

# EXCAVATIONS ON THE WEST SIDE OF WHITEHALL 1960–2 PART I: FROM THE BUILDING OF THE TUDOR PALACE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MODERN OFFICES OF STATE

H. J. M. GREEN and DR S. J. THURLEY

Edited by  
DR J. TURQUET

## SUMMARY

*Rescue excavations by the Ministry of Works and the London Museum took place between 1961 and 1963 to the west of Whitehall, on the site of the Old Treasury, the Privy Council Offices, the Cabinet Offices and No 10 Downing Street (Figs 1, 3). The site area extended from Downing Street on the south to the Horseguards Parade on the north, and from St James' Park on the west to Whitehall on the east.*

*Excavated evidence is related to the extensive documentation of the site which shows continuous occupation from the 9th century to the present day, with traces of prehistoric and Roman remains. The Middle Saxon riverside settlement on the southern edge of Lundenwic became by the Norman period a roadside 'ribbon' development of inns and tenements between Charing and Westminster.*

*In 1531 the area was cleared of buildings to provide recreational facilities for Henry VIII's new palace of Whitehall. Extensive standing remains and foundations were uncovered of the tennis courts, bowling alley, lodgings and park wall, which with the tiltyard, pheasant yard and cockpit provided sport for Henry VIII and his court, (then accommodated in the main palace on the riverside to the east). The park side complex, subsequently known as the 'Cockpit', was designed to be displayed within the context of formal gardens, orchards and, of course, the royal hunting park of St James. A reassessment of the Tudor development has revealed the symmetry and order of Henry VIII's original master plan. During Elizabeth's reign little structural work was carried out. Rather more domestic conversions and rebuilding occurred under James I, and particularly after the restoration of Charles II.*

*The fire of 1698, which destroyed the main palace, effectively marks the end of the courtier occupation of the Cockpit side, which from then on became increasingly used by the various offices of state. The most notable building, Kent's Treasury, was completed in 1736. The major development schemes of John Soane in 1824 and Charles Barry in 1844 finally gave an architectural coherence to what had become the premier group of government offices in the country. Yet incorporated into the 19th century façades were substantial remains of the Tudor and later palace buildings. The same process of conversion rather than total rebuilding also occurred at No. 10 Downing Street, which developed from a modest pair of back-to-back houses used by the First Lord of the Treasury in the 18th century.*

*This piecemeal architectural development of the site has been a major archaeological bonus. It ensured that large areas were virtually free of basements, with the resulting preservation of stratification, structures and major groups of archaeological material. The Middle-Saxon site is one of the most important in London, both in terms of the structural remains preserved and the large scale associated groups of pottery and small finds. The late medieval pit groups, particularly those of the 15th and early 16th centuries are outstanding. Material from the palace development is also abundant, but mainly from the periods when the Cockpit side was a fashionable residential area for courtiers, notably during the 17th century. Important cess pit groups are also to be associated with the use of the Privy Council offices, Kent's Treasury and the last private residence, Dorset House, during the 18th century. The finds from the excavations are in the collections of the Museum of London, with private displays at the Privy Council Offices.*

*A list of abbreviations used is supplied after the acknowledgements at the rear of the text.*

**INTRODUCTION**

The Old Treasury Building which occupies part of the site of the excavation lies on the west side of Whitehall some 300m north of Parliament Square (O.S. Plan TQ 3079 NW and TQ 3080 SW).

The site lies within the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and as such the history of the buildings on the Treasury site was traced in the LCC *Survey of London* (LCC, 1930, 1931). The area covered by the survey lay between St. James' Park

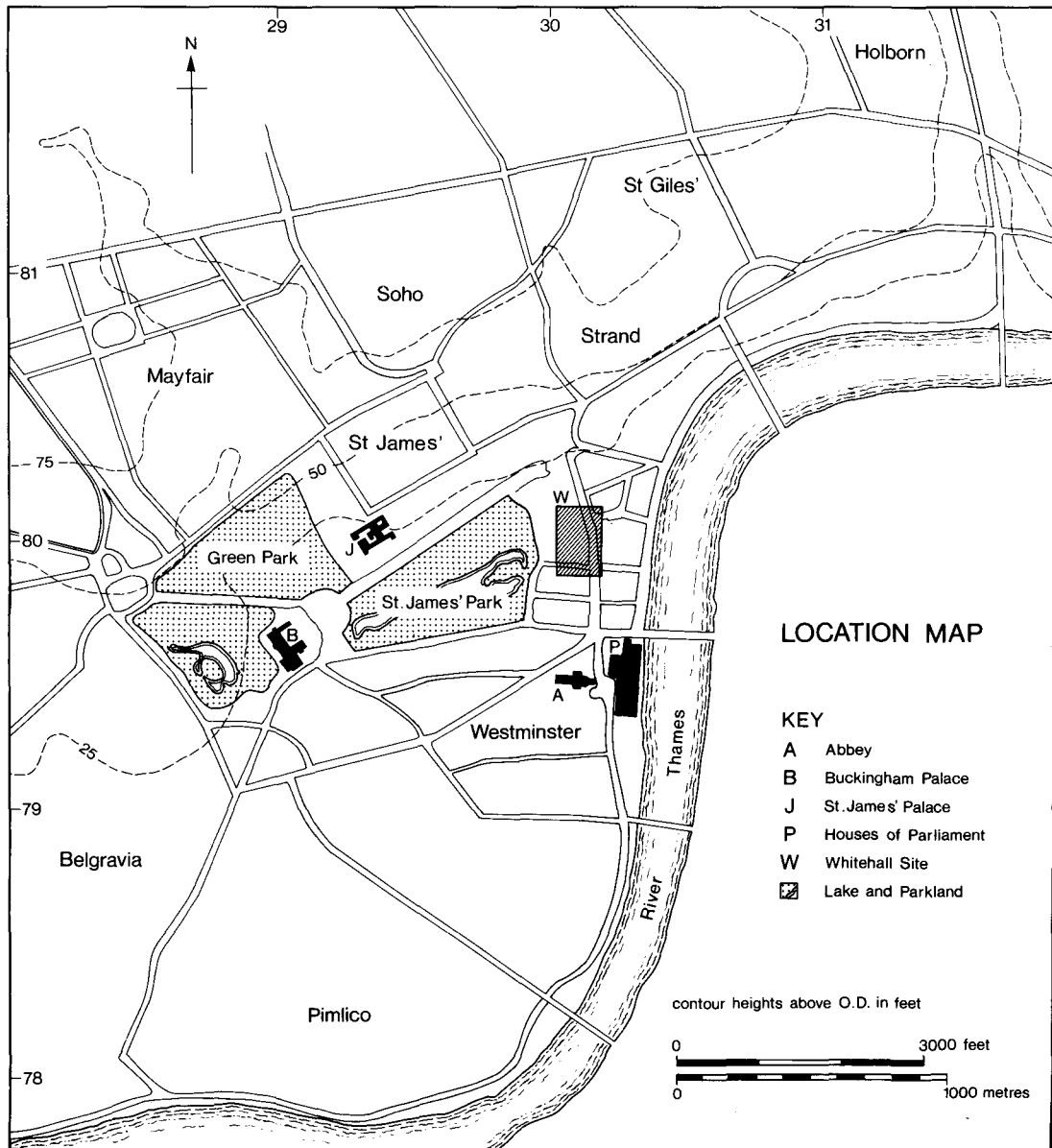


Fig. 1 Location Map: Whitehall, London

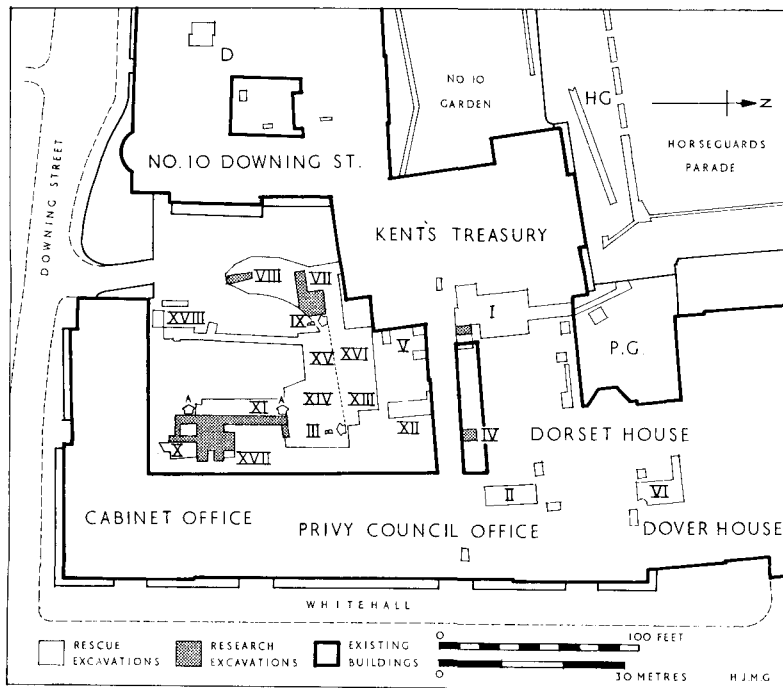


Fig. 3 Whitehall: Excavation Areas Plan

on the west and King Street (now Whitehall) to the east. The work described here was carried out during rebuilding work in the areas now occupied by the Cabinet and Privy Council Offices, No. 10 Downing Street and in the vicinity of Horse Guards Parade (Fig. 3).

The archaeological observation of Whitehall Palace began in 1938 on the east side of Whitehall during the demolition of houses in Whitehall Gardens. In 1950 a further investigation was possible on the demolition of Montagu House. During a repair programme beneath Inigo Jones' Banqueting House in 1952 further evidence was recorded. The records have been re-examined in recent years and have thrown much light on the architectural development of Whitehall (Colvin *et al* 1982, 500-43).

It is hoped that this report and future reports on the other excavations will bring

a fuller understanding of the palace buildings. Because of the size of the enterprise and pressure of time, it has been decided to publish the report in three parts: part one, the introduction to the whole excavation report, and the detailed account of excavation of features and structures dating from Tudor times to the nineteenth century; part two, the account of excavation of features and structures dating from prehistoric to late medieval times; and part three, the finds.

*N.B. Figs 2, 11 and 12, the overall site plan and sections are contained in an envelope in the back cover of this volume.*

## THE EXCAVATION

(see Fig. 3)

The early Victorian façade of the Old Treasury Building on the west side of Whitehall masks a palimpsest of structures dating back to the sixteenth century.

The combined effect of bomb damage during the Second World War and old age made drastic renovation necessary, and this was begun in 1960 under the direction of the then Ministry of Works. Sir Charles Barry's frontage was retained, but many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century structures around Treasury Green had to be replaced by new buildings. At the same time the opportunity was taken to modernise Nos 10, 11, and 12 Downing Street, which adjoin the Treasury, and a scheme of rebuilding was carried out to the design of the late Raymond Erith.

As soon as deep foundation and service-trenches for the new buildings began to be dug, it was clear that extensive archaeological remains survived below ground level. Due to the assumption that earlier structural features must have been extensively disturbed by later building, and because of political pressure to complete the development as quickly as possible, no special provision had been made for emergency archaeological excavation of the type that would now be regarded as normal on a site of such importance. The policy in the early 1960s was still the same as when the remains of the eastern side of Whitehall were exposed in 1938 and 1950, namely, the restriction of archaeological work to the recording by drawing office staff of standing remains and the more substantial of the buried structures which were being exposed.

In July 1961 the present excavation began after a small trial hole dug by Michael Green in a lunch hour had chanced upon the Tudor rubbish pits on site I. The overall supervision of the excavations was then carried out by Michael Green, at that time a junior architectural assistant in the Ministry of Works' Ancient Monuments Branch. The work of archaeological recording and excavation was carried out under considerable dif-

iculties (Pl. 38). It took two years to explore what remained of the site, an area of some 2½ acres (1 hectare), to set up a recording system and to mount a limited number of rescue excavations. An interim report was published in 1963 (Green and Curnow, 1963).

## 1. CIRCUMSTANCES OF EXCAVATION

By the time regular excavations were initiated in July 1961, demolition and site clearance had already been in operation for over a year. Some architectural recording had been carried out by H. Gordon Slade and other Ancient Monuments staff, but no rescue excavations had been authorised, even though it was evident that important archaeological remains survived below ground. The 19th-century rebuilding along the Whitehall front had involved the digging of basements which had largely removed the post-medieval features, but by no means everywhere. There were rumours of various important discoveries, including a hoard of plate, which had been illicitly dispersed by the time regular excavations started. The digging of a large service trench across Treasury Green revealed that archaeological deposits survived to a depth of *c.* 9ft (*c.* 3m) but at the time (1960) only minimal archaeological recording was carried out. The Privy Council Offices to the east of Kent's Treasury consisted mainly of 19th-century buildings without basements. This was the area of some of the most serious archaeological losses, particularly in relation to the 16th-century pre-palace deposits. Workmen reported that they had filled a huge iron stove full of pottery and finds from what was later identified as ditch I T.1. It was the news of the removal of this stove and its contents from the site that alerted Peter Curnow to the serious archaeological losses that were occurring and led to the

authorisation of Michael Green to start regular excavations.

The excavations that subsequently developed were rescue in character. As each part of the site was opened up for building works, the archaeological remains were excavated and recorded to the limits of the cuttings involved. In most cases this prohibited lateral excavations to explore features, or taking the excavations down to the subsoil. In some cases it was only possible to record features and stratification in the sides of trenches. However, the opportunity was taken in a number of places to mount what were essentially research excavations where important features had been accidentally found, for example the Middle Saxon building on site XVII (see Pt II). Most of these excavations were keyhole in nature, but were invariably taken down to the natural. The two types of excavation are distinguished on the site plan, Fig. 2.

## 2. SITE RECORDING METHOD

Recording was of the now unfashionable Wheeler and Kenyon type. Each archaeological area as it was identified was given a Roman numeral, and each feature was numbered consecutively, being prefaced by a letter or letters generally indicating its period. Only major elements were identified, each type of feature being given a separate series of structural numbers. For example, a pit of Tudor date on site I might be identified as pit I T.2. Even where building sites overlapped, this simple recording system worked effectively. The excavation and recording work was greatly helped by detailed older surveys, some dating back to the 17th century, which enabled whole sequences of features to be accurately identified, plotted and dated. All this information was recorded in detail to  $\frac{1}{16}$ in (3mm) scale on a multi-period site plan (Fig. 2), in which most architectural fea-

tures, even where not excavated, are provided with a dated annotation of their first known documentary or cartographical reference. The most important documentary source of information was the LCC *Survey of London*, (1930, 1931) which dealt exclusively with this particular site. This provided the basic topographical history of the site, which it has now been possible to amplify by drawing upon primary material, which has greatly elucidated the late medieval and Tudor palace development of the site.

## DATING SEQUENCE

The history of the site has been arranged into the following sequence:

### PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN

- I. Tyburn silting
- II. Prehistoric and Roman activity

### MIDDLE SAXON

- III. Eighth-ninth centuries.
  - (a) Building II MS1
  - (b) Building XVII MS1
  - (c) Building XVII MS2
    - i. c. 830-851
    - ii. 851-871

### MEDIEVAL

- IV. Tenth-twelfth centuries.
  - (a) River silting
  - (b) Reclamation c. 1160
  - (c) Market gardens and tenements
- V. c. 1160-1532  
Development by tenants of Westminster Abbey:
  - (a) The Assumption Guild.
  - (b) The Lady Chapel.

### TUDOR: WHITEHALL PALACE, THE COCKPIT SCHEME

- VI. 23 May 1531-31 May 1533
  - (a) Crown acquisition of land and partial site clearance, May-August 1531.
  - (b) Construction of tiltyard, tiltyard gallery, cockpit, "Holbein" gate, tennis plays, bowling alleys, lodgings, precinct wall and moat enclosing orchard/garden layout.

VII. 16 February 1533–December 1534  
Construction of small close tennis play and small open tennis play. Completion of gallery 'between the tennis plays' and access staircase adjoining gallery 'haut place'. Possible addition of pheasant court.

VIII. 1534–1547  
Small alterations to the Henrician palace.

#### LATE TUDOR:

IX. 1547–1603  
(a) Moat filled-in.  
(b) New tennis play built.  
(c) Additions to the cockpit lodgings.  
(d) Refurbishing cockpit (1582).

#### EARLY STUART: ALTERATIONS AND COMMONWEALTH

X. 1603–1660  
(a) Conversion of small close tennis play to kitchens for Princess Elizabeth (1604) and lodgings (1610).  
(b) Cockpit converted into theatre (1629).

#### RESTORATION

XI. 1660–1698  
(a) Conversion of cockpit lodgings for the Duke of Albemarle (1660).  
(b) Conversion of great close tennis play to lodgings for the Duke of Monmouth (1663).  
(c) Erection of the Old Horse Guards on tiltyard site (1664).  
(d) Duke of Buckingham's house erected (1671).  
(e) Lodgings built for the Earl of Danby (1674) and demolition of the cockpit (1675).  
(f) Erection of Lichfield House (1677), later part of No. 10 Downing Street.  
(g) Formation of Downing Street (1683–6).  
(h) Main palace buildings on the east side of Whitehall destroyed by fire (1698).

#### HANOVERIAN

XII. 1698–1846  
(a) Demolition of park stairs and tiltyard gallery, and erection of Viscount Falmouth's house on site (1716).  
(b) Demolition of King Street gate (1723).  
(c) Rebuilding of the Monmouth lodgings for the Duke of Dorset (c. 1729).  
(d) Remodelling of No. 10 Downing Street and erection of stabling (1732–5).

(e) Erection of Kent's 'Treasury on site of Danby Lodgings (1733–6).  
(f) Demolition of 'Holbein' gate (1759).  
(g) Refronting of Board of Trade and Privy Council Offices by Soane (1824–7).  
(h) Redevelopment by Barry of Old Treasury site and demolition of great close tennis play façade (1846).

## THE DESTRUCTION OF MEDIEVAL KING STREET

### YORK PLACE BEFORE 1530

In 1246 Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, gave to the See of York 'all our houses in the street of Westminster with the rents, gardens and vivaries and all their appurtenances'<sup>1</sup>. With this grant the Archbishops of York acquired the mansion which, as 'York Place', was to be the main London seat of that See for 400 years. Little is known of the form of the early house, but it was visited regularly by Edward I after the Palace of Westminster had been burnt in the fire of 1298<sup>2</sup>. Excavation of the site to the east of Whitehall in 1939 showed that this early building (of which little was found) was vastly extended in the episcopal building boom of the mid fifteenth century<sup>3</sup>. Thus, when in 1514 Thomas Wolsey became Archbishop of York, a substantial town house existed on the east side of King Street by the Thames (Fig. 4). Wolsey acquired York Place and Hampton Court in the same year, 1514, and at both houses began major additions. Those at York Place included a long gallery, new hall and chapel and an orchard<sup>4</sup>. As cardinal and chancellor he used the house as a town house conveniently situated close to the Law Courts at Westminster which he had to attend during the legal term<sup>5</sup>. The summer months were spent at Hampton Court and The More<sup>6</sup>.

The evidence of Henry VIII's itinerary

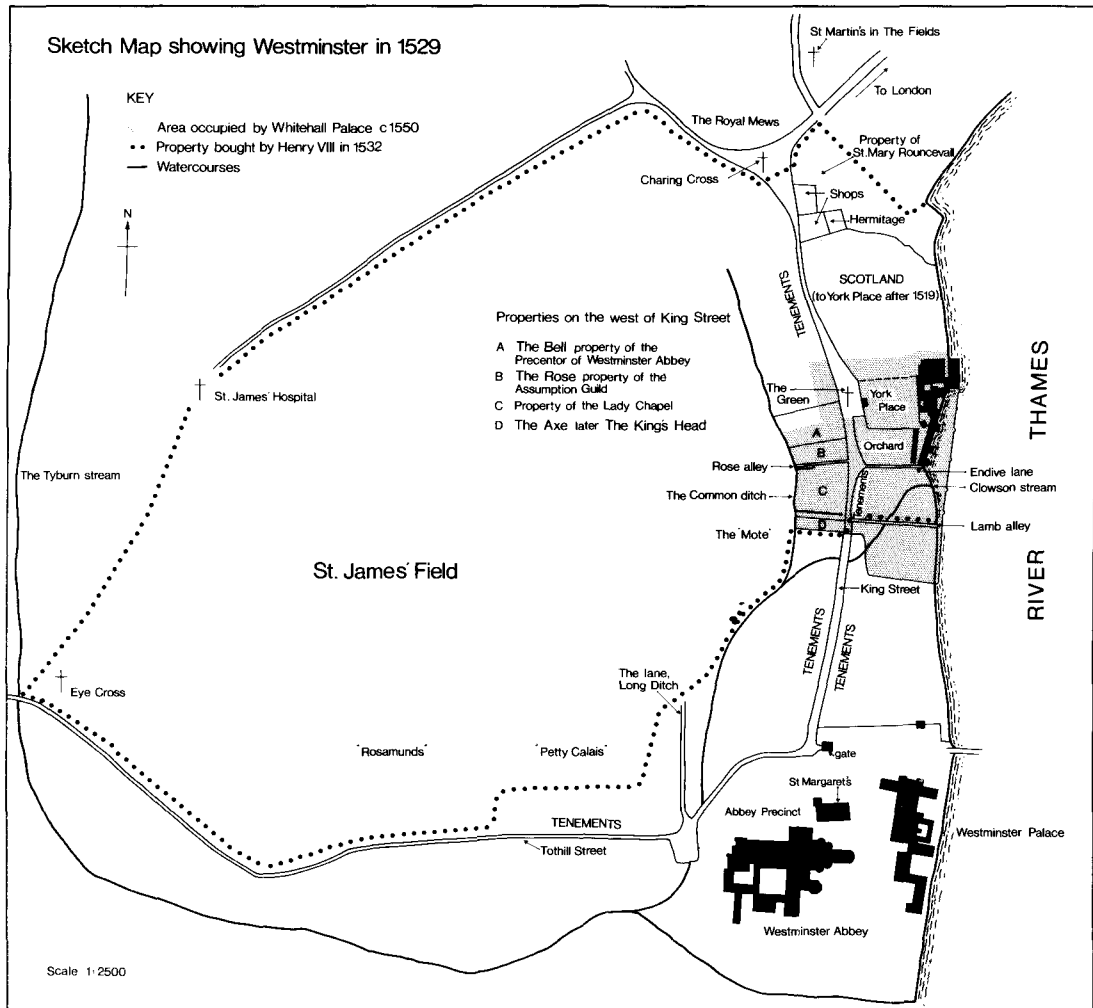


Fig. 4 Sketch Map showing Westminster in 1529

suggests that the King rarely, if ever, stayed the night at York Place<sup>7</sup>. This must have been partly due to the fact that the house, as an episcopal palace, did not provide a suite of rooms for the Queen; and partly due to the fact that during the winter, when Henry was in the London area, Wolsey was continually in residence for the term. Yet York Place must have always been an attractive house to the King. After the burning of Westminster

Palace in 1512 Henry did not have a Westminster house and had to stay at the Archbishop of Canterbury's house in Lambeth during sessions of Parliament<sup>8</sup>. This situation was slightly eased by the building of the palace of Bridewell near the river Fleet in 1515–22<sup>9</sup>.

York Place presented serious problems in terms of future expansion. It was a town house surrounded by houses to the south, the river to the east and the road

to the west. Wolsey had begun to tackle the problem of space by buying the group of properties immediately to the south of the house on which he built a gallery and orchard<sup>10</sup>. It was this method of clearing tenements that Henry was to adapt on a vast scale on both sides of King Street in 1532–3 (see p. 67). Wolsey had also begun to build out onto the river—thus conquering the eastern constraint on expansion, but as is shown (on p. 75), it was left to Henry to overcome the western boundary by bridging King Street with a gate allowing expansion on the west.

#### THE ACQUISITION OF THE LANDS

On October 22nd 1529 Wolsey pleaded guilty to the charge of *praemunire*, surrendering all his property to Henry and throwing himself on the King's mercy. Two days later Henry, with Anne Boleyn, visited York Place to view the prize that he had gained<sup>11</sup>. Henry then used the house regularly until Christmas, when he removed to Greenwich. There, the Venetian ambassador claimed, Henry spent Christmas designing 'new lodgings' and 'a park adjoining York House which belonged to the late Cardinal Wolsey. The plan is on so large a scale that many hundreds of houses will be levelled'<sup>12</sup>. The plan devised that Christmas was by far the King's most ambitious building project to that date. It involved the destruction of a thriving and populous medieval suburb inhabited by several hundred people, many of whom were former members of Wolsey's household<sup>13</sup>. The order to begin work must have been issued in the first half of 1530.

The first task to be undertaken was a survey of all the properties in King Street that were to be included within the palace precinct. The King needed to know their size and value and who the leaseholders

were. One of the surveys relating to the properties on the west side of King Street has survived and is headed

'the setting furth of all those parcells of lands and tennements whiche the abbot and convent of westminster partyd from in ye kyngs stret for paughle'<sup>14</sup>.

This is probably a later heading as it indicates that the lands were eventually exchanged for the monastery of Poughley at Chaddleworth in Berkshire. It deals with seven properties including that called The Bell and part of Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel's property. The leaseholders are named and their sub-tenants listed together with the value of the property. Sir Henry Wyatt, for instance, himself occupied a shop, tenement and gardens worth 26s 8d; from his four sub-tenants he was owed £4 10s a year. The total value of the property was 63s 4d a year. A further survey of properties belonging to owners other than the Abbot of Westminster survives and includes the property belonging to the Abbot of Abingdon<sup>15</sup>.

The surveys were not complete until May 1531, for only on 23rd May was the King able to buy the first batch of leases. Most of these leases have survived, and a contemporary hand list summarising them reveals that The Bell cost £128, The Rose £53 6s 8d, Henry Wyatt's property £20, and The Axe £80. In total Henry spent over £1,120 that day on buying leases on both sides of the road<sup>16</sup>.

The plan to be executed on the purchase of the leases was well enough known. On 14th May, Chapuys (the Imperial ambassador) was able to write 'the king is having a great park made in front of the house which once belonged to the cardinal, and in order to go to it across the street [he will have] a very long covered gallery built, for which purpose a number of houses [will] be pulled down'<sup>17</sup>.



Thus on May 16th began the replacement of the medieval suburb with what was to become the largest palace in Christendom.

### THE CLEARANCE OF THE SITE

Work began immediately on the dismantling of the tenements along both sides of King Street and the clearing and levelling of the ground. The houses were dismantled with great care for the materials were to be re-used in the palace buildings:

*‘To John Giles of Southwarke rooper for one warpe of hande roopis by hym delvered at the kinges manor aforesaide for the sauffe taking downe withoute spoyle of certeyne olde houses there’<sup>18</sup>.*

Tilers were provided with green wicker baskets ‘for takyng downe of tyles of houses’<sup>19</sup> and the tiles, timber and other re-usable materials were taken to a store-yard set up in Scotland Yard pending reuse<sup>20</sup>. In July 1531 a lock was put on a ‘dore of a house wherein carpenters worke late parcell of the Inne named the belle’<sup>21</sup> showing that during the clearance of the site the old tenements were used as workshops. In August the meadow behind The Bell was ‘hedged and enclosed’ with ‘stakyes and edders’ to safeguard building materials stored there<sup>22</sup>.

### DITCHES AND PITS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SITE CLEARANCE

The evidence provided by the excavation of ditch M1 (see Pt II ‘Medieval’) showed the problems of flooding on the west side of King Street, and this is confirmed by documents in Westminster Abbey relating to the flooding of the properties in the area<sup>23</sup>. To solve the problem of drainage Henry VIII appointed a drainage consultant in August 1531:

*‘to richarde adams of blakemore in essex for his peyne in comyng from thens to the forenamed manor in distance XVI myles to aweve and devise*

*for ffylling of dichies within the grounde appointed for a parke nygh unto the said manor’<sup>24</sup>.*

Both the medieval ditches XVII.M.1 and I.T.1/IV.T.1 were filled in this operation, (see Fig. 2). On site XVII ditch M1 had been filled with earth and demolition rubble including limestone slabs (Fig. 11), and a small group of early sixteenth century pottery was found (Pt III, Fig. 37). On site IV brick and tile rubble levelled the ditch. On site I ditch I.T.2 was likewise filled with rubble but also contained much pottery (see in Archive).

