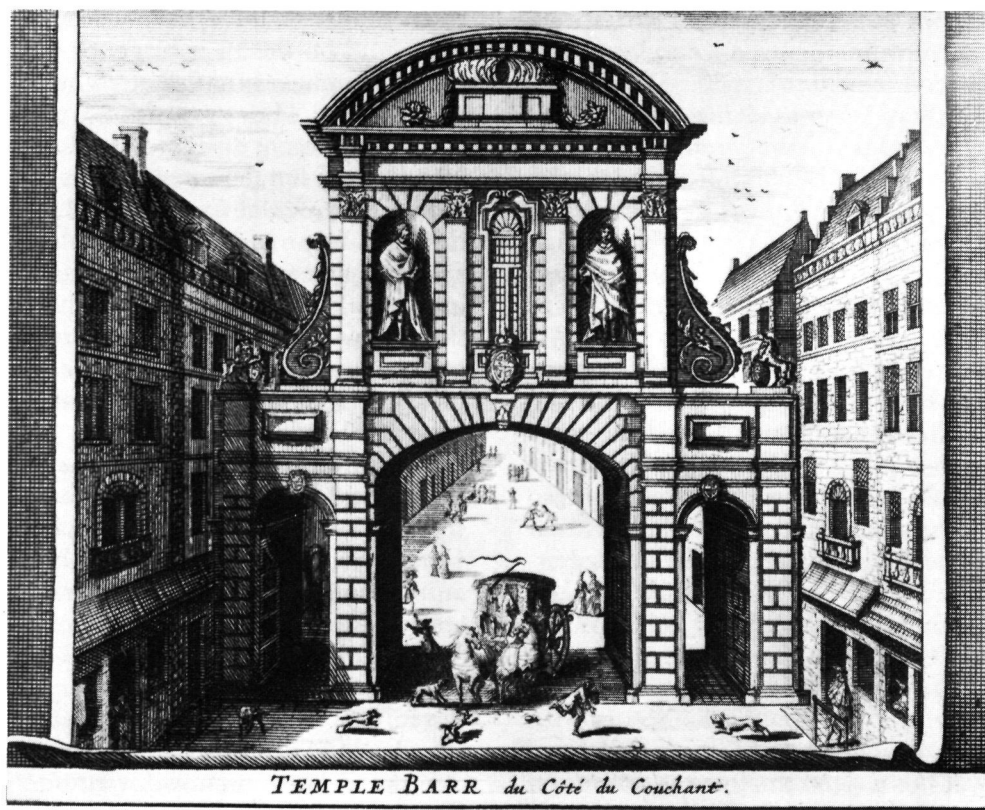


Plate 2 Temple Bar, west side, showing location of the Cock Ale-house adjoining it on the south side of the Strand, after De Ram's *Views of London*, c. 1690 (Guildhall Library).

artistry. Undoubtedly this must have added significantly to the production costs, both in the large-scale provision of the moulds by specialist craftsmen and also in the increased likelihood of damage occurring to the ware during firing. Whether or not very profitably, however, Dwight was able to offer the London retailers (the members of the Glass-sellers' Company) prices which nearly enough matched the cost of the imported ware, of which at this time there was still probably a current shortage owing to Charles II's recent Third Dutch War and the continuing fighting on the Continent³. He had already in 1672 taken steps to obtain a 14-year patent for hopefully

making both the "China and Persian ware", as imported from the East, and also the stoneware, and he was later able to get this monopoly effectively extended until 1698; it was not until the 1690s that he began to encounter English competition in making stoneware⁴. By March 1676 the Glass-sellers' Company, whose members had sole rights for the retail sale of glass and all forms of pottery in London and the immediately surrounding area, were willing to make a 3-year agreement to take the whole of a Fulham output of approved forms of stoneware in preference to imported ware, channelling this through a depot on the City waterfront; this contract, assuming it came into

operation, was renegotiated with price and other refinements a year later and it will have run until 1680. Afterwards, though there is no evidence of desire by either side for further renewal of the arrangement, it is clear from both the archaeological and historical evidence that a steady output of a developing range of both the ordinary and some finer stoneware products was maintained at Fulham⁵.

The excavations produced very large deposits of stoneware waste buried on site from both the experimental and the early production phases. What was recovered had mostly been thoroughly broken up, so usually producing parts only of individual vessels in the excavated areas, but a generally detailed view was obtained of the developments up to about 1690. When production for the market began it was principally of globular-type drinking mugs and the "narrow-neck" bottles with handles which are the concern here. These latter copied the form of the mass-produced Frechen (near Cologne) bottles which had been made in large quantities for the English market in recent years, and at this stage at Fulham, while some were made in smaller and larger sizes, production was concentrated on what must have been nominally the "quart" size, relating rather to the small "Troy" quart of the market place and the wine merchant than to the larger statutory "ale quart" of Queen Elizabeth. The bottles are usually a little over 20cm in height and were used not only for table service but increasingly, with the recently developed English "green-glass" bottles also, for bottling of wine and other drink; they were designed, if required, to be corked and secured with packthread⁶.

While the Fulham use of the "Bellarmine" face masks was limited and appeared quickly to have been given up, the range of medallion designs, many of

them found to have been used on both mugs and bottles, was large, particularly in the first phase of satisfactory large-scale production. The excavations produced over 150 different designs. A relatively few included personal names, initials, arms or a date, and evidently some of these were intended to provide compliments or gifts for Dwight's personal friends and other individuals. Many more of the series, though without personal identification, were clearly designed to appeal especially to keepers of wine-taverns, inns or ale-houses, showing popular signs such as, for example, the Mermaid, Man in the Moon and Fox and Goose, but others seem to have been aimed to appeal more widely, with representations of birds and animals and a series of popular heraldic crests. Another large group was a full range of the Royal and national heraldic arms and badges, mostly incorporating the initials "C. R." or a cipher for King Charles II. This initial variety may probably have been mainly for promotional purposes rather than to meet specific orders for particular designs. In any case it was not apparently maintained for very long, and a change, which might well have resulted directly from the conclusion of the contract with the Glass-sellers' Company in March 1676, with both adequate assurance for future production and evidently agreement in detail as to what was to be produced, seems to have greatly reduced the range of designs which continued to be used; these were now predominantly the Royal and national arms and badges, still with the "C. R." initials. It nevertheless appeared that the proportion of mugs and bottles decorated with the medallions was still large (though not cylindrical-form mugs, which also began to be made in large numbers but normally without medallion decoration); and in some cases examples from many individual moulds (up to as

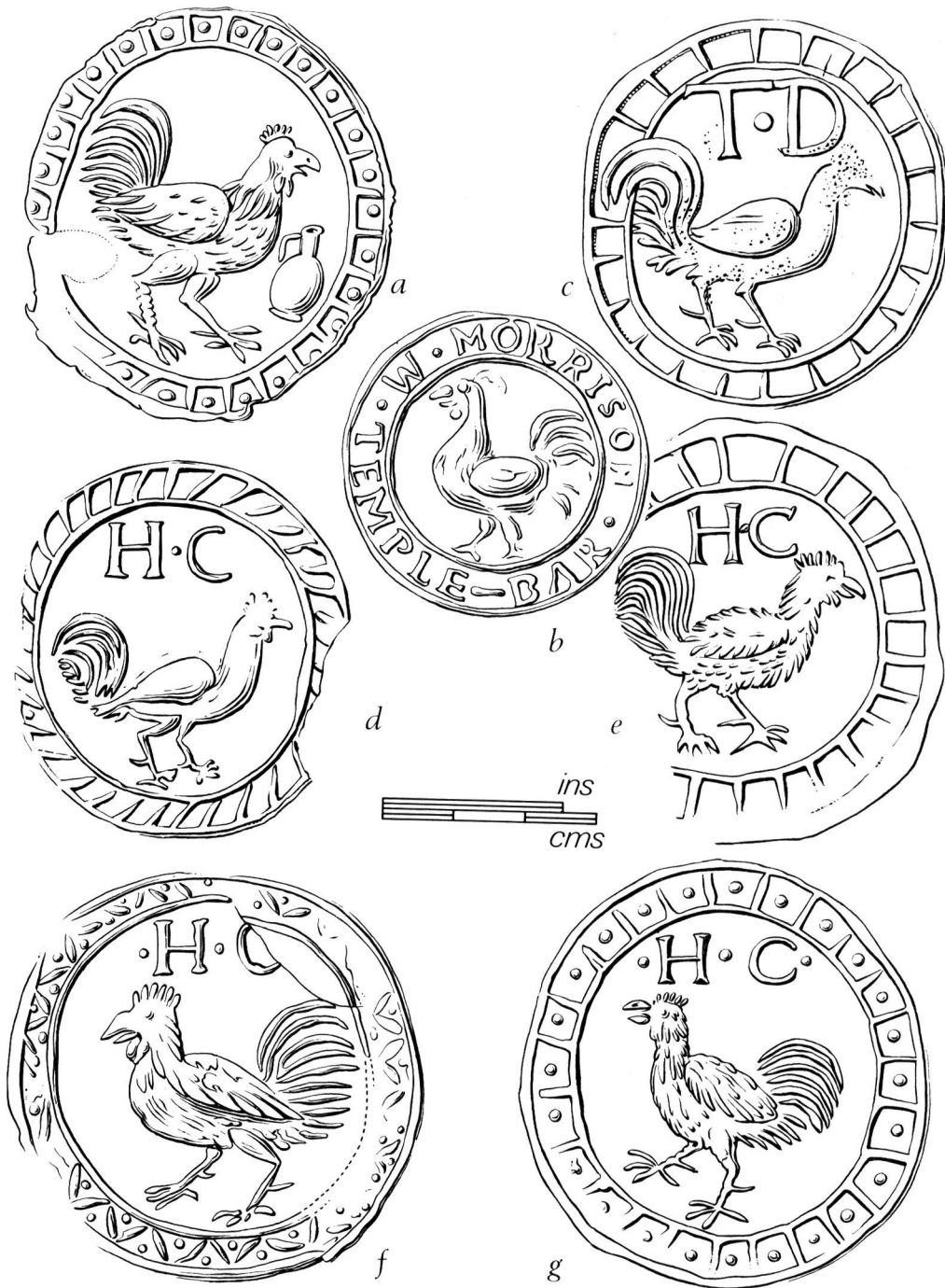
many as 20 in one case, including different sizes used on different sizes of vessels) have been identified in the same design⁷. Use of some of the designs is judged to have gone on for some years. However, within probably less than a decade, it had ceased altogether and henceforth all the common stoneware was undecorated. There are no designs with corresponding emblems for King James II, who succeeded in 1685, and there has been no indication that the decoration was revived in Dwight's lifetime⁸.

Bottle sherds with the Cock and "H. C." medallions provided an entirely unique case among the personalised examples, running on to a late stage in parallel with the continuing Royal and related designs. Of a total of some 1250 complete or part medallions from all vessel forms recovered in the whole "production phase" series approximately 70 were of this design, comparable totals being shown only by some of the Royal and national series. No combination was found of the Cocks with "Bellarmine" masks. With only very few exceptions (3 at most), all examples appeared to be clearly from bottles rather than mugs, and although there was some variation in the medallion sizes only the "quart" size of bottle has been recognised. Use was identified for these medallions of as many as 15 individual moulds, suggesting, as did also the find contexts, that quantities of the bottles were probably made in batches over a considerable time, with the individual moulds not remaining serviceable for very long. All the variants except one displayed the Cock facing to the left.

Because of probable rapid accumulation of waste stoneware on the site, irregularities in its burial and the relatively short period of time involved, there must be uncertainty in inferring any sequence. The indications are of a possible group of 6 variants with different

decorative borders beginning the series in the early production phase, at some time in 1675–76; together these account for 12 of the total (example in Fig. 1(f)). Following on would be as many as 8 variants of a single further design with a plainer "cog and dot" border (in one case without the dots) accounting for over 50 specimens (including also that found at the Pottery in 1948) (example in Fig. 1(g)). A final variant, with the Cock exceptionally facing right, produced 5 specimens and appeared only in deposits all considered to be of relatively late date, probably the 1680s, but nevertheless their plain "cog" border, without dots, is similar to some of the earliest in the Fulham series as a whole (Fig. 1(e))⁹. Two further examples were found of a left-facing Cock, without "H. C.", but have been identified as impressions made prior to cutting of the initials on 2 of the moulds. The excavations also provided a single specimen of an interesting "Cock and Bottle" design, also without initials on a mug; this was from a relatively early deposit and, as will be seen below, the design is of particular relevance in the present context (Fig. 1(a))¹⁰.

Relatively very few finds of Dwight's stoneware vessels decorated with any of the large variety of the medallions are known at present to have been recovered from sites elsewhere, though, in view of what was evidently a limited period of manufacture and sale, this is perhaps not surprising. However, of 10 examples in all at present known from various parts of the inner London area, no fewer than 4, all now in the Museum of London, have the Cock and "H. C." design. The 2 known to Leeds, both from the former Guildhall Museum and incomplete, came respectively from a site in some part of Fleet Street and from Blomfield Street in the Moorfields area; the former has the exceptional right-facing Cock from the



same mould as the variety found in the excavations at Fulham and the other is left-facing with "cog-and-dot" border¹¹. The others, both from the former London Museum and intact, and also left-facing with "cog-and-dot" border, are from another Fleet Street site and from Storey's Gate, Westminster (Plate 3)¹². The similar Oxford left-facing example, also intact, was found in 1910 during work on the north side of the Radcliffe Camera and is in the Ashmolean Museum; with this were found large parts of 2 more Fulham bottles, both showing a medallion formed from the initials "R. (&) M. F.", which Leeds identified as made almost certainly for Roger and Mary Fowler, who in the 1670s kept a cook-shop in nearby Catte Street, Mary Fowler dying in 1677¹³. Since Dwight then still had family and scientific links with Oxford, where he had grown up and studied at Christ Church and appears certainly in the 1650s to have served as an assistant to the Hon. Robert Boyle in his famous chemical laboratory, and since it was also found in the Fulham excavations that he apparently made vessels decorated with personal medallions for at least 2 more people there (Robert Plot, also a chemist, who in 1677 included an enthusiastic first account of the work at Fulham in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, and Edmund Brookes, master of the Cross Keys Inn, who was the then Oxford postmaster), it is not unlikely that he might himself have sent or brought these and other vessels specially to Oxford as gifts.



Plate 3 Fulham stoneware bottle with Cock and "H.C." medallion (Cock facing L.) (Museum of London).