Associated with ditch I.M.2 were pits I.T.1–T.3 (Fig. 2) (Pt III, Figs 38–48). The largest of these was pit I.T.1 which was 12ft (3.69m) in diameter and cut the filled ditch I.T.2, and thus must have been filled slightly later. Ditch I.T.1 and pit I.T.1 contained similar pottery. The smaller pit I.T.2, 6ft (1.85m) in diameter, was cut by pit I.T.1 and its fill contained a small group of pottery and metal work of a similar type. Pit I.T.3 also contained similar fabrics but pottery forms showed a difference so that this pit is considered to be slightly earlier in date. Pit I.T.1 was deep and seems to have cut medieval and Saxon levels. These pits contained a wide range of pottery and metalwork including lace ends and pins which would suggest the presence of clothing (see Pt III, Figs 78–9). These finds are almost certainly the discarded contents of the demolished tenements. (See also p. 62). Pit XI.T.6 (Fig. 2) was likewise connected with the disposal of the contents of the demolished tenements, and the pottery found here (Pt III, Fig. 35) was very similar to that from pits I.T.1–3 (Pt III, Fig. 48). On site XVIII a further pit (XVIII.T.1) belonged to the immediately pre-palace phase. It underlay walls of a late seventeenth-century date associated with Hampden House and contained a large number of broken glazed tiles and pottery (Pt III, ‘Floor Tiles’ report; Fig. 49). Both

the fabric and the glaze of the tiles were almost identical to the pottery found in Pits I.T.1–3 and XI.T.6. It is uncertain whether these were wasters or demolition rubble, but they may have been connected with The Axe (the pre-palace inn which lay immediately beyond the southern boundary of the palace (Pt II ‘Late Medieval’)).

Both ditches XVII/VIII.M.1 and I.T.1/IV.T.1 were probably flood streams carrying water from the marshy area of St James’ Fields (see Pt II). They could not be filled without providing new drainage channels to take flood waters eastwards towards the Thames. So Adams had all the existing ditches dredged and cleaned ‘to the entente that the water may issue from the same ditches into the thamyse’<sup>25</sup>. In addition to this a brick ‘vaulte or water course’ was built to take the excess water from the common ditch, under King Street and Scotland Yard, to the Thames<sup>26</sup>.

### THE LEVELLING OF THE SITE

The final operation undertaken for the clearance of the site was the levelling of the whole area with chalk. This layer of chalk was found over the entire Treasury site and provides an invaluable stratigraphical feature (see sections Figs 11, 12). A similar layer was found on the east side of the palace when the areas cleared by Henry VIII in 1531 were excavated in the 1950s<sup>27</sup>. As the building accounts do not record the purchase of large quantities of chalk most of it must have come from the demolition of Kennington Manor and the old palace of Westminster which were being dismantled to provide materials for the new buildings<sup>28</sup>.

By early 1532 what was to become the park side of Henry VIII’s new palace of Whitehall was cleared, drained and levelled and building work was ready to begin.

## THE EARLY TUDOR PARK SIDE

### 1. INTRODUCTION: SPORT IN THE TUDOR COURT

The park side of Whitehall Palace was a unique creation of Henry VIII’s court. It was an area of buildings devoted entirely to sport, and was engendered by the merging of two important themes current in the court of Henry VIII. The first of these was a revival of the classical concern to exercise the body, which accompanied the revival of interest in other facets of classical civilisation. The second was a strong current of chivalric ideas which continued to influence the English court.

The revival in interest in the physique began in fifteenth-century Italy, and Castiglione, in his *Book of the Courtier* of 1527, was amongst the first to express it. Castiglione justified sports like tennis, swimming and riding in terms other than those of military benefit to the state, which had hitherto been the sole justification for exercising the body. Indeed, turning away from the medieval idea of ‘sport’ for war’s sake, he advocated it in terms of social benefit, to be played in a gentlemanly manner as one of the accomplishments of a courtier. He wrote of tennis; ‘I would like our courtier to take part in this game and in all the others, apart from those using the use of arms, as an amateur, making it clear that he neither seeks nor expects any applause’<sup>29</sup>. For Castiglione the central ingredient of courtly sport was its amateurism: it was to be like music, writing or even painting, one of the accomplishments of a civilised courtier.

The English, whilst taking up Castiglione’s idea of the courtly amateur sportsman, added a further dimension of their own. Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Governor* of 1531 recommended sport to the nobleman because ‘by exercise, which is vehement

motion, the helthe of a man is preserved and his strength increased<sup>30</sup>. Elyot had been profoundly influenced by Galen's *De Sanitate Tuenda*, the great classical work on physical education, translated by Henry VIII's physician Thomas Linacre in 1517. Elyot's recommendation of sport rested entirely on the fact that vehement motion (Galen's definition of exercise) was essential for man's physical well being. There was no suggestion that it would also enhance a man's social standing.

The social and physical advantages of sport were quickly appreciated in the atmosphere of the early Tudor Court. The turbulence and instability of fifteenth-century England had prevented the growth of indoor sports such as had developed in Italy, Burgundy and France. With the Tudor victory at Bosworth and the subsequent dynastic stability there was a widening of acceptable courtly activity. The most successful courtiers no longer excelled only at the martial arts, but were now those whose interests, if not talents, encompassed Castiglione's range of pursuits, from music and poetry to astronomy and tennis.

It was Henry VII who, at his rebuilt palace of Richmond created England's first sports complex. Unfortunately little is known about this group of buildings but they were described in 1501 by a herald at the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon. . .

'the lougher end of the gardeyn beth plesaunt galerys, and housis of pleasure to disporte inn, at chesse, tables, dise, cardes, bylys; bowling aleys, butts for archers, and goodly tenes plays; as well as to use the seid plays and disports as to behold them so disporting<sup>31</sup>.

An important element was clearly the role of the spectator, and later repair accounts reveal that the tennis plays were provided with viewing galleries<sup>32</sup>. Other of Henry VII's houses were provided with sporting

facilities including Westminster, Woodstock (Oxfordshire), Windsor (Berkshire), and Kenilworth (Warwickshire)<sup>33</sup>.

Part of Henry VIII's education was vigorous participation in 'all such convenient disports and exercises as behoveth his estate to have experience in'<sup>34</sup>, and when he became king in 1509 the court launched into a continual round of sport. Hunting and jousting were the most popular and frequent sports of the King's youth, although he also engaged in indoor games like tennis. Hunting remained a favourite with the King until his death, but jousting suffered a sudden eclipse after 1528, and although jousts continued, after 1530 the King never participated again<sup>35</sup>. Instead, from 1530 indoor sports, tennis, bowls and cockfighting gained the ascendancy, closely followed by archery and shooting (both indoors and out). The years 1531–2 saw a spate of tennis play building, with new plays at Greenwich, Whitehall, Hampton Court and St. James'. At Whitehall and at Hampton Court a special area was set aside for sport. At Hampton Court there were two tennis plays linked by a gallery, off which a bowling alley ran. Later a second bowling alley was built elsewhere<sup>36</sup>. The arrangement at Whitehall was very similar, four tennis plays linked by a gallery with a bowling alley off the gallery, although at Whitehall there was also an elaborate cockpit. These complexes were built at exactly the same time and emphasize the sudden enthusiasm with which the King took up indoor games.

The style in which the buildings designated for recreation were built owed much more to a late flowering of medieval chivalry than to any concept of the renaissance courtier. The Whitehall park side under the Tudors is a spectacular example of how Henry VIII's palace buildings recreated a largely fictitious chivalric architecture of the past, pageant

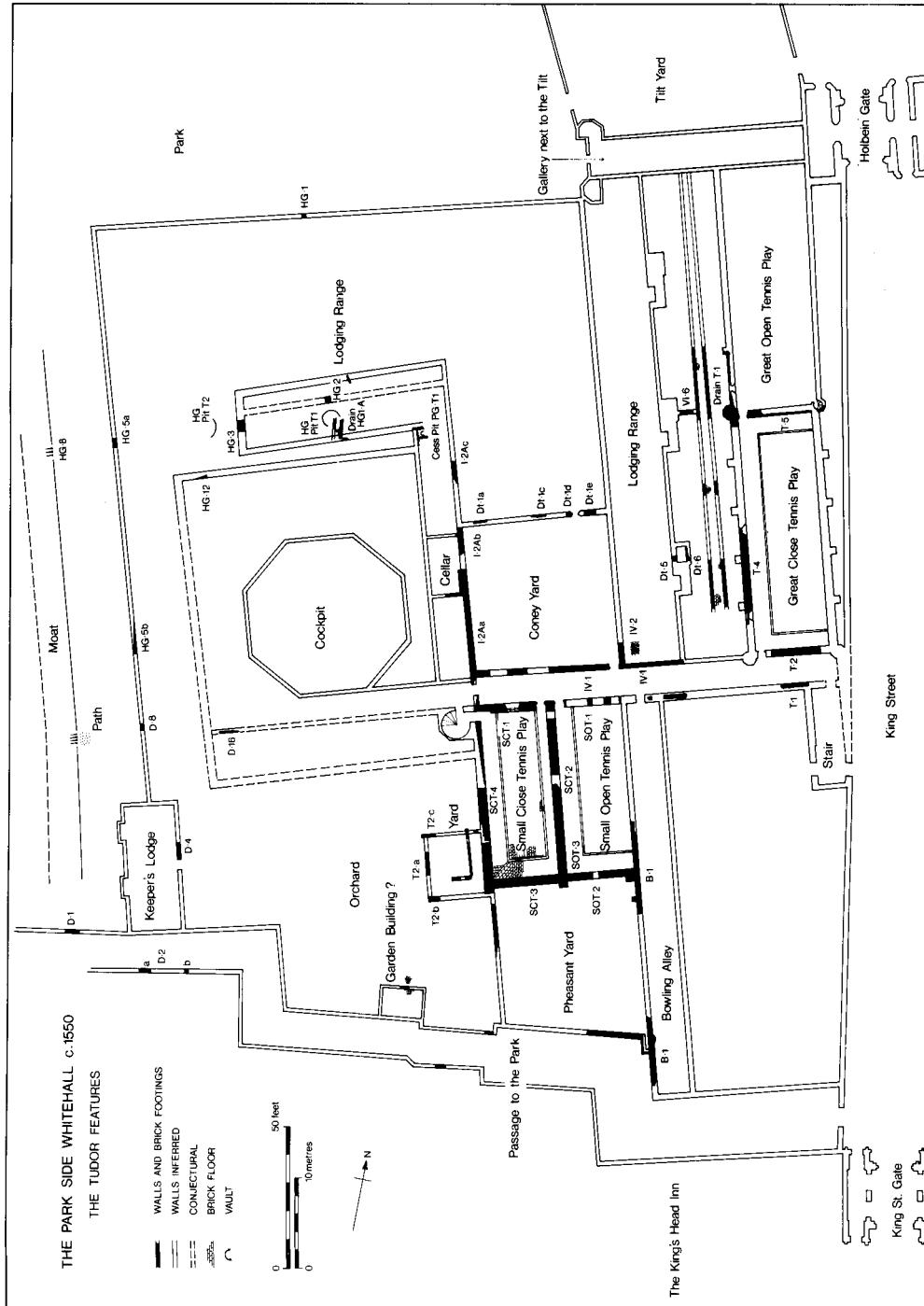


Fig. 5 Whitehall: The Park Side c. 1550, The Tudor Features (Ground Floor)

architecture, within which, and in front of which the recreations of the court were performed.

The park side complex was conceived as a whole and only the coronation of Anne Boleyn prevented it being completed in one phase. The spine of the complex was the tiltyard gallery. To the north of this lay the tiltyard and a formal pool (Pl. 2); to the south the two great tennis plays and a lodging range. A second gallery linked these with two smaller plays and the bowling alleys to the south (Fig. 5). In the south west of the complex lay the architectural centre-piece of the layout, the cockpit, raised up on a low platform. This was the fantasy building *par excellence*, encrusted with stone animals, gilded vanes and surmounted by a glazed lantern. It has close parallels with fantastic buildings in the background of Burgundian manuscripts and early Tudor paintings<sup>37</sup> (see p. 88).

The other buildings of the park side were no less spectacular. The largest tennis play, identical to that built by Henry at Hampton Court<sup>38</sup>, took the form of the late Gothic great hall or chapel and was divided into bays by buttresses and crowned with battlements and pillars bearing gilded vanes; on its turrets were 'types' (onion domes). Most of the brickwork was 'pencilled', in other words painted red, the mortar joints picked out in black or white. A further significant part of the decoration at Whitehall was the black and white grotesque painting<sup>39</sup> and flint chequerwork that covered the galleries, the north gate, the turrets of the larger tennis play and the cockpit. The brightly coloured and fantastic forms of the park side provided a suitably chivalric backdrop for the jousts which took place in the tiltyard. They also provided a home for the exercises of a renaissance court.

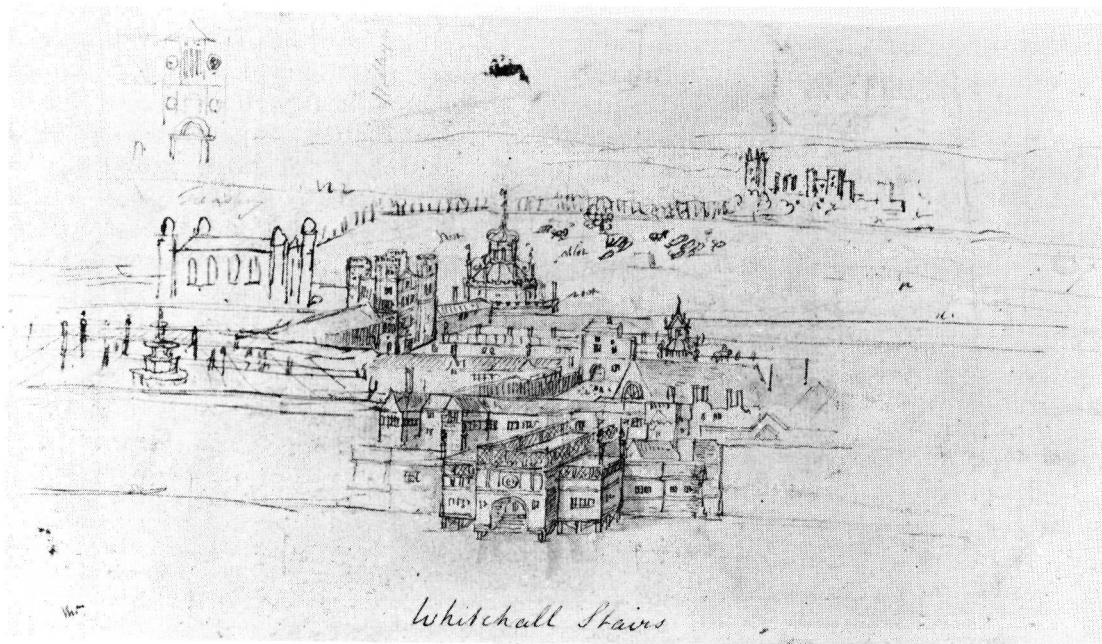


Plate 1 Whitehall: A van den Wyngaerde: Sketch of Whitehall Palace from the river 1558-62 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

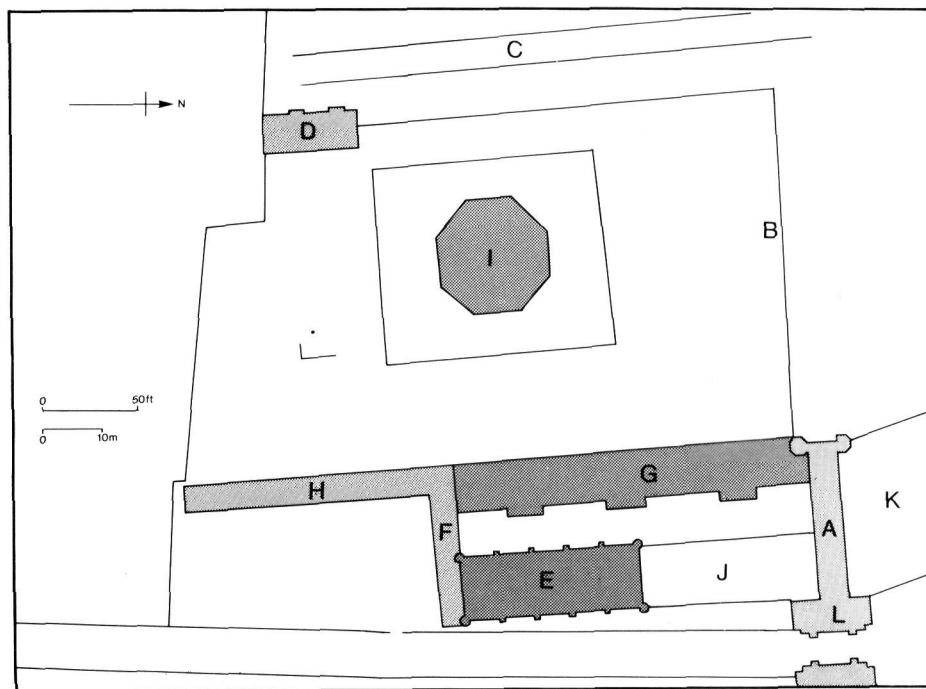
## 2. THE TREASURY SITE

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

For the Tudor period the documentary sources relating to the palace are fragmentary. For only one year (1531–2) are there full building accounts, otherwise a collection of fragments and summaries has to be relied on<sup>40</sup>. The principal views of the Tudor buildings are the ones by Wyngaerde of 1558–62 (Pl. 1) and the view now accepted as wrongly attributed to ‘Agas’ 1561–66 (Pl. 2)<sup>41</sup>. In addition there is the 1670 plan of the palace, attributed to Fisher and engraved by Vertue (Pl. 29)<sup>42</sup> and the almost contemporary painting by Danckerts (c. 1674), which shows the park side from the west (Pl. 13). Both of the latter have limitations, as by 1670 the Tudor buildings had been much altered. Other views such as those by Norden (c. 1600)<sup>43</sup> and Faithorne and

Newcourt (1658)<sup>44</sup> are so distorted as to be of limited value, and the detailed view by Inigo Jones of 1638<sup>45</sup> shows only a small part of the park side. *The History of the King's Works* very usefully gathered together the principal documentary and archaeological evidence for both halves of the Tudor Palace, but was unable to discuss the excavations in depth<sup>46</sup>.

The excavation of the Treasury site in 1961–2 was carried out against formidable difficulties, both bureaucratic and physical. Only certain areas were available for full excavation; elsewhere records were taken where contractors' work allowed. Plates 8, 18 and 23 illustrate the problems faced in undertaking proper archaeological recording. Much was lost, yet a surprisingly large area was properly examined and fully recorded. Elsewhere the presence and nature of the Tudor fabric was noted.



Development Plan: 1 Whitehall, The Park Side: Henry VIII Phase I 1529–33

### 3. HENRY VIII PHASE 1 (Development plan 1)

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KING'S WORKS

As Wolsey left York Place for the last time on December 18th 1529 he left behind him a house under construction, and Henry inherited not only a full works organisation but several projects already well under way. The cardinal's fall threw all into uncertainty and many workmen formerly employed by Wolsey began to petition for payment. Laurence Stubbs, Wolsey's paymaster, had no funds and so part of a payment of £1,000 from the King given to clear Wolsey's debts was used for this purpose<sup>47</sup>. Even this did not pay James Needham, the Master Carpenter, in full and the King had to settle that debt separately<sup>48</sup>. It was several months before Henry was able to create his own works organisation out of the remains of Wolsey's and the royal works, and so during 1529–30 works payments were made directly from the privy purse. To maintain some sort of continuity Thomas Alvard, one of Wolsey's staff, was made Receiver of Payments<sup>49</sup>. A declaration of his expenditure from 9th October 1529 to 21st April 1531 shows that he spent £13,882 1s 4d on buildings at Whitehall<sup>50</sup>. It was shown above (p. 66) that the prop-

erties on the park side were acquired on 23rd May 1531 and so it appears that this initial expenditure was devoted to works on the east side of King Street<sup>51</sup>.

On April 21st 1531 the transitional period ended and a new works organisation, under Alvard, swung into action. Two series of accounts survive: one is the private account book of the clerk Thomas Heritage which covers the first year's work, and consists of his rough copies of certain bills submitted<sup>52</sup>; the second is the series of 13 particular books covering the year April 1531 to April 1532<sup>53</sup>. The survival of these makes that year the only fully documented year in the sixteen years of building at Whitehall.

Work began in April in anticipation of the buying of the leases of the tenements along King Street. In fact the leases were not bought until May and the first accounts show the frenzied activity undertaken to prepare for work to start. One William Bayle was paid for 4 skins 'whereupon plattis were scriven'<sup>54</sup>; the stationer John Russell, whose house was to be bought by the King, provided a quire of paper for the drawing of plattes<sup>55</sup>; 'Saudewich line' was provided 'for the Setting owte of ffoundacions'<sup>56</sup> and pack-thread for lines for the bricklayers<sup>57</sup>. A measuring pole was made for the carpenters and the works staff were having

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#### DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1

- A. Gallery next the tilt, shown on views and 1670 plan.
- B. Park wall, partially excavated.
- C. Moat, seen in excavation, and on early views.
- D. Lodging of the Keeper, seen in excavation.
- E. Great close tennis play, partly survives in present fabric.
- F. Gallery between the tennis plays, partly survives.
- G. Lodging range, partly excavated.
- H. Bowling alley, seen in excavation and early views.
- I. The Cockpit, shown on views and 1670 plan. Some of the walls connected with its layout seen in excavation.
- J. Great open tennis play, partly seen in excavation.
- K. Tiltyard shown in early views and 1670 plan.
- L. 'Holbein' gate

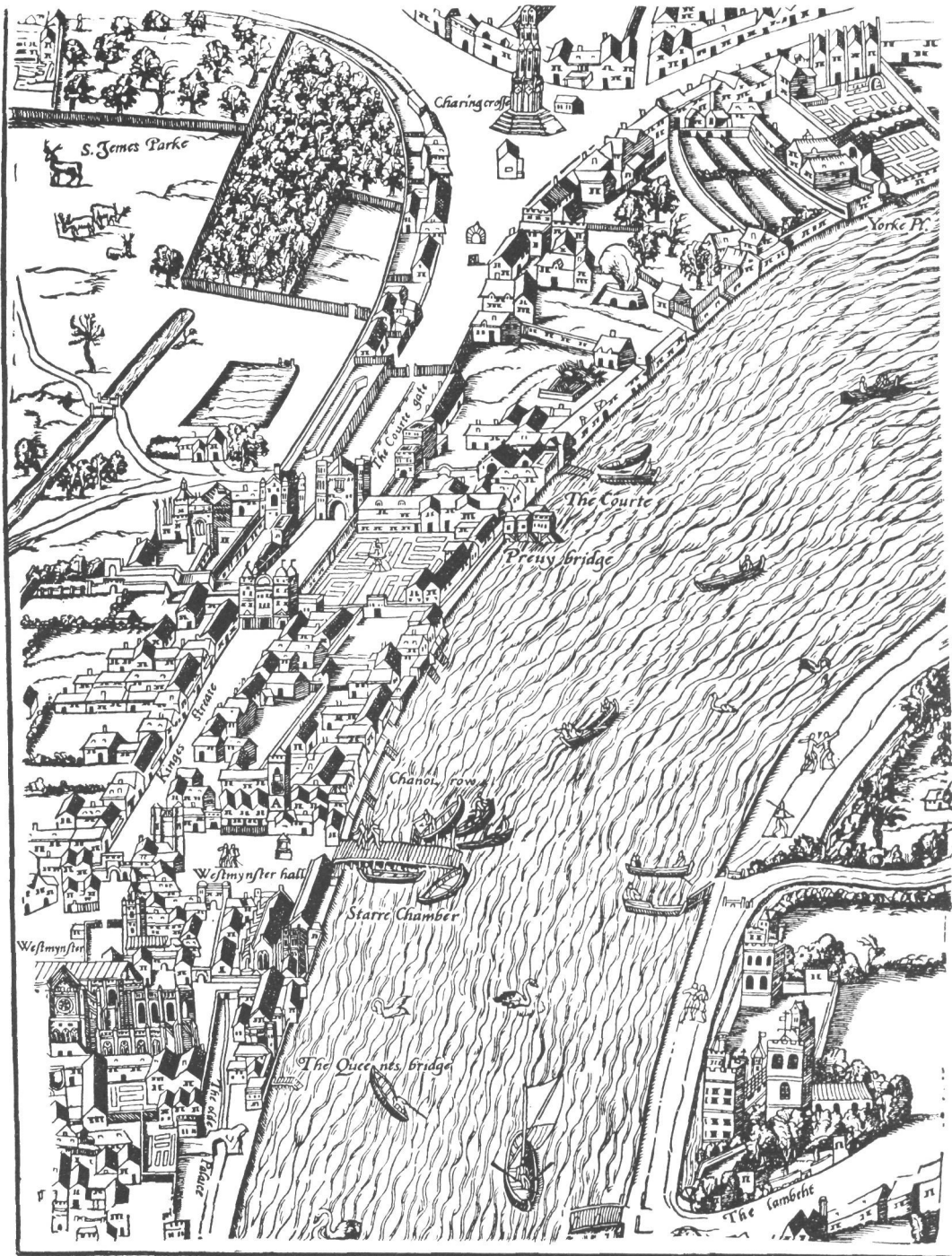


Plate 2 Whitehall: 'Agas' view of Whitehall Palace from the south c. 1561-6 (Museum of London)



‘checke bokes’ and ‘lidgers’ made for their accounting<sup>58</sup>. The demolition of buildings at the old Palace of Westminster to provide stone was already under way and materials were arriving from Wolsey’s former house at Esher, Surrey<sup>58A</sup>.

#### A. THE TILTYARD AND TILTYARD GALLERY

The two sides of the palace were to be linked by a gallery running east/west across King Street by means of a gatehouse. The eastern part of the gallery was the King’s privy gallery leading to, and containing, his lodgings. The western section was to be the spine of the buildings on the park side. The accounts describe. . .

‘the newe gatehouse sette directlye ovir the high weye leeding from charing crosse towards

westminster . . . and also adjoining the newe gallery<sup>59</sup>

On the park side it terminated in two towers. The account describes. . .

‘bryngyng up the ffoundacions of the [fornamed] toures sette at the ende of the saide gallery towards the parke<sup>60</sup>.

Further foundations were dug to provide a chimney and a ‘draught’ (garderobe) the same month. By November 1531 the gallery must have been nearly complete as the carpenter, Richard Nicholson, was paid for ‘one payre of barge couples fixed at the ende of the fornamed gallerye nexte unto the grounde appoyntid for a park<sup>61</sup>. Both the barge boards and the towers can be clearly seen on a drawing by Inigo Jones dated 1623<sup>62</sup>, and the garderobe and fireplace provision on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). This gallery became known as ‘the gallery

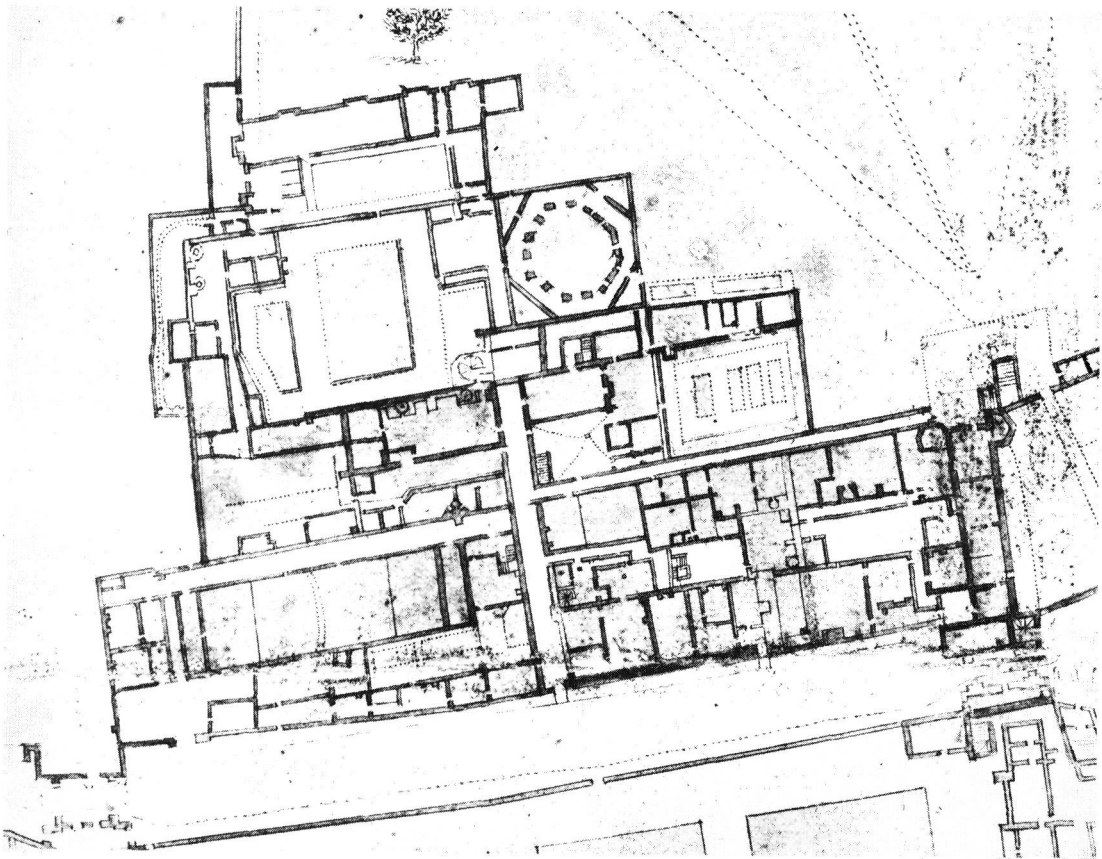


Plate 3 Whitehall: 1670 plan of Whitehall Palace, surveyed by John Fisher (Department of the Environment. Crown Copyright)

nexste the tilte<sup>63</sup> as on its north side lay the tiltyard, which was being laid out at the same period (Fig. 5).

John Stowe in his *Survey of London* writes that in this gallery 'the princes with their nobility use to stand or sit, and at the windows to behold all triumphant Justings'<sup>64</sup>. Contemporary commentators such as Wriothesly and Hall indicate that the gallery was in fact for courtier spectators only, the King and Queen watching the exploits in the tiltyard from the gatehouse<sup>65</sup>. In addition to the gallery's role as grandstand for observing the pageants in the tiltyard, it also provided a backdrop for them. Like the tiltyard towers at Greenwich and Hampton Court, the tiltyard gallery had a dual role both as a viewing platform and part of the architecture of the *Revels*<sup>66</sup>.

## B. THE PARK WALLS

Whilst the gateway and gallery were being built workmen were busy working 'upon the wallis of bothe sides of the high weye leading from the saide manor to Westminster'<sup>67</sup> and on the northern section 'leeding from the same gallery towards charing cross'<sup>68</sup>. Within this wall were two gates (Fig. 5), one leading into the tiltyard 'directlye ayenste the grete gate of the said manor'<sup>69</sup> and another 'in the newe walle leeding . . . towards westminster on the parke side'<sup>70</sup>; the latter was directly opposite the entrance to Endive Lane<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 4). The tiltyard gate was mended in 1541 after having been made 'crokyd with carts'<sup>72</sup> and it can be clearly seen on several views of the palace, for example that by Inigo Jones of 1623<sup>73</sup>.

The other gate was the central entrance to the southern part of the parkside, and is shown on Fig. 5 ("stair") reconstructed from 'Agas' and the building accounts. It seems to have formed a sort of gatehouse (see below p. 97–9). The wall 'by the tennys syde' which divided the great close tennis play (see p. 78) from the road seems to have had stone beasts on its top<sup>74</sup>. Although these cannot be seen on the 'Agas' view (Pl. 2), the remains of bases for beasts can be seen on similar enclosing walls still surviving at Hampton Court.

Neither the eastern walls nor the gates were seen in excavation, but sections of the park wall running round the south, west and north sides were exposed. Henry built a wall 1.7 miles (2.74km) long around the new park (St. James' park) and a second enclosing wall 234 yards (216m) long round the buildings of the park side. In July 1532 a special 'ground agure' (auger) was bought for 'seething the grounde whereupon the wallis be appointed to be made about the new parke'<sup>75</sup>. In September teams of labourers were digging stretches of four-

ten 10ft (3.08m) long which, an account the following January shows, were filled with 1,547

'Loodis as welle of stone bricke chaulke from the king paleis of Westminster to the walles enclosing . . . the parke directlye agenste the said manor'<sup>76</sup>.

In February 1533 a further 8,091 loads were brought from the old palace as well as 340 tons from Kennington Palace; 951,000 bricks were laid upon the wall the same month<sup>77</sup>. In March 213 rods of trench were dug and filled with more rubble, and bricklayers were cutting brick for quoins and coping<sup>78</sup>. Some of the bricks were locally made, and others imported from Flanders<sup>79</sup>.

Nine sections of wall were exposed during the excavations (Fig. 3). The northernmost section (wall H.G.1) was on the Horse Guards site (H.G.) where an east/west trench 24ft (7.38m) long exposed early Tudor brick footings positioned due west of the southern tiltyard gallery tower. The 1623 Inigo Jones drawing clearly shows this section of wall. Two further sections of wall were exposed on the H.G. site (walls H.G.5a and 5b). In trench

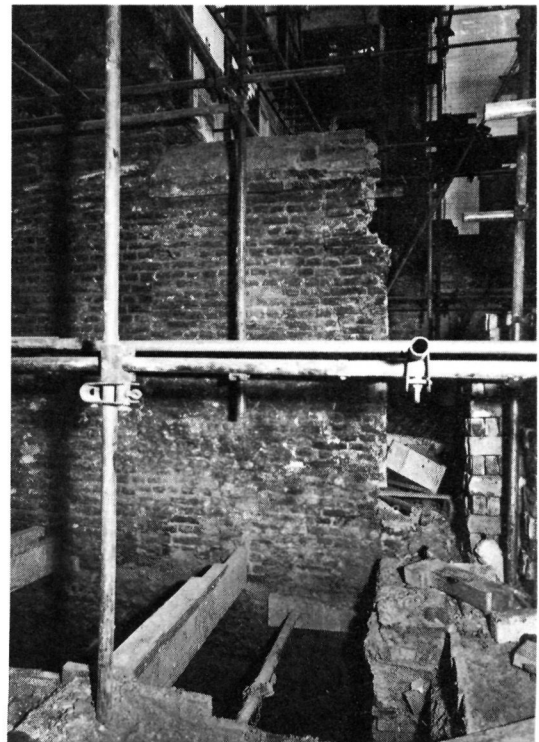


Plate 4 Whitehall: The Park wall, surviving length D.1 (Crown Copyright)

T6 a 3½ft (1.08m) length of wall was seen resting on a trench-built foundation packed with chalk rubble. The foundation was 4ft (1.23m) deep by 4ft (1.23m) wide, which is the measurement specified in the building accounts<sup>80</sup>. A piece of an identical build was exposed 34ft (10.46m) to the south on the same alignment. These two sections represent the western side of the enclosure. On the Downing Street site (D) a length of the wall at its full height was seen (D.1). The wall was 11ft (3.38m) high from Tudor ground level and was capped with what was probably a later brick coping. The original coping can be seen in the background of the portrait of James I's son Henry, Prince of Wales, by Isaac Oliver<sup>81</sup>. D.1 was found embedded in the north wall of the ground floor dining room in No. 10 Downing St and photographed, but not drawn (Pl. 4).

Further lengths of the wall were seen on the south, where walls D.2a and D.2b were built on chalk filled foundations identical to those on the H.G. site. The footings were offset to the north as they were on the lengths of wall seen on site XVII. The section Fig. 11 shows the length of park wall

found on site XVII built up against the medieval boundary ditch M.1. The foundations were cut deeper (6ft/1.84m) to counter any instability resulting from the close proximity of the filled ditch. They were also dug from the north indicating that although The King's Head Inn (formerly The Axe) legally belonged to the King, the boundary was being maintained to allow him to let the tenement<sup>82</sup>. This would also help to explain the uneven line of the boundary as shown on 'Agas' and the 1670 plan, the diagonal course of the former boundary ditch being replaced by a wall stepped back in sections and running at right angles to King Street.

### C. THE MOAT

In addition to the security afforded by the walls around the park side there was a moat. No accounts survive for the digging of this, and so it is likely that it was either a pre-existing ditch or one of those created by Henry's drainage consultant Richard Adams (see p. 67). The earliest mention is in September 1536 when 5 trees were pulled 'oute of a mote on the west side of the said manor of



Plate 5 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, south wall II.T.2, showing re-used medieval stonework in rubble core of Tudor wall (Crown Copyright)

Westminster<sup>83</sup>, and the only other direct reference to it is under Edward VI when it was filled in (see below p. 103). Two sections of it were seen in excavation. The first was seen in a 50ft (15.38m) trench cut in the garden of No. 10 Downing Street (Fig. 5). The eastern profile of a shallow ditch was seen cut into early Tudor demolition rubble levels; only the lip was seen and this lay approximately 21ft (6.46m) west of the line of the park wall. Evidence of a path was found running along the east edge of the ditch. It was made up of chalk, puddled lime and rubble and was about 7ft (2.15m) wide; it had been cut through by a later drain (D.H.3). The second length was seen in trench 8 on the Horse Guards site (Fig. 10); it was of a very similar profile to the section on site D. Only the line of the eastern lip was followed; the western lip must have fallen outside the east end of trench 8 (see Fig. 10).

#### D. THE PARK LODGINGS

Thomas Alvard had not only been appointed Paymaster of the new works at Whitehall but in March 1530 he had been appointed Keeper of the House there as well, and in October 1530 he was also granted the post of Keeper of the Garden and Orchard<sup>84</sup>. It was normal for the Keeper of one of the King's Houses to have a small lodging in the palace and also a lodge somewhere in the park<sup>85</sup>. Alvard was given a lodging off the privy gallery on the east side of King Street<sup>86</sup>, and in October 1531 work was under way on a lodge in the park for Alvard. This seems to have been near the moat or other low-lying land, for a pump was used to drain the building's foundations<sup>87</sup>. There is no evidence to indicate the position of the lodge but there seem to be two possible locations shown on the 'Agas' view (Pl. 2). One is by the pool to the west of the tiltyard and the other is in the south-west corner of the park side enclosure, both could be described as lodges in the park. Nothing is known of the lodge by the pool, but the other structure was seen in excavation and appears to be of an early phase, built as part of the park wall, and this may have been Alvard's lodge. Only one small section of Tudor (type A) brick wall was seen (D.4) which could be identified with the early structure, but several walls of a later date were excavated fully (see p. 105).

#### E. THE GREAT CLOSE TENNIS PLAY

Within the walls built to enclose the park side compound the great close tennis play was one of the first structures to be built.

There were two versions of tennis current in the early sixteenth century, each requiring a different

sort of building in which to play. First there was the *quarré* court, named by the sixteenth century Italian tennis theorist, Antonio Scaino, 'the minor court'<sup>88</sup>. This was the older form which eventually died out at the end of the seventeenth century. It took its name, *quarré*, from a small square opening in one end wall; it had penthouses on the long wall and on the side opposite the service end (the 'hazard' side) it also had a 'grille', which was a netted opening above the penthouse. This sort of court was the smaller of the two: Scaino suggests 22ft × 66ft (6.77m × 20.31m) as a guideline. The other form of court was the *dedans* or major court. The *dedans* was a third penthouse which replaced the *quarré* at the service end of the court. Because of the extra penthouse the court needed to be slightly larger, perhaps 38ft × 100ft (11.69m × 20.77m). Both games were played by serving the ball onto the penthouse and then returning it across the net or cord until one or other player failed to return the ball. Points were scored in relation to how far from the net an unreturned ball came to rest (the 'chase') and also by hitting the grille, *dedans* or *quarré* if there was one. Balls were not to

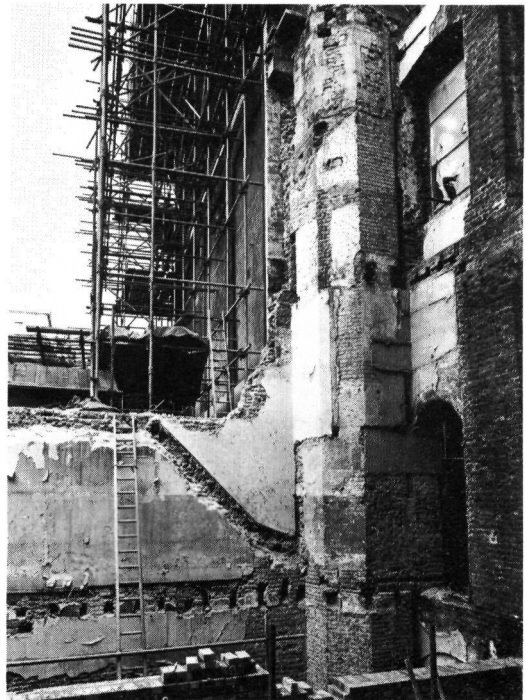


Plate 6 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, north-west turret VI.T.T.2 (Crown Copyright)

hit the wall above the ‘play line’ 18ft (5.54m) up, but were allowed to bounce off the ceiling, which in indoor courts was flat.

Unfortunately, there are no building accounts for the construction of the great close play at Whitehall but a declared account of 1533/4 states that ‘payacers’ and other workmen were working on the ‘tennysplayes’ between December 1533 and January 1533/4<sup>89</sup>. If the workmen in question were plasterers it would mean that the building was nearing completion by then. Certainly it was complete by April 1533/4 when Thomas Alvard was appointed Keeper of the ‘tenys playes’ at Whitehall<sup>90</sup>. Substantial remains of the north, south and west walls of the building were found embedded in later buildings (see p. 114–5, 124), and these remains, together with plentiful topographical evidence, have enabled the building to be fully reconstructed (Figs 5–8; Pls 5–11).

The whole structure was of red Tudor brick with stone and flint dressings. The walls were made up of skins of brick laid in English bond with a 16in (41mm) thick chalk and stone rubble filling. The filling, where seen, was clearly part of the demolition material from Westminster and Kennington, and fragments of medieval carved stonework were found (Pl. 5). A section of the foundations was exposed under the Privy Council stairs (site II); it was seen to be trench built, 6ft (1.85m) deep, with a brick, chalk, limestone and lime mortar fill. The bricks (Type A\*) out of which the building was constructed were 9in (23mm) long, a slightly larger size than elsewhere on the site (see Brick Typology p. 127). This may indicate that Henry was using up a store of Wolsey’s brick as the 9in (23mm) size corresponds closely to the size of brick that Wolsey is known to have used elsewhere<sup>91</sup>.

Large sections of the north wall including parts of the north-east and north-west turrets were seen. The north-west turret was the better preserved, rising 45ft (13.85m) from ground level (Pl. 6). It was of a faced drum construction with a solid infill. A stone string course divided the brickwork from a stone and flint chequerwork pinnacle. There was extensive use of flint chequerwork at Whitehall. Wolsey’s great hall (1528/9) had been painted to resemble it, and the gate carrying the privy gallery over the road (the ‘Holbein’ gate) had followed the theme in being covered with real chequerwork<sup>92</sup>. The accounts mention the purchase of flint hammers to split the stones<sup>93</sup> and of soot to blacken the mortar bedding<sup>94</sup>. In addition large quantities of flint chippings were found scattered over sites II and VI representing the knapping from this work. (See Fig. 3 for site locations). Bonded to the lower part of the turret was a wall running north and

forming the western wall of a building to the north of the tennis play, which has been tentatively identified as the great open tennis play (see p. 90). The wall was pierced by a small window similar to those found in the west wall of the tennis play (see below p. 81).

Less remained of the north-east tower, but beneath eighteenth- and nineteenth-century skins of brick the remains of a stone vice-stair were clearly seen (Pl. 7). The north wall contained a door at its western end. It had a four-centred head, an 8½in (22cm) deep chamfered timber lintel and stone jambs. It must have opened onto the floor of the play within the side penthouse, thus demonstrating the orientation of the penthouses within the play as shown on Fig. 5.

Extensive remains of the west wall were recorded (Fig. 8). It was of five bays divided by buttresses, which did not survive but could be traced as foundations and scars in the wall face. The two southernmost bays were the best preserved and in the second were extensive remains of one of the five windows which lit the court on this side (Pl. 8). Its

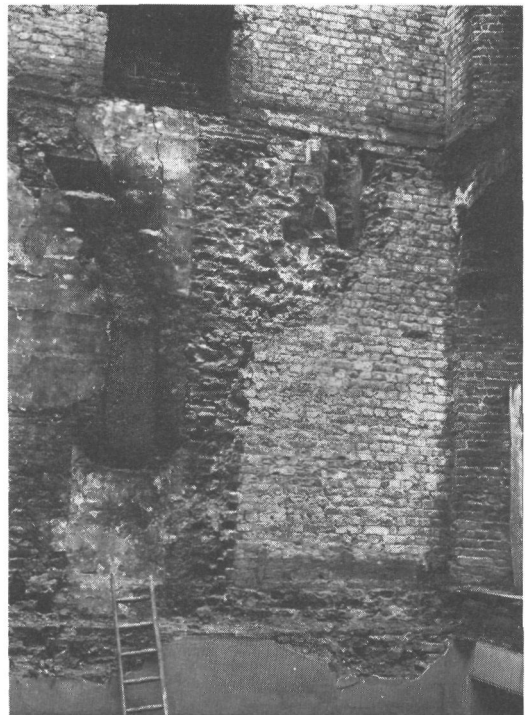


Plate 7 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, north wall VI.T.5, showing remains of vice-stair in north-east turret (Crown Copyright)

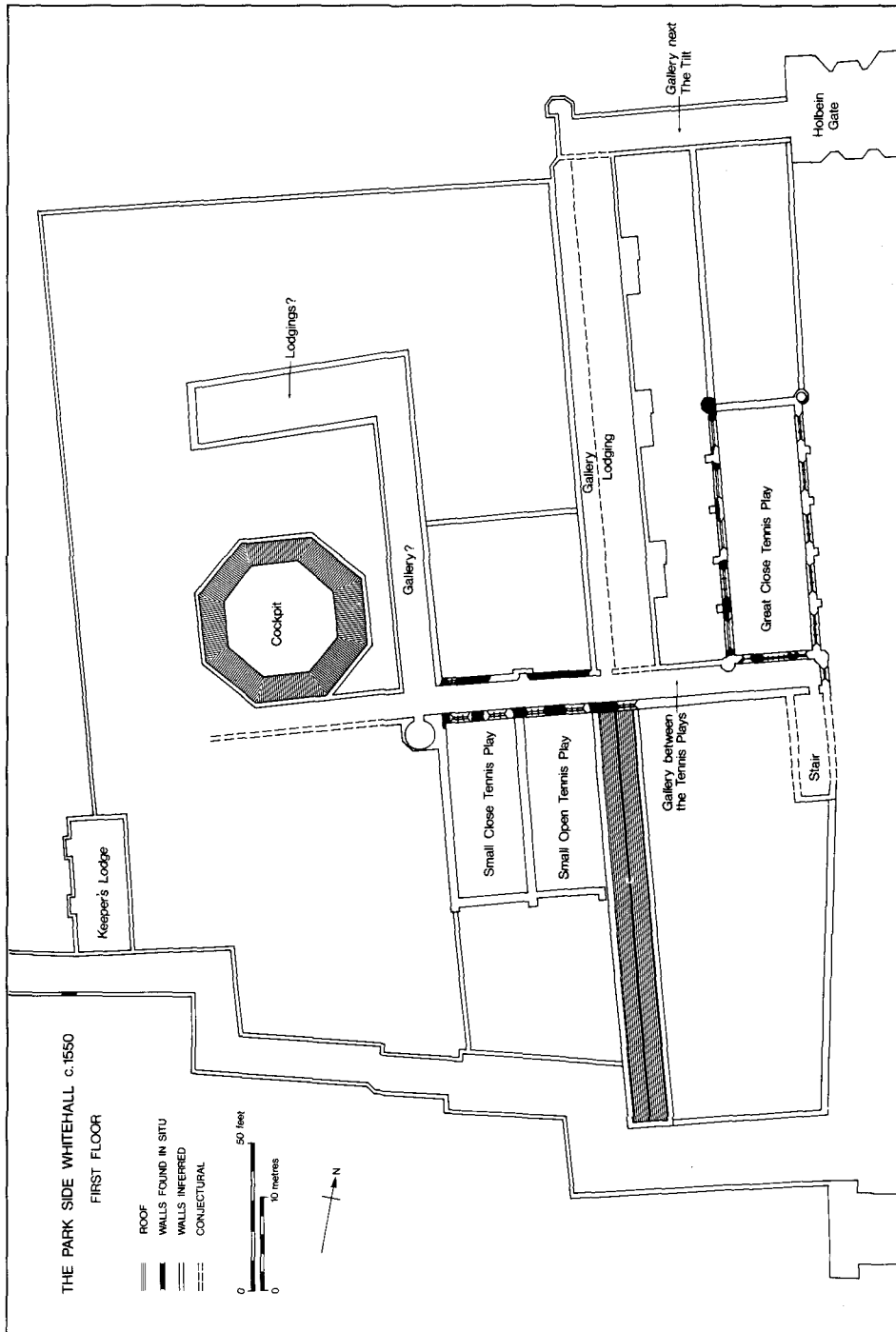


Fig. 6 Whitehall: The Park Side c. 1550, The Tudor Features (First Floor)

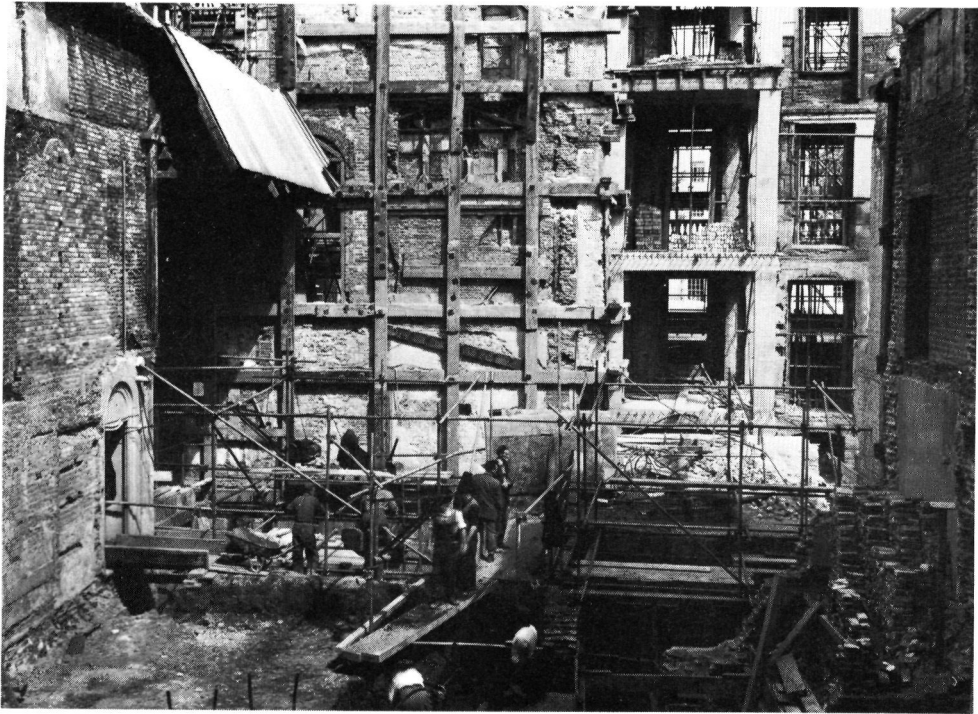


Plate 8 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, elevation of west wall II.T.4 (Crown Copyright)

sill was 21ft (6.46m) from floor level, positioned just above the 'play line'. It was 15ft 9in (4.85m) high internally with three four-centred lights each containing an iron grille of staybars found *in situ* (Pl. 8). This window was restored to its original condition, and muff window glass, similar to that found in excavation, inserted (Pt III Catalogue of Window Glass). Above the head of the window 45ft (13.85m) from ground level a stone string course marked the parapet of the building, above which, as the views of the play show, were crenellations.

A second set of windows, irregularly placed, lit the interior side penthouse, with a sill level of about 4½ft (1.38m). Two complete examples were found (Fig. 6) both of which were similar to that seen in the wall to the north of the play. Why these windows were irregularly placed is not clear<sup>95</sup>.

The south wall, although much altered, provided extensive evidence of the original layout (Fig. 7). The surround of the gable window survived almost intact; its sill was 28ft (8.62m) from ground level and its external measurements were 9½ft (2.92m) wide and 13ft (4m) tall to the top of the four-centred arch (Pl. 10 and Fig. 7). Beneath the sill

of the gable window at 25ft (7.69m) from ground level the wooden wall plate containing the beam slots for the gallery roof was recorded (Fig. 7).

#### F. THE GALLERY

The gallery was 10ft (3.08m) wide; a length of its southern wall (T.1) 10ft (3.08m) long and 10 courses high was seen resting on about 8 courses of brick footings. The ground-floor gallery so formed was entered by the gate to King Street described previously (p. 76) and lit by a small two-light window shown on several topographical prints (Fig. 8)<sup>96</sup>. At first-floor level the south gable wall (beneath the window) was pierced by a series of openings, to allow spectators to watch the tennis game below, (Pl. 11 and Figs 6, 7). Beneath three brick relieving arches (only partly surviving) were the remains of three separate openings. Most remained of the central opening, including the two bottom corners, and half of one arch. The outer jambs of this central opening were 10ft (3.08m) apart, and, if the arches within this were of equal size, the remaining half arch would indicate that originally a screen of five arches would have existed within this central opening. Both sides of the open-

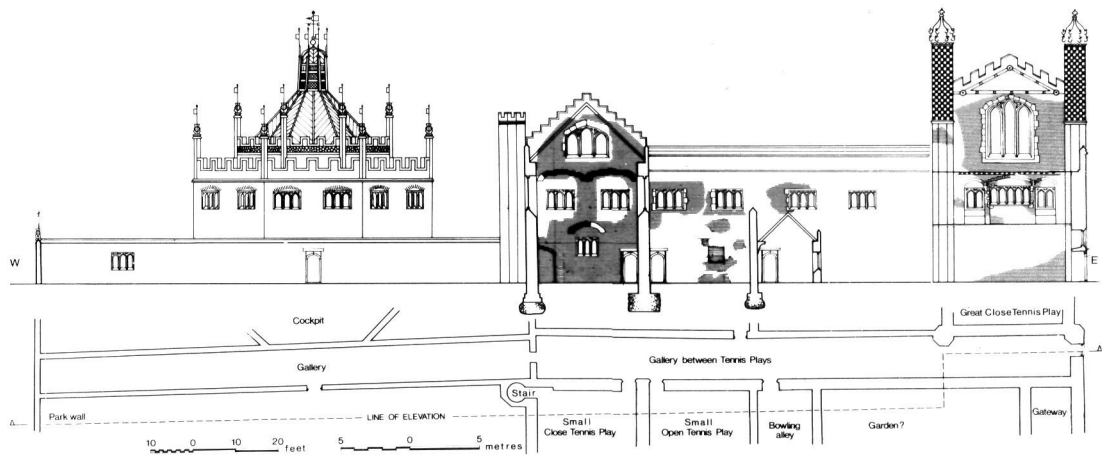
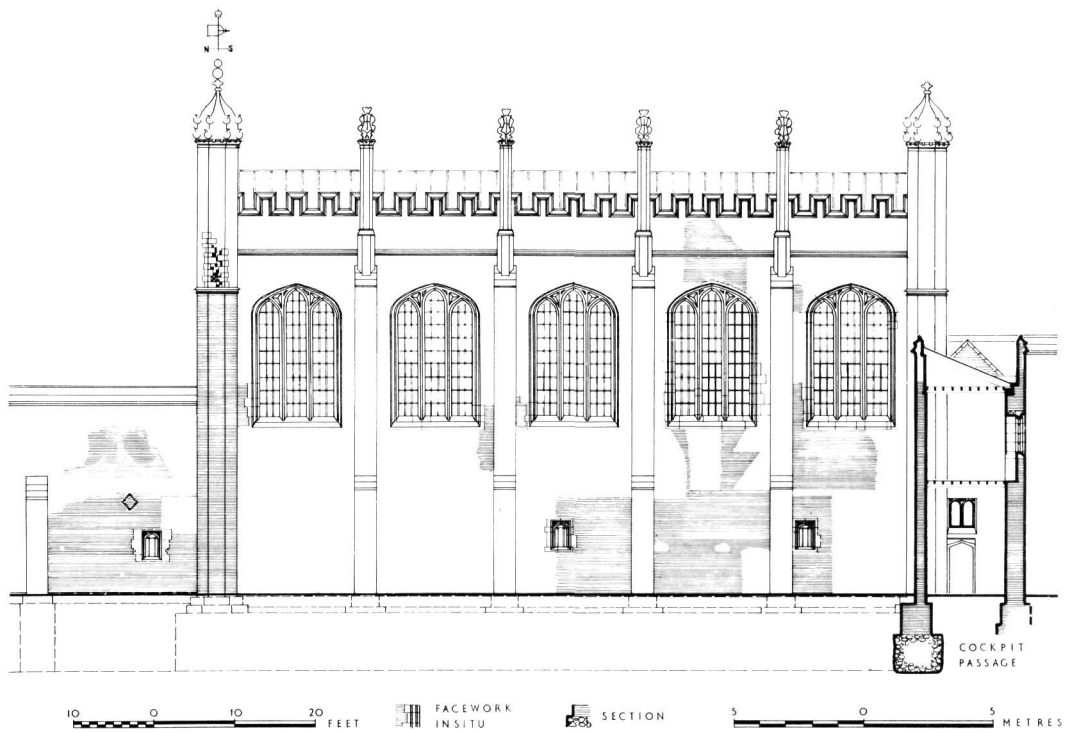


Fig. 7 Whitehall Palace: The Park Side, East/West section



G R E A T C L O S E T E N N I S P L A Y W E S T E L E V A T I O N H J M G 1 9 8 9

Fig. 8 Whitehall Palace: The Park Side, North/South section showing reconstructed elevation of the Great Close Tennis Play from the Great Open Tennis Play to the south wall of the Gallery between the Tennis Plays





Plate 9 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, remains of exterior of window in west wall II.T.4 (Crown Copyright)

ing to the west of this central one were identified giving a width of 4ft (1.23m); the western jamb, originally interpreted as belonging to a door, now seems more likely to have belonged to a deep window with recessed seats for spectators. On the east of the central viewing window only the western jamb was seen, but the opening here was almost certainly identical with its eastern counterpart (Fig. 7).