This, however, is not the full tally of the known bottles which are relevant to the present enquiry. There are 2 further Cock and "H.C." bottles known in private collections; these both have the exceptional right-facing Cock but from a further mould which was not represented in the excavations at Fulham, though the border form appeared on other medallion designs, some of them from early contexts (Fig. 1(d)). The first-known of these was

Fig. 1 Medallion varieties.

a: Cock and Bottle. *b*: W. MORRISON. TEMPLE-BAR. *c*: T.D. *d*: H.C. (Cock facing R.). *e*: H.C. (Cock facing R.). *f*: H.C. (Cock facing L.). *g*: H.C. (Cock facing L.). *a* from Fulham Pottery excavations; *b*, *c* and *d* known only in collections, not found in excavations; *e* from Fulham Pottery excavations, example found also in Fleet Street, London; *f* from Fulham Pottery excavations (1 of 6 variants with "decorative" border design); *g* from Fulham Pottery excavations (1 of 8 variants with "cog and dot" border design, examples found also in London and at Oxford). For further details see text.

Drawings: C. M. Green

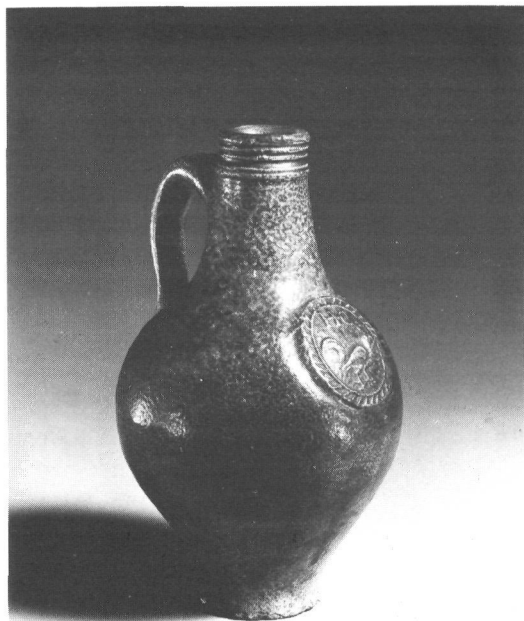


Plate 4 Fulham stoneware bottle with Cock and "H.C." medallion (Cock facing R.) (Jonathan Horne, London).

published, unprovenanced and attributed to Fulham, by J. and E. Hodgkin in 1891, when it was in their collection; it was also exhibited in London in 1933 and noted by Leeds in a footnote, and it remains in private hands.¹⁴ The other, also unprovenanced and with unknown history, was exhibited and published for the first time in 1985 (Plate 4)¹⁵. Further, when the Hodgkins published their book in 1891, they recorded that there was an almost exactly similar bottle to their own with a Cock medallion in the collection of Joseph Mayer, but having the initials "T. D." instead of "H. C.". This is known since to have been destroyed in the bombing at Liverpool in World War II, but it is on record there that at one time there was also a second example, which was sold; and this is doubtless the bottle with the

Cock and "T. D.", plain "cog" border and again a right-facing Cock, which has recently been noted in the Blakesley Hall Museum, Birmingham, after being previously unknown to students of Dwight's work (Fig. 1(c))¹⁶. Finally, 3 more Cock-medallion bottles, of which also Leeds was unaware, have been brought to notice successively during the present century; these, all also unprovenanced, have a design with a left-facing Cock and encircling it the name and place "W. MORRISON TEMPLE BAR", so also presenting a pertinent claim to consideration here; all 3 are of notably smaller capacity (Fig. 1(b))¹⁷. Regrettably, of all those in the series which it has so far been possible to measure, only the Oxford example has been found to provide anything approaching the capacity of the legal "ale quart".

While it is speculation, it seems highly probable that the source of the unprovenanced bottles (7 in all) which have been referred to was a much earlier discovery, at the Fulham Pottery itself, in the later 1860s. This was said to have been made, during rebuilding work, in "a closed chamber, arched" (most likely to have been the base of one of Dwight's kilns), and to have comprised, with a heap of debris, 20–30 examples of Dwight's stoneware vessels, apparently little damaged and mostly bottles; previously, apart from a collection of his more artistic work which had been preserved by his descendants at the Pottery, Dwight's stoneware had been entirely unknown. The cache was dispersed to collectors and others and there was no detailed record of it, but a brief later account (by L. M. Solon) said that there were, among others, examples with medallions showing "cocks and stags". It is known definitely that 4 specific extant bottles, 3 of them with varieties of "Bellarmine" masks as well as medallions and now in the British

Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum, came from the cache, together with pieces of Dwight's early "Westerwald-type" cobalt and manganese decorated stoneware, and on this basis there is good reason to suppose that the assemblage would have been brought together in about 1675–76; it could indeed have served for demonstration during discussions related to the agreement in March 1676 with the Glass-sellers' Company. As will be indicated below, this date approximately would also be the most likely for introducing the succession of the medallion designs of these unprovenanced bottles into the history of the Cock Ale-house. In this connection it is noteworthy that none of the 3 medallion varieties of these further bottles were found in the 1970s excavations; and of all of Dwight's medallion designs known up to the present time the "T. D." and "MORRISON" designs, with one other, were the only designs not so found¹⁸.

It is hardly possible to estimate with any assurance how many, in particular, of the evidently very numerous "H. C." bottles may have been made successfully with use of the 16 (or perhaps more) medallion moulds with this design. As was found from a small number for other designs which were recovered in the excavations, the moulds themselves were cut (with 2 designs back to back) on discs of a soft clunchstone, and their use would have been much less economical than the Rhineland method, at least at Frechen, in which a sandstone original served to produce working moulds as needed in clay or a form of plaster of paris¹⁹. Certainly, as appeared in the Fulham excavations, the vessel wastage in production here was considerable and, apart from other mishaps, disfiguring damage to the medallions themselves was fairly frequent. Nevertheless, the number of "H. C." bottles delivered in all to the customer

should have run at least into hundreds and perhaps well into four figures. As a comparison, as will be further referred to below, the household records in this period of the 5th Earl (afterwards 1st Duke) of Bedford show purchases from London glass-sellers during the 1670s and early 1680s totalling something of the order of 300 quart-size stoneware bottles every year, while at the same time the rival glass quart bottles were also being bought by the household in similarly large and increasing numbers. After production was begun at Fulham the Earl's stoneware would probably have been mainly Dwight's, but, while some of it may have had medallions, at least initially, there has been no indication that any of it was required to be personally identified for the Earl and no personal medallion has been found. After 1675 the stoneware price paid by the Earl settled at 3s 2d per dozen bottles, and the glass bottles also had come down to about the same level. It will have been one of Dwight's future concerns that, by the mid-1680s, with no monopoly rights to inhibit competition or increased production, the price of the glass bottles came down further to no more than 2s 6d per dozen²⁰.

As a whole, the archaeological evidence and that of the bottles shows clearly that, whatever the nature and scope of the business of the particular customer, his requirements were an important ingredient, at least so far as the provision of decorated stoneware was concerned, in the first phase of its manufacture at Fulham. The customer's business, moreover, must have been large; and, since the bottles were not cheap, he would probably not lightly, whatever may have been the practice in the household of the Earl of Bedford, have failed to ensure their continuing re-use as far as possible. Almost certainly the principal purpose would appear to have been the bottling of drink.

THE COCK ALE-HOUSE AND HENRY CROSSE

Despite a good deal of confusion in the past there has been no problem in confirming the existence and precise location in the 1670s of the house at Temple Bar called the "Cock Ale-house" and the association with it of a Henry Crosse. A few years before Leeds took up the matter of these bottles Dr Kenneth Rogers had shown, on the evidence of John Strype's updated version, published in 1720, of John Stow's Elizabethan *Survey of London*, that the Cock Ale-house with which Strype was familiar was the first house outside Temple Bar on the south side of the Strand and thus within the Duchy of Lancaster Liberty and the parish of St. Clement Danes. Rogers noted also that the name "Henry Crosse" appeared in the appropriate place in a St. Clement Danes Hearth Tax list (of 1674–75) which had been published²¹. Associated with the house, as had been well known, were examples of a trade token, of the kind used by many traders throughout

England from 1648 until 1672 (after which their use was prohibited): this shows a Cock with the inscription "THE COCK ALE HOUSE AT TEMPLE BARR", initials "H. (&) M. C." and date "1655" (Plate 5)²². Leeds pointed out the resemblance of the token to the stoneware medallions and that no other design was known which corresponded²³.

Even so, the further investigation encountered initial problems, since it was found in the continuous surviving series of the St. Clement Danes rate books and churchwardens' accounts that Henry Crosse's name appeared at the property adjoining Temple Bar only from 1658 to 1676, being last rated in March 1676, with a successor appearing the following year²⁴. Thus there was no coincidence either with the date of the trade token or with the archaeological evidence that production of the Cock and other decorated stoneware bottles at Fulham did not begin before 1675 at the earliest and apparently continued for some years. However, it was then found that Crosse



Plate 5 Trade token issued by Henry and Mary Crosse 1655. (Museum of London.) The inscription is *THE. COCK. ALE. HOVSE/*AT. TEMPLE. BARR. 1655/H.M.C.

Diameter 15.5mm. See Akerman (1849) No. 729; Williamson (1889–91) London No. 3037.

Photo: Barry Grey, Museum of London.

appeared earlier in the rate lists from 1653 to 1657 at more modest premises, which were in the Temple Bar ward on the north side of the Strand, probably more or less opposite the later premises²⁵; and, more importantly, the situation from 1676 was left more open by finding Crosse's will, written just before he died at Clerkenwell in April 1681, in which he recorded that, with other property, he possessed "a moiety of the Messuage or Inne called the Cock next to Temple Barr"²⁶. A somewhat earlier probable final date for the Fulham bottles thus appeared than had seemed likely on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone, particularly those with the right-facing Cock which were found in the latest-dated deposits at Fulham.

It was possible to establish more of the earlier history. Crosse's predecessor from 1638 to 1657 at what became the Cock Ale-house was a Richard Hyett or Hyatt, a member of the Vintners' Company, and the house was a well known wine house or tavern, the Rose, of which the name hereabouts went back at least to Elizabethan times²⁷. The terrace adjoining Temple Bar which included this, seen later to have consisted of probably 5 four-storeyed houses with attics, built in imitation of Palladian style and extending west to a narrow lane known as Cross Keys Alley (Plates 1 and 2), might have been built in about the 1630s, not long before Hyett took over. There is no sign in the rate lists of later interruption of occupation in this terrace; the area escaped in the Great Fire of 1666²⁸. Thus, when Crosse was admitted, he had changed the sign and character of the house, though carrying on a business in which he was previously established nearby, and his speciality was ale.

During the period covered by the *Diary*, throughout the 1660s, Samuel Pepys recorded at least 9 visits to the Cock Ale-

house²⁹. He did not name the master or any of the staff or say what he drank on any of these occasions. However, on one visit in 1661 there was entertainment with playing of music, in 1667 he was served with his drink in his coach, and in 1668, on St. George's Day, after a holiday outing to the Tower of London with Elizabeth Knipp, Elizabeth Pierce and her daughter and Mrs Foster and seeing the Crown Jewels, they came on here by river for a meal and he had a merry time and ate a lobster. Another diarist of the period, who recorded a visit in 1671 (during the period of the rebuilding of Temple Bar), was Jeffrey Boys, a young lawyer of Gray's Inn³⁰. Probably, as at the later Cock Tavern in Fleet Street, the lawyers from the near-by Inns of Court and Chancery would have provided a considerable part of the clientele.

A further reference which has long been well known but in the present context points forward strongly towards later association with the Fulham bottles was a notice which appeared in the *Weekly Intelligencer* at the beginning of July 1665, when the Great Plague was already seriously affecting this area³¹. It announced that "the master of the Cock and Bottle, commonly called the Cock Ale-house, at Temple Bar, hath dismissed his servants, and shut up his house, for this Long Vacation, intending (God willing) to return at Michaelmas next", and it invited persons having accounts to settle "or farthings belonging to the said house" to present themselves before 8 July. The reference to the Vacation supports the particular link with the legal profession, and there is the mention of the trade tokens as still current, but the alternative, and apparently at that time official, name "Cock and Bottle" seems especially significant. This appears, at least in London, to have been a still rare innovation of this period (this case could

indeed be the earliest recorded) and it is generally considered to have been intended to advertise the availability of ale both on tap (i.e. cock) and in the bottle³².

No surviving Hearth Tax list for this part of St. Clement's was found from the 1660s, but in the 1670s, with an exceptionally high rating of 24 hearths, Henry Crosse's premises were evidently large, and they may well have extended into the adjoining house to the west or premises at the rear which were linked by a yard with Cross Keys Alley³³. There is no sign that the property was at all affected by the grandiose rebuilding of Temple Bar undertaken in 1670–72. Although from the 1680s the available premises appear from the rate lists to have been somewhat reduced in size, Crosse's successor was assessed for the special Grants-in-Aid to the Crown of 1693–95 on an annual rental of as much as £110³⁴.

The St. Clement Danes and other records show that Henry Crosse's wife was Mary, agreeing with the initials of the trade token; she was to survive him. Their second son, Henry, died very young in 1663. By 1664 the elder son, John, was 8, and there were 3 daughters, all younger³⁵. From 1672, although Crosse continued to be rated at the Cock, he was nevertheless found to have been rated also for a large residence of 15 hearths in the fashionable Clerkenwell Close, rather less than 1 mile distant from Temple Bar, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at which he and his family had been living when he died in 1681³⁶. In fact, as will be considered further below, it then also appeared that he had been rated earlier, since about 1664, for a smaller house of 6 hearths near Clerkenwell Close. While, as was to emerge, there were other considerations, it is probable that, although maintaining his interest at the Cock, he had moved his family residence to

Clerkenwell at that time, when in any case conditions for the family at the Cock would have become increasingly cramped³⁷. Finally, after March 1676, there is the change in the rated occupier at the Cock. Crosse's name in the rate lists is replaced by that of a William Dorrington, and this remains up to and including 1694–95; Dorrington is specifically documented at the "Cock Ale-house" in 1691 in a *London Gazette* advertisement for a dinner at the Merchant Taylors' Hall³⁸. The fact that, when the Fulham bottles were made, Mary Crosse's initial did not appear with those of her husband, as on the 1655 token, would be consistent with the probability of Crosse's interest in the later part of his life being no longer that of resident master.

Unexpectedly, a number of links appeared with Fulham, any one of which might have led to direct acquaintance between Crosse and Dwight after the latter had come from Lancashire to live there in about 1672, but there is nothing conclusive. Certainly, as appeared from his will, Crosse had acquired quite extensive leases of manorial farmlands here, though they were in the eastern part of the large Fulham parish, close to Chelsea Creek and well away from Fulham village further up river where Dwight established himself³⁹. The most notable link might have been through the distinguished scholar and antiquarian, Elias Ashmole, from whose former servant, John Fox, Dwight appears to have taken over the lease of the house he first occupied at Fulham; Ashmole had chambers in the Middle Temple, close to the Cock, and had himself visited the Fulham house in 1666. But although, in association with the Hon. Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke in particular, and other members of the Royal Society. Ashmole would certainly have been later kept well informed about

Dwight's ambitious work and may have taken direct interest in it, there is nothing to prove such a link⁴⁰. A further notable coincidence was that, of 3 "loving friends" who were acknowledged and given the customary token bequests in Crosse's will, the first-named, Thomas Frewen (1630–1702), himself had a large country house adjoining Fulham village and at the north end of the lane which ran past Dwight's Pottery. He was a lawyer from a Sussex family, who from 1679 became M.P. for Rye; in 1661, at least, he had chambers in the Inner Temple, and he had acquired his Fulham house the previous year by his first marriage and it remained in his family until 1735⁴¹. However, there is no reason to think that Frewen was particularly acquainted with Dwight; it was not found, for example, that Dwight made presentation stoneware for him with a personal medallion as for another close neighbour, Captain Richard Woodward, who lived at the south end of the same lane, and indeed it seems likely, although Frewen was elected as a Fulham manorial reeve in 1674, that he did not live much here after the death of his wife in 1666 and his remarriage; most likely, perhaps, the particular help which Crosse owed to him was in connection with his acquisition of property in Fulham and elsewhere. Another lawyer and close neighbour at Temple Bar with possible Fulham connections was the leading Middle Temple barrister, Sir John Maynard, who before the Restoration was Protector's Serjeant and afterwards, with his knighthood conferred in 1660, King's Serjeant; he lived from 1657 to 1667 in the terrace which included the Cock. However, once again, it did not appear that there was any close link between him and the Maynard family which at this time owned an important Fulham property, now Sandford House, which is not far from Crosse's farmland near Chelsea

Creek⁴². Finally an intriguing possibility (with an interesting archaeological sequel) would have been a possible link through the noted goldsmith and pioneer banker, Robert Blanchard, who bought a house in Fulham, at Parsons Green, in 1666 which was his out-of-town family residence until 1681, when he died, 3 months after Crosse. Blanchard had set up in business in 1648 in the same terrace adjoining the Cock (then the Rose), and after the new Temple Bar was completed in 1672 moved his premises a short distance into a probably rebuilt house which immediately adjoined the gateway itself and the eastern side of the Cock; this established the business (which became Child's Bank) at the address (No. 1, Fleet Street) where it still remains, and in fact by 1750 the Bank had extended its premises to include the house which had been the Cock. A particular connection was that Windsor Sandys of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (son of a former courtier, Evesham M.P. and promoter of navigation schemes, William Sandys), who temporarily became Dwight's partner at Fulham during the 2 crucial years in which the stoneware manufacture was got under way, in 1674 seems likely to have taken a house at Parsons Green which was very close to Blanchard's. However, although Crosse's son and a son-in-law later had dealings with the Bank, there has been no evidence or indication that Blanchard knew Sandys or Dwight⁴³. The archaeological sequel was in about 1880, when, after the demolition of Temple Bar, the Bank's then existing property, including (though this was not known at the time) that on the site of the Cock, was pulled down for rebuilding. The senior partner, F. G. Hilton Price, who had devoted much interest to the history of the Bank and related matters and was also an archaeologist of wide interests, afterwards becoming Director of the

Society of Antiquaries from 1894 to 1909, contributed an account of the discoveries on the site to the *Transactions* in 1890⁴⁴. The finds included "Bellarmine" bottles and fragmented stoneware, and the particularly interesting feature is that some of the stoneware was very unusually described as "claret-coloured", which is now seen to have been a notable characteristic of much of Dwight's experimental early stoneware from the site at Fulham, since he used manganese for the colouring. Unfortunately, none of this particular material from Temple Bar was illustrated or has been able to be traced; and although it is recorded that the Fleet Street "H.C." bottle which was in the London Museum, referred to above, was from Hilton Price's collection it appears unlikely that it was from this site⁴⁵.

It would not, of course, have been necessary for there to have been any special contact between Crosse and Dwight. Supplies of the Fulham stoneware bottles with special medallions could have been ordered by Crosse through a local glass-seller, either before or after the making of the agreement with the Company in March 1676; and indeed the glass-seller concerned might have been supplying imported stoneware bottles for many years previously. It has not been possible, on the basis of the Fulham excavations, to identify any other public houses in the vicinity for which the Fulham stoneware was certainly made or supplied, although in some cases the signs would have been apposite; thus a new Rose, for which vessels with the English Rose badge with "C.R.", one of the most numerous of all the Fulham medallions, would have been appropriate, was opened by the mid-1670s in the terrace adjoining the Cock with a John Hazard as master and its continuing history up to the 1770s is well documented⁴⁶. From the mid-1670s also the only glass-seller supplying the house-

hold of the Earl of Bedford at Bedford House not far away appears to have been Thomas Apthorpe, whose shop was near the corner of Drury Lane and Long Acre⁴⁷. A local resident in Covent Garden for whom Dwight made medallioned stoneware, with his name in full and the date "1676", probably as a gift, was Sir Philip Mathews, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society. On the other hand, no evidence was found in the records of the Inner or Middle Temple that stoneware was bought at this period; glass bottles and cheap earthenware mugs are recorded and, although the medallions found at Fulham included the "Agnus Dei" or "Lamb and Flag" device which was used by the Middle Temple, this was also a common tavern sign⁴⁸.

The context of the "MORRISON" and "T.D." Cock bottles referred to above has not been satisfactorily established, but it is difficult to avoid seeing them as likely to have been linked with the Cock Alehouse and, in view of their probable dating to 1675-76, to have been not far removed in time from whatever event or circumstances may have led to the change in the rated occupation after the long tenure in the name of Henry Crosse. In contrast with the "H.C." bottles, it seems improbable that they were made in large quantity. Since these latter must also be assumed to have been first made at about the same period, use of the alternative identifications must quickly, for whatever reasons, have been decided to be inappropriate.

In the case of "W. MORRISON" it is quite probable that the stoneware bottles do not stand alone, for in the British Museum there is a small diamond-shaped copper plaque with the name "WILLIAM MORRISON TEMPLE BAR" engraved on both sides and in the centre (but without a Cock) the figure "3" (Plate 6). This was published as a form of trade

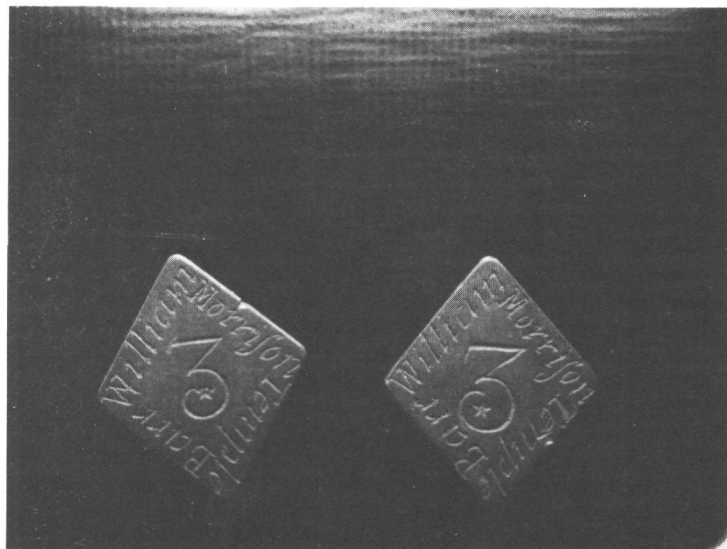


Plate 6 Copper plaque for "William Morrison, Temple Bar" (British Museum).

token, but it can hardly have been one of the usual monetary kind, and it might best be regarded as one of an identification series, such as could, for example, have been used at the Cock for identifying customers who, like Pepys in 1667, were to be served with a drink in the street. There is a difficulty in that, while there is no room for doubt as to the approximate date of the stoneware bottles, the plaque might be much later since, 30 years subsequently, from 1706 until at least 1713, the name "William Morrison" is found as that of a ratepayer in St. Dunstan-in-the-West parish, close to Temple Bar and indeed more or less at the location of the later Cock Tavern on the north side of Fleet Street. Be this as it may, the "W. MORRISON" of the bottles is most readily seen, for perhaps a considerable time up to 1676, as Henry Crosse's servant and resident deputy at the Cock, with Crosse living with his family at Clerkenwell; he does not himself appear as a ratepayer in St. Clement's or St. Dunstan's. And it might well be that he

left Crosse's service at this time to marry and work on his own account, since the register of baptisms of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, shows in September 1676, for the first time, the names of a William Morrison and his wife, Joan, and they continue to appear, with the baptism of further children, until 1691. It may have been the same man, or a son, William, baptised in 1680, who appears again at Temple Bar in 1706⁴⁹.

If the "T.D." bottles also were associated with the Cock Ale-house, an association might be expected with the new 1676 ratepayer, William Dorrington. No positive evidence has been found to identify him. The wealthy and prominent contemporary, Francis Dorrington (1618–93), who was elected as Alderman for Farringdon Within in 1668–69 and was later M.P. for Godalming, was the owner of a City brewery, but did not name a William Dorrington among many kinsmen in his will and was probably not at any rate a close relative⁵⁰. However, a possible identification for the new rate-

payer at the Cock is a "William Dorrington, gentleman", of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields in 1671, who, with his age given as 30, obtained a licence for marriage with Hannah Graveson, widow, of Latimer, Buckinghamshire. In order to bring "T.D." into the story it is necessary to suggest that William Dorrington at the Cock might also have been the man who was named (as the last of his 5 brothers) in the will of a Thomas Dorrington, a man of substance in St. Pancras parish, who also had a house at Highgate and died in 1679⁵¹. Conceivably this man might have purchased from Henry Crosse a share in the Cock in the interest of his brother.

In order to approach a more satisfying view of the circumstances which might have accounted for the illogical appearance of Dwight's Cock and "H.C." bottles from precisely the time when Henry Crosse was apparently reducing his commitment at Temple Bar it was necessary to attempt a wider exploration of his career and background. Anticipating a little, the result was to suggest that the particular interest which he retained from about 1676 until the end of his life was in the supply and sale of the ale, whereas he had up to this time been concerned equally with the running of the establishment as a whole. This could account for a continuing proprietary interest in, not least, a special trade in bottled ale, which in view of the use of the name "Cock and Bottle" at least 10 years previously, he had probably developed himself. On this basis the essays with the "W. MORRISON" and "T.D." designs might well represent initiatives by Crosse's associates which were overtaken by the course of events or may have been vetoed by Crosse in his own interests. The reason for the change in Crosse's own position in relation to the Cock might have been the immediately impending

marriage of his surviving son, John, now aged 20, with the wealthy and socially elevated heiress to an estate in the remote Buckinghamshire Chilterns, with the consequence that John would not be interested in any future direct involvement at Temple Bar⁵². If, indeed, a "moiety" of the Cock was now sold to William Dorrington or one of his relatives, the fact that Henry Crosse, too, at his death, possessed unspecified holdings in Buckinghamshire might be accounted for by these having been handed over in part payment from possessions of William Dorrington's wife from Buckinghamshire, Hannah Graveson.

The subsequent history of the Cock may be related briefly. After his death in 1681 the moiety which Henry Crosse had still possessed was left direct to his son and may have been quickly sold. There is no further mention of it in the family; nor have any references been found to suggest that the special trade in bottled ale which Crosse appears to have developed was continued. However, the establishment was evidently well known to John Strype in the early 18th century, and he called it "a noted publick house". The rate books show that after Dorrington's departure in 1694-95 there were some brief tenures, but for the period from 1707 to 1737 the ratepayer was Anthony Moreing, who is identified as a member of a family of brewers in St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Nevertheless, no further reference has been found to the Cock, and it is not named in the lists of licensed victuallers, with the signs of their houses, which are available for the Duchy Liberty from the 1720s. From 1709, on the other hand, Moreing is recorded as having been the proprietor of the "Blue Posts" eating house in near-by Devereux Court, and the Cock therefore seems likely to have been kept going in conjunction with a major interest there⁵³. After Moreing it

was probably given up, and the rate books show that by 1750 the house was occupied as an extension of the adjoining Child's Bank. There is certainly a possibility that the business at the Cock, or at least the sign, was transferred directly to what became the famous Cock Tavern in Fleet Street, but no proof was found. By 1768, when it was celebrated in "The Art of Living in London", this house was already very well known. The earliest notice found of it was a newspaper report early in 1763, referring to the death of its master, Robert Kempton, and the remarriage of his widow. Kempton was found to have been the occupier from 1745 and his predecessor, John Walden, back to at least what may have been the crucial date of 1737, is also recorded as a licensed victualler, though the name of his house was not given. Unfortunately, there is then a gap in the rate lists of St. Dunstan's parish back from 1736 to 1713⁵⁴. After Kempton, on the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the continuity of the business, with later associations, for example, with Dickens and Tennyson, and the tradition that the gilded Cock which presided was the work of Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721), until in the early 1880s the site was required for building the Law Courts branch of the Bank of England. The business was then transferred across Fleet Street to the south side, at the present No. 22, where it is still carried on⁵⁵.

HENRY CROSSE AND HIS COUSINS AND THE BREWING TRADE

The starting point for learning further about Henry Crosse's career was his informative will and the association which it revealed with Clerkenwell. It was hardly a surprise to find that when he was buried, prominently in the chancel, in St. James's church at Clerkenwell, he was

described in the parish register, not as the keeper of an ale-house or inn, but as a brewer ("bruer"). It was also found in due course that the same description was used in a marriage licence allegation for one of his daughters in 1679 and in a family deed which was executed after the death of his widow in 1692⁵⁶. Nevertheless his will made no mention of a brewery among his properties or of a brewing partnership. This suggested that he might not have been one of the nearly 200 "common brewers" who at this period were supplying London with all but a relatively small share of its ale and beer⁵⁷ and that his brewing had been carried on in a small way, perhaps only at the Cock itself; and the pattern of his properties seemed to support this possibility. However, the further evidence which emerged for his career and those of his two cousins, John Crosse of Clerkenwell and Thomas Crosse of Westminster, though neither of them was named in the will, suggested that the situation had been different and rather more complex.