Henry VII's plays at Richmond and Windsor certainly possessed similar viewing galleries, and as laying bets on the outcome of the game was an integral part of the sport, some viewing facilities would have been essential.

In the first phase the viewing gallery and the passage beneath it extended westwards for about 76ft (23.38m) (Development plan 1). Fragments of its south wall were embedded in later work but it was not possible to record them fully. However, a straight joint was recorded in a section of Tudor fabric 76ft (23.38m) from the wall's western end. Much more of the northern wall (wall VI.1)

survived, but only at ground floor level; 78ft (24m) west of the King Street gate it turned at a right angle to the north. The original western return end wall of the gallery was completely lost due to later Henrician extensions of the gallery (see below p. 91–2).

#### G. THE LODGING RANGE

The best preserved length of the northern gallery wall (IV.1) was the southern wall of a range of lodgings which extended north to meet the gallery overlooking the tilt. At either end of wall IV.1's 22ft (6.77m) length the footings were seen to turn northwards (Fig. 2); the eastern turn was not fully recorded, but on the west a wall 1ft 10in (0.56m) wide on brick footings offset 12in (0.31m) to the west was recorded over a length of 8ft (2.46m). An 8ft × 6ft (2.46m × 1.85m) trench dug at this junction revealed the brick floor of the lodgings butting up against the footings (Pl. 12).



Plate 10 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, south wall II.T.2 from the north, showing remains of interior of gable window (Crown Copyright)

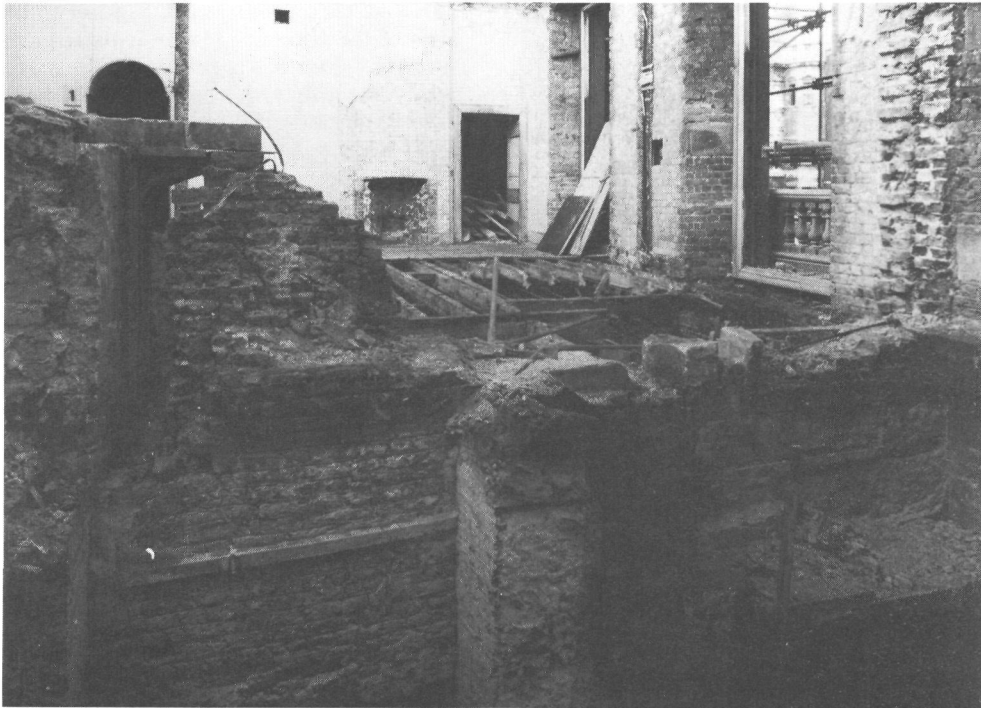


Plate 11 Whitehall: Great Close Tennis Play, south wall II.T.2 from the gallery at first floor level, showing remains of viewing windows (Crown Copyright)

Little survived of this range of lodgings, and the evidence for its existence comes as much from views of the palace from the park (Pl. 13) and from the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) as from structures found on the site. In addition, excavations carried out beneath Inigo Jones' Banqueting House by Mr A. M. Cook in 1964 on the east side of Whitehall have revealed a range of Henrician lodgings (*c.* 1532) with an internal measurement of 22ft (6.77m)<sup>97</sup>. Against the eastern exterior wall were three garderobe and chimney-stack units projecting 6½ft (2m). No internal wall divisions were found, but running parallel to the range on its west side was a brick drain 2½ft (0.77m) wide with a 1ft (0.31m) wide gully at the bottom. Features very similar to these were found on the Treasury site.

Only one fragment of garderobe tower was seen; it was in a trench on site II. Two short lengths of wall (Dt. 5 and Dt. 6) 1ft (0.31m) wide and 3ft (0.92m) apart were recorded; their dimensions and arrangement were identical to the projections from the lodging range excavated beneath the Ban-

queting House in 1964. It was not possible to excavate further sections of this wall, but a trench dug on site VI revealed a small length of Tudor wall (wall VI.6) running east/west which may have linked the lodging range with the tennis play. Running parallel to the range 11ft (3.38m) from its eastern wall lay a substantial brick drain (drain II.T.1a and VI.T.1; see Fig. 5). The structure was entirely of bricks measuring 2¼ × 4 × 9in (57 × 10 × 23mm), a size similar to that used in the great close tennis play. It was in the form of a semi-circular arched culvert springing 1ft 10in (0.56m) up, rising to an entire height of 3ft (0.92m) with a tile course at its springing level. The most complete section was found on site VI. Areas of the original brick gully floor were seen on site II. It probably ran northwards under the gallery 'next the tilt' and joined a brick conduit built in 1531 which ran under the tilt and Scotland Yard to the Thames<sup>98</sup>. Later accounts describe the gallery which ran through this range linking the gallery 'next the tilt' with the gallery to the tennis plays

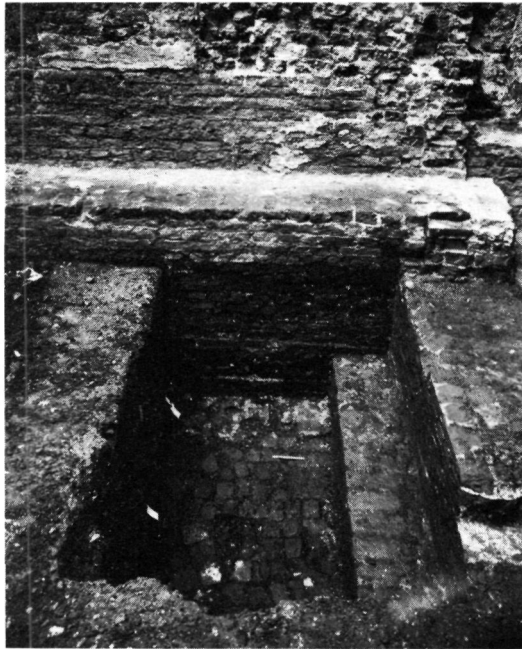


Plate 12 Whitehall: Junction of north wall IV.1 of gallery with west wall of lodging range IV.2 (view from the north), showing interior brick floor of the range (Crown Copyright)

(Fig. 6)<sup>99</sup>. Later alterations to this range gave it the form seen on Pl. 13 (see p. 101).

#### H. THE BOWLING ALLEYS

The bowling alley is another feature of the park side that is very poorly documented. The first mention of the building is in April 1533 when Thomas Alvard was appointed Keeper of the 'bowlynge aleys' at Whitehall<sup>100</sup>. It is clear that sometime between 1536 and 1544 a privy bowling alley was built in the 'privy garden' but the likelihood is that this was on the east side of the road. Mention is made in the same period of the 'great bowling alley' and it is probably this building that was set up on the park side<sup>101</sup>. Bowling, like tennis, was one of the games that Henry began to play seriously after 1530, and alleys were built at Hampton Court; Eltham, Kent; Ampthill, Bedfordshire; Grafton Regis, Northants; and Whitehall between 1531 and 1533<sup>102</sup>. It is clear that Henry VII had bowling alleys at Richmond, but as with his tennis plays there, the form the buildings took is unknown. At Hampton Court, however early plans and views of

Henry VIII's alleys indicate their architectural form<sup>103</sup>. There were two bowling alleys at Hampton Court which measured 200ft (61.54m) and 230ft long (70.77m) respectively, and about 16ft (4.92m) wide. Both had gabled roofs, one covered with lead, the other with tile. Both were well lit by a series of windows running along both sides (one had 18 windows a side, the other 14). The internal arrangements, known from accounts from Ampthill and Grafton comprised sloped sides to allow the balls to bank upon, and earth floors covered with ashes to provide a smooth surface<sup>104</sup>.

The 'Agas' view (Pl. 2) of Whitehall shows two buildings on the park side which would fit this description. They both run north/south, the longer one, apparently from the corner of the great close tennis play, the shorter one a little to its west. Only fragmentary remains were found of these structures. Two lengths of the west wall of the longer (127ft (39.08m)) alley were seen. The first was a substantial stretch of wall III.B1, 32ft (9.85m) long with a small buttress on its western side (Fig. 5). It was 2ft 1in (0.64m) wide irregularly set on roughly coursed brick and stone footings 6ft (1.85m) wide. The second length (B1) was seen on site X, and represented the original southern end of the alley (Fig. 5). A further 18ft (5.54m) of the 6ft (1.85m) footings was recorded, with a length of wall 7ft (2.15m) long resting on them. A thickening at its southern end probably represented the turn of the wall east to form the original end of the alley. A straight joint and a reduction in the width of the footings to 1ft 6in (0.46m) indicated that the continuation of the wall south of the end of the alley was a later addition. The boundary wall surrounding the park side changed its alignment to a position 4ft (1.23m) further south at this point to accommodate the end of the alley, but this was also altered at a later date.

Whether the second long thin building shown on the 'Agas' view was a bowling alley or not is impossible to say. In the form shown it would have been uniquely short at only 42ft (12.92m), but that is assuming that it is shown in its original state. It may be that a phase one bowling alley was partly built over by the small close tennis play of phase two (see below), in which case the structure shown on 'Agas' would be the stump of a much longer alley. The only length of Tudor wall in the area in question (Site V) would, to some extent, seem to confirm a two-phase development of some sort (see Fig. 5). A 60ft (18.46m) trench dug south from the Treasury driveway (Fig. 2) revealed a 22ft (6.77m) length of Tudor wall, 1ft 6in (0.46m) wide centrally set on 3ft 6in (1.08m) footings. Its relation to the phase two small close tennis play does not



Plate 13 H. Danckerts: View of Whitehall Palace from the park c. 1674 (Greater London Photograph Library)

conform to the 'Agas' view, which shows the structure butting against the play's south-east, not south-west corner. But given the inaccuracies of the view and the fact that the south-east corner of the play was excavated without any trace of the building shown on 'Agas' being found, the south-west corner of the play is a more likely location for the building. The wall found was on a different alignment to the tennis play, and the play seems to have superseded it. The foundations of the west wall of the tennis play may have originally been built for another structure (see p. 92), which might confirm the pre-existence of a bowling alley. Unfortunately, as the area where the east wall of the alley would have lain was unavailable for excavation, little more can be conjectured about this structure.

#### I. THE COCKPIT AND ORCHARD LAYOUT

Of the buildings on the park side the cockpit is the best documented in the building accounts. It is clear that by December 1533/January 1534 the building was well advanced; the stone beasts which

the views show gracing the roof of the structure were up (see Pt III Fig. 82:13 and 'Stone objects' Catalogue, for part of a beast found in the excavation); the lantern was being glazed, and inside the 'border, pendans, chaptrills, armys, badgys and divers other thyngs' were being applied<sup>105</sup>. Yet it cannot have been entirely ready for use as, although Thomas Alvard was granted the Keepership of all the other buildings on the park side in April 1533, no mention is made of the cockpit. It was, however, included in Anthony Denny's grant in 1536. This would suggest that the decoration described in an undated account fragment<sup>106</sup> took at least until the beginning of 1534 to complete.

The early views of the building, principally 'Agas' (Pl. 2) Wyngaerde (Pl. 1) and the drawing by John Thorpe of 1606 (Pl. 14) show an octagonal building rising in two tiers to a sloping roof surmounted by a lantern. On top of this was a vane described as a 'cockpyne'<sup>107</sup>. Thorpe clearly shows that the area between the string course and the crenellations was filled with flint chequerwork in line with the decoration found on the other major

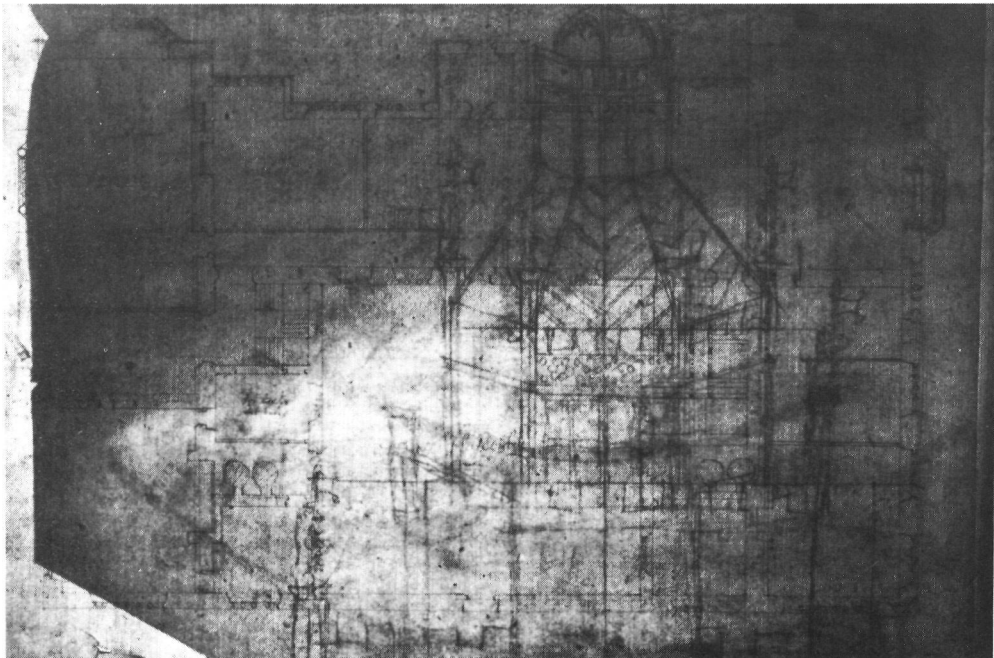


Plate 14 J. Thorpe: The Whitehall Cockpit 1606, X-Ray photograph of paste-down on drawing (Thorpe Collection T.147), reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

buildings of the first phase. The stone beasts supported by poles can be seen on all three views. The account fragment referring to the building's interior decoration enumerates the gilded lead buds and leaves set up at the joints of the fretwork in the ceiling. This was the standard Tudor ceiling treatment, fragments of which have been found in excavations at Greenwich, Hampton Court and Eltham<sup>108</sup>.

The only other Tudor cockpit for which there is evidence was built at Greenwich in 1533;

'maykyng a new cocke place in the tylte yard with iiii ryngs for men to sytt upon but also of a cocke cope in theste lane ffor the kyngs cocks with vi rones in the same'<sup>109</sup>.

Seats for the King and Queen were provided, and coops within the cockpit to hold the cocks during the fight. In 1534 Anne Boleyn forced her husband to have the coops moved further away from the palace as the cocks woke her too early in the morning<sup>110</sup>. Unfortunately there is no view of the Greenwich cockpit.

The arrangement and operation of the Whitehall cockpit is known from an account given of it in 1555. Don Andres de Laguna, a Spanish doctor who visited Whitehall in 1539, saw a cockfight which he recorded in his annotated translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*, in the chapter on cocks and hens:

King Henry the Eighth of that name had had a sumptuous amphitheatre of fine workmanship built, designed like a colosseum and intended exclusively for fights and matches between [cocks]. Round about the circumference of the enclosure there were innumerable coops, belonging to many princes and lords of the Kingdom. In the centre of this colosseum . . . stood a sort of short, upright, truncated column about a span and a half from the ground in height and so thick that a man could scarcely get his hands around it. Very heavy bets on the mettle and valour of the cocks were customarily made by the noblemen. The cocks were brought out from the cages already mentioned where they were tended and pampered with the greatest diligence. They are placed two at a time on the column in full view of the great number of spectators. The jewels and valuables which were bet on them were placed in the middle. These were taken by whoever's cock wins<sup>111</sup>.

Later repair accounts (see p. 106) confirm the truth of de Laguna's observations on the internal arrangements of the cockpit.

The Whitehall cockpit was a fantasy building *par excellence*. Henry VIII's palaces were all to

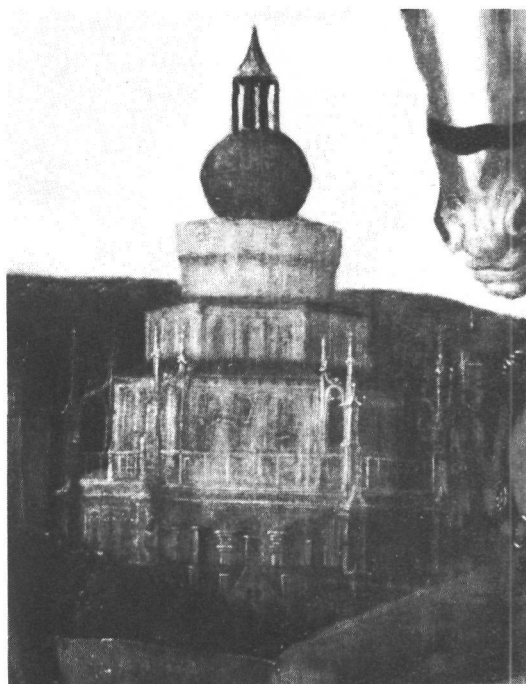


Plate 15 Artist unknown: Detail from *The Family of Henry VII with St. George and the Dragon*, c. 1505–9, showing fantasy building in the background (reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

some extent fantastic; brightly coloured within and without, encrusted in heraldic decoration, with beasts, vanes and flags. Their resemblance to fantasy buildings in the background of paintings and manuscripts has already been indicated (p. 71). The Whitehall cockpit is an especially good example as it bears a remarkable resemblance to a fantastic building in the background of a painting in the Royal Collection, *The Family of Henry VII with St. George and the Dragon* (Pl. 15), which is probably an altarpiece painted c. 1505–9 for Richmond Palace<sup>112</sup>. This is not to suggest that the Whitehall cockpit was in any way a copy of this structure, which Henry must have known well, but certainly the architecture of the cockpit belongs to the same fantastic chivalric tradition as the building in the painting.

Unfortunately, the site of the cockpit was overlain by Kent's Treasury and so excavation was not possible, but several walls probably connected with the layout of the cockpit were uncovered to its

north and west. Two trenches dug on the Horse Guards (H.G.) site revealed three lengths of wall or footing running east/west which may have been part of a retaining wall enclosing a slightly raised platform upon which the cockpit was built. The easternmost section, wall H.G.12, rested on 6ft (1.85m) footings which turned a right angle to the south, representing the corner of the structure; the footings of the eastern extension of this wall were seen 52ft (16m) to the east. This low wall can be seen enclosing the cockpit area in Danckerts' view of the park side from the park dated 1680 (Pl. 13). Further features seen on site I may represent the eastern side of this feature. Three lengths of wall were found (I.2Aa, I.2Ab and I.2Ac). The longest length, I.2Aa, was 38ft (11.69m), and a section was seen of its 5ft (1.54m) wide trench-built foundation lined with brick at the bottom and filled with chalk and flint rubble. This was later incorporated into a full height structure (see p. 122). Calculations, based on the occurrence of external double-struck pointing as an indicator of the original ground level, would suggest that whilst the yard on the

east of wall I.2Aa was about 12ft (3.70m) OD, the ground to the west was about 9ft (2.77m) OD giving a 3ft (0.92m) platform.

The platform that may have been formed by these low walls would have created a 'mount' of the sort that existed in the gardens at Hampton Court and is shown on the view of that palace from the south by Wyngaerde<sup>113</sup>. At Hampton Court the arbour (or 'herber' in Tudor parlance) which crowned the mount was a fantastic circular building with an onion-dome roof and contained a chamber for banqueting. The cockpit, whose fantastical nature has been discussed above, was a similar building, which, it is suggested here, was the centrepiece of an orchard layout on the south and west of the park side complex. 'Agas' (Pl. 2) leaves the areas around the cockpit blank, but later maps, including Faithorne and Newcourt (1658) clearly show gardens in this area<sup>114</sup>.

The principal feature of a Tudor orchard as shown by Wyngaerde's views of Hampton Court and Whitehall (see Pl. 1) was the grid-like pattern of low walls and posts supporting beasts. A group



Plate 16 Whitehall: Site IX showing remains of early garden layout and a length of "cock" yard wall IX.T.2A; to the right, a cellar of Kent's Treasury (Crown Copyright)

of features found on site IX included a series of walls and a posthole relating to the orchard layout (Pl. 16 and Figs 2, 5). Two lengths of wall, one running north/south and the other running east/west and making a straight joint with the southern end of the first wall belonged to the early garden layout. Both walls were built with 2in (0.05m) foundations and 9in (0.23m) footings, directly onto the chalky palace levelling layer. Neither wall was higher than a very few courses and originally they would have supported low wooden rails enclosing areas of grass<sup>115</sup>. To the west of these was a posthole lined with Henrician brick (Type A) and set in a chalk foundation of about 4ft (1.23m) diameter. This would have held a wooden post about 8½in (217mm) square supporting a wooden beast. This area of the garden was to be swept away in the third phase of building (see p. 101).

A second small area of garden layout was seen on site VIII. Here an area of brick floor 6ft (1.85m) long and about 2½ft (0.77m) wide was recorded. It was built directly onto the chalky palace building layer showing it to have been an early feature. Later it was incorporated first into a garden building and later into a kitchen (see Fig. 5, and Phase 3C p. 101).

#### J. THE GREAT OPEN TENNIS PLAY

Thomas Alvard's appointment as Keeper specified tennis plays in the plural, which seems to indicate the presence of another play by April 1533. There is no conclusive evidence by which to locate this play but a probable site can be suggested. It was shown above (p. 79) that to the north of the great close tennis play there was a length of wall which appeared to connect the north west turret with the tiltyard gallery. The 1670 plan (Pl. 3) indicates that there was a parallel wall running north from the play's north-east turret. The rectangle so formed would have measured 83ft × 24ft (25.54m × 7.38m), the exact size of the great close tennis play. If this space was, in fact, an open tennis play it would explain the position of the close play which would otherwise seem isolated. It would also suggest a further use for the gallery next the tilt, as it would double as a viewing gallery for the tennis play. A further piece of evidence, which would support this theory, is that primary joist sockets were found embedded in the north face of wall T.5. These may have carried the supporting timbers of a side penthouse (Pl. 36).

Later repair accounts refer to a play in this area and an Elizabethan repair details windows broken in the tiltyard gallery by balls from the tennis play<sup>116</sup>.

#### HENRY VIII AND THE FIRST PHASE OF BUILDING

Henry VIII was a compulsive and impatient builder, forever changing his mind and forcing work forward at break-neck speed. The new buildings at Whitehall were no exception, indeed the first phase of building was undertaken to the strictest deadlines. Right from the beginning Henry's building works at Whitehall and Hampton Court were a joint venture between the King and Anne Boleyn. The day after Wolsey left York Place, Henry, Anne and one Gentleman of the Privy Chamber had paid a secret visit to survey the King's new property<sup>117</sup> and Chapuys, reporting on Henry's extension of the house wrote 'all this is done to please the lady who prefers that place for the King's residence to any other'<sup>118</sup>. The King was staying at Whitehall in early May 1532 to supervise the start of works, but on the 17th he started a progress that was to take him as far as Woodstock only returning to Greenwich in October. Then on October 11th he sailed for France with Anne to meet Francis I for a second time. During the time he was in France two letters survive written to Cromwell, by Alvard, who was evidently expecting a visit soon after the King's return:

'Also for the King's palace at Westminster there ys as muche spede as can be made there agaynste his grace comynge here'<sup>119</sup>

The King was evidently pleased with the reported progress for on 27th October Alvard was writing again with more reassurance, and more detail:

'Also glad I am that his grace is so well contentid with the forwardnes of his graces buyldyns here in Westminster and I ensure you we be at a great forwardnes with our joyners and at a good poynts, and there shall lack no diligence day no nyght according to hs grace is pleasure'<sup>120</sup>

The King returned from France on 13th November and made his way back to Greenwich where he spent Christmas.



From Greenwich he visited Whitehall on 17th December to see how works had progressed. He must have been satisfied, for, as described above, the shells of the buildings on the park side were almost complete.

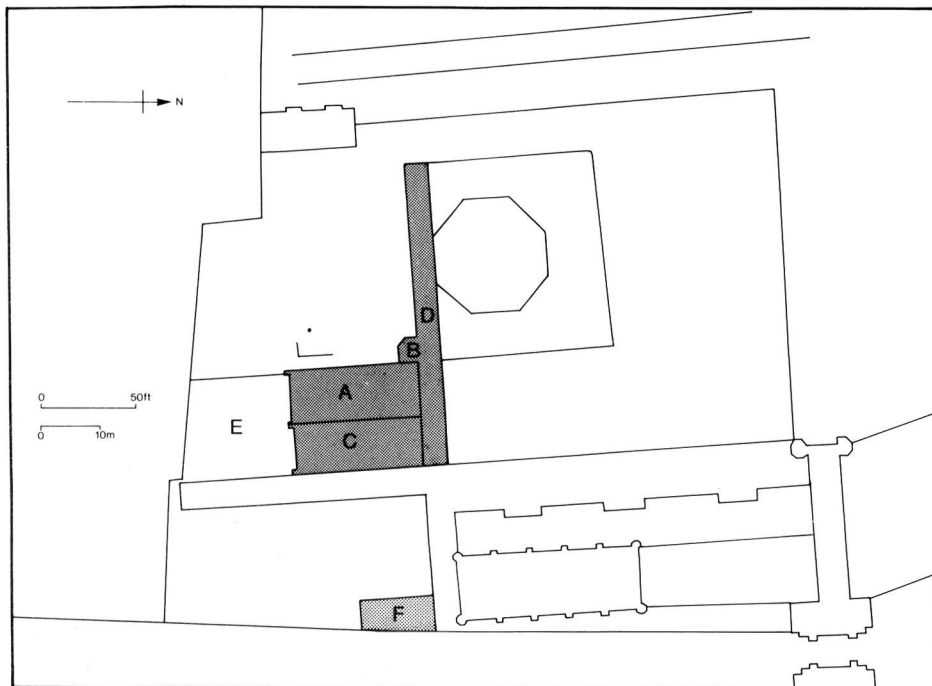
Henry and Anne were secretly married at Whitehall in January 1533 and soon after Alvard must have been told to ensure that the park side was ready for use by May, the date set for Anne's coronation. The celebrations for Anne's coronation made extensive use of the new buildings of the park side. Hall describes 'justes at the tilte before the kinges gate'<sup>121</sup> and after there were feasts, banquets and revels

for several days. These entertainments probably included the use of the tennis plays and bowling alleys, and the occupation of the new lodging ranges by coronation guests. However, the halt in building and the tidying up of the site was only a temporary measure; Anne's coronation had interrupted a half executed plan, and as soon as the festivities were over work began again.