There is no doubt, from the various links that were found, of the kinship of Henry with John and Thomas. The wills of both Henry and Thomas recorded that they were born at Maulden, a village close to Ampthill in Bedfordshire. The parish register shows that Henry was baptised there in 1621, so that he was about 60 when he died in 1681, and the cousins, John and Thomas, were respectively baptised in 1632 and 1636⁵⁸. Nothing beyond the names was found as to their forbears in the village, but the family would probably have been of yeoman stock. Maulden itself was within the wide barley-growing belt in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire from which, with extensive malt-making at, notably, Luton, Hitchin, Baldock, Royston, Hertford and Ware, London brewers had long been supplied by road and river transport with much of their malt⁵⁹.

Henry Crosse's will showed that by 1681 he had become a man of substance. He left more generous bequests than most people of not only £20 for the poor of Clerkenwell but also of £10 each for those of his previous parishes of Maulden and St. Clement Danes, and he was able to provide £500 each for his two elder daughters. The listed property in land and buildings which he left to his widow, with reversion to his son, consisted, firstly, of the "land, tenements and hereditaments" at Fulham, which are confirmed by the Fulham manorial rolls to have been partly, though perhaps not exclusively, manorial tenures from the Bishop of London as Lord of the large manor of Fulham, which were sub-tenanted⁶⁰. In addition, there was an estate at Wapping, a little way down river from London, which he recorded was recently purchased, and some houses "in or near" Trump Alley, north of Cheapside in the City; there is no sign that the latter, within the parish of All Hallows, Honey Lane, included a brewery, and these houses, whenever he may have acquired them, would have had to be rebuilt after the 1666 fire⁶¹. Further property rights, which he left directly to his son, comprised two more houses in the City in Old Change, which were leased from the Dean of St. Paul's (this lease was found to have been given in 1670 and included a house with the sign of the Green Dragon)⁶², lands and tenements at Battersea, an important agricultural area on the south side of the Thames, which were leased from the Archbishop of York, the (un-named) holdings in Buckinghamshire and, finally, the moiety of the Cock at Temple Bar. No property is mentioned at Clerkenwell, and it appears from a surviving special list of 1677 of the "house-keepers" and landlords of St. James's parish that the house he was occupying in Clerkenwell Close must have been a sub-lease⁶³. Probably,

therefore, Thomas Frewen, who was a nephew of Dr Accepted Frewen, Archbishop of York, who died in 1664, would have assisted in the acquisition of the property both at Fulham and at Battersea. The marriage of Henry's son, John, in 1676 had been with the young Elizabeth Blanck, heiress to her family's Rectory Manor of Bledlow in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns, but no indication was found as to the location of Henry's holdings in the county⁶⁴. Although the will does not show a brewery among Henry's possessions, it has nevertheless to be noted that there is a mention of a brewhouse, described as being in Soho in London, which was being operated by a son-in-law, George Meggott, who had married Henry's eldest daughter, Mary, in 1678. This was one of several grandsons of a notable Southwark brewer, also George Meggott, who himself died in 1678⁶⁵. Henry may have assisted the young George Meggott with a dowry in setting up at this brewery, doubtless that which he is later seen to have been operating in Little Windmill Street in the developing Golden Square area—he suggested in the will that it should now be vested in his daughter, with payment to Meggott of her £500 bequest—but there is no sign that he might himself at any stage have been involved in its operation⁶⁶.

The nature and location of Henry Crosse's properties is entirely supportive of an interest in brewing, and it is not excluded that this might have been carried on at the Cock, with barley or malt and perhaps also hops, with other produce for catering, being brought there by river from Fulham, Battersea and Wapping. The recent acquisition of the Wapping property and continuance also of the making of the initialled stoneware bottles seem to imply that, although Henry was now living at Clerkenwell, he

was still actively in business until a short time before his death. Nevertheless the likely extent of the involvement which was found at Clerkenwell suggests rather that his interest had become centred there, though that at the Cock still remained.

A further key figure in the life of not only Henry Crosse but also of at least his elder cousin, John, was found to have been the second of the 3 "loving friends" acknowledged by Henry in his will, who was also one of the witnesses to its signature just before Henry's death. This was Thomas Christie (1622–97), a member of a middle-class family at Bedford, the county town, who became a successful and quite wealthy lawyer with interests both locally in Bedfordshire and in London and from 1685 was M.P. for Bedford⁶⁷. In about 1650 he had married Mrs. Alice Bainbridge, the widow of Charles Bainbridge, a Yorkshireman, who had become a brewer at Clerkenwell and whose death, in 1646, might have resulted from fighting in the Civil War under the command of his patron, Sir Henry Cholmley. Bainbridge's property, listed in his will, consisted mainly of 2 breweries at Clerkenwell, the Unicorn at the "upper end" of St. John Street and another (un-named) at which he himself had resided; there were also some tenements in Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell, and lands he had bought in Bedfordshire, actually at the 2 neighbouring places already mentioned, Ampthill and Maulden⁶⁸. Christie and his wife were found at Clerkenwell in 1652, when an infant daughter was buried there, but they may not have lived there very much subsequently; and Alice Christie died in 1666. Henry Crosse's cousin, John Crosse, is recorded at Clerkenwell in 1654, when he would have been 22 and his eldest son, also John, was baptised; at the end of this year his wife died and in 1658 he remarried. As has been seen, Henry Crosse

was at Temple Bar by 1653, and, in view of the links between them, it is possible to infer that Christie had induced both of them to come to London with the object of assisting in the brewing business, and that Henry's role initially was to be set up with a profitable outlet in the legal and business quarter of London at Temple Bar. The cousin, John, was to remain at Clerkenwell throughout a long life until his death in 1713 at the age of 80, becoming a master brewer and a leading parishioner; he and his second wife, who had been a Rebecca Naylor, had many more children⁶⁹.

A major advance in the fortunes of Henry and John seems to have come, with Christie's help, in the first half of the 1660s, since it appears that they were enabled to take over from Christie the brewery in which John is found later to have been operating at Hockley-in-the-Hole, close to Clerkenwell Close, probably that which had been earlier the residence of Mrs Christie with her first husband. Henry and John do not appear in the earliest surviving Clerkenwell rate list, for 1661, but in the first Hearth Tax list, for 1664, and the later surviving rate lists from 1666, both are found, almost adjacent, at this location, Henry having premises of 6 hearths and John of 2 hearths⁷⁰. The location, as seen later, was on the north side of the lane which led down the eastern slope of the valley of the Fleet River into what was to become the popular amusement centre of Hockley-in-the-Hole, immediately to the west of Clerkenwell Close⁷¹. In various later references this brewery is still never given a name, appearing only as "the Hockley Hole brewhouse" or "Mr Crosse's brewhouse"⁷².

It is inferred that, as the older and more experienced man, Henry Crosse had the leading role, including responsibility for management and procurement of

supplies, while John, who would already have been an experienced worker at the brewery over a period of some 10 years, concentrated on the practical side. Thus Henry might well, as suggested above, have removed his residence at this time from Temple Bar to Clerkenwell. He might also have been enabled at the same time to acquire a personal controlling interest in ownership of the Cock, but with a servant from now on, as already supposed, seeing to the day-to-day management.

The 1664 situation at Clerkenwell was found to have been maintained until 1672, when the Hearth Tax and rate lists show Henry removing to the house in Clerkenwell Close and John to the premises of 6 hearths at Hockley. This seems likely to mark a change in the relationship of the cousins, with John now assuming virtual control of the business and Henry, who had passed the age of 50, retiring more into the background, though still doubtless with a financial interest and perhaps also a particular continuing responsibility for procurement of supplies⁷³. In 1674 it was John who was given a 21-year lease by the parish of a new spring adjoining the brewery (said to have been close to the site of the original "Clerks' well") which had been provided by the Earl of Northampton as Lord of the Manor⁷⁴. In the same year, following the example of Charles Bainbridge, John also launched out with the purchase of the Manor of Hexton, near Hitchin in Hertfordshire, in the barley-growing country, which he eventually passed on to his eldest son⁷⁵. Two years later he bought the Manor of Brammingham at Luton in Bedfordshire, which at his death was left in trust to his only other surviving son, Andrew, and belonged to descendants until 1890⁷⁶. In 1677 the Clerkenwell list of "house-keepers" shows no superior landlord for the property occupied by John Crosse so

that, if it is correctly assumed that this was the brewery which had belonged, in right of his wife, to Christie, he had parted with his interest; he was still, however, shown as the landlord of property in Turnmill Street, at which a brewery was now being carried on by a John Wilcocks⁷⁷.

The career of the younger cousin, Thomas Crosse, also provided considerable interest and relevance, although no indication was found of any direct business association with Henry or John. Thomas first appears in 1663, when Henry, described as "of St. Clement Danes, gentleman", provided an allegation for his intended marriage and he was then resident in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields⁷⁸. It is clear that, consistently with this, he was the Thomas Crosse frequently named between 1658 and 1667 in the household records of the Earl of Bedford⁷⁹. He was a responsible member of the staff, serving as required both in Bedfordshire at the Earl's seat at Woburn Abbey (which is not far from Ampthill and Maulden) and at the London residence at Bedford House, and he seems to have been in charge of the bakery and wine-cellar, though not, at least directly, of the domestic brewhouse at Woburn⁸⁰. His marriage was to Mary Lockwood, who had been the servant and devoted nurse until his death in 1662 of the elderly and very wealthy Benchler of the Inner Temple, financier and landowner, Hugh Audley, who had bought the extensive, still rural, Manor of Ebury embracing most of what were to become the Grosvenor Estates in the Pimlico, Belgravia and Mayfair areas of London, with adjoining land also at Millbank, Westminster. Audley provided quite generously for Mary Lockwood in his will, and after her marriage she was able to lend £600 to Alexander Davies, one of his two heirs, who had run into financial

problems over proposed housing development at Millbank and was soon afterwards to die in the Great Plague⁸¹. After 1665 Thomas Crosse left the service of the Earl of Bedford—references in the household accounts in 1666 and 1667 show him providing glasses and corks and supplying ice, but apparently independently—and he had soon set up as a brewer in Millbank. His premises appear initially in the rate lists at the “south” end of the then St. Peter Street; eventually, after probable expansion, the brewery was partly on the riverside at the south end of the present Victoria Tower Gardens, in line with the 18th century church of St. John the Evangelist, Smith Square⁸². In this brewing venture Thomas seems to have been notably successful. His will in 1682 shows that he had been able to invest in property, having a number of houses in King Street, Soho, and King Street, St. James’s, and he also owned a house, let to tenants, at Hyde Park Corner, though this was acquired from Hugh Audley’s heir, probably in settlement of the debt to his wife; his own residence was at the brewery at Millbank. He had been ambitious for his children and his eldest son, also Thomas, born in 1664, and probably also the second son, Robert, were placed at Westminster School under Dr Richard Busby (as also, at about the same time and later, were several of John Dwight’s sons) and Thomas was led thereby to a distinguished career. Two daughters were left bequests of as much as £1500 and £1200. But when Thomas died in 1682, the year after the death of Henry Crosse, he was still only 46 and all the children were still minors, and his brother, John Crosse of Clerkenwell, was made guardian⁸³. The brewery was carried on, with the sons, Thomas and Robert, in due course jointly taking charge.

As in the case of the bills already

referred to for purchases of stoneware and glass bottles, with other items, the Earl of Bedford’s household accounts and records include, from 1671 to 1694, a long and more or less continuous series of receipted bills showing the supply (in the barrel) of large quantities of ale and beer. These were obtained from Thomas Crosse’s brewery, and there was no interruption after his death in 1682⁸⁴. However, similarly throughout the period, there was also a further supply, billed and paid for separately, of a more expensive ale, which was delivered almost every week by the kilderkin (half-barrel) and came specifically from John Crosse. Over the period the price, reckoned per barrel, gradually went up from 14s 6d to 19s/-, much more expensive than what was supplied from Millbank, and on one occasion (in 1676) there is the informative note on the bill “To bottle for my Lord’s drinking”⁸⁵. It seems safe to infer that, in general, this was a continuing supply from Clerkenwell of a preferred special ale which was particularly for the Earl himself. It also helps to account for the exceptionally large supplies of quart-size stoneware and glass bottles which were continuously bought for the household—it may be supposed that it was probably the stoneware that was used for the ale, rather than for wine, though the supply of the special ale continued in the early 1690s when purchase of further quart-size stoneware bottles had virtually been given up. In the present context it is of particular interest that from the beginning of the series of bills in 1671 until 1687 those for John Crosse’s ale, although none of those from Thomas Crosse’s brewery, were receipted by a Robert Cherry: this, with the style of “gentleman”, was the name in Henry Crosse’s will of the third of his “3 loving friends”; although he has not been further identified, this would probably have been a business associate

of Henry and John Crosse, perhaps particularly of Henry, who may have lived in the Strand area⁸⁶.

Further evidence on Henry Crosse's career may be provided by a reference in the records of the Inner Temple. In 1684, after his death, the Benchers belatedly approved payment of £20 to "Mr John Crosse, the brewer" for loss of ale and beer in the major fire which had involved the Inner Temple, and much more seriously the Middle Temple, in January 1679; according to Narcissus Luttrell's account of this fire, the supply had actually been used to fight the fire, since the Thames at the time was frozen⁸⁷. It was the normal practice at the Inner Temple, as indeed also at the Middle Temple, to appoint a brewer officially with a standing contract to supply the ale and beer, and while no other record has been found of the name of the Inner Temple brewer at this time—a few years later, in 1689, one "Carpender" (probably William or John Carpenter, leading brewers in Aldgate) held the post and was criticised for supplying poor quality beer, and next year Richard King of Chiswell Street was appointed⁸⁸—it appears that John Crosse of Clerkenwell had achieved the position, but he would probably have owed this in the first instance to an initiative of Henry and his status at the Cock. It seems less likely, though possible, that Henry himself had held the post and that his son received the payment as his heir⁸⁹.

There seems little doubt that from about 1664 Henry's career was fully involved in the Clerkenwell brewery, and that he had owed his advance principally to the help or encouragement of Thomas Christie, who had induced him and his cousin to come to London for employment and established him first in a responsible position at Temple Bar and afterwards provided the opportunity, and perhaps the means, for him to take over the Cler-

kenwell brewery. There is no evidence to show how matters may have developed subsequently between himself and John, but by the early 1670s he was becoming elderly by those days' standards, and he may not have felt inclined or able to resist John's ambitions. Whatever may have been his status latterly at the brewery, the business he had been able to establish for himself at the Cock should have continued to provide a far from negligible income and profit.