#### 4. HENRY VIII—PHASE 2. 1533-1534

(Development plan 2)

The second phase of building saw the extension of the park side westwards, by



Development Plan: 2 Whitehall, The Park Side: Henry VIII Phase 2 1533-34

##### DEVELOPMENT PLAN 2

- A. Small close tennis play, seen in excavation and partly survives.
- B. Vice-stair linking gallery and tennis play, seen on views and in surviving fabric.
- C. Small open tennis play, seen in excavation.
- D. Gallery between the tennis plays, seen on early views, partly excavated and partly survives.
- E. Pheasant yard, from excavated and documentary evidence.
- F. Stair communicating with upper gallery.



Plate 17 Whitehall: Small Open Tennis Play, looking north, showing drain III.2 and the stoolhouse Rooms 2 and 3. (Crown Copyright)

extending the central gallery and building two further tennis plays against it. This was probably always intended, despite the fact that the western section of the gallery and the two new tennis plays are on a slightly different alignment to the earlier gallery section, tennis play and cockpit. In addition a pheasant yard was built. In this phase the cockpit lost its role as an isolated central feature.

#### A. THE SMALL CLOSE TENNIS PLAY

This building can be clearly seen on the 'Agas' view where it appears as a tall building with crow stepped gables, a large central window and corner buttresses (Pl. 2). A later view by Kipp<sup>122</sup> shows the building's east elevation which contained three tall windows. No Henrician accounts survive and on the 1670 plan later additions obscure its original form (Pl. 3, Fig. 9 and p. 108–110). However, extensive remains were found during the exca-

vation confirming the Henrician date and providing considerable structural information (Figs 5–7, 9, Pls 17–20).

The west wall (SCT.4), although mutilated by later alterations was fully seen in section (Fig. 12). It was 3ft ½in (0.94m) wide with brick offsets to footings, and was built on 4ft 9ins (1.46m) wide chalk rubble trench-built foundations. The offsets of SCT.4 indicated that the foundations of the south wall (SCT.3) had been built subsequently to the foundations of wall SCT.4. This might indicate that wall SCT.4 was built on foundations already laid for another building (possibly the bowling alley described on p. 91). SCT.3 was 3ft (0.92m) wide with projecting 2ft 1½in (0.65m) buttresses; the eastern wall, SCT.2, was of a totally different make up. The 3ft (0.92m) wide wall was built directly onto 7ft 6in (2.31m) wide chalk rubble foundations without any footings. This difference in build to wall SCT.4 would serve to reinforce the

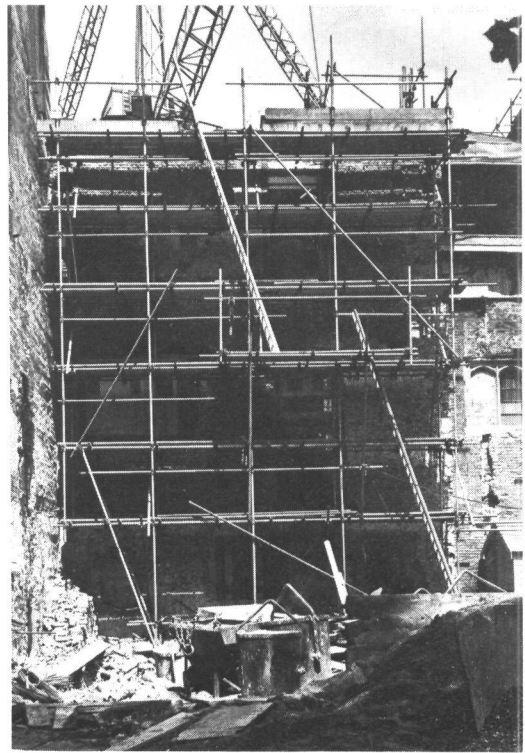


Plate 18 Whitehall: Small Close Tennis Play, remains of north gable wall SCT.1 (view from the south) (Crown Copyright)



Plate 19 Whitehall: Small Close Tennis Play, remains of floor 1, site XVI (See Fig. 9) (Crown Copyright)

theory that the west wall of the play was built on pre-existing foundations (see Fig. 12).

The north gable wall (SCT.1) was recorded up to a height of 37ft (11.38m) and was 3ft 1½in (0.96m) wide at ground floor level. This wall was effectively three storeys high and contained several features at each storey (Pls 18, 20; Fig. 7). At second floor level the western half of the gable window was seen. The stone surround of a four-centred arch with an internal measurement of 10ft (3.08m) was recorded; the sill had been destroyed. The north-west corner contained a doorway with a chamfered stone head, the north side of which was weathered. This was probably a doorway from a vice-stair leading to the leads. The position of the stair can be seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). At first-floor level two large brick relieving arches each 13ft (4m) across were recorded; beneath the western one the scars of window blocking were seen indicating that the original size of the windows must have been the same as those at first floor level along the gallery between the tennis plays.

On the ground floor another smaller relieving

arch was situated above a three-light window which survived almost intact. The north side of this window had splayed reveals and sills. To the west of the window was a recess in the form of a brick two-centred 9in (0.23m) arch with a 2in (0.051m) chamfer. It had thin white plaster with several layers of lime wash and traces of burning and soot. It was exposed by removing brick blocking of type C and F brick (Brick Typology p. 127) built off the original stone floor slab. This recess was probably connected with the vice-stair down from the first floor gallery, giving more space to people entering the court directly into the penthouse (Fig. 5). To the east of the central window was a door with a four-centred head and stop-chamfered stone jambs. The iron rides for hinges were found *in situ*. A 6in (0.15m) deep bearing recess for a wood lintel was seen, as was the seating for the 5in (0.13m) thick stone threshold. This door communicated with the lower part of the gallery, providing access at ground floor level. This gable wall exhibited the same features as the south gable wall of the great close tennis play providing windows for viewing the game and a gable window to light the play area.

In addition to the remains of the walls a large area of the original floor surface was found with wooden sleepers for supporting the side penthouses (Pl. 19, Figs 5, 9). SCT.5A and B were two low 8in (0.20m) brick sleeper walls with white plastered internal faces; the east and west walls carried 4in (0.10m) wide 3in (0.077m) deep wood beams whose tops were flush with the floor. The south wall did not have a wood sleeper but was capped by 11in × 8in × ½in (0.28m × 0.20m × 12.5mm) plain tiles (see Pl. 19). Stratigraphical evidence (Fig. 12) indicated that apart from the wooden beams, walls SCT.5A and B were hidden by the floor. The southern part of SCT.5A seems not to have been used as a support for a penthouse, the brick sleeper being hidden by the surface of the play. The play would have been used for playing the minor or *quarré* game in which the penthouses ran along one long side and one short side. The short end penthouse must have been at the north so as to cover the internal window giving on to the gallery; the *quarré* would have been sited in the upper part of the demolished wall SCT.3. The doorway in the west wall would suggest that the side penthouse originally stood on that side, resting on the timber sleeper. However the sleeper on the east could equally well have supported a penthouse entered by the door in the north-east corner. So it seems possible that the arrangement was changed at a later date; this may also explain the buried southern sleeper wall SCT.5A.



Plate 20 Whitehall: Gallery between the Tennis Plays (view from the south), exterior after 1960–63 reconstruction (Crown Copyright)

### B. THE VICE-STAIR

No remains were found of the stair which led out of the tennis play up to the door leading to the leads previously described (p. 93). There would have been a door at first floor level leading into the first floor gallery, but as the western section of the gallery was lost no trace of this was found. The stair must have been the principal entrance to the playing area from the thoroughfare of the gallery above.

### C. THE SMALL OPEN TENNIS PLAY

Once again this building is undocumented, but is clearly shown on 'Agas' to the east of the small close play, and was seen in excavation. It was constructed very simply by building a wall between the small close play and the bowling alley. This wall, SOT.2 (Fig. 2, Pl. 17), was 2ft 5in (0.74m) wide irregularly set on 4ft 9in (1.46m) footings which were centrally placed on roughly coursed brick and Kentish rag rubble foundations. At its

east end a 3ft (0.92m) wide buttress, projecting 2ft 4in (0.72m), formed a straight joint with the west wall of the bowling alley. 'Agas' shows a window at an upper level in this wall (Pl. 2).

Of the play's north wall, SOT.1, only fragments were found; it was 2ft 8in (0.82m) wide and contained a recess. This had had stone jambs, but only the seating was left; the upper part of the recess was removed by workmen before it could be recorded. The recess was about 4ft (1.23m) wide, and was probably a *quarré* for the minor game that was played both in this play and the small covered play.

As in the small tennis play a fragment of the penthouse wall was found. SOT.3 was a 2ft (0.62m) length of wall 9in (0.23m) wide; it indicated that the penthouse ran along the play's west side. A door with a four-centred head and stop-chamfered jambs led into the play within the penthouses in the north-west corner. The iron rides for its hinges were found *in situ* as was the heading for a striking-plate and bolthole.

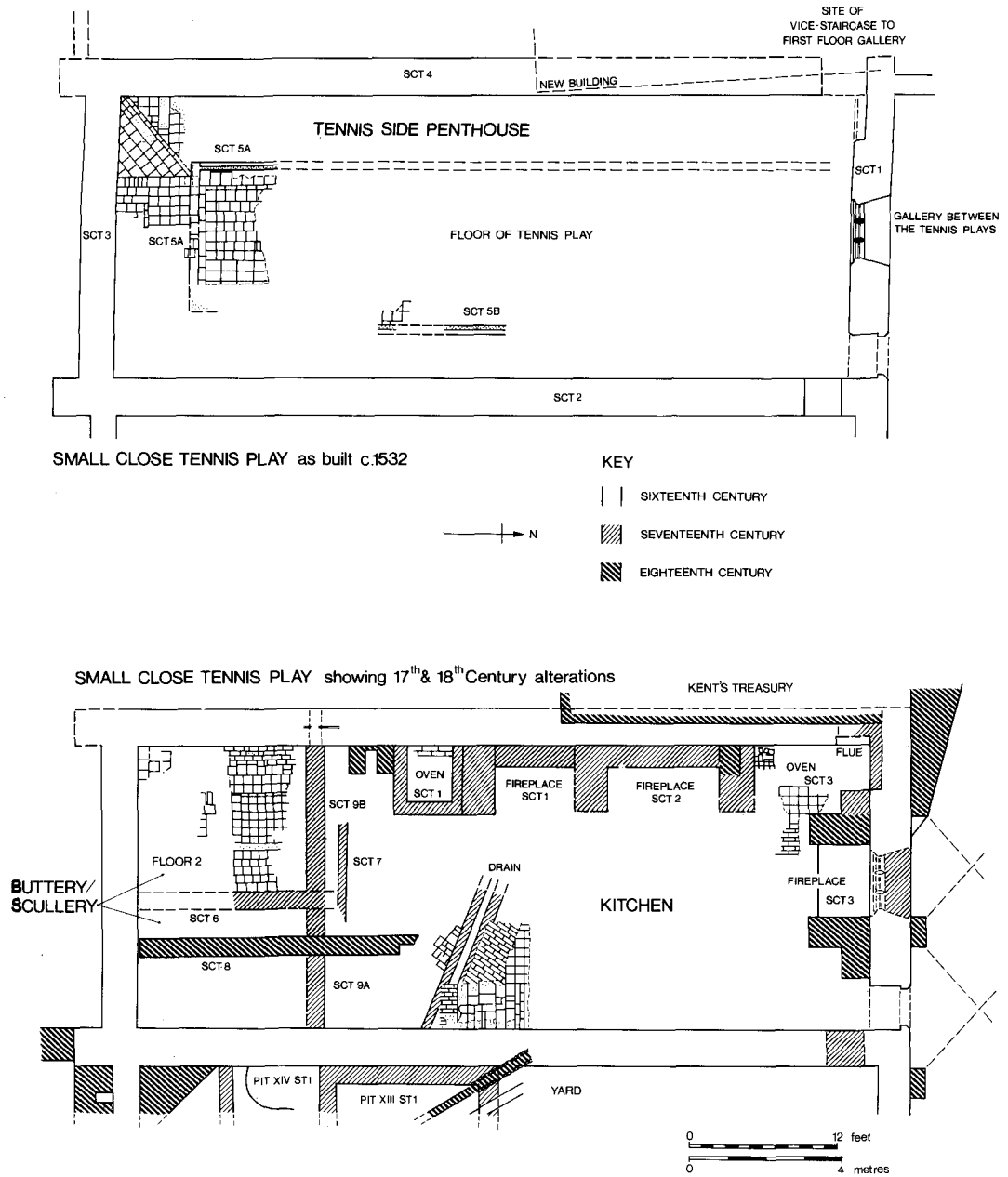


Fig. 9 Whitehall: Small Close and Small Open Tennis Plays Phase Plan

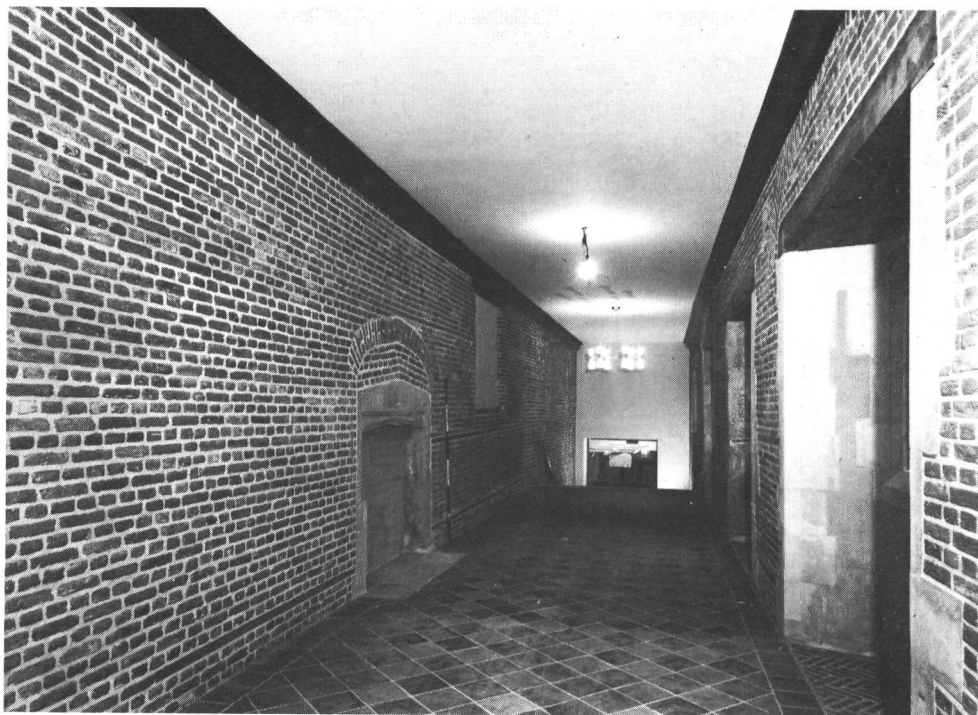


Plate 21 Whitehall: Gallery between the tennis plays, interior after 1960–63 reconstruction (Crown Copyright)

#### D. THE GALLERY BETWEEN THE TENNIS PLAYS

An undated account fragment detailing the expenses of painting and gilding of the buildings on the park side (see p. 97) describes ‘payntinge and gilding . . . in the rooffe of the galorye betwene the tenneys plays’<sup>123</sup>. This presumably referred to first floor level where ‘[painting] and gildinge of flatt [battens] in length 1,470ft’ [452.31m] is listed. A reference in a later undated account (c. 1536) describes ‘a doore in the gallery goyng in to the tenesse play’<sup>124</sup>. This presumably refers to the ground-floor gallery. This gallery must have been the one that ran between the great close play in the east and the cockpit in the west. Substantial remains of this gallery were found embedded in later structures (see p. 97), and parts of it were reconstructed to its original Tudor form in 1960–2 (Pls 20–21).

At ground-floor level much of both the north and south sides were found to still be *in situ* (Fig. 5). Excavation against the north side revealed several structural anomalies. The north wall (IV.1) was

only 1ft 10in (0.56m) thick at ground level as opposed to 3ft 1½in (0.96m) thick on the south side (SOT.1). However the foundations of the wall (trench-built and roughly coursed with chalk) were 4ft 2in (1.28m) wide with substantial brick footings. At the west end the gallery met wall I.2Aa forming a straight joint with it showing the gallery to have been built subsequently to the north/south wall (I.2Aa).

The difference in size between the foundations of the north wall and the wall itself may indicate that the foundations predate the wall by a short period. It is possible that the foundations were laid out late in phase 1 and the Queen’s coronation halted the building of the wall. If this was so, when work resumed, the wall was inadvertently continued on a different alignment, and, as it was designed to bear only the roof of the gallery, it did not need to be built as solidly as the south wall. At ground-floor level the wall contained no features of interest but had been pierced several times by later additions.

At first-floor level much of the original layout

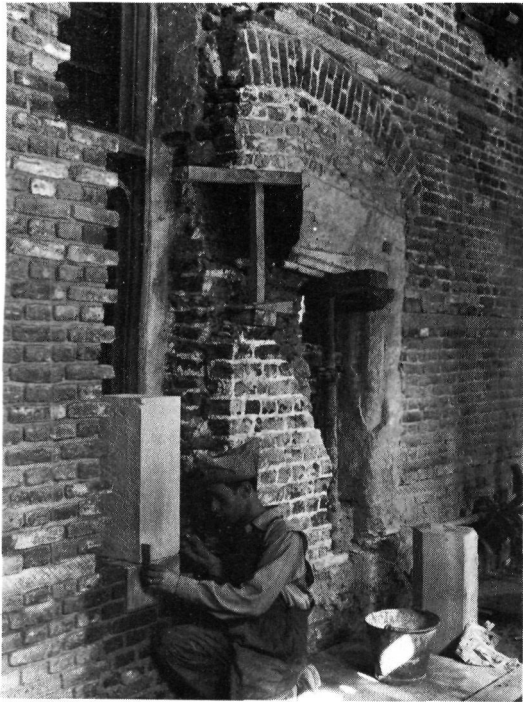


Plate 22 Whitehall: Gallery between the tennis plays, remains of fireplace in north wall (first floor) (Crown Copyright)

and decoration remained. On the north wall, the east jamb of a fireplace and sections of the overmantel with severely decayed mouldings were seen beneath a substantial brick relieving arch. Its internal measurements were 5ft (1.54m) wide by 3ft 4in (1.03m) high. It was partially obscured by a Victorian six-light window in Tudor style. The fireplace was reconstructed with new stonework (Pls 21–22). At the west end of the gallery half a two-light window was found beneath later blocking (Fig. 6). The original opening measured about 3ft 7in (1.10m) wide.

Traces of plasterwork indicated that the passage was originally plastered and painted white with a black dado or skirting, part of which was restored. Wooden battens found built into the brickwork suggest that the walls were tapestried. A reference in May 1540 mentions ‘VII peces of imagery which sometime hang in the tennys play gallery, some moth-eaten’<sup>125</sup>. The Tudor floor was probably of wood and at the west end of the gallery where the wall was seen up to parapet level the wall plates and joist holes for the roof were seen (Pl. 23). This

was a pentice roof sloping down from the north wall of the gallery to its south wall (Figs 7, 8). Beneath the joists a flat ceiling would have supported the ceiling decoration of gilded battens described above.

At ground-floor level the south wall of the gallery contained the door and window opening into the small close tennis play described above. At first-floor level traces of five windows were found in the south wall. The westernmost pair was set beneath brick relieving arches in the gable wall of the small close tennis play. No trace of the original stone frames could be found, but scars on the exterior of the wall indicated their position (see p. 93 and Fig. 7). The other three windows looked out onto the small open play and onto the roof of the bowling alley (Fig. 7). The western window was a complete example and the others must have been similar. It was a window of three four-centred lights in a recessed bay with a chamfered wooden lintel above. It had splayed reveals down to floor level with stone dressings. Only the lintel and part of the west jamb and blocking survived of the window to its east, and only half of the westernmost light survived of the third window. There may have been a sixth window further east. Between the windows remains of the wooden battens for hanging tapestries were found (Pls 21, 22).

Remains of the wall plate and rafters supporting the pentice roof at the east end of the gallery were found embedded in the south gable wall of the great close tennis play (p. 81 and Fig. 2). Apart from this there was no archaeological indication of the form of the gallery at its east end. However the fragment of painting account describes gilding in ‘the galarye between the tennys pleyes also in the roofof the hawte [pace] adjoining to the same’<sup>126</sup>. The term ‘hawte pace’ or ‘haut place’ usually indicates a stairway, and in this context it must refer to a stair giving access to the gallery. Where this stair was is unknown, but it is possible that it was situated at the east end of the gallery within the rectangular two-storey building shown by ‘Agas’ next to the great close play (Pl. 2). The same structure is shown on the 1670 Plan (Pl. 3) and it survived long enough to be drawn by William Capon in 1822. Capon’s architectural drawing (Pl. 24) seems to be incomplete as it does not include the doorway and window immediately to the south of the tennis play shown on Canaletto’s view of 1746<sup>127</sup> and all later views. This door and window were probably later additions, as ‘Agas’ shows the area blank and indicates a doorway further to the south. Capon’s drawing does show however that the building was of stone, not brick, and was capped by a freestone cornice.

No clues are given as to the building's original use but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary it is suggested that this building was, in fact, a sort of gatehouse to the park side containing the entrance from the street and a stair to give access to the gallery between the tennis plays. The fact that this building was of stone may reflect its status as an entrance to the complex.

Equally little evidence survives as to the form of the western end of the gallery but it seems unlikely that it would not have continued as far as the cockpit. Seventeenth-century alterations obliterated the original arrangement (see p. 113–8), but a single length of wall seen in this area (wall D.16) seems to be on the same alignment as the gallery further to the east (Fig. 3). 'Agas' certainly shows some kind of building extending as far as the park wall (Pl. 2, Fig. 7).

#### E. THE PHEASANT YARD

Hunting has always demanded a ready supply

of animals to be hunted and Henry VIII, like the hunting farmers of today, bred his own game birds to be used for sport. At Hampton Court the King had a large pheasant yard at the end of the bowling alley on the north side of the palace. At Whitehall a yard was ready for use by early 1534 for it was then that labourers were paid for 'caryng sand for levelyng [and] fyllyng [the] ffeasantt yard'<sup>128</sup>. The yard was mentioned in Anthony Denny's grant of 1536 and so must have been in full operation well before then. The duty of looking after the birds was delegated to an underkeeper who was paid 13 shillings a year. As at Hampton Court the bills for feeding the pheasants appear in the building accounts, and from these we know that the birds ate wheat, barley, white bread and hempseed<sup>129</sup>. A reference in 1581 locates the pheasant court in the area next to The King's Head Inn<sup>130</sup>. This seems to have been the Henrician position as well, for the area in question, site XVII, was covered in a thick layer of sand shown on the section A-A (Fig. 11) as layer 6c (see also Fig. 5).

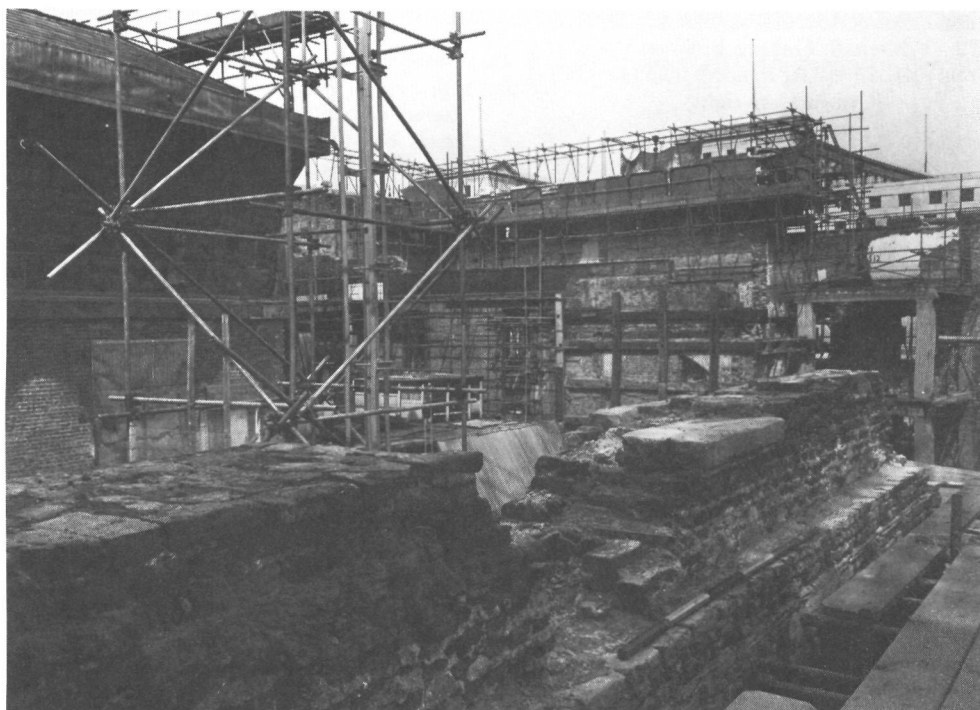


Plate 23 Whitehall: Gallery between the tennis plays; view looking north-east at roof level, showing top of north wall of gallery with the Great Close Tennis Play in the background (Crown Copyright)



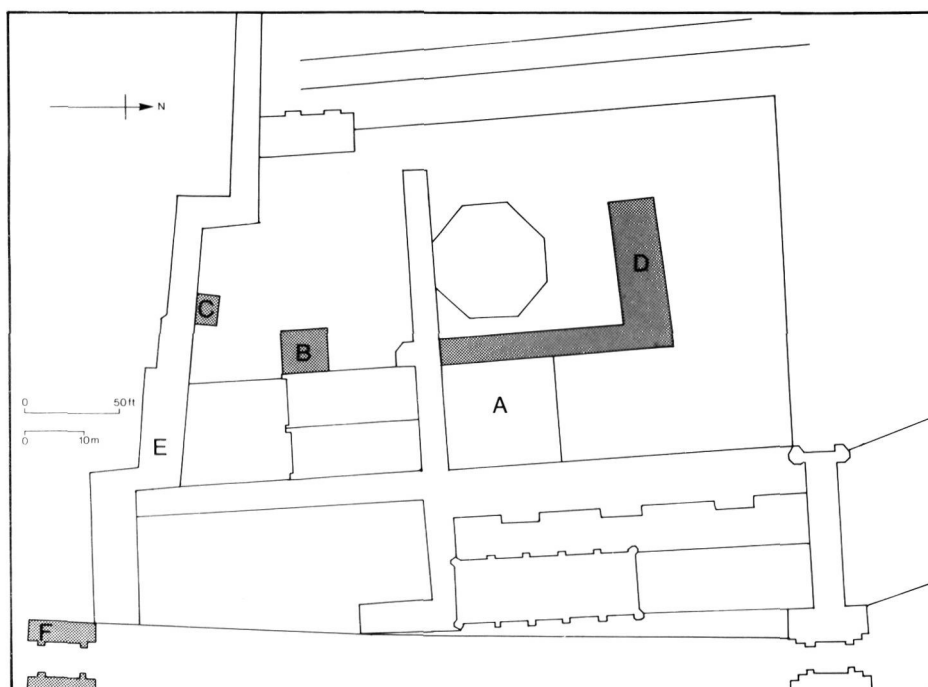
### 5. HENRY VIII—PHASE 3. 1534-1547

#### (Development plan 3)

By 1535 the park side had more or less attained its final Henrician form. Further additions were piecemeal and relatively minor. They comprised, as far as can be known, two courts, one of which was probably a coney yard, a structure in the garden area which may have been an arbour, an extension and alteration to the park wall, and a new range of lodgings.