Certainly some, at least, of the ale brewed at Clerkenwell and available at the Cock must have gained a reputation and attracted an upper-class following, and probably it was from this source that the Earl of Bedford found that it was particularly congenial. There is no knowing, unfortunately, what precisely may have been put into the bottles. One possibility which suggests itself immediately is that of the not very attractive-sounding "cock-ale", which was ale flavoured in the barrel with the juices of a boiled cock and various herbs and enjoyed some popularity at this period and into the 18th century. There are isolated references to its having been bought, even bottled, by both Pepys and the Earl of Bedford⁹⁰. But, on the whole, it may perhaps be hoped that the patrons at the Cock preferred the ale unadulterated! It seems safe in any case to assert that at the brewery itself no more interest would have been taken in the bottling than was to be shown generally by brewers, with a few exceptions, until well on in the 19th century⁹¹.

THE LATER FAMILY HISTORY

From the standpoint of social history it may not be without interest briefly to trace the later fortunes of the members of the Crosse family whose lives were to be directly founded on the decisions of Henry, John and Thomas Crosse to move away from life in the village at Maulden

and seek careers in the wider world. There is also some insight into the next stage of development in the brewing trade.

Thanks to his wealthy marriage, Henry Crosse's son, John, was able to eschew any further interest in the trade or the need to work for a living. Probably he quickly sold his interest in the Cock, though he and his heirs retained most, if not the whole, of his father's holdings at Fulham for more than a century⁹². The families kept up links, though strangely none were found directly between John or his sisters and their relations at Clerkenwell, where their mother continued to live until her death in 1692. After his marriage in 1676, by which he acquired a good deal of property, mainly in Buckinghamshire, and apparently also capital, John at once adopted the name "Johnshall Crosse", perhaps to distinguish himself from his relatives of the same name at Clerkenwell, though his father still called him "John" in his will. After his father's death his residence was consistently given as "Bledlow", and he appears to have settled mainly to the life of a country squire, becoming a Buckinghamshire J.P. and Sheriff and in due course Deputy Lieutenant⁹³, but he also involved himself quickly in the current boom of London building development; in 1682 he and a brother-in-law, William Pym, who was also wealthy, bought from the Earl and Countess of Arlington for £4000 an area of land on the south side of Piccadilly, formerly part of St. James's Park, which was then developed by the leading builder, Richard Frith of St. Clement Danes, and associates as Arlington and Bennet Streets⁹⁴. It also appears that at this time he may have invested in a good deal of property in Clerkenwell⁹⁵. The likelihood that much of Henry Crosse's property had been sold is strengthened by the fact that in 1686 a family arrangement was made to give his widow an annual

income of £520 from the Arlington Street rents until her death⁹⁶.

Johnshall Crosse's home continued to be at Bledlow until his death in 1723. His son, Henry, studied at Wadham College, Oxford, and was placed, probably through the influence of his Westminster cousin, in administrative office in the Court of Requests, and he married the daughter of Paul Joddrell, a Lincoln's Inn barrister, who became Clerk to the House of Commons. After Henry's death in 1744 the surviving heiress was his daughter, Elizabeth, who had married William Hayton of Clerkenwell and Ivinghoe, Buckinghamshire Clerk of the Peace, and in 1757 there was a notable return to the brewery trade, with their daughter, Harriett Hayton, marrying the first Samuel Whitbread, who, like the Crosses of Maulden, had gone from Bedfordshire to London to establish himself in the trade and was already settled at the present famous brewery in Chiswell Street, close to Clerkenwell⁹⁷. Harriett died young in 1764 after the birth of her son, Samuel Whitbread II, who was to be his father's successor at the brewery and the noted Radical politician; he inherited both the Bledlow property and the Fulham lands from his grandmother but sold both soon after 1800; Bledlow was bought by the then Lord Carrington, whose heirs have since had it as their home.

Henry Crosse's three daughters had all been married before his death to eligible husbands. George Meggott, who married the eldest, Mary, was the only brewer. His brewery in Soho appears to have been carried on quite independently of his family's established business in Southwark, which was continued by his cousins⁹⁸. The Fulham manorial rolls record an interesting link in 1692 when George had evidently taken a mortgage for Margaret Hughes, the former mistress of Prince Rupert, on the "Great House" on the

riverside between Hammersmith and Fulham which the Prince had bought for her from the heir of Sir Nicholas Crispe in the 1670s. He undoubtedly prospered, and the Soho landowner, William Pulteney, gave him a new 40-year lease in Little Windmill Street in 1708⁹⁹; from this time he also had a new family home in Great Marlborough Street. He died in 1711, leaving a good deal of property in the Soho and Piccadilly areas and a country estate at Theydon Bois in Essex¹⁰⁰. His surviving son, Robert, married a granddaughter of Sir Gervase Elwes, baronet, of Stoke College, Suffolk. Her mother was a sister of the first Earl of Bristol and she brought him a further fortune, and he bought the estate of Marcham, Berkshire, from a leading fellow-brewer, Felix Calvert of Whitecross Street, Cripplegate. However, he died relatively young in 1718; his will shows every indication of great affluence and he was said to have been worth £100,000¹⁰¹. His son, John, was then only 4 years old, and Sir Thomas Crosse of Westminster, the eldest son of Henry Crosse's cousin, Thomas, became his guardian and sent him to Westminster School. Probably he never took part in the running of the Soho brewery, which was given up by the late 1740s. Having taken the surname of Elwes, he subsequently inherited the fortune and estates of his uncle, Sir Harvey Elwes; he invested in much London property development and from 1772, from his base at Marcham, was M.P. for Berkshire. More notably, he became well-known as the famous archetypal miser; when he died in 1789 he was said to be worth £500,000¹⁰².

Henry Crosse's second daughter, Diana, was married shortly before his death in 1681 to a James Whitehall. He has not been clearly identified, but may have been the son of this name of John Whitehall, a tailor of St. Clement Danes;

since Diana's husband was then living at Furnival's Inn, Holborn, and continued to do so, he may have been a practising lawyer¹⁰³. He and his wife had a share in the Arlington Street building development and their property there was sold when they left London in about 1722 to settle near to the home of a married daughter at Wisbech in the Isle of Ely¹⁰⁴.

The third daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1679 to William Pym, son of another leading and wealthy tailor, of the same name, in the Strand, who had died in 1672; one of his regular customers had been Pepys. He had country estates at Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, and Nortonbury, near Baldock, on the Hertfordshire-Bedfordshire border¹⁰⁵. After his father's death the younger William Pym invested in building development in Soho Fields in London by Richard Frith, advancing some £6500 to Frith, but he later withdrew from this project; at the time of Pym's marriage to Elizabeth. Henry Crosse had been in possession of part of this land, perhaps in connection with a mortgage transaction, and after Henry's death this part of the property passed to Pym¹⁰⁶. Pym then joined with Johnshall Crosse in the Arlington Street development, which was also undertaken by Frith. For some time after their marriage Pym and his wife had their London residence in Clerkenwell, where he is referred to as "Captain Pym", but they lived later in Holborn; he died in 1716 at Nortonbury. His family has continued to be prominent in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire as leading landowners and citizens, and in recent years extensive archives relating to the Arlington Street development and other family property have been made available to the Record Offices concerned by the present the Rt Hon. Lord Pym, M.C.,¹⁰⁷.

The breweries at both Clerkenwell and Westminster were carried on well into the

18th century by the branches of the family concerned and close contacts were kept up between them. John Crosse at Clerkenwell became sufficiently esteemed in the brewing trade to be elected Master of the London Brewers' Company in 1691. He survived 4 of his sons who grew to manhood and married. After the eldest son, John, had retired to the country at Hitchin, another son, Harry, occupied the residence at the brewery at Hockley from the mid-1690s, but he died in 1709 and a younger son, Andrew (1677–1749), took over. The will of another son, Thomas, who died in 1712, particularly clarifies the relationships in this large family. Referring to his father as "the father and raiser of the family" he also wrote that he had lived in Clerkenwell for 50 years and had "served all offices". The will shows that Thomas himself had a villa at Mitcham in Surrey and an interest in the Horseshoe Brewery in St. Giles-in-the-Fields; he became a Middlesex J.P. and was buried at Clerkenwell and made a generous bequest to the parish, though it was unable to be carried out, for establishing almshouses for "2 workman brewers and 18 brewers' servants", with preference to be given to men from the Hockley Hole brewhouse or "any other brewhouse that shall belong to the family of the Crosses"¹⁰⁸. There is a notable memorial to Thomas and his wife, erected in 1729 and attributed to the Huguenot, Roubiliac, in the present St. James's church at Clerkenwell; further personifying the connections which the family kept up with the area of the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire maltings, she had been the daughter of Thomas Willimott, a lawyer at Doctors' Commons, who was a Hertfordshire J.P. and had a property at Kelshall, near Royston.

The will of John Crosse, senior, Henry's cousin, when he died at Clerkenwell in 1713, shows that, apart from the Hockley

brewery, which passed to Andrew Crosse, and the Brammingham estate at Luton, for which he made his nephew, Thomas (shortly to become Sir Thomas) Crosse of Westminster the trustee, his property consisted of 2 inns at West Smithfield, the Swan and the Antelope, leased tenements in Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell, and property at Plough Alley, Wapping, which included a ropeyard; this latter might have been the Wapping property which had been acquired by Henry Crosse¹⁰⁹. Andrew Crosse carried on the brewery with some of his nephews and in his turn was Master of the Brewers' Company in 1729. At his death in 1749 it was left, together with the Brammingham estate, for which his relative, Sir John Crosse of Westminster, was now the trustee, to his son, Hammond Crosse (1703–85); his other property was now only the Antelope at West Smithfield, a leasehold residence in Clerkenwell Close and property in Christchurch Square in Southwark, which was becoming the main London centre of the hop trade¹¹⁰. Hockley-in-the-Hole, which from the beginning of the century had been a popular centre for entertainment, notably bear-baiting, was now becoming a run-down and poverty-ridden slum, and it is not clear for how long Hammond Crosse may have kept the brewery operating. Until quite recently he had been living in Westminster at Millbank and apparently helping to run the brewery there, and he had married the daughter of his father's cousin there, Robert Crosse¹¹¹. From Brammingham he had also been Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1745. Later he lived both at Brammingham and at a town house in Islington. During the 1750s he gave up part of his property at Hockley-in-the-Hole for incorporation in a proposed new paupers' burial ground¹¹². However, when he died in 1785 although a brewery was no longer referred to, he

still owned property at Hockley and had bought more in the area. His eldest son, Thomas, received Brammingham and his second son, Hammond, who became a Middlesex Commissioner for Land Tax Redemption, inherited the Clerkenwell property. The youngest son, John, who had studied at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and had been ordained, became a well-known Vicar of Bradford in Yorkshire, where his father had purchased the right of presentation¹¹³.

At Westminster, although the young Thomas Crosse was not yet 18 when his father died in 1682, the brewery appears to have been continued successfully and, whether or not Thomas may have received some special help from a patron such as the Earl of Bedford, he quickly became a leading citizen. It is seen that very soon he was himself signing the receipts for payments at Bedford House. In 1693 Sir Thomas Grosvenor, who had married the young Mary Davies, the heiress to Hugh Audley's estates, requested his wife to give Thomas a new property lease at Millbank, probably for building his family mansion, which was near the Horse Ferry and conveniently close to the brewery¹¹⁴. He married the daughter of Patrick Lambe of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire. He had not gone to University, as did his younger brother, Robert, who studied at Trinity College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple, but in 1701 embarked on a political career, being elected as one of the Westminster M.P.s, and he served in this capacity during 5 Parliaments. He was granted arms, and the same blazon was used by the family of Johnshall Crosse and on the memorial of his namesake, Thomas Crosse, at Clerkenwell. In 1713 he was made a baronet by Queen Anne, and he held public office as a Commissioner of the Court of Requests (evidently exercising his patronage in favour of Johnshall Crosse's son,

Henry), and he was a Commissioner dealing with the consequences of the collapse of the South Sea Company in 1720. He was involved in a good deal of London property dealing and, as already noted, was prominent in acting as trustee or guardian for his relatives or their property. He was a close friend of a rival Westminster brewer, the very wealthy William Greene, and was concerned with him in building the Bluecoat School in Caxton Street, Westminster¹¹⁵; and he later played a leading part in the scheme for building the new church of St. John the Evangelist, the vaults of which were afterwards used by the brewery for storage¹¹⁶. For himself he bought the important estate of Berwick at Rainham and Aveley in southern Essex, and produce from this may have been shipped up river to Westminster from Rainham Creek¹¹⁷. Management of the brewery probably devolved mainly on Robert, the younger brother, who owned a personal share in it and had his own house close by in Millbank¹¹⁸.

Sir Thomas Crosse died in 1738 and was succeeded in his properties and the baronetcy by his only surviving son, John, who was already following a career in politics, and became M.P. in turn for Wootton Bassett, Lostwithiel and Westminster. After Robert's death in 1741 the member of the family primarily involved in the brewery was one of Robert's sons, Charles, who appears to have been joined for some years by Hammond Crosse from Clerkenwell. From 1749, when probably Hammond left Westminster, a formal partnership was established between Charles and a Robert Benson and a William Boyfield or Byfield¹¹⁹. Sir John Crosse died in 1762 without leaving children, so that the baronetcy lapsed. The brewery was given up not long afterwards, in 1767; it does not seem to have been sold as a going

concern, since the rate books in 1767–68 show that the various properties in the area which had been rated to Charles Crosse passed to a number of different people. Charles Crosse himself retired to Epping in Essex and died in 1785 at Bath¹²⁰. The Rainham estate passed first to a son of Charles Crosse's sister and then to a nephew of Sir John Crosse's widow, Dame Mary; they both in turn adopted the name "Crosse" and part of the property belonged to descendants until 1920¹²¹.

CONCLUSION

With a few notable exceptions, not least, for example, the post-Restoration Phoenix Brewery which was built in the Minories by Sir John Friend and which was valued at £11,700 after his execution in 1696 (and the subsequent exposure of his body on Temple Bar) for involvement in a Jacobite Plot, the London "common brewers" of the later 17th century did not yet operate very large concerns, and the major enlargement, with development of machinery, which was achieved during the 18th century had still to come. It has been estimated from the excise returns that a usual annual production at the end of the 17th century would have been of the order of 5000 barrels. Thus the establishments operated by the Crosses, and that of George Meggott in Soho, were all probably fairly modest in scale and, with a total of nearly 200 such "common brewers" operating in and around London, they would have been commonplace¹²². Doubtless some capital and business acumen in managing supplies of materials and distribution would have been needed; but, with ale and beer in stronger and weaker forms still providing normal everyday drink, alike for men, women and children, in a steadily growing population, there was certainly, as has seemed evident in the case of the Crosses, the

opportunity of making money and, in consequence, of social advancement. At the same time, since, at least among better-off people, tastes in ale and beer were often discriminating—apart from particular preparations such as cock-ale, it was worthwhile for some country and provincial brews and even "mum" from distant Brunswick to be brought to London—there were opportunities for enterprise, and it seems that Henry Crosse showed initiative. Even so, bottling of ale to make it more effervescent and interesting had become quite common, so that in the 1680s the temperance and health enthusiast, Thomas Tryon, though he did not think much of it himself, could describe its drinking as "a great custom and general fashion nowadays"¹²³. Henry's initiative at the Cock Ale-house can hardly have been unique, save in the association with John Dwight's large provision of identifiable stoneware bottles, of which many more may still remain to be encountered by archaeologists, in London and further afield.