#### A. THE CONEY YARD

The coney yard, like the pheasant yard, provided animals for hunting. It is not mentioned until 1545 when one William Lancaster was appointed Keeper of the King's conies at Westminster at £4 11s 3d a year<sup>131</sup>. A later undated account mentions food bought for the 'kyngs tame conys'<sup>132</sup>. It seems as if the coney yard was set up in 1545 to deal with the problem of an understocked park, for in that year an Act was passed reserving 'the games of hare, partridge and heron preserved in and about his honor at his palace at Westminster for his own disport and pastime'; no person was henceforth allowed to hawk or hunt within the precinct<sup>133</sup>.



Development Plan: 3 Whitehall, The Park Side: Henry VIII Phase 3 1534-47

#### DEVELOPMENT PLAN 3

- A. Yard, possibly related to coney yard mentioned in documents.
- B. Yard, seen in excavation.
- C. Small brick structure, possibly related to the gardens, seen in excavation.
- D. Range of buildings, possibly lodgings, seen in excavation.
- E. Passage to the park, seen on early views and in excavation.
- F. King Street gate, from views and 1670 plan.

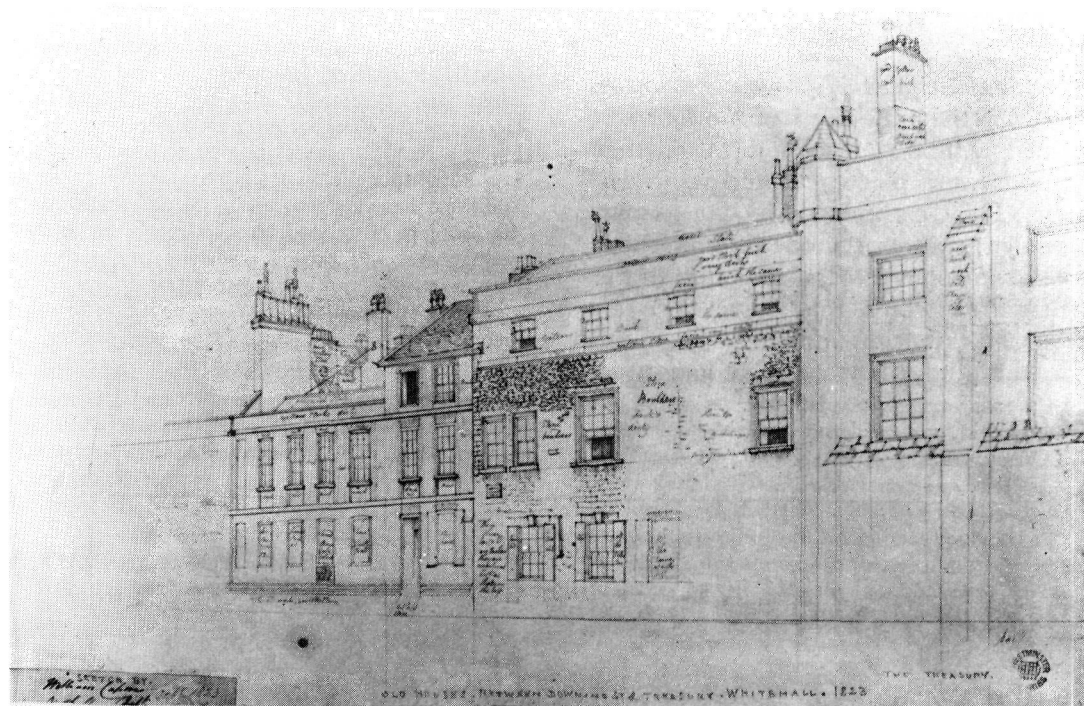


Plate 24 W. Capon: Drawing of 1823, of the remains of the east façade of the Great Close Tennis Play, and the building immediately south of it (Westminster City Archives)

This would indicate that prior to 1545 poaching had been a serious problem and probably had reduced natural stocks. The coney yard was built to deal with this problem.

An undated account which must relate to the setting up of hutches in the coney yard describes 'houses built over councese new sett upp be syde the cokepyt'<sup>134</sup>. It is suggested that the coney yard was positioned to the north of the gallery between the tennis plays (Site 1), its south wall formed by the gallery, its west wall by a vertical extension of the existing wall on that site (see p. 101), its east side by the west wall of the phase one lodging range and its north side by a new enclosing wall (Fig. 5). Four lengths of the north wall were seen (I.Dt 1a-d); all were small fragments of Tudor wall on chalk rubble foundations except wall I.Dt 1d which had the west jamb of a stone door surround attached. Unfortunately this was not fully recorded. The court so formed was an exact square 52ft × 52ft (16m × 16m) and occupied a nearly central position on the park side. The north wall of the gallery

between the tennis plays had only one window at first-floor level overlooking the yard which may confirm the area's mundane use (Fig. 6).

#### B. A 'COCK YARD'

A second small yard was identified on site IX west of the small close tennis play. Its use is most uncertain, but as it measured only 19ft × 21ft (5.85m × 6.46m) it is unlikely to have been for anything needing as much space as pheasants or rabbits. Both the cockpits at Whitehall and Greenwich had provision for breeding and training of prize birds (see p. 89), and the Whitehall building accounts mention a purveyor of cocks and food bought for them<sup>135</sup>. It is possible that the yard found on site IX was for the King's cocks, although this is of course conjecture (Pl. 16).

Three lengths of wall were seen (IX.T.2a, IX.T.2b and IX.T.2c). The southernmost wall, IX.T.2b, ran east/west, but at its western end was seen to turn at right angles north; it was picked up

again as wall IX.T.2a 9ft (2.77m) further north. Wall IX.T.2c was only seen as footings with a brick offset to the west clearly indicating that this was a return of wall IX.T.2a. This wall would have run east to meet the west wall of the small close play where an area of wall was broken out indicating the later removal of the wall. The original garden features in this area (see p. 90) were demolished.

### C. A GARDEN BUILDING?

On site VIII the phase I brick pavement identified above (Phase 1, section 1, p. 90) was incorporated into what was possibly a light garden structure. A 9in (0.23m) Tudor brick wall was built directly off the pavement which had been disturbed, showing the wall to be a secondary feature. When plotted this wall coincided with a rectangular structure seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). It is possible that this structure was an arbour of some sort, similar to the light brick structures built in other palace gardens.

### D. LODGINGS AROUND THE COCKPIT

Several lengths of wall found in the vicinity of the cockpit can be identified with lodgings seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) and with Danckerts' view of the palace from the park (Pl. 13). On site I part of the south and east walls of a cellar or low-lying room were identified built up against wall I.2Aa (Fig. 5). It had a brick floor built onto a gravel and tile rubble hardcore, an area of which was seen. The 'L' shaped retaining wall had 2in × 3in (51mm × 77mm) slots in its east wall to take brackets for shelves running along the south wall (Pl. 25). The wall surface had traces of a thin lime plaster. Further sections of wall I.2A (b and c) were seen to have been built up into a first-floor structure, but due to later additions it was difficult to ascertain how much of this structure was Tudor (see p. 122).

Other fragments of a substantial building were found on the H.G. site. Five lengths of Tudor wall and footing were plotted, but not fully explored. They belonged to a narrow sub-rectangular building running east/west measuring 76ft × 20ft (23.38m × 6.15m). A fragment of footing possibly representing an internal wall might suggest the presence of a 6ft (1.85m) wide gallery running along the range's northern side. Associated with the building a drain, H.G.1a, was recorded lying partly beneath the range. Part of its arched brick vault was seen, as was part of its brick floor. At the eastern end of the building a fragment of a cess pit

was observed (P.G.T1); it was of Tudor brickwork springing off an 8in (0.21m) vaulted arch. The floor was not seen, as a later drain had obliterated it (see p. 124). Two Tudor pits were found within the area occupied by the lodging range (H.G. pits T1 and T2).

This whole east/west wing must have been demolished before 1600 as it does not show on Norden's map of the area<sup>136</sup>. The Danckerts view (Pl. 13) shows two rather unusual bay windows at the point where the range would have joined the north/south section. These may represent the filling of the scar left by the range's demolition (Pl. 13).

### E. EXTENSION OF THE BOUNDARY WALL

At the King's death in 1547 there was a major building campaign underway on both sides of the road at Whitehall. Part of this was the construction of the new gateway, which became known as the 'King Street Gate'<sup>137</sup>. It was erected to the south of the southern boundary of the palace across King Street. In this position it reduced the street frontage of The King's Head, the inn let by the Crown, immediately to the south of the palace. In the pre-palace period the boundary ditch XVII.M1, which lay between the inn (then called The Axe) and the site designated for the park side, had a path running along its southern edge (see Pt. II). This path was probably a public right of way towards the park, and in the same way that King Street was preserved as a thoroughfare, this path was probably retained as a right of way in the early phases. In 1542 an Act of Parliament reorganised the parish boundaries of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and St. Margaret's Westminster, and transferred all the houses to the north of the palace formerly in St Margaret's parish to the parish of St. Martin. The motive for this was to prevent funeral processions from carrying dead bodies through the palace precincts and spreading infection<sup>138</sup>. The building of the King Street gate may have been connected with the regulation of passage along King Street. Control of access included the walling of the right of way running along the southern boundary of the park side to form what became known as the 'passage to the park'. This passage is clearly shown on 'Agas' (Pl. 2) and the western section survived long enough to be shown on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). Two small lengths of the walls of the passage were seen, but not fully recorded (Fig. 5). One was in a contractors' trench in the garden of No. 8 Downing St. and the other was a little to its east. Both were of Tudor brick (Type A).

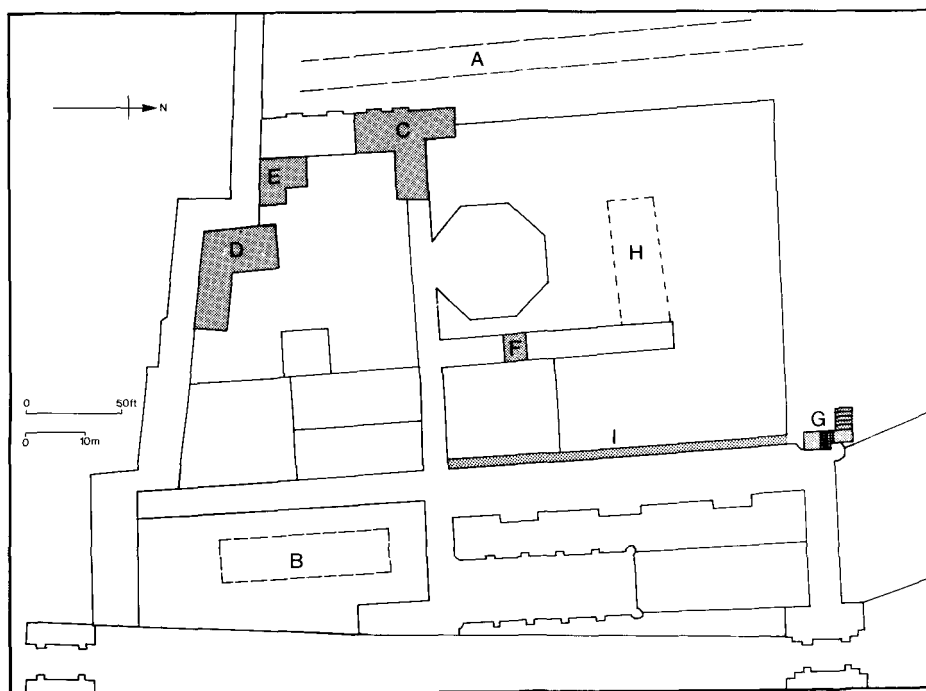
## THE PARK SIDE UNDER THE LATER TUDORS

(Development plan 4)

### 1. INTRODUCTION: SPORT AND THE LATER TUDORS

Although under Mary Tudor sport suffered a partial eclipse, under Edward VI and especially under Elizabeth the popularity of sport was at a peak. The later

years of Henry VIII's reign had been rather sober, and of the recreations on the park side, hunting was the only one which the King practised. However, despite the King's corpulence and ill health he ensured that his son and heir, Edward, was given the same sportsmanlike education that he had been given when young<sup>139</sup>. This seems to have influenced the boy prince and there is evidence to suggest that Edward built a new tennis



Development Plan: 4 Whitehall, The Park Side under the Later Tudors

#### DEVELOPMENT PLAN 4

- A. Moat filled in, from documentary and archaeological evidence.
- B. Construction of new open tennis play, from documentary evidence.
- C. Extension of Keeper's lodging, seen in excavation.
- D. Keeper's kitchen, constructed from documentary sources, 1670 plan and excavated evidence.
- E. Stair, from 1670 plan.
- F. Cellar, seen in excavations.
- G. Park stairs constructed.
- H. Demolition of possible lodging range, from excavated evidence.
- I. Single-storey pentice gallery, seen on views and in excavation.

court at Whitehall immediately on his accession (see below).

The reign of Elizabeth was the great era of the courtly sportsman. In 1570, Roger Ascham in his book *The Scholemaster*, could list the sports which were ‘not only cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Gentleman to use’, they were:

‘to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilt or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: to vant lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: to daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunninggly: to hawke: to hunte: to play at tennes’<sup>140</sup>

This list was, by the standards of some other contemporary writers, conservative, for they would also include games such as bowling, cards and chess. Elizabeth herself was not a participant, except to shoot at driven game from a park ‘standing’; she was, however, a spectator. Elizabeth used the Henrician provision for viewing sports to the utmost, watching cockfights, tennis or jousting from the various viewing galleries. Little new was built during the reign, and on the Queen’s death the park side remained much as Henry VIII had left it.

## 2. EDWARD AND MARY AT THE PARK SIDE

Only one works account survives for this period. Two entries refer to buildings on the park side; mention is made of ‘fillinge of the mote’, and ‘makinge of the tennys playe’. The total cost of this, together with sundry other repairs at the palace was £3,654 8s, which was a substantial amount<sup>141</sup>. The moat, as described above, was seen in excavation on sites D. and H.G. In both sections the filling was a mixture of brown loam and Tudor building rubble (Fig. 10).

The tennis play referred to cannot be

identified with any degree of certainty, but the area immediately to the south of the great close tennis play (later called ‘the break’) was occupied by a tennis play in Elizabeth’s reign (p. 106). As this does not seem to have been erected by Henry VIII, it is suggested that Edward built it in the first years of his reign. It was not possible to excavate in that area, and so this hypothesis cannot be verified, or the nature of the court ascertained.

## 3. THE ELIZABETHAN PARK SIDE

In addition to the routine repairs undertaken to keep the buildings of the park side in good order, several new structures were erected in Elizabeth’s reign, all connected with the lodging of the Keeper of the palace. Norden’s map of *c.* 1600, although distorted, shows these alterations to the Henrician fabric<sup>142</sup>.

### A. THE KEEPER’S LODGE

On the death of Thomas Alvard, one of Henry VIII’s favourites, Sir Anthony Denny, was appointed Keeper of Whitehall Palace and he retained the position until the King’s death. Denny’s successors, Sir Andrew Dudley, Arthur Sturton and George Bredyman were not leading courtiers in the way that Denny had been, but in 1581 Elizabeth once again appointed a leading court figure to be Keeper of the palace. He was Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Knyvit. It seems as if Knyvit occupied the same lodge, situated in the south-west corner of the park side, where Thomas Alvard had lived in the 1530s, for he refers to his lodge ‘in St. James’s park’<sup>143</sup>. In addition to the Keeper’s lodge, Knyvit was granted the inn, formerly The Axe, which since 1532 had been called the King’s Head (see p. 77). This lease was renewed by James I in 1604 (see p. 108)<sup>144</sup>. By Knyvit’s time the Keeper’s lodge must have been old and outdated, and both archaeological and documentary evidence survives illustrating the additions he made to it between 1581 and 1604. Three separate alterations can be identified:

#### (a) THE NEW LODGINGS AND COMMUNICATION GALLERY

The earliest reference in the accounts to Knyvit’s lodging is in 1597–8 when a wall by his lodging

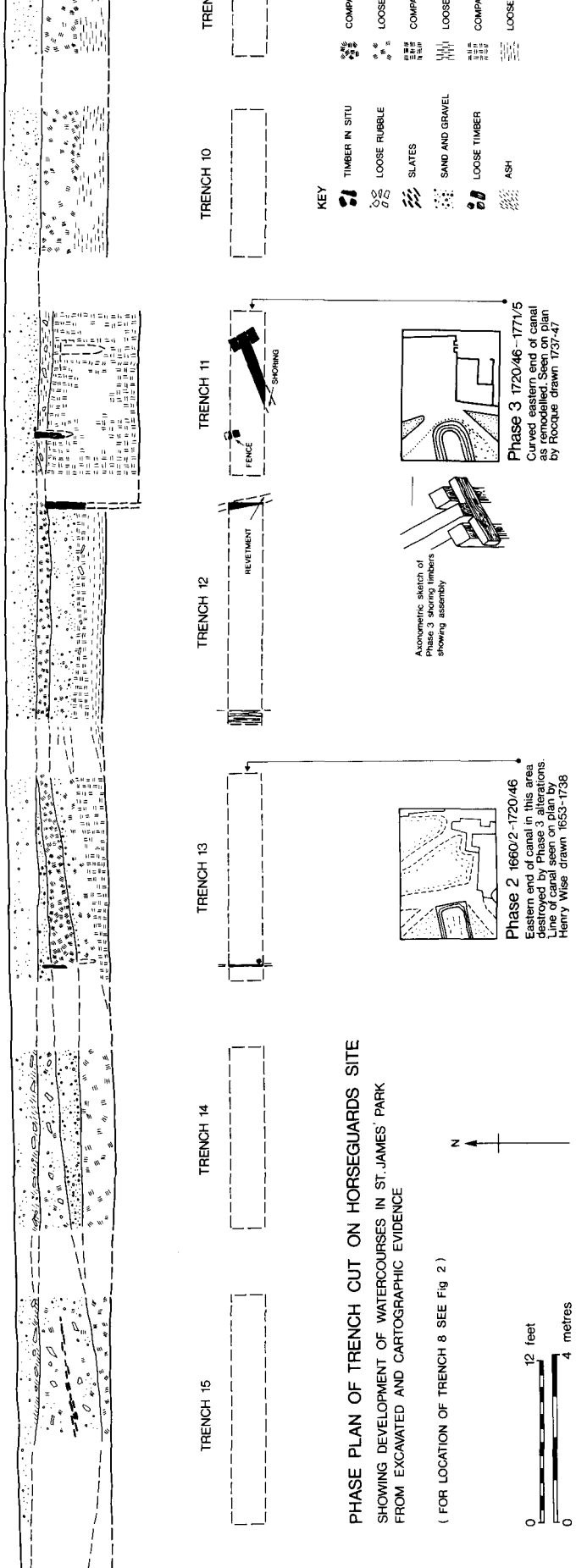


Fig. 10 Whitehall: Canal and Moat, Plan and Section, H.G. site

was painted<sup>145</sup>. However it is quite likely that he would have made any additions to the lodge soon after taking up his post sixteen years earlier. 'Agas' (Pl. 2) shows the lodge as a small rectangular building at the turn of the park wall; Norden's map and the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) show a more substantial 'L' shaped building occupying the site. This would indicate that between 1560 and 1600 the lodge shown by 'Agas' was substantially enlarged.

Archaeological evidence would ascribe the extension to the building to the late Tudor period, and almost certainly to the work undertaken by Knyvit. The remains of the Keeper's lodge were seen on the Downing Street site (D) (Fig. 2). A 50ft (15.38m) long contractors' trench 2½ft (0.77m) wide was dug across the site running east/west. Two feet (0.62m) from its eastern end a 6ft (1.85m) length of demolished Henrician wall was seen in the form of mutilated foundations and footings and an area of demolition rubble. This was the demolished southern end of the park wall at the point where it met the Henrician Keeper's lodge. Partly overlying the demolished earlier wall were two lengths of Elizabethan wall, D.9 and D.10. D.9 ran north/south and was probably an internal wall not shown on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). D.10 was the north wall of a cess pit with a 9in (0.23m) vault and a mortar floor (Pit D.H.1). Slightly further to the west lay a small section of wall turning a corner from the east to the south and representing the corner of one of the features seen on the 1670 plan.

Further features were seen in a second contractors' trench a little to the east in the form of two lengths of Elizabethan wall D.17 and D.18. When plotted these also appeared to relate to internal walls shown on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3). Wall D.17 was butt-jointed to the earlier Tudor wall D.16, which was possibly part of the extension of the gallery between the tennis plays (p. 98). If this is so, the reason for Knyvit's extension becomes apparent. It linked the Keeper's lodging with the rest of the gallery system on the park side allowing the Keeper to get to his lodging without having to cross a yard.

#### (b) THE NEW KITCHEN

A further part of Knyvit's modernisation seems to have been the building of a new kitchen for the lodgings. Kitchens were always a fire hazard and the usual sixteenth-century practice was to build them in an isolated position. Norden's map of c. 1600 shows a large building on the south boundary of the park side adjacent to the Keeper's lodge<sup>146</sup>. The 1670 plan clearly shows this to have

been a kitchen (Pl. 3). This must have been erected after 1553–6 as 'Agas' (Pl. 2) shows the area blank. On site VIII a length of the kitchen wall was excavated which was probably of Elizabethan date (Pl. 30).

The earliest palace structure on site VIII was a brick garden path, later built off to form an arbour or other garden building (see p. 90). In a third phase a gallery was built on this site running along the north side of the small garden building. A 9in (0.23m) wide wall was built directly onto the early Tudor brick floor 4ft (1.23m) north of the Henrician phase 2 garden building wall. It had a 3in (0.077m) offset and traces of white external plaster were found on its north face. The original Henrician phase 1 floor was replaced by a second brick floor at a level 1ft (0.31m) higher; this formed the floor of a passage or gallery, the north wall of which was the Elizabethan wall, and the south wall the phase 2 Henrician wall (Fig. 2, Pl. 37).

#### (c) THE NEW STAIR

The works accounts for 1600/01 and 1601/2 contain references to this structure being built: 'reareing upp a greate stair-case at sr Thomas Knevitts in St. James's park' and 'laying of ix windowes with a crest of xl foote longe and a post upon the stayres at sr Thomas Knevitts'<sup>147</sup>. This stair can be seen on the 1670 plan in the south-east corner of the lodgings. Unfortunately the site of this stair was unavailable for excavation.

This large extension of the Keeper's lodge which included its connection to the main recreation buildings was a significant development for the future of the park side. It was the first of a series of major residential developments that were to turn the park side into a collection of town houses for the court. In the next reign the Keeper's lodge was to be extended yet further, and some of the recreational facilities were to be destroyed to make this possible.

#### B. ELIZABETHAN REPAIRS

Under Mary the park side seems to have suffered neglect, for an undated document from early in Elizabeth's reign states:

'the pallace of westminster: the cockfight in greate decaye the greate and small brake called the tennis courte in suche decayes that no man can playe in them, the cockfight will fall downe yf it be not presently holpen'<sup>148</sup>

Help was forthcoming and a small paybook for four weeks' work on the tennis courts survives<sup>149</sup>.

From this we learn that the carpenters were 'repayinge of the braake and an other of the tennys courtes', that plasterers were at work painting the internal walls black, and that one John Hutchens of London provided 12,770 tiles of various sorts for repaving the courts. Two other points emerge from this document. First, it contains the earliest reference to tennis 'courts', as opposed to tennis 'plays' at Whitehall, a change in name that was to be permanent (although it is not certain to which of the plays it refers). Second, the whole of the park side was referred to as the 'cockfight'. The term 'cockfight' or 'Cockpit' was henceforth to be used to describe the whole park side as much as the actual building itself.

A further alteration was undertaken in Elizabeth's first year. An account for repairs lists charges at the 'tennis courtes there against the accesse of the stranggers'<sup>150</sup>. This may refer to increased security precautions undertaken to prevent unauthorised access to the park side.

In 1561 the tiltyard was paved<sup>151</sup> and six years later the little open tennis court was repaved and given a new frame<sup>152</sup>. In 1580 the yearly account describes 'pavinge the greate brake and the little tennys cowte next the queens gallirye both with purbek stone'<sup>153</sup>.

1582 saw a great flurry of work in preparation for the great French Embassy of that year. The cockpit underwent a major refit:

'making of buses of canestone and setting them in sondrie places under the maine poosts there, settinge upp of diverse poosts with fruyminge them for securinge of the house, makinge of new settells and repairinge of the tables wher the cokefoigts'<sup>154</sup>

This is the earliest description of the interior of the building showing the octagonal roof (Pls 1, 13 and Fig. 5) to have been supported by posts. The fittings seem to have included wooden settles and tables on which the cocks fought. The account goes on to mention 'settinge up of beasts, new mattinge of the gallorie with ordinary matte'. The gallery may be a first-floor viewing gallery within the cockpit.

Only two further works are worthy of mention. First is the addition made to the 1532 lodging range which ran between the gallery next the tilt and the gallery between the tennis plays. This can be seen on Danckerts' view of the palace from the park (Pl. 13) which shows the west side of the range as having dormer windows. The account which refers to 'makinge tow new clere story windows and setting them up in the old lodgings over against the tiltyard'<sup>155</sup> may refer to the construction of the windows. It may have been at this period when

the single-storey ground-floor gallery was added to the range's west side. The following year many of the buildings on the park side were retiled and the account describing the work is valuable as it lists the buildings on the site in relation to each other, thus confirming much which has been discussed above:

'tilinge over the newe gutter in the litle tennys courte, poyntinge the whole gallery syde next the same and bowlinge alley, and tilinge the decayes of the gallerye next the tilte'<sup>156</sup>.

## EARLY STUART ALTERATIONS AND THE COMMONWEALTH

1603–1660

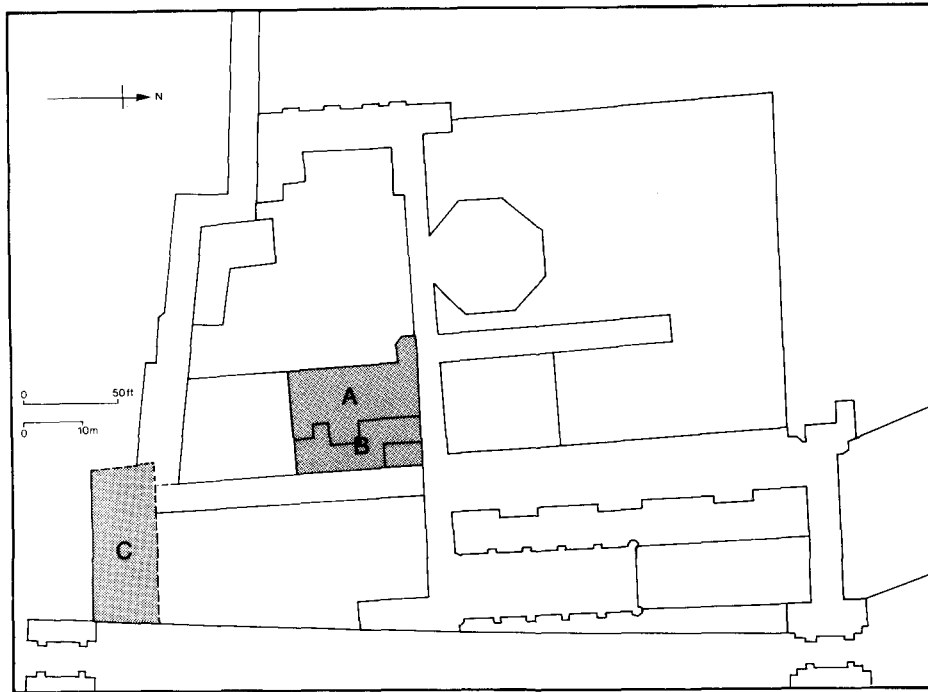
(Development plan 5)

### 1. INTRODUCTION: SPORT IN THE EARLY STUART COURT

On the death of Elizabeth sport enjoyed a great renaissance at court. James I was a keen sportsman, and in his book, *Basilikon Doron* (1599), written for his son's education, he advocated running, leaping, wrestling, fencing, dancing, tennis, bowls, archery, pall-mall and riding<sup>157</sup>. He was also responsible for introducing several new games from Scotland, principally pall-mall, a cross between croquet and bowls, but also golf<sup>158</sup>. Under his patronage, the largely static form of hunting of Henry VIII's later years, which had continued under Elizabeth, was replaced by the more energetic chase at houses like Newmarket. For the Whitehall park side this meant a continuation of its original purpose—to provide recreation for the court. However, James also accommodated his children and later royal favourites on the site, for whom alterations and extensions were made.