Though it was to be written two centuries later, Charles Dickens' exposition, in the discussion between Herbert Pocket and Pip in *Great Expectations*, may seem already to have been to a certain extent apposite:

'Now', he pursued, 'concerning Miss Havisham. Miss Havisham, you must know, was a spoilt child. Her mother died when she was a baby, and her father denied her nothing. Her father was a country gentleman down in your part of the world, and was a brewer. I don't know why it should be a crack thing to be a brewer; but it is indisputable that while you cannot possibly be genteel and bake, you may be as genteel as never was and brew. You see it every day.'

'Yet a gentleman may not keep a public-house; may he?' said I.

'Not on any account,' returned Herbert; 'but a public-house may keep a gentleman. Well Mr Havisham was very rich and very proud. So was his daughter.'²⁴

NOTES

Dating. In the text and notes the year AD is given in accordance with the modern calendar, i.e. with the year beginning on 1 January.

- For the general history of English stoneware and the products, see Oswald *et al* 1982, and also Askey 1981; catalogues of recent exhibitions are Hildyard 1985 and Horne 1985. An earlier 17th century initiative for making stoneware at Woolwich Old Ferry was short-lived, see Pryor and Blockley 1978. The historical documentation for John Dwight and the history of the Fulham Pottery is assembled in Haselgrove and Murray 1979 and detailed references are not given here. The definitive report on the 1970s excavations at Fulham is being prepared by C. M. Green, Cuming Museum, Southwark; acknowledgement is owed to him for the preliminary details provided. The Fulham Pottery Ltd. has presented the finds in the excavations to the Museum of London. Although a 19th century stoneware kiln is preserved on the site at Fulham, the company's pottery manufacture and other business were transferred in 1986–7 to premises south of the Thames, at Battersea.
- Leeds 1933. See further below, and for relevant interest regarding tavern bottles at Oxford see also Leeds 1941.
- For Frechen stoneware, in particular, including the evidence for the making of the moulds for decoration and for the export trade, see Göbels 1971. The original significance of the "Bellarmine" faces has not been established.
- Relevant texts in Haselgrove and Murray 1979.
- Although the extant text of the first agreement, dated 25 March 1676, was signed by many individual glass-sellers, there were some interim provisions and it is not proved that it operated formally; the revised agreement was dated 1 May 1677. The texts are in GL ms. 5556, and are reproduced in Haselgrove and Murray 1979.
- For bottling of ale see note 32. In the 17th century the English quart (quarter of a gallon) appears for wine, oil, honey etc. usually to have been 2lbs weight (Troy), equal to 56 cu in or c. 0.92l liquid measure, but the quart for ale and beer (the latter being the produce made with hops) had been established at 70.5 cu in or 1.155l. Measurement of the capacity of a limited number of intact "quart-size" bottles to which this article refers has shown considerable variation (see notes 12–17 below); in no case, however, would a full "ale-quart" have been given! The pattern of capacities of imported and Fulham-made stoneware needs to be studied in a wider context.
- Dates used on the medallions (all for individuals) are only "1675" and, in one case, "1676". Any more definite conclusions about the dating of the medallion sequence must await the definitive excavation report.
- There is no historical documentation of the decision to abandon decorative medallions, but it was seen clearly in the excavations. However, this was not a "political" or religious gesture on Dwight's part, since metal moulds for fine ware decoration which included busts identified as James II and Mary of Modena (all now in the British Museum) were found at the Pottery in about the 1860s (illustrated in Bimson 1961).
- Since, however, the specimens appeared in 4 different "late" contexts, the archaeological indication, for at least a late date of use of the mould, is strong.
- See further below and note 32.
- Museum of London Nos 6445 (from Fleet Street) and 13154 (from Blomfield Street).
- Museum of London Nos A4289 (from Fleet Street) and B177 (from Storey's Gate) (see Plate 3); the latter was found with pins inside and had presumably found use as a household receptacle. The measured capacities (to top of rim) are respectively 0.85l and 0.95l. The 6 further Dwight vessels, with medallions, provenanced from Central London were from Holborn (2), Blackfriars, Thames Street, Leadenhall Street and Farringdon.
- Leeds 1933, with illustrations. These Oxford bottles are all in the Ashmolean Museum, the Cock and "H.C." example being accessioned as 1915.55; its measured capacity is 1.1l, in this case very close to the full "ale quart".
- Hodgkins 1891, No. 624 and Vintners Company Loan Exhibition, London, 1933, No. 8. The measured capacity is 0.87l.
- Horne 1985, No. 12. The measured capacity is 0.86l.
- See Hodgkins 1891, No. 624. The bottle at Blakesley Hall was brought to notice by Oliver and Elizabeth Pearcey of Hammersmith.
- One of these is in a private collection (see Charleston and Towner 1977, No. 22). The others are in the Museum of London (No. 19195) and Victoria and Albert Museum (C59.1967). Due to poor condition of medallions the name was at first read as "Morris" (Bimson 1961), but is clear on the example exhibited in 1977. The measured capacities are notably smaller, viz respectively 0.57l, 0.68l and 0.68l.
- For accounts of the 1860s find and details, see Haselgrove and Murray 1979. The "Bellarmine" bottles are British Museum F19 and Victoria and Albert Museum Schreiber Collection, Sch. II 59 and 60; the other is in Stoke-on-Trent Museum. The Cock and "H.C." bottle excavated at the Pottery in 1948 was retained by the then proprietor; it is illustrated in Bimson 1961 and *London Archaeologist* 1 255 (1971).
- See note 3.
- Making of satisfactory glass bottles for wine and other drink seems to have developed rapidly from the 1650s and would have quickly presented a challenge to imported stoneware: see, particularly, Godfrey 1975. The first record found of their purchase by the Earl of Bedford was in 1658, and Pepps went to see his wine being bottled by his wine merchant in Fenchurch Street in October 1663. The very extensive unpublished household records and papers of the fifth Earl of Bedford are divided between the archives of the Bedford Estates Trustees and the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London. Relevant published studies are Thomson 1936 (with other works) and Thorpe 1938, but further comprehensive study is needed. The records, which extend over most of the second half of the 17th century, are of interest in relation to many aspects of contemporary life, apart from the purchases of pottery and glass, and also, as seen below, of ale and beer. From 1671 to 1694 (though with some gaps) there are receipted bills, rendered at intervals, for the purchase in London of all types of pottery and glass. The purchases of stoneware, with details of vessel sizes and price, although not of provenance, were large and predominantly of quart size bottles, with more occasional purchases in smaller numbers of larger sizes up to 3 gallons. From the late 1670s the Earl's sole supplier both of glass and of pottery appears to have been the glass-seller, Thomas Apthorpe (see further below), and most of the stoneware should have come from Dwight, though there were doubtless also some continuing imports; concerning the latter there is no evidence that Dwight ever troubled himself, though in due course he was to take vigorous steps to defend his English manufacturing monopoly. From about 1685 onwards purchases by the household of the quart stoneware bottles fell off rapidly and were supplanted by the corresponding glass bottles, though a few of some of the larger stoneware sizes continued to be bought and also some of what were evidently Dwight's new "fine ware" mugs.
- Leeds 1933. See also Rogers 1928, which was part of a correspondence in *Notes and Queries* about the Cock which included notes from E. E. Newton. The Strype reference is B.IV 116–7 (1720 edition). See also Diprose 1868 and 1876. References to the Cock and other houses have usefully been brought together in the manuscript collections referring to London taverns, signs etc. of D. Foster (WL), J. P. de Castro (GL ms. 3110) and B. Lillywhite (GL L86.1).
- The token was illustrated by Akerman 1849 (No. 729) and associated with references to the Cock Ale-house and then existing Cock Tavern in Fleet Street, which Akerman noted was popular with lawyers and law students. In Williamson 1889–91 the token is London No. 3037. Apparently only 3 examples have been recorded, including one now in the Museum of London.
- Leeds 1933.
- The rate books and churchwardens' accounts are WL, B2 *et seq.*
- Since there is continuity (1657–58) the identity seems dependable.
- PRO PCC 1681 56. The will is dated 18 April 1682, 2 days before Henry Crosse was buried in (the former) St. James's church, Clerkenwell.
- References to the Rose are assembled as for the Cock, see note 21. Note, in particular, the 1641 Poll Tax return for the Vintners Company, PRO E179/251/22, and Hyett issued a trade token (undated) at the Rose (Williamson London No. 3044). However, it was not remarked that there are no actual references to the Rose in the 1650s or 1660s, and the rate books show that there was no site continuity with the Rose which was opened in the same terrace in the 1670s, see below.
- There appears to be no earlier illustration showing the situation of the Cock Ale-house, see Adams 1983. Hyett (then newly married) was first rated in 1638, but owing to the fragile condition of the earliest records it was not possible to explore the previous situation. The ground landlord has not been identified. With regard to the Great Fire, the rate books show no significant changes in near-by occupancies after 1666 either in St. Dunstan's parish within the City (GL ms. 2969) or in St. Clement's. During the Fire Temple Bar was the Duke of York's fire post (see Bell 1920, including the account by Windsor Sandys, later to be Dwight's partner at Fulham), and although it was a mainly wooden structure it appears that, contrary to some accounts, it was not

- destroyed; some 30 houses remained standing in the western part of Fleet Street.
29. See the indexed editions of the *Diary* by H. B. Wheatley 1893–99 and R. Latham and W. Matthews 1970–83 and also in the latter "Drink" and "Taverns" in Vol. X (Commentary). The first visit which Pepys recorded was on 7 March 1660 and the last that on 23 April 1668. On a different occasion Pepys and Creed went to the "tobacco shop under Temple Bar" and then up to "the top of the house", where they drank "Lambeth ale" (8 June 1661), but this would probably not have been the Cock Ale-house, which Pepys had named previously.
 30. Gray 1930. Boys' diary is limited to part of 1671.
 31. *Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 51, 1 July 1665.
 32. Some bottling of ale seems to have begun by the early 17th century, see Plat 1602; and a Middlesex tippler was accused before the Justices in 1615 of selling "bottle beer" in ale-houses at night (Middlesex Sessions Records N.S. II 340, quoted by Clark 1983). Fuller 1662 related the legend that its merits were discovered by accident by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who left a bottle filled with ale behind while on a fishing expedition and discovered it again a few days later. During the 1660s it seems to have become quite popular among better-off people. B. Lillywhite (note 21) recorded the sign of the Cock and Bottle at about this time on 3 trade tokens, viz. for Will Clarke in Soper Lane (Queen Street) (dated 1669), for William Skinner in White Cross Street, Cripplegate (also dated 1669), and for Mathew White in Aldersgate Street (undated, but White is recorded there in 1668) (Williamson 1889–91, London Nos. 2316, 3471 and 63). There is also in the Museum of London an actual sign, dated to about this period, which was said to have been removed from Cannon Street. Thus, Henry Crosse's use of the sign by 1665 could have been the earliest.
 33. The surviving Hearth Tax lists for the Duchy Liberty from the first half of the 1670s are GLRO TH (Westminster) 56, 87 and 88 and PRO E179/143/370.
 34. The only house recorded as taken by the City Corporation for the rebuilding of Temple Bar was that of a Widow Wright near-by in St. Dunstan's parish (GL mss. 184/4 and 2969). However the house adjoining Temple Bar to which Robert Blanchard moved after the rebuilding (see below) would probably have been a new or rebuilt one. The 1693–95 assessments are CLRO Assessments 83/6 and 43/16.
 35. Parish register, St. Clement Danes, original in WL.
 36. St. James, Clerkenwell Hearth Tax GLRO MR/TH 29, 72 and 79 and PRO E179/143/370, rate books (IL) and parish register (published in Harleian Society series); also Deeds WL 69/72 and GLRO E/PYM.
 37. Note 36 and see further below.
 38. *London Gazette*, 13 July 1691, noted in WL, Foster ms. As a coincidence, an anonymous advertiser in the same issue asked that a pendulum watch which he had lost while walking to Hockley-in-the-Hole, Clerkenwell, should, if found, be handed in at the Cock Ale-house. Although this was a walk which Henry Crosse must have done many times, as will appear below, it is thought that by this date there was no longer an association between the Cock Ale-house and the brewery at Hockley-in-the-Hole.
 39. See further below and note 60.
 40. Detailed evidence concerning Dwight's properties in Fulham High Street and the Ashmole connection is assembled in Murray 1981.
 41. For Frewen see *History of Parliament, House of Commons 1660–1690*, Feret 1900 Vol. II and *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, Vol. III.
 42. For Maynard see DNB, and for the Maynards at Sandford House see Feret 1900 Vol. III.
 43. As to Blanchard and the banking business see Price 1890–91 and 1902 and Feret 1900 Vol. II. However, the moving by Blanchard of his premises a few doors along the street (and to within the City boundary), which is seen clearly in the rate books, was not previously observed. Windsor Sandys (son of William Sandys, M.P. for Evesham (d. 1669)) had a contract for street cleansing in St. Martin-in-the-Fields and St. Giles-in-the-Fields parishes. There is reference to "Mr. Sands" at Parsons Green in the Fulham 1674 Hearth Tax (GLRO MR/TH 45) and Sandys qualified to attend a meeting of the Fulham Vestry; for the dealings with Dwight, see Haselgrove and Murray 1979. Dealings with the Bank by Henry Crosse's son and his son-in-law, William Pym, are recorded in 1685 (GLRO E/PYM/20).
 44. The accounts of the finds are Price 1890 and, with some illustrations, including German "Bellarmines", Price 1902.
 45. The assumed rebuilding of the house at Temple Bar for Blanchard would have been during Dwight's experimental period at Fulham. The Fulham stoneware bottle referred to is Museum of London A4289 (note 12).
 46. There are numerous references to the Rose here from the 1670s until it was apparently pulled down with the rest of the terrace in the 1770s; Thanet Place was built at this time. The scientist, Robert Hooke, a close acquaintance of Dwight, who took personal interest in the work at Fulham, recorded a visit to the Rose in his *Diary* on 9 April 1677; he drank sack, but wrote, perhaps characteristically, that it was "poison" (Robinson and Adams 1935).
 47. Thomas Apthorpe was a leading member of the Glass-sellers' Company, one of the original signatories to the agreement with Dwight in March 1676. His will is PRO PCC 1700 149.
 48. Record Calendars. The Inner Temple bought a stamp in 1671 for marking glass bottles with "the arms of the house". Earthenware pots used for drinking in Hall cost only 1s/2d per double dozen. For an account of the post-Medieval pottery of the Inns of Court and relevant excavations, see Matthews and Green 1969.
 49. The copper plaque (Plate 6) is listed in Williamson 1889–91, London, Appendix A No. 11. The William Morrison in 1706–13 in Fleet Street (GL ms. 2988, St. Dunstan's Land Tax 1694–1713) was assessed for £120/10s stock and appears to have gone into business with a James Cotton, who was already there in 1694.
 50. For Francis Dorrington see Woodhead 1965. He acquired a country estate at Alford, near Godalming. Since a trade token issued at the Hart in Westminster Market Place is associated with him (Williamson 1889–91, London No. 2531), his early career may have been similar to that of Henry Crosse. His will (PRO PCC 1693 108) shows that he also had property at Charing Cross and that his brewery was at Fagwell Pond, *alias* Bowling Alley, *alias* Three Fox Court in St. Sepulchre's parish. He named many kinspeople in the will, but not a William Dorrington.
 51. The marriage licence reference is Faculty Office of the Archbishop, 30 June 1671. There are no surviving St. Giles rate books to show whether he might have moved from there to take up residence at the Cock. The will of Thomas Dorrington of St. Pancras (PRO PCC 1679 115) shows that his father was a Peter Dorrington, also not found as a relative of Francis. However, there was a Francis who was brother to Thomas and William, so that there may have been a more distant relationship.
 52. See below and note 64.
 53. Strype, who refers to the Cock Ale-house quite clearly as being next to Temple Bar on the south side of the Strand and on the St. Clement's parish boundary (see note 21), should have known the house some time at least after the beginning of the 18th century. The 1709 reference to Anthony Moreing is in an advertisement in the *Tatler*, cited by Price c.1900 (reprinted edition 1985); he seems likely to have been the son of Anthony Moreing, a brewer in St. Martin-in-the-Fields.
 54. There were premises in Fleet Street called the Cock which were burnt in the Great Fire and afterwards rebuilt (Jones 1966–70). The same, or other, premises, at the sign of the Cock, were occupied by Edward Marshall in 1679. However, the Cock was a common sign and these do not assist in the question of possible continuity between the Cock Ale-house and the later Cock Tavern. The 1763 newspaper report is quoted by Newton 1928, but the source is not given; Robert Kempton's widow had been left a fortune of £2000 and now married the master of Bishop Blaise's Head in the Mint. John Walden, Kempton's predecessor from at least 1737 (when the St. Dunstan's rate lists recommence) is named also as a licensed victualler in the parish (CLRO) but the name of his house was not found. It is not impossible that the sign was transferred from Moreing's house. In 1768 there is the often-quoted verse, published in *The Art of Living in London*:
Nor think the Cock with these not on a par,
The celebrated Cock of Temple Bar,
Where Porter best of all bespeaks its praise,
Porter that's worthy of the Poet's lays.
 55. Continuity of the Cock Tavern (at No. 201, Fleet Street) from at any rate Kempton's time seems secure. On 10 January 1799 the *Morning Advertiser* reported proceedings against a lawyer said to have been drunk "in a public house called the Cock, near Temple Bar". In the 19th century it was managed as a well-known eating house by 3 generations of the Colnett family; Charles Dickens was claimed to have been a familiar figure and Tennyson celebrated it in "Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue". It may be added that a London clay tobacco pipe stamped with the emblem of a Cock is typologically dated c. 1730 (Atkinson and Oswald 1969, Fig. 3 No. 23) and a much later account by Percy Fitzgerald in 1881 (GL Pamphlet 4505) noted specially that clay tobacco pipes were brought to the Cock's customers.
 56. WL Deeds 69/72. See further below and note 96.
 57. Mathias 1959.
 58. Maulden parish registers, published in *Bedfordshire Parish Registers* series, Vol. 22. As far back as 1425 a John Crosse was among the burgesses at Bedford who refused to contribute to the expenses of the Bedford M.P.s (Godber 1969). The Maulden registers show that the name "Crosse" was well established there from the 16th century. No links from here to the London brewing trade have been established before Henry Crosse, but a "Cross's brewhouse" appears in St. Margaret's