Already under Elizabeth the popularity of plays at court had risen and under James I they were first performed in the cockpit. It was only in the reign of Charles





Development Plan: 5 Whitehall, The Park Side: Early Stuart alterations and the Commonwealth 1603-1660

*DEVELOPMENT PLAN 5*

- A. Conversion of small close tennis play into lodgings for Princess Elizabeth.
- B. Yard adjoining kitchen.
- C. Duchess of Buckingham's lodgings, from documentary evidence.

I, however, that the cockpit finally lost its original use and was converted into a permanent theatre. Charles was also an enthusiastic sportsman and a keen tennis player, building a new tennis court at Hampton Court<sup>159</sup>. In the early stages of the religious turmoil of the mid-century, sports and theatrical entertainments were regarded as time wasting; gradually they came to be regarded as sinful and eventually during the Interregnum as treasonable. The park side never really recovered from the ban on sport endured under Cromwell, and the reign of Charles I was the last in which its purpose was mainly recreational.

Considerable archaeological remains of the seventeenth century were found on the Treasury site, and many of them can be identified with the building activities of the early Stuarts.

## 2. CONVERSIONS FOR THE CHILDREN OF JAMES I 1604-1610

### (I) THE KEEPER'S LODGING

When James acceded to the English throne he had three children, Henry Prince of Wales (b. 1593/4), Charles (b. 1600) and Elizabeth (b. 1586). Elizabeth I had been unmarried and without children, and so there was little or no provision for lodging members of the royal family at Whitehall.

Henry, as Prince of Wales, occupied St. James' Palace, the traditional house of the heir to the throne. To find accommodation for the other two children James was forced to make space on the park side. On October 27th 1604 Sir Thomas Knyvit was granted £20 a year for life 'in consideration of his giving up his lodgings at Whitehall for the use of prince Charles'<sup>160</sup>. That Knyvit's newly extended lodgings were chosen as a suitable home for the prince indicates the quality and size of his alterations. Even so the Treasurer of the Chamber paid out sums of money to prepare the rooms for Charles' habitation<sup>161</sup>.

Although Knyvit lost the Keeper's lodge, James I renewed his lease on The King's Head, the property immediately to the south of the park side (p. 77). By the terms of the lease the property was to be his and his heirs' for 60 years after Knyvit's death<sup>162</sup>. Both Knyvit and his wife died within weeks of each other and in 1622 the property passed to their niece Elizabeth Hampden<sup>163</sup>. Elizabeth Hampden lived in the house which became known as Hampden House until her death in 1665<sup>164</sup>.

The extent of Hampden House is known both

from the parliamentary survey of 1650 and from Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1681–2<sup>165</sup>. During the Treasury excavations several lengths of wall of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century date were found. These were all on the Downing Street site (D).

#### (II) THE SMALL CLOSE TENNIS PLAY

The problem of accommodating Prince Charles had been solved without too much trouble and expense; the situation with Princess Elizabeth was more complicated. There were no obvious lodgings free on the park side for her and so it was decided to convert the small close tennis play into a house for her:

'Framinge and setting upp of fyve greate partitions in one of the close tennys courts for the ladie Elizabeth the kyngs daughter'<sup>166</sup>

The ground floor was to be her kitchen:

'paving a bigge floure with bricks in the close tennys courte servinge for a kitchen for the ladie Elizabeth and also for a buttrie and larder'<sup>167</sup>

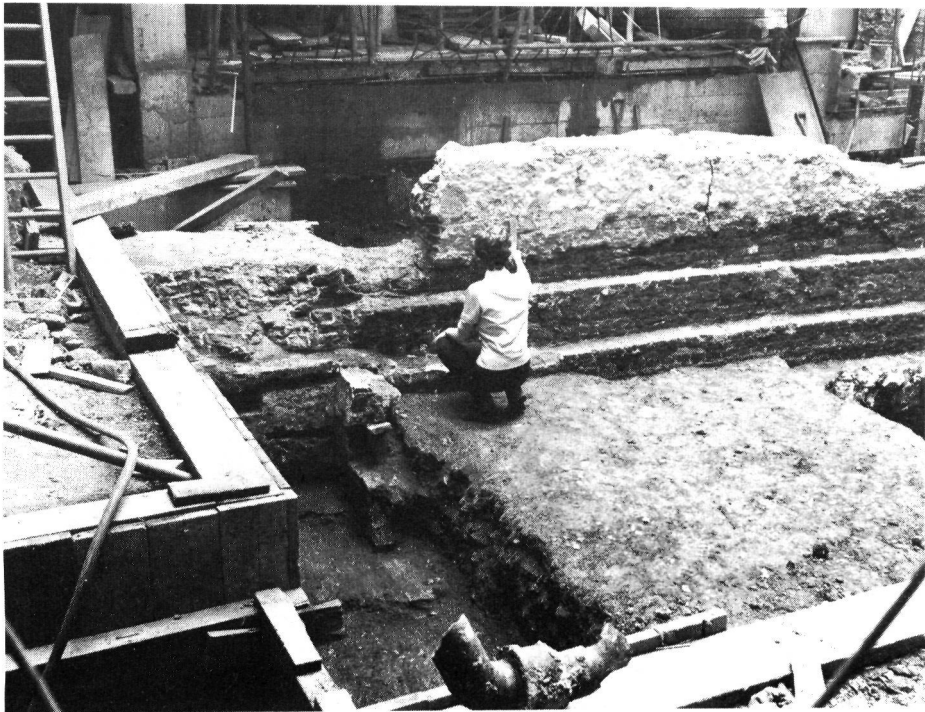


Plate 25 Whitehall: Wall I.2Aa from the west showing remains of the cellar building (Crown Copyright)

Above this were to be her lodgings, for '40 Normandy deale boordes in the new lodgings over the ladie Elizabeths kitchen' were installed. The lodging was evidently two storeys high above the kitchen, and the Tudor vice-stair that had served the play was rebuilt as a service stair:

'framinge and settinge up a new pair of windinge staires from the kitchinge belowe to the third storey of the lady Elizabeths new lodgings'<sup>168</sup>.

Plentiful evidence of this conversion was found in 1961–3 (Figs 9, 2; Pls 26, 27). Two open kitchen fireplaces (SCT.1 & 2) were seen built up against wall SCT.4 and forming a straight joint with it. They were 4ft (1.23m) deep and 6ft 3in (1.92m) and 6ft 9in (2.08m) wide respectively, built up off elaborately stepped footings. To the south of these fireplaces was an oven (SCT.1) (Pl. 26). The oven base measured 5ft 6in (1.69m) square with a paved recess internally to hold the firewood. The 1670 plan (Pl. 3) shows that originally it had a circular oven above.

The floor of the former play was divided into three; a large kitchen area containing the fireplaces and ovens, and two smaller rooms to the south for the buttery and pantry. Wall SCT.7 ran east/west dividing the play. It was 9ins (0.23m) wide and built of brick footings laid on edge and flush with the Henrician tennis play floor (floor 1, Pl. 19). Wall SCT.6 ran north/south further dividing the smaller room into two parts. It had an 18in (0.46m) footing laid flush with the new kitchen floor (floor 2, Pl. 27); it would have carried a 9in (0.23m) wall. The two small rooms so formed measured 13ft × 14ft (4m × 4.31m) and 10ft × 15ft (3.08m × 4.62m) respectively (Figs 9, 2).

The conversion of the small close tennis play seems to have been undertaken in two phases, the first between 1604 and 1605 and the second 1610–11. It is hard to separate the works but an earlier wall (SCT.9A and B) than those discussed above may represent the 1604–5 phase of the kitchen. The wall (SCT.9A and B) ran east/west and was about 1ft 6in (0.46m) wide and built directly off floor 1. On its demolition it was levelled flush with



Plate 26 Whitehall: Small Close Tennis Play: Stuart oven, V.SCT.1 (Crown Copyright)



Plate 27 Whitehall: Small Close Tennis Play: floor 2, floor of the Stuart kitchen (See Fig. 9) (Crown Copyright)

floor 2 leaving the eastern end (SCT.9A) standing as part of the new arrangements. SCT.9A can be seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) together with wall SCT.7, whose construction is described above as SCT.9B's replacement<sup>169</sup>.

### (III) THE SMALL OPEN TENNIS PLAY

At this stage the small open tennis play became a kitchen yard for the Princess Elizabeth's kitchen. It contained sheds and stoolhouses the remains of which were revealed in 1961 (see Fig. 2).

The largest feature was the cess pit XIII.St.1 which was built up against the east wall (SCT.2) of the small close tennis play. Its four walls (SOT.4–7) varied in width from 1ft (0.31m) to 1ft 6in (0.46m); its west wall, SOT.7, was built off the foundations of wall SCT.2 but the other three walls had trench-built foundations of a honeycomb construction (Pl. 28). The floor of the pit was made up of natural gravel. The pit probably served a first-floor garderobe in the Princess' lodgings.

In the corner between cess pit XIII.St.1 and the east wall of the small close tennis play a rubbish pit (XIV.St.1) had been dug. It contained pottery and pipes (Pt III, Fig. 50: 11, 12) with a closing date of about 1640. It was probably connected with domestic waste disposal from the small close tennis play lodgings.

Pit XII.St.1 was another rubbish pit dug in the kitchen yard (formerly the open court). It contained pottery from the early seventeenth century (Pt III, Fig. 50: 16–18) with pipes belonging to the 1680–1710 period from a secondary fill.

Two stoolhouses were uncovered on site III. A cess pit in room 2 (Pl. 17) had walls of an early seventeenth century date, and was probably constructed in 1604–10 during the conversion of the tennis court. The pit contained a Charles II Grenadier Guards bridle (Pt III, Fig. 81, and Report), and the pipe finds would suggest the pit was closed c. 1710 (Pt III, Pipe Report). Another stoolhouse seen in room 6 had a cess pit (III.St.1) beneath. Its walls were of brick and of a similar date to the stoolhouse in room 2. Traces of its wooden seats were found. The cess pit (III.St.1) contained material from 1620–50 and 48 pipes from 1700–1720. This would suggest that both stoolhouses fell out of use c. 1720 possibly due to developments connected with the Treasury buildings (p. 121).

Sections of walling 9in (0.23m) wide (SOT.17 and 18) were probably part of a coal shed (XIV.St.2) originally with an earth floor. Layers of coal dust were found above and beneath a secondary brick floor replacing the original earth surface (Figs 2, 12).

## 3. THE COUNTESS OF BUCKINGHAM'S LODGINGS

The Countess of Buckingham, mother of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, James I's favourite, was given lodgings in the King Street Gate as early as 1619–20<sup>170</sup>. It appears that substantial new buildings were erected for her in 1620–21 at the expense of the Crown<sup>171</sup>. An account dated 1619–20 is for 'paveing with raggstone. . . 1xj yards from the tennis courte to the lady of Buckingham's kitchen'<sup>172</sup>, which would indicate that her service buildings at least, were on the park side. The *Survey of London* has fully traced the descent of this property and gives a conjectural plan of its



Plate 28 Whitehall: Cess pit XIII.St.1 (Crown Copyright)

extent in 1711<sup>173</sup>. If this plan is accurate and if it reflects the bounds of the Countess' property, two sections of wall excavated may represent part of her kitchens. They were found on site X running at right angles to each other. The east-west length was only 9in (0.23m) wide and was thus probably an internal wall. The north-south section was twice this width and may have been the west wall of the property.

#### 4. THE EARLY STUART COCKPIT

The cockpit continued to be used for cockfights in the reign of James I. In 1604 an account states that the 'matt upon the cockpit' was 'broken and torne withe cockes fighting there'<sup>174</sup>. But the building was also being increasingly used for the staging of plays, which were performed

there in 1607, 1608–9 and 1612. However, it was not until the reign of Charles I that the cockpit finally lost its original purpose and was converted into a permanent theatre. This conversion was carried out between 1629 and 1632 to 'the designes and draughtes given by the Surveyor'<sup>175</sup>, who was, at the time, Inigo Jones.

Jones' refitting is fully described in the accounts, and in several recent books on Inigo Jones and the early English theatre<sup>176</sup>. Several of these accounts have succeeded in confusing two quite separate refits that the building was given; a confusion that has resulted from misinterpreting an undated plan of the cockpit by John Webb (Pl. 35). It has been proposed that this well-known drawing dates from the Restoration and not from the period of Jones' alterations in 1629–32, and that

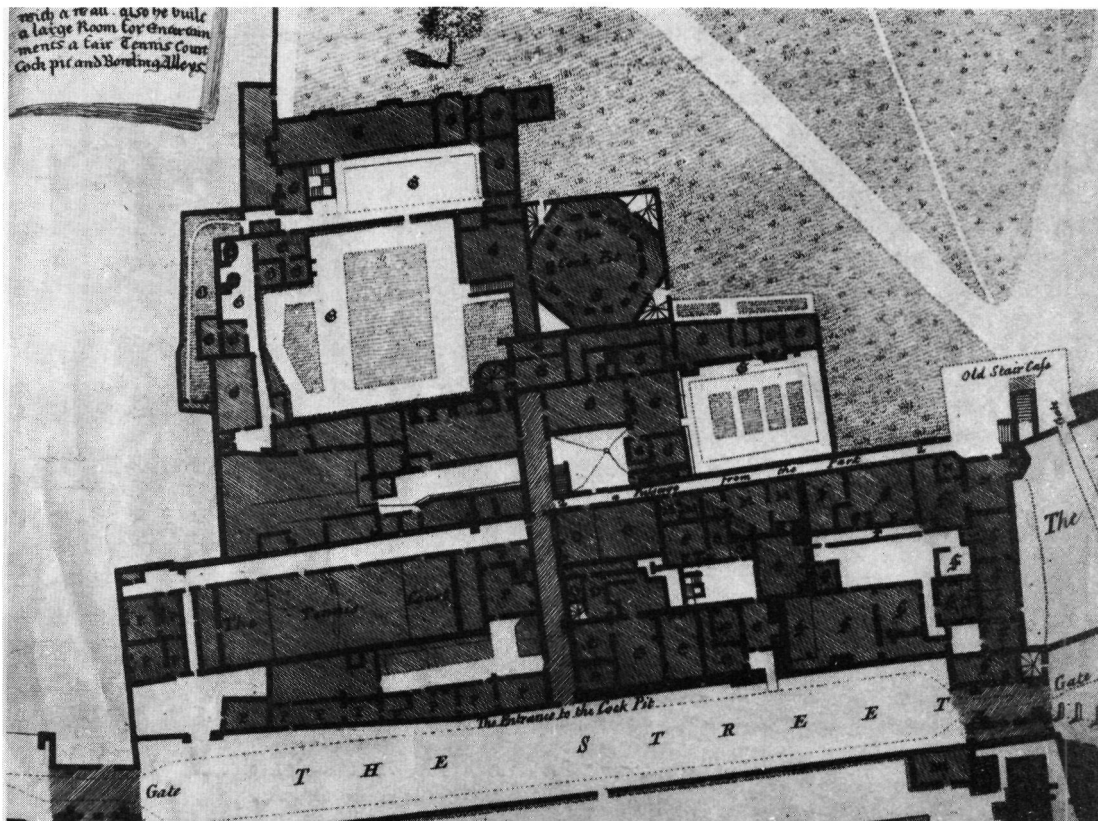


Plate 29 Whitehall: 1670 plan as engraved by Vertue (Greater London Photograph Library)

it is a survey drawing of the then existing structure<sup>177</sup>. It is possible, however, to suggest an alternative interpretation. It has been shown above that the cockpit, as originally built, was an octagonal building, not a square one, and views as late as Faithorne and Newcourt's (1658) show this to have been the case<sup>178</sup>. This would indicate that the conversion Inigo Jones undertook was within an octagonal building and that Webb's drawing represents a further proposed alteration.

The evidence which supports this is twofold. First, the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) differs in several respects from the Webb drawing. The original drawing for the 1670 engraving (Pl. 3) shows no staircases

in the corners, and the configuration of doors differs considerably from the Webb plan. In the engraved version (Pl. 29) stairs are shown in the south-west corner as well as the other two. These discrepancies would seem to indicate that the Webb drawing was a proposal, the 1670 plan drawn only 10 years later, showing the scheme as actually built. Secondly, the building accounts of 1660 indicate a radical rebuilding and not just a refit. Part of this rebuilding (as discussed, p. 115–7) was the adding of corners to the octagonal structure to form the square building shown on the 1670 plan and Danckerts' view from the park (Pl. 13).

Thus in 1629–32 Inigo Jones super-

vised two principal alterations to the cockpit. The first was a new approach staircase ‘setting upp three wyndowes of stone for ye newe staires leading to the cockpit’<sup>179</sup>, and this can be seen on Webb’s drawing. This partially destroyed the west end of the gallery between the tennis plays by creating a long stair linking the first floor gallery with the pit of the theatre. The second and more important conversion was within the building where Inigo Jones set up his celebrated and much discussed ‘*frons*’<sup>180</sup>; ‘setting upp twoe stories of collomns in the cockpit playhouse being Xen collomns uppon every story corinthia and composita’<sup>181</sup>.

## 5. THE TENNIS COURTS

The ill fated Prince Henry was a tennis enthusiast and two relics of the Prince’s enthusiasm for the game survive<sup>182</sup>. One is the engraving of him playing tennis in an open *quarré* court at Whitehall<sup>183</sup>; the other is the works account which gives the details of the dressing room built for him in 1611–12. It was described as being on the site of the ‘brake’ and measuring about 28ft (8.62m) long by 10ft (3.08m) wide<sup>184</sup>. No trace of this building was found in excavation.

## 6. THE COMMONWEALTH

Cromwell supposedly lived on the park side for part of the Interregnum, and it is known that he permitted a concert to be played in the cockpit<sup>185</sup>. As for the tennis courts, and bowling alleys, they remained deserted; indeed the great brake was laid out as a garden in 1637–8<sup>186</sup>. In this area were several pits cut into the foundations of the Tudor bowling alley. Pit X. St.1 (Pt. III. Fig. 50) was the only one which contained datable material. Some building seems to have taken place, for the accounts mention ‘some sheds pulled down belonging to the tennis courts’ to enable better lodgings to be built for

Thomas, Lord Grey, one of the Regicides<sup>187</sup>, but no major works were undertaken so far as is known.

## TOWN HOUSES AT THE COCKPIT 1660–1698: (Pl. 29)

### 1. INTRODUCTION: SPORT AND THE RESTORATION

The restoration saw a great revival in courtly sporting activity. Charles II followed Tudor precedent and acted as an arbiter of sporting practice. He drew up a set of rules for bowls in 1670, and became a great enthusiast for racing at Newmarket<sup>188</sup>. The cockpit was further improved for the staging of plays, and to compensate for the loss of the cockfighting arena he built a new cockpit on Birdcage Walk and often visited it<sup>189</sup>. He also enjoyed tennis and built the first new tennis court on the park side for a hundred years. Yet it was in the immediately post-Restoration years that the park side, now known as ‘The Cockpit’, became essentially a quarter for courtier town houses. No longer was the principal role of the west side of Whitehall recreation, it was now accommodation.

### 2. THE DIVISION OF THE PARKSIDE 1660–1670

In 1660 Charles II divided up the park side into groups of lodgings, and distributed them amongst members of the royal family and people to whom he owed favours. The three principal recipients were; Charles Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, who played a central part in the Restoration of the Crown and who was allotted the Keeper’s lodgings, the cockpit and the buildings immediately to its east; James Scott the Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, who was to occupy the great close tennis play and

the buildings immediately to its west and south, and James Butler 1st Duke of Ormonde, one of the King's closest collaborators in exile, who was allocated the tilyard gallery and the buildings immediately to its south. In addition to these main divisions Captain Henry Cooke, 'Musical Composer' to the King, Sir Philip Killigrew and Colonel Darcey were awarded smaller areas. It seems as if many other courtiers were granted either single rooms or small suites of rooms, and among these were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Shrewsbury<sup>190</sup>.

The 1670 plan as annotated by Vertue (Pl. 29) clearly shows the principal divisions described above at ground-floor level and the alterations undertaken between 1660 and 1665 to transform the Tudor buildings into comfortable courtier lodgings.

#### (I) THE DUKE OF ORMONDE'S LODGINGS

The Duke of Ormonde occupied the area shown on the 1670 plan (Pl. 29) until his death in 1688, whereupon the remaining lease on the property passed to his grandson who then renewed it eight years later. At this juncture, Wren was asked to produce a report on the Ormonde lodgings, and this document is the earliest description of the area to survive<sup>191</sup>. The lodgings were described as adjoining the 'Holbein Gate', with the park to the west, and King Street to the east; on the north side was the tilyard gallery, and on the south Monmouth's lodgings. The lease reserved a public right of way along the tilyard gallery at first-floor level, and also the right of way in the north-south gallery running from the tilyard gallery to the old gallery between the tennis plays (for this gallery see p. 96).

According to Wren, Ormonde had built, at his own cost, new lodgings in this area in about 1660. Later (1674) he had added a new lodging range measuring 70ft × 20ft (21.54m × 6.15m) for his son, who died in 1680. Neither the 1670 plan nor Kipp's bird's eye view of the palace tell us much about these new buildings<sup>192</sup>, and the Treasury rebuilding works did not extend far enough north

to allow the area to be archaeologically examined. However, two important alterations were probably connected with his buildings. The first was the demolition of the 1532 wall which enclosed the park side, thus opening up a view from the lodgings westwards. The wall does not appear on the 1670 plan and demolished sections of it were found in excavation (p. 76–7). Secondly, the wall dividing the great close tennis court from King Street was demolished, giving Ormonde the street frontage shown on the 1670 plan (Pl. 29).

#### (II) THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S LODGINGS

On 9th November 1663 Pepys records in his diary that 'The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the cockpit new built for lodgings for him'<sup>193</sup>. That part, it appears, was to be the old great close tennis play of 1532. The conversion of the tennis play was made possible by the building of a new court to its south in the same years (see p. 118). There were good precedents for this sort of conversion; the small close tennis play was converted in 1604–10 (see p. 108–9), as was the court at Somerset House in 1630–35<sup>194</sup>.

The conversion for Monmouth, undertaken in 1663–65, itself became a model for the conversion of the near identical Henrician tennis play at Hampton Court in 1669<sup>195</sup>. The accounts describe the insertion of a floor, the alteration of the original windows, and the 'fitting up two paire of staires cont' 25 steppes'<sup>196</sup> within the old great close play. In addition they refer to the 'Duke of Monmouth's lodgings next the tennes court' indicating that the grant included adjacent buildings (see p. 115). In 1669–70 further accounts refer to rooms added to the Duke's lodgings and in 1673–5 'charges in building severall newe roomes for his grace the Duke of Monmouth at the cockpit' were recorded<sup>197</sup>. The extent of the Monmouth lodging at his disgrace in 1685 is unclear, but it seems to have included a greater area than indicated on the 1670 plan for later leases indicate that rooms elsewhere were also his.

One of these rooms was certainly the so-called dining room situated in the building which possibly housed Henry VIII's stair to the gallery between the tennis plays (p. 97, Figs 2, 5; Pl. 24). When Sir John Soane built his new Board of Trade building on the site in 1823 (p. 126) he recorded the interior of this building and found that the plasterwork of the ceiling contained the monogram J.A.M.B. (James and Anne Duke and Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch)<sup>198</sup>. This would clearly indicate that Monmouth's lodgings, at first floor level, extended south of the gallery.



A building account from 1679 refers to ‘The old building next ye parke at the duke of Monmouths called ye nursery’<sup>199</sup> which might indicate that by that date Monmouth’s property included part of the lodgings originally occupied by Danby.

The excavations confirmed the accuracy of the initial conversion of the tennis court as described in the accounts. Beam slots were found cut into the Tudor brick in the west wall of the building about 12ft (3.69m) from ground level. Both the south gable wall and the west wall were pierced with openings at this level representing doorways made for the conversion (Fig. 6).

Two cess pits, almost certainly connected with the new lodgings, were found. On site VI a cess pit (VI.St.2) of brickwork type C was recorded (Fig. 2). It was of honeycomb construction 6ft 6in (2m) below seventeenth-century floor level. The 1670 plan (Pl. 3) shows it to have been in a small L-shaped yard which was probably partly designed to effect the pit’s clearance. A large quantity of almost complete chamber pots, drug jars, pipes and wine bottles was found (Pt III Figs 54–5). A second pit, also on site VI (VI.St.1) was of identical brick with a 9in (0.23m) vault at its south end. A rendered chute in the Tudor wall VI.2 entered the chamber on its east side; the floor was of natural gravel.

Further remains of this period seen on site VI probably related to Monmouth’s kitchen which can be seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 29). To the north west of the tennis play the north wall of the kitchen building was seen (VI.8) (Fig. 2). It was of seventeenth-century brick (type C) and appears on the 1670 plan. Within the original fireplace were two open fireplaces, 4ft 1½in (1.27m) deep and 9–10ft (2.77–3.08m) wide, of brickwork type C. They were built against the party wall of the Monmouth kitchen (wall VI.8), and had 1ft (0.31m) deep segmental arches over them (see Fig. 2, Pl. 39). At a later period a bread oven and a nineteenth-century hob grate had been inserted. The east fireplace had been replaced by a staircase in 1729 when a new kitchen was built (see p. 124).

### (III) THE ALBEMARLE LODGINGS

Albemarle occupied the south-western part of the park side from 1660 until his death in 1670 (Pl. 29). During his occupation several alterations and additions were undertaken, including the erection of a new hall and a chapel. It is possible to identify the position of both of these; the chapel on the first floor to the south of the cockpit, and the hall to the east of the cockpit at ground-floor level (see plan Fig. 2).

### (IV) LAYING OUT ST. JAMES’ PARK

The demolition of the Tudor park wall (p. 114) was part of a major landscaping scheme undertaken by Charles II after 1660. The principal feature of this was an extensive canal 2800ft (861.54m) long and 120ft (36.92m) wide planted on either side with avenues of trees. Pepys records its excavation in September 1660<sup>200</sup>. The arrangement is shown on Bridgeman’s plan of 1710–25 and that by Henry Wise of 1653–1738 (Fig. 10). Trenching on the Horse Guards site (H.G.) revealed much about the development of watercourses in St. James’ Park, but little was found relating to the 1660 layout as alterations in the eighteenth century destroyed the original configuration (Fig. 10).

### 3. LODGINGS AT THE PARK SIDE 1670–1698

On the death of Albemarle in 1670 the site was redivided (see below for evidence). The eastern part remained in the possession of Monmouth until his disgrace in 1685; the western part, including Albemarle’s property, passed to the second Duke of Buckingham and the central part to the Earl of Danby. Meanwhile Hampden House (formerly The King’s Head inn), the property immediately to the south of the park side, passed to one George Downing. In all four areas considerable alterations were undertaken as both archaeological and documentary evidence have shown.

#### (I) BUCKINGHAM’S PROPERTY

Almost immediately on the death of Albemarle the royal accounts list ‘charges in pulling downe and altering severall roomes at the cockpit for his grace the Duke of Buckingham’<sup>201</sup>. These alterations included a comprehensive remodelling of the cockpit and subsequently the building of a substantial brick house.

At the Restoration the cockpit had been one of the first buildings to be altered. John Webb, who was responsible for preparing the palace for the reception of the King drew up the proposals already discussed (p. 111–2) for turning the cockpit into a square building with corner staircases and a gallery. The accounts show that the staircases were built and the angles squared off; ‘cutting out a way and making a paire of stayres cont. [BLANK] steppes to goe into ye gallery ouer the stage and

inclosing the said stayres with a doore in it'<sup>202</sup>. Dancckerts' view of the Cockpit *c.* 1670 (Pl. 13) illustrates the effect of Webb's alterations. The Henrician pillars supporting the 'beasts' are shown isolated in the middle of the wall and not marking the angles of the earlier octagon. It is possible that the original outside walls and the new corners were heightened to accommodate the gallery inside, as one stage of crenellations appears to be missing. In addition traces of the earlier string course can be seen in the north-west corner, and the south-west corner seems not to have been fully heightened. Two chimneys can be seen and one of these probably relates to the fireplace shown on Webb's plan. The cockpit thus altered was in use as the court playhouse until Wolsey's great hall on the east of the road was converted into a theatre in 1665<sup>203</sup>.