- parish in Southwark on the 1542 map reproduced by Rendle 1878 and in 1673 a John Crosse, aged about 40, appears as a brewer in Southwark (St. Olave's) (Marriage allegation, Vicar-General of Canterbury). The name, however, is extremely common in London and elsewhere; even so, there must be sympathy for the late Aubrey Toppin, who confidently identified Henry Crosse of the Cock Ale-house as the son, Henry, of a Chancery Lane victualler, John Crosse, born in 1633 and baptised at St. Dunstan-in-the-West (Toppin 1937). It did, however, seem likely, since he founded almshouses for Oxford college servants at Amptill, that there ought to be a link with the well-known John Crosse of Oxford, in whose house in the High Street Dwight and Robert Hooke would have worked for the Hon. Robert Boyle in 1650s, but none was found, though his will (PRO PCC 1698 59) also named a Thomas Crosse of London as a kinsman. The only kinsman not of his immediate family who was named by Henry Crosse of the Cock Ale-house in his will was a nephew, William, who has not been identified in London.
59. For the malt trade from Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire to London, see *VCH Hertfordshire*, Vols III and IV, and Denney 1977.
 60. The date of Henry Crosse's acquisition of the Fulham lands did not appear, since the first reference in the Fulham manorial rolls which was found was in 1682, after his death, when they passed to his son; the manorial property was agricultural and grazing land close to Chelsea Creek, which comprised 5 acres of Walters Close, North End, and tenements in Marshcroft called Plucknett's and Stonehouse's. This passed to his grandson in 1723 and then to his great-granddaughter, Mrs Elizabeth Hayton, and from her to her grandson, the politician and brewer, Samuel Whitbread II (see below and note 97). He sold it in 1802-3 to James Gunter, a noted confectioner of Berkeley Square, London, whose family acquired much land in the area for eventual development. A further 5 acres of non-manorial land close to Walham Green in the same area which Whitbread sold at the same time to the Fulham brewer, Oliver Stocken, may also have come from the Crosse and Mrs. Hayton.
 61. A surviving 1672 rate list for All Hallows parish does not name Henry Crosse or anyone known to have been associated with him (GL ms. 6026).
 62. Leases of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's (GL ms. 25691).
 63. BL Sloane mss 3928. Although shown as occupier in Clerkenwell Close in the Hearth Tax and rate lists, Henry Crosse does not appear in this as either "house-keeper" or landlord.
 64. Elizabeth Blanck's grandfather, James Blanck, acquired the Bledlow property by the 1640s; his family is linked by armorial bearings with Sir Thomas Blanck, a Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and his will is PRO PCC 1665 79. Elizabeth's father had also died, and the marriage was with the consent of her mother (Vicar-General of Canterbury, 13 May 1676). For the Bledlow property, see also PRO Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, p. 1489, and *VCH Buckinghamshire* Vol. II. Later property deeds to which Henry Crosse's son was a party were concerned with property at Monks Risborough, Wendover, Sanderton and Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire and also some property in Northamptonshire (Buckinghamshire Record Office D/LE/2/65 and D/D/8/64).
 65. The important brewery in Southwark, with premises in Horsleydown and Stoney Lane, was carried on after 1678 by the eldest of George Meggott's 3 sons, also George Meggott, who became High Sheriff of Surrey and was knighted in 1690. From 1702 the owner was his son, again George Meggott, who was briefly M.P. for Southwark in 1723. In the next generation Smith Meggott entered a partnership with Robert Hucks, a member of a Bloomsbury brewing family, who like his father, held the post of King's Brewer. The George Meggott who married Mary Crosse appears from his grandfather's will (PRO PCC 1679 7) to have been the eldest son of his second son, Robert, and his father's younger brother was Richard Meggott who, after going to St. Paul's School and Cambridge, entered the Church and was Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark and, from 1679 to 1692, Dean of Winchester (DNB). George and Mary's first child was baptised George at Clerkenwell in February 1680 but did not survive his parents and the heir was a younger son, Robert (see further below and notes 98-102).
 66. Henry Crosse's legacy of £500 to his daughter, Mary, was to pass to her husband if he made over his Solo brewery to her. In 1682 Mrs Meggott is rated in Windmill Street, then in St. Martin-in-the-Fields (WL F3670); after formation of the new parish of St. James, Piccadilly, George Meggott is in Little Windmill Street in the earliest available list (for 1687) (WL D2); see also note 99.
 67. For Thomas Christie see *History of Parliament, House of Commons, 1660-1690* and also *VCH Bedfordshire*, Vols II and III.
 68. Alice Bainbridge was the daughter of a London brewer, John Poole, who lived at Clerkenwell and left her his property, but his will (PRO PCC 1638 93) does not identify it. Charles Bainbridge's will (PRO PCC 1646 97) records that he was born at Runswick (near Whitby) and he is likely to have come to Clerkenwell in the service of Henry Cholmley, who was the brother of Hugh Cholmley, Lord of the Manor of Whitby. Both brothers were M.P.s before the Civil War and both were knighted by Charles I. In the War both become Parliamentary commanders, though Sir Hugh was afterwards to change his allegiance. Bainbridge bought the Unicorn at Clerkenwell from Henry before the latter was knighted in 1641 and could well have served in the War under him. His other brewery, which was his residence, was bought from a John Sindale.
 69. Details from St. James, Clerkenwell, parish registers (Harleian Society).
 70. St. James, Clerkenwell, rate lists 1661 and 1666 onwards (IL, Finsbury Library) and 1664 Hearth Tax (GLRO MR/TH 1). The occupier in 1661 at the premises at Hockley-in-the-Hole appears to have been a Samuel How. Although the identification here of Henry Crosse from Temple Bar from 1664 onwards seems clear in view of the further changes in 1671-72, it should be recorded that a different Henry Crosse appears in the parish register, with the baptism of 3 children between 1664 and 1668. See also notes 58 and 73.
 71. The local topography was considerably altered by the slum clearance and the works for the Metropolitan Railway in the 1860s, but see earlier maps, especially Rocque 1746. Further details in Pinks 1887, and for the Fleet River see also Barton 1972.
 72. It cannot be entirely excluded that the brewery operated by the Crosse at Hockley was newly established, in which case that of Bainbridge and Christie might have been associated with the property in Turnmill Street.
 73. See note 70 above. Apart from the proximity of the names of Henry and John Crosse at Hockley-in-the-Hole, that of Henry remains until 1671, the year before he is found in Clerkenwell Close and the Hearth Tax lists in the 1670s (see note 36) show that John Crosse then occupied the house of 6 hearths.
 74. Details from parish books in Pinks 1887.
 75. The will of John Crosse's son, Thomas, (PRO PCC 1712 250) shows that his eldest brother's wife was Dorothy Rowley of Barkway, Hertfordshire; see also *VCH Hertfordshire*, Vol. II p. 353. The Hitchin property passed to a daughter, Mrs Christine Rogers.
 76. See the wills of John Crosse (PRO PCC 1713 256) and his son, Andrew Crosse (PRO PCC 1749 275) and also *VCH Bedfordshire*.
 77. The brewery trade flourished particularly in Clerkenwell because of the good water supply; the 1677 list of "house-keepers" (note 63) emphasises this, with numerous occupiers of property recorded as "brewers", "working brewers" and "brewers' servants". There was a Cock in Turnmill Street, at least in 1545 and 1651, but there seems to be no possibility that the Crosse brewery was called the Cock. The Unicorn, formerly owned by Bainbridge, was still a brewery in 1680 (*True Domestic Intelligence* No. 83) and Thomas Christie's will (PRO PCC 1697 156) shows that he continued to own property adjoining it, but there is no sign that the Crosse were involved here. John Wilcocks (or a son) was still at the brewery in Turnmill Street in the early 1690s but, having been appointed in 1689 as one of the Commissioners of Excise, he was in trouble for retaining a brewery interest, contrary to his oath (PRO *Cal. Treasury Papers* XXXIV 20).
 78. Vicar-General of Canterbury, 17 June 1663.
 79. Bedford Estates' Trustees mss.
 80. He may also have been the Thomas Crosse who appears in the accounts of the Middle Temple, signing receipts in 1663 and 1671-72 for payments in connection with plays performed during the Revels. These would probably have been on behalf of the Duke of York's players, who were based at this period at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields (see Latham and Matthews 1970-83, Vol. X).
 81. For a full account of Hugh Audley and his property which, passing to his eventual heiress, Mary Davies, was to become the Grosvenor Estate, see Gatty 1921. Audley spent the last part of his life living at the old St. Clement Danes rectory in Milford Lane, close to the Temple and the Cock Ale-house, so that Thomas may well have done some of his courting at the Cock. Audley in his will (PRO PCC 1662 134) left Mary Lockwood £333/6s/8d and all his household goods.
 82. WL St. Margaret's, Westminster, rate books and Overseers' accounts, E174 *et seq.* Thomas Crosse's name appears from 1669, but his will (note 83) shows that at first there was a lease from Maurice Emmett, builder to the Royal Household, who lived near-by. For 18th century views showing the brewery and the later Crosse mansion, see Phillips 1951 and Phillips 1964.
 83. Thomas Crosse's will is PRO PCC 1682 107. There is the (unlikely) possibility that Fulham stoneware bottles with redallions "RC 1675" of somewhat amateurish quality were made for the younger son, Robert Crosse, as a school friend.
 84. As in the case of the bills for the stoneware etc., those for ale and beer are divided between the collections of the Bedford Estates Trustees and the British Library of Political and Economic Science.

85. Attention was called to the bills and the note on the bottling of the ale for the Earl in Thomson 1936. At this period, under legislation of Henry VIII, a barrel of ale was measured at 32 gallons, but a barrel of beer at 36 gallons.
86. There are no signatures by John Crosse himself or by Henry Crosse.
87. Ms. *Records of the Inner Temple*, Vol. 7 f.16 and *Calendar* Introduction p. xxxii. The records also happen to show that in a check at the Inner Temple in December 1677 there were 90 barrels of "small beer" (i.e. weak ale or beer) and 6 of "strong beer" in the cellar. Luttrell's *Narration* was first published in 1857.
88. Record calendars.
89. See next paragraph. There is no sign that Henry's Crosse's son, John, was involved at the Cock either before or after his father's death.
90. The Earl of Bedford's accounts show that in 1662 4 bottles of cock-ale were bought for 2s/- from an un-named supplier. Pepys mentions it twice: on 2 February 1663 he drank a cup of it at an un-named house which appears to have been near the Temple, and on 4 June 1666 he bought 2 bottles, again at an un-named house, while travelling in London in Sir William Penn's coach. A recipe for it was published in 1669 in "*The Closet . . . opened*", the collected papers of Sir Kenelm Digby, who died in 1665 after living during the later part of his life at Covent Garden. Lord King, in his biography of the philosopher, John Locke, related that in 1679 Locke advised a visitor to London that varieties of ale to be had at the Hercules Pillars, off Fleet Street, were "cock-ale, wormwood ale, lemon ale, scurvey grass ale and college ale" (1858 edition, p. 35).
91. An early association of Pepys with bottled ale was on 7 May 1660; while waiting at the Downs with the Fleet which was to escort Charles II back to England, he was sent 12 bottles of Margate (Northdown) ale by Captain Cuttance, and he and his companions presently drank 3 of them in their coach. In 1671 the lawyer, Jeffrey Boys, himself tried to bottle some Northdown ale sent to him from Kent by relatives, in the cellars at Gray's Inn; for this purpose he bought 2 dozen glass bottles for 8s/-, together with corks and packthread (Gray 1930). Generally, bottled ale seems to have been expensive: in 1712 Burton ale was offered in London for 7s/6d per dozen bottles (Clark 1983).
92. Note 60.
93. The name "Johnshall" is used in the Clerkenwell parish register in 1677 and, with the address "of Bledlow", in the Fulham manorial rolls in 1682 and later deeds. For the history of the family at Bledlow and memorials in Bledlow church see Lipscombe 1847 and *VCH Buckinghamshire*, Vol. II. Johnshall Crosse's will, written in 1721 (PRO PCC 1723 230), confirms that his wife, Elizabeth, and two of his brothers-in-law were now dead, but the other brother-in-law, James Whitehall, and his own 3 sisters were still alive.
94. The conveyance of the land by the Earl and Countess of Arlington in February 1682 is WL Deeds 192/2. This was a "high class" development, which immediately attracted some titled tenants, though the standard of building was sharply criticised at the time by Sir Dudley North (North, 1826 edition, Vol. III). In addition, a Crown indemnity had to be obtained for all concerned in May 1684 owing to contravention of building covenants (*Cal. S.P. (Dom.)*). Many deeds and other relevant documents are in GLRO E/PYM; others are WL 10/356, 15/4, 15/5 and 15/113. For the career of the builder, Richard Frith, who was eventually to die in debt, see *Survey of London*, Vol. XXXIII.
95. This is an inference only from the curious circumstance that in numerous instances in the Clerkenwell rate books (II.) in the first half of the 1680s "blanck" or "blank" (the family name of Johnshall Crosse's wife) is substituted as an amendment for the name of the existing occupier.
96. The surviving document, WL 69/72, is a release from the arrangement, following Mrs Crosse's death. The parties were Johnshall Crosse, William Pym and James Whitehall.
97. When William Hayton was to marry Johnshall Crosse's granddaughter in 1731 he was reported as setting forth from his father's house in Clerkenwell, and his bride was stated to be "a lady of singular accomplishments, an agreeable person and plentiful fortune" (Pinks 1887). For a study of Samuel Whitbread I's apprenticeship and early years in the brewing industry, see Harley 1958.
98. However, confusion of George Meggott of Soho (St. James's) with his relatives in Southwark goes back to the well-known biography of his grandson, John Elwes (Topham 1790).
99. The Fulham manorial rolls show Margaret Hughes and George Meggott of St. James's surrendering the house to new owners in October 1692. For the development of the Soho area, in which the brewery was situated, see *Survey of London*, Vols XXXI and XXXII (Parish of St. James, Westminster, north of Piccadilly), though evidently George Meggott's brewery was established rather earlier than there suggested (see note 66). Early in the 18th century this brewery is described as consisting of "a brewhouse, malt loft and ancillary buildings" (Vol. XXXI, p. 119). A further deed confirms that Meggott's house in Great Marlborough Street was built in 1707-08.
100. George Meggott's will is PRO PCC 1711 190. Thomas Crosse of Westminster was his joint executor and trustee, and two of his sisters-in-law, Elizabeth Crosse and Elizabeth Pym, were witnesses. His surviving son was Robert. There was a good deal of property in the present Piccadilly Circus area, though it was not specified in detail; however, messuages in George Court, Piccadilly, were left to his widow, and the Three Horse Shoes in Windmill Street was charged with a bequest to benefit poor children of the parish. The estate at Theydon Bois was that of Theydon Hall; it was in his family's possession (perhaps his own) by 1680 and was owned by descendants until 1919 (*VCH Essex*, Vol. IV, p. 252) and probably possession of this property led to his son, Robert, marrying Amy Elwes (note 101), since her family had property at Woodford in the same area. George's daughter, Mary, married an Inner Temple barrister, Robert Yard.
101. Robert Meggott died only 7 years after his father. His will is PRO PCC 1718 148. His wife, Amy, was the daughter of Gervase Elwes, eldest son of Sir Gervase Elwes, baronet. There is now an impression of very considerable wealth. Amy received £3000 by the will and their daughter (when she should come of age) £5000, and there are references to diamonds, and a coach and a chariot, and coach horses and saddle horses. Felix Calvert had bought Marcham in 1691 and had been M.P. for Reading (*History of Parliament House of Commons, 1715-1754*). Thomas (now Sir Thomas) Crosse of Westminster appears again as the young children's guardian.
102. The young John Meggott was sent by Sir Thomas Crosse to his own former school, Westminster. His career is well known from the biography written shortly after his death by Edward Topham (Topham 1790). He did not go to University, but spent some time at Geneva and gained a reputation of being among the most daring horsemen in Europe. It cannot be shown that he ever played an active role in the brewery in Little Windmill Street, and the business seems, after the expiry of the lease in 1748, to have been merged with the adjoining brewery of John Starkey, which was carried on into the 19th century. In 1750 Meggott adopted the surname of his mother and his uncle, Sir Harvey Elwes, and in 1763 succeeded to his uncle's considerable wealth, though the baronetcy passed to another line, that descending from Sir John Elwes of Fulham. The former John Meggott played a major part in the financing of London building development, particularly in St. Marylebone, and, having kept his father's estate at Marcham, was M.P. for Berkshire from 1772 to 1784. He did not marry, and two sons, who were born to his housekeeper at Marcham, inherited only the part of his property which was not entailed. His reputation as a notable miser (though this seems to apply more justly to his uncle's family as a whole) earned him the distinction of inclusion in the DNB.
103. No link was found with the family of the leading goldsmith of the period, Gilbert Whitehall.
104. WL Deeds 10/295 and 69/84.
105. William Pym, senior, was a London Merchant Taylor; no connection was found with the family of John Pym, the Parliamentarian. For references in Pepys' *Diary* etc. see Latham and Matthews 1970-83, Vols X and XI. He was buried at Leighton Buzzard and his will is PRO PCC 1672 64. The marriage licence allegation for his son, William Pym, and Elizabeth Crosse (Vicar-General of Canterbury, 26 July 1679) gives William's residence as "Wrach, co. Beds.", i.e. Reach, Leighton Buzzard.
106. This building development and the career of the builder, Richard Frith, are dealt with in the *Survey of London*, Vol. XXXIII (Parish of St. Anne, Soho). The development was initiated by the grant of letters patent to Joseph Girdle, a brewer, of St. Marylebone, who assigned the rights to Frith. The part which was in the possession of Henry Crosse in 1679 was called Cooke's Croft and Billson's Close. The Soho property of Thomas Crosse of Westminster was also in this area.
107. William Pym appears at Clerkenwell as Captain Pym in the 1693-94 Grants-in-Aid to the Crown (CLRO Assessments 89.2 and 14.6). However, it appears from the collection of deeds in GLRO (E/PYM) that he and his wife moved their residence in about 1690 to Holborn. Pym's will (PRO PCC 1716 235) shows that, in addition to the Nortonbury estate, he still had the Leighton Buzzard manor and other property. A share of the Arlington Street development was bringing in £248 p.a. He made Sir Thomas Crosse of Westminster and Sir Thomas's brother, Robert, his trustees. His sons, William and John, both studied at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and the Middle Temple. For the later descent of the family see, in particular, *VCH Hertfordshire*, Vols II and III, *VCH Bedfordshire*, Vols II and III, and Godber 1969.
108. PRO PCC 1712 250. Also Pinks 1887. Prior to becoming Master of the Brewers' Company (Bal 1977) John Crosse appears as a member in a list of 1682 (GL ms. 5878) but he is not in some earlier surviving lists.

- A Thomas Crosse appears in 1687 (GL ms. 5875A). For a lease of property in Turnmill Street see GLRO Q/HAL/47.
109. PRO PCC 1713 256. See also Pinks 1887. The property at Wapping may have been involved in the supply of hops, the use of which in brewing was fairly general by the end of the 17th century.
 110. Will of Andrew Crosse PRO PCC 1749 275. A nephew of his, Harry Crosse, lived in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, but passed the last years of his life at Aldenham, Hertfordshire, where the Brewers' Company had established their school; his will (PRO PCC 1741 83) shows that he too owned property at Wapping, but it was not described; he also had 2 farms in Essex.
 111. It is seen from the St. Margaret's rate books (WL) that Hammond Crosse had a house of his own at Westminster, close to the Millbank brewery. His marriage to Robert Crosse's daughter is established by Robert's will (note 118). In a bastardy deposition against one of his servants at Westminster Hammond is called "a distiller", but this might have been inaccurate (WL E2578 Vol. 5). He became a churchwarden of St. John the Evangelist in 1747-48 and his 5 children were baptised there in 1743-48.
 112. The arrangement to transfer part of the Hockley property to the parish is documented in Pinks 1887. By this time the area was becoming insalubrious and disreputable. It became known as Ray Street (said previously to have been Rag Street) and was mostly swept away in the Victorian clearance. The jingle
All the stinks that rise together
From Hockley Hole in sultry weather.
is dated back to 1717.
 113. Hammond Crosse's will is PRO PCC 1785 459. What had apparently been the brewery property, with a reference to water supply rights, was left to his son, Hammond, but the brewery is not referred to; the additional Clerkenwell property, which had been bought from a Thomas Smith, was not in Ray Street. Hammond was also left his father's residence in Lower Street, Islington, and an estate at Shenley, Hertfordshire. For the career of the third son, the Revd. John Crosse, see DNB; his father left him "£300 stock in Old South Sea Annuities".
 114. See Gatty 1921 and Phillips 1964. Sir Thomas Grosvenor, who married the heiress, Mary Davies, came from a leading Cheshire family and was M.P. for Chester. Their descendants are the Dukes of Westminster, who have continued to own the estates.
 115. Details from the wills of Thomas Crosse of Millbank and his heirs and descendants are conveniently brought together in Boddington 1908. Unfortunately the will of his son, Sir Thomas Crosse (PRO PCC 1738 145), in which everything was left to his son, John, gives no details about his possessions. For some details of Sir Thomas's career see Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Baronetcies* (1844) and *History of Parliament, House of Commons, 1715-1754*. The Crosse family vault and a memorial to Sir Thomas are in St. Margaret's, Westminster. As to William Greene and his family's important brewery at Pimlico, Westminster, see Janes 1963; after it was rebuilt in 1715 this brewery was insured for £18,000 and William Greene was said in the *Gentleman's Magazine* to have been worth upwards of £150,000 when he died in 1731; his successor, Thomas Greene, who died in 1740, was called "the greatest brewer in England, immensely rich".
 116. It was not suggested that use of the vaults by the brewery was to blame for the fire which destroyed the new church in 1742. Use continued after the rebuilding.
 117. For the estate and its later history, see *VCH Essex*, Vol. VII.
 118. Robert Crosse in his will (PRO PCC 1741 256) states that the freehold of the brewery was purchased by Sir Thomas Crosse and himself. Robert, having married (in 1694) a daughter of Sir Thomas Field of Stanstedbury, Hertfordshire, had a copyhold estate there. He disowned his eldest son, William, of whose way of life he disapproved, and his share in the brewery was left to the younger son, Charles. £2800 was left to Robert Benson, who later became a partner. Robert Crosse's sister, Mrs Mary Martin, had a memorial put up to him and to her nephew (Sir Thomas Crosse's son, Thomas, who predeceased him) in the church at Netteswell, Essex, and this is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, having been removed there in 1969 (*VCH Essex*, Vol. VIII p. 212).
 119. The partnership is referred to in the will of Sir John Crosse (PRO PCC 1762 144). Among other legacies he made generous bequests to London hospitals and to the Westminster Bluecoat School. He left family portraits of Sir Thomas Crosse and himself.
 120. The will of Charles Cross is PRO PCC 1785 238, and that of Sir John's widow, Dame Mary Crosse, who continued to live in the mansion at Millbank until her death in 1770, is PRO PCC 1770 356.
 121. Boddington 1908, and *VCH Essex*, Vol. VII.
 122. Matthias 1959. See this also for an account of the development of the brewing industry in the 18th century. At the beginning of the 19th century the *Annual Register* was able to publish figures showing that 4

of the London brewers (including Samuel Whitbread II) were each producing more than 100,000 barrels a year, with others not far behind. A notable description of the prospects in the trade was given in 1747 by R. Campbell in his handbook of guidance for young men seeking to choose a trade or profession; to enter the trade, he said, family influence or actual experience were normally necessary, and to embark on it independently "a large stock of ready money" was required, although the profits would be "proportionably considerable" (Campbell 1747).

123. Tryon 1682 and 1691.

124. Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*, Chapter XXII; first published in 1860-61.

ADDENDA

In comparison with the large amount of stoneware presumed to have been made for the Cock Ale-house in the later 1670s, a published inventory, dated 1644, for the Mitre Tavern in the Strand showed only, in the cellar, "10 gallon potts, 3 pottle (½-gallon) potts, 13 quarts, 13 pints, two ½-pints" (Shenahan 1961).

As a modest contribution to the history of Temple Bar, it may be recorded that one of the witnesses to Henry Crosse's will in 1681 was a Henry Meux. After the demolition of Temple Bar in 1878 it was, of course, Sir Henry Meux, whose family had become prominent in the London brewing trade during the 18th century, who eventually bought the stones and had the monument re-erected at its present site on his estate at Theobald's Park in Hertfordshire.

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Appreciation is due to the authorities and archivists concerned for access permitted to the records.

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