With the death of Albemarle and the redundancy of the cockpit as a theatre the building passed to Buckingham who may have used it as lodgings. Works accounts detail building activities at the cockpit in 1670–71<sup>204</sup> but the nature of these activities is uncertain. Whatever improvements Buckingham may have made to his lodging, all were swept away within a very few years, when that part of his property passed to Danby (see (II) below).

Buckingham's work on the cockpit was, in fact, the lesser part of a major building campaign undertaken by him in 1670–73. The royal works accounts state that foundations were dug for 'the new brick building'<sup>205</sup>, further references described 106ft (132.62m) of eaves, two architrave doorcases, 167ft (51.38m) of lintelling, and much more<sup>206</sup>. This building, it appears, faced the park and was a house constructed for Buckingham's own use. The house in question can be seen to the south-west of the cockpit in Dancckerts' painting (Pl. 13).

Several lengths of wall relating to Buckingham's house were excavated in 1960–62. The remains were found on the Downing Street site (D) (Fig. 2). Two lengths of footing, D.13 and D.19, both 1ft 6ins (0.45m) wide, appear to represent the west and east walls respectively. These walls, whilst being mainly of brick types C and F, contained reused Tudor brick (type A) which was probably taken from the demolished Henrician Keeper's lodgings which Buckingham's house replaced. A further wall to the west (D.14) would seem to be the foundations of the fenced boundary wall shown in Pl. 13. The overall width of the Buckingham house was 30ft (9.14m), and since wall D.3A appears to represent its southern boundary, its length may have been coterminous with the Keeper's lodgings which it replaced. Buckingham's new building was replaced for no apparent reason within three years of its erection.

Its successor was Lichfield House, built between 1677 and 1690 by Henry, Earl of Lichfield, who seems to have acquired Buckingham's interest in the buildings in this area. The subsequent history of Lichfield House is fully described in the *Survey of London*, and its site is now occupied by No. 10 Downing Street and its garden<sup>207</sup>.

## (II) DANBY'S PROPERTY

The Earl of Danby seems to have come into possession of the lodgings which occupied the central part of the Tudor park side through his post as Lord Treasurer, for his predecessor in that office, Lord Clifford, had occupied them before him. Although Danby's official lease of the area was dated March 1676, works accounts from mid-1674 contain items headed 'charges in building new lodging roomes at the cockpit for . . . Thomas Earle Danby . . . and alteringe and fittinge old buildings there'<sup>208</sup>. Building continued until 1676 by which date the cockpit and surrounding buildings seem to have been replaced by a tall brick town house seen on a painting dated that year<sup>209</sup>. The old kitchens of the Keeper's lodgings were retained and converted. These lodgings continued to be occupied by various lease holders until the building of Kent's Treasury on the site in 1733 (see p. 121).

Considerable archaeological remains were found in the area occupied by Danby and his successors until 1733 (Fig. 2). However most of the structures related to minor buildings and drains and not to the lodgings proper. In the area south of the cockpit and southwards into site VIII was an extensive drainage system built to carry storm water and waste eastwards from the Danby lodgings and the yard to its south. Pit VIII.St.1 cut by drain VII.5/VII.St.1 contained pottery and glass of the Charles II period, with a coin of 1672 and pipes of 1660–80 (Pt III, Fig. 56, Catalogues of 'Coins & Tokens', 'Clay Pipes'). A lead pipe was found on site VII running north/south (Pl. 30); it probably provided water for the Danby kitchens.

The drainage system seen on sites VII and VIII continued eastwards to take waste from the kitchens and service buildings within the old Henrician tennis courts (Fig. 2, Pl. 31). The principal drain III.2 ran from the east side of the small close tennis play southwards replacing a drain of early seventeenth-century brick which ran alongside it (III.1). It was built of reused Tudor bricks and had a complex series of later branch drains attached to it (Pl. 31). Drain III.2 can be seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3).

On site XVII the footings of two outhouses were found lying on the west side of the Tudor bowling



Plate 30 Whitehall: Elizabethan Keeper's kitchen overlain by Stuart drain and lead pipe servicing Danby's Lodgings after 1676 (Site VIII) (Crown Copyright)



Plate 31 Whitehall: Stuart drains (III.3) south of the Henrician Small Open Tennis Play, showing manhole cover (Site XI) (Crown Copyright)

alley's west wall (Fig. 2). Several other fragments of walls of a similar brick type (type C) in this area probably related to these buildings whose north and east walls were the south wall of the small open tennis play and the west wall of the bowling alley respectively. The extensive drainage system ran beside these buildings. The southern stool-house, which can be seen on the 1670 plan (Pl. 3), was served by three cess pits (XVII.St.1-3). St.3 contained pottery (Pt III, Fig. 53) and pipes dated 1640-60. Pits XVII.St.1 and 2 contained pipes dated 1620-60 (Pt III, Catalogue of 'Clay Pipes').

### (III) MONMOUTH'S PROPERTY

The works accounts reveal that the Duke of Monmouth's lodgings were extended between 1673 and 1675, but no plan or any archaeological evidence survives to indicate what this extension involved<sup>210</sup>. After Monmouth's rebellion in 1685 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 the lodgings formerly occupied by Monmouth were set aside for the Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Successive holders of that office occupied lodgings in the area until 1717 (see below).

### (IV) HAMPDEN HOUSE

Hampden House (p. 108, 115) was on a Crown lease to the descendants of Sir Thomas Knyvit until 1682. Until 1664 it was occupied by Elizabeth Hampden, and from then until the expiry of the lease, by a succession of tenants. In 1682 Sir George Downing gained a new lease from the Crown with permission to build several new houses immediately south of the wall of the park side; this he did, creating modern day Downing Street. The history of Downing Street falls outside the scope of this report and has been fully discussed elsewhere<sup>211</sup>.

## 4. CHARLES II'S TENNIS COURT

Although the reign of Charles II saw a change in use of the park side from an area devoted to recreation to one set aside for accommodation, Charles built the first new tennis court on the site since the reign of Edward VI (see p. 103, 113).

The game of tennis had not remained static, and the game current by the 1630s was a different game to that which Henry VIII would have played. The *quarré* court had died out and the *dedans* game had become universally popular (see p. 78 for the differences between the two). At Hampton Court Charles I had built a

new court in 1625 and this was extensively refitted in 1660-1<sup>212</sup>. The refit must have provided Charles II with his ideal court, for when the question of building a new court at Whitehall arose, the King's tennis 'marker', Robert Long, was sent to Hampton Court to measure the court there in order to reproduce it at Whitehall<sup>213</sup>. The new court was to be erected on 'that parcel of ground lately converted into a garden, adjoining to the cockpit, formerly called the brake'<sup>214</sup>. It was set up during 1662, and on its completion, Pepys describes Charles II and Sir Arthur Slingsby 'beating three and loosing two sets against my lord of Suffolke and my Lord Chesterfield'<sup>215</sup>. A detailed plan and section of this building was drawn by Soane in 1793; it shows a court 118ft × 39ft (36.31m × 12m) and 27ft (8.31m) high lit by windows immediately above the play line 18ft (5.54m) up<sup>215A</sup>. The Henrician great close plays at Hampton Court and Whitehall were about 35ft (10.77m) shorter and 13ft (4m) narrower than the Charles II courts that replaced them. The new courts made possible the conversion of the old Tudor plays into lodgings. No archaeological remains were found of the court proper.

Pall-Mall, the version of alley bowling current in the 1660s, needed an alley half a mile long (804.6m) and for this the old alley would have been far too short<sup>216</sup>. Tudor bowling, like Tudor tennis, was no longer played by 1660, and the demolition of the bowling alley and the building of a larger tennis court signified the final abandonment of Henry VIII's recreational facilities.

In addition to the new tennis court in 1662-3 lodgings were built for the King's Marker Robert Long. They were 'neere' the tennis court, as was 'his majesties bedchamber at the tennis court'<sup>217</sup> where the King stayed to be near the court for early morning games.

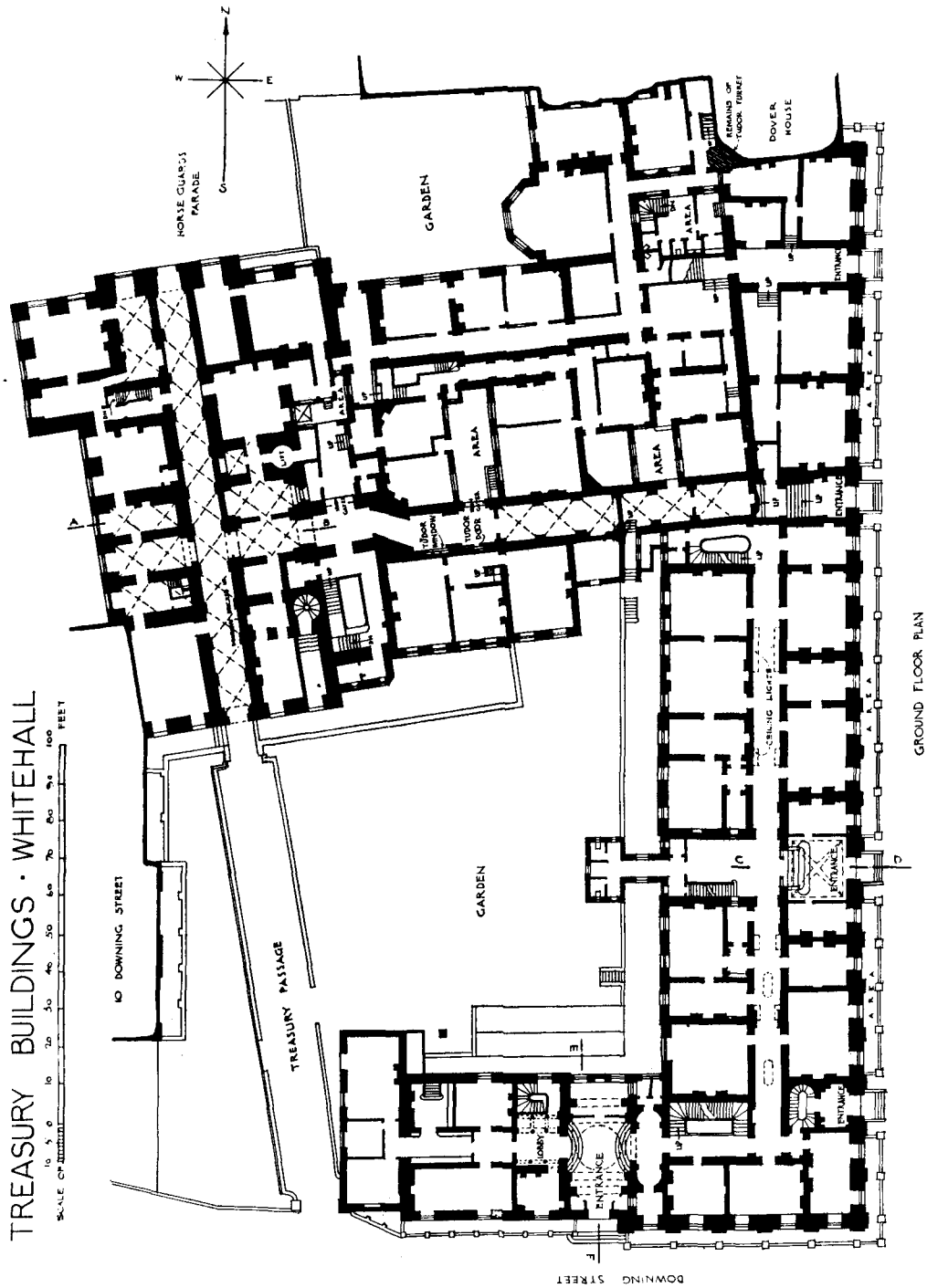


Plate 32 Whitehall: Treasury buildings c. 1850, ground-floor plan (LCC, 1931, XIV, Pl. 82) (Greater London Photograph Library)

## THE HANOVERIAN OFFICES OF STATE 1698–1824: (Plate 32)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The final chapter in the history of the old Tudor park side begins in 1698, the year the east side of Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire. In a letter written to Sir J. Williamson, Thomas Hopkins recorded

'Yesterday morning the cockpit was view'd in order to the fitting up some apartments for the keeping of some of the offices which were burnt in the late dreadfull fire, and sufficient conveniencies are found there for the Secretary of State, Treasury and Council, and likewise an appartement for the king when he came to town'<sup>218</sup>.

Subsequent works accounts show this to have been the case. The location of the King's lodging is not known, but the position of the offices of state can be identified (see p. 124–5). Gradually during the eighteenth century more and more of the

areas in private occupation were turned over to be used as offices of state, and as these government departments became established, purpose-built offices replaced the *ad hoc* accommodation provided in the old lodgings. The complex history of their building and rebuilding has been fully dealt with elsewhere<sup>219</sup>, and the following account merely adds to that record the archaeological evidence found in 1960–62. The fourfold division of the Tudor park side used above in sub-section 3 (p. 115) is a convenient division to maintain during the period up to the major governmental redevelopment of 1824.

### 2. THE WESTERN QUARTER: FORMER DANBY LODGINGS

In 1684 the Crown bought back the remainder of the lease on the Danby lodgings and used the area for the accom-



Plate 33 Whitehall: Kent's Treasury: Steps to south terrace (Site VII) (Crown Copyright)

modation of various members of the court and Royal family<sup>220</sup>. After the fire, much of this area was allocated for the use of the offices of the Treasury. At first the Treasury occupied only the ground floor, but by 1732 almost all the western buildings were in occupation. That year a survey of the old buildings revealed that they were in a ruinous and dangerous state and that a replacement ought to be found<sup>221</sup>. That replacement, finished by 1736, was William Kent's Treasury that now occupies the site.

The excavations revealed the original terrace and steps to the south of Kent's building, which had been filled and incorporated into a cellar and garden (Site VII, Fig. 2, Pls 32, 33).

Kent's building was joined, at its east side, to the west end of the Tudor gallery between the tennis plays (Pl. 32). It did not meet the Tudor gallery at right angles and the building's south-east corner partly overlay the Henrician small close tennis play's west wall (SCT.4) (Fig. 2). The small close tennis play was demolished, except its north gable wall which was retained as part of the passage which now led from King Street to the Treasury building. This passage still survives as 'Treasury Passage' linking Whitehall to the Treasury building.

Associated with Kent's remodelling of the Treasury there were alterations to the layout of St. James' Park. The rigid arrangement of the restoration design was gradually relaxed, and part of this was the rounding of the ends of the canal. In the trenches dug across Horse Guards Parade the revetment for the new rounded ends was found *in situ* (Fig. 10). In trenches 11 and 12 the wooden shoring and revetment wall were excavated, together with the stumps of a fence edging the eastern end of the canal. The arrangement as existing c. 1737–47 can be seen on Roque's plan (Fig. 10, Phase 3).

Sometime during the nineteenth century a building was erected on the south side of the Tudor gallery between the tennis plays (SOT 22–4) (Pl. 32); this was demolished during the Treasury reconstruction (Fig. 2). A series of nineteenth-century drains to the south of the Treasury (sites VII, VIII) was fully investigated (Pl. 30, Fig. 2) and probably served to carry storm water from the garden area which was laid out south of Kent's new building.

### 3. THE NORTHERN QUARTER: FORMER ORMONDE LODGINGS

Ormonde's lodgings were forfeit in 1715 when he was attainted for high treason for joining the Old Pretender<sup>222</sup>. The lodgings passed to Hugh Boscowen, later Lord Falmouth, Comptroller of the Household. He was granted permission to demolish the stairs that led out of the gallery by the tiltyard into the park and to extend his lodgings; this he did at a cost of £2,800<sup>223</sup>. On the death of Falmouth's widow in 1754 the property was bought by Sir Matthew Featherstonehaugh who asked James Paine to build him a new house on the site; this house can still be seen from Horse Guards. On Sir Matthew's death in 1787 the house was transferred to the Duke of York who employed Henry Holland to fill in the forecourt with the present façade which is visible from Whitehall<sup>223A</sup>. In 1830 the first Baron Dover acquired the property and gave the building its present name, Dover House<sup>224</sup>. It is now the Scottish Office.

### 4. THE CENTRAL SECTION: FORMER MONMOUTH LODGING 1698–1824

After Monmouth's fall his lodgings became the lodgings of successive Lords Chamberlain (p. 118) until they passed to James Stanhope in 1717. Stanhope,

almost immediately, began to extend his house to include the area west of Monmouth's lodgings up to the western line of the Elizabethan side gallery along the lodging range (p. 106). On Stanhope's death the property was acquired by the first Duke of Dorset, who not only remodelled Stanhope's house, but also extended it to include that area immediately north of the Tudor gallery between the tennis plays, formerly the coney yard and in 1725 occupied by various sheds (see Pl. 3)<sup>225</sup>. Dorset House was acquired by the Crown in 1808 and survived in an altered condition until the 1960–62 reconstruction.

Considerable archaeological remains connected with Dorset House were recorded (Fig. 2). A plan of Dorset House dated 1754<sup>226</sup> allowed several original first-floor rooms to be identified in 1962 in the surviving structure. The present

Lord President's room (formerly the drawing room of Dorset House) was the best preserved and contained a fine overmantel and stucco ceiling. The house's original staircase survived (site VI) near the present Privy Council offices. It had fine twisted balusters of Stanhope's period (c. 1717). These features were restored and retained.

On site I a group of features relating to the western boundary of Dorset House and the eastern boundary of the Treasury buildings was seen. The western wall of Dorset House was found to be a heightening of the Henrician wall I.2Aa and b (Pl. 25), against which was built a series of cess pits. Cess pit I.H.2 was built of brickwork (type C) with a domed vault and a rendered chute at its south end; it was empty when excavated. Immediately to the south of this was cess pit I.H.1. It had a barrel vault in three segments; at its

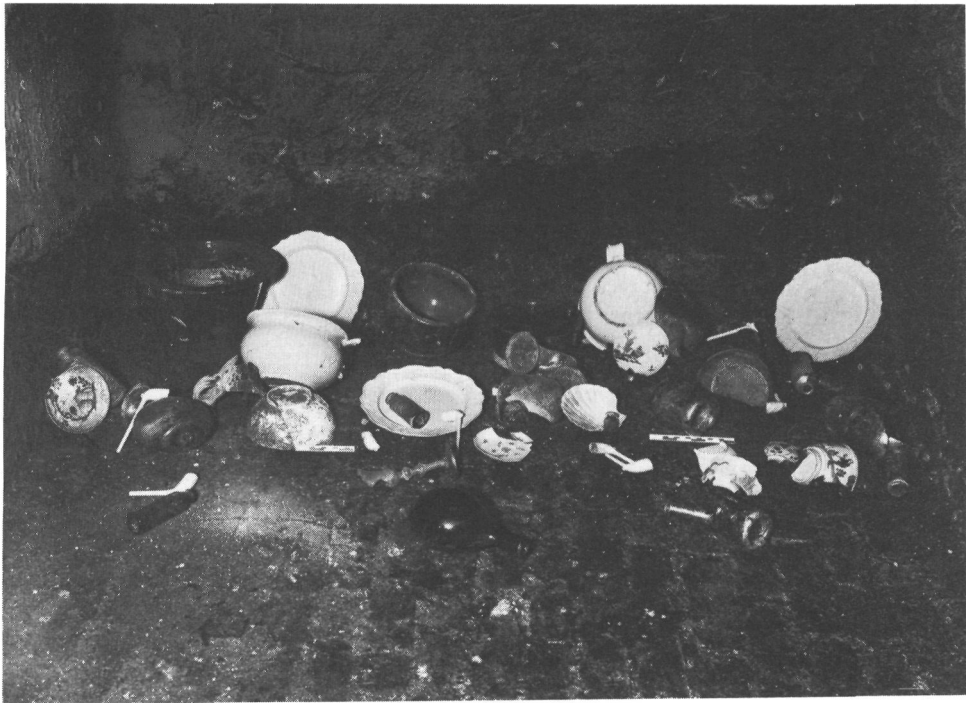


Plate 34 Whitehall: Ceramic Contents of Cess pit Dt.H.H.1 reassembled *in situ* (Crown Copyright)



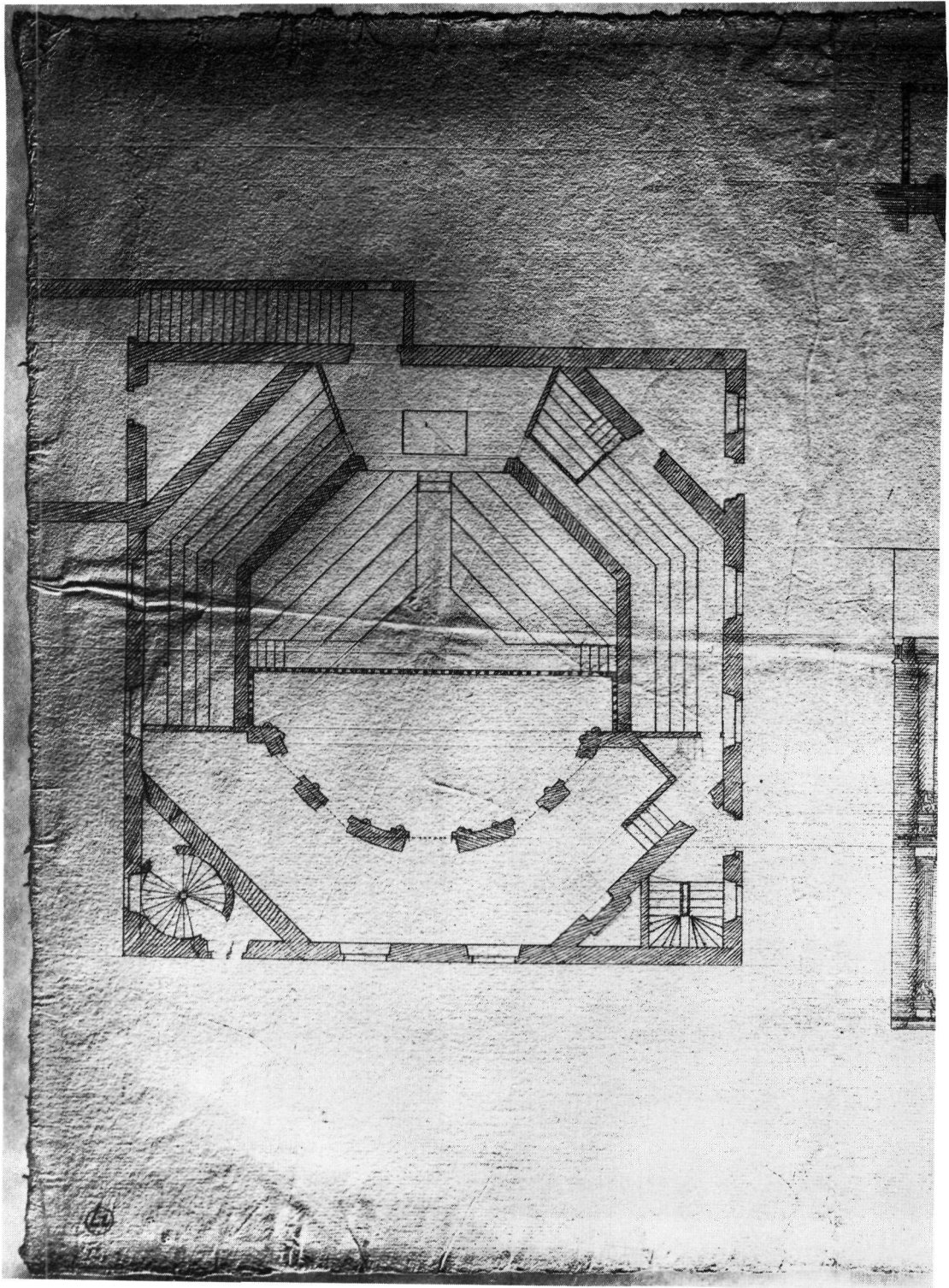


Plate 35 Whitehall: J. Webb plan of the cockpit, c. 1660 (Worcester College, Oxford)

north end the stumps of bearers for a two hole wooden seat were found *in situ*. This pit appears to relate to a stoolhouse belonging to the Treasury building. The pit contained a large group of plates, bowls, chamber pots and pipes (Pl. 34) typical of their date, *c.* 1760 (Pt III, Figs 59–60).

Drains and a well found in this area were also probably connected to sanitary arrangements for the Treasury. A drain (P.G.3) was built of brickwork (type C) partly over and sealing the Henrician cess pit P.G.T.1 (see p. 101). It was a substantial trench-built structure (its eastern wall 2½ft (0.77m) wide), with an internal wood-lined drain and weep hole 7in (0.18m) high. It was roofed with reused chalk blocks. A second drain, Dt.H.1b, was constructed with a 4½in (0.12m) brick arch with a brick floor and may have served the kitchens of Dorset House<sup>227</sup>. It was probably a rebuild of an earlier drain as the 1670 plan (Pl. 3) shows a drain in the same position serving the site of the Henrician coney yard. A well (I.H.1) built of 9in (0.23m) yellow stock bricks was seen on site I.

A further group of features relating to Dorset House was uncovered on site VI. Part of Dorset's alterations included an extensive remodelling of both the Henrician great tennis play and Monmouth's alterations to it. Monmouth's kitchens were adapted by the insertion of small fireplaces (p. 115), and a stair was built up from the ground floor to the first floor<sup>228</sup>; the west wall (VI.4) of this stair was seen in excavation (Fig. 2). To the south of the stair further walls belonging to Dorset's alterations were seen. The Tudor drain VI.T.1 was filled with finds, dated to *c.* 1780, which related to the occupation of Dorset House (see Pt III).

On the Privy Garden (P.G.) site were found the barrel vaults of a cellar (P.G.2)

carrying a service staircase from the ground to the first floor.

## 5. THE SOUTHERN QUARTER: THE TENNIS COURT

In 1698 the area to the south of the Tudor gallery between the tennis plays was almost completely taken over for the accommodation of displaced offices and officers from the east side of the palace. In the western part, the area of the Tudor small close tennis play, the offices of the Privy Council were set up. To the east of these, the Duke of Montagu, through his post as Master of the Great Wardrobe, was awarded lodgings and an area for the office of the Wardrobe<sup>229</sup>.

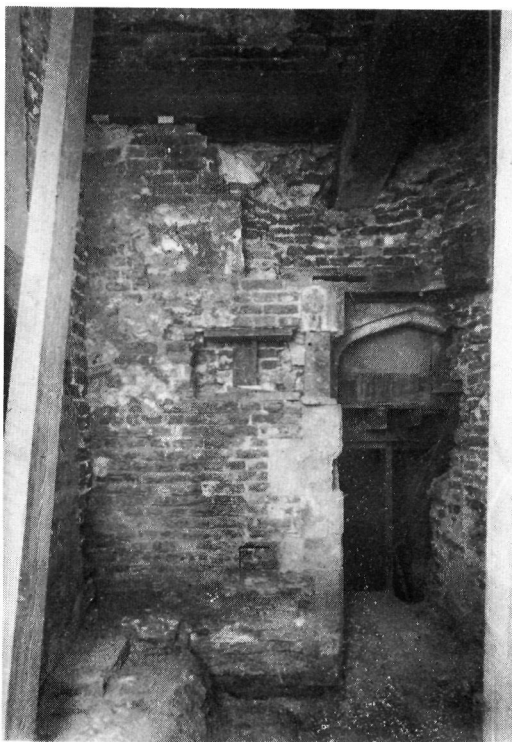


Plate 36 Whitehall: Door in west end of wall T.5 between Great Open and Great Close Tennis Plays (view from porch). Note the joist sockets which may have carried timber members related to the side penthouse of the Great Open Tennis Play (Crown Copyright)



Plate 37 Whitehall: Site VIII, north side of north wall of Elizabethan kitchen of Keeper's lodgings with offset and plaster face, built off early Tudor brick floor. Later Tudor, Stuart and eighteenth-century yard levels lie to north (see p. 105, 108, 115) (Crown Copyright)

To the south and east of these lodgings was Charles II's tennis court (p. 118) which seems to have remained in use (or at least intact) until 1809 when it was demolished<sup>230</sup>. South of this was the group of buildings originally occupied by the Countess of Buckingham (p. 110) and subsequently by various courtiers<sup>231</sup>. These buildings were gradually taken over by the Crown, as the leases fell due, and were then used for offices of state such as the Board of Trade and The Indian Board of Control.

One of the latest pits from the domestic occupation of the site was pit XVII.G.8 which contained a large group of unpainted earthenware (Queen's Ware)

and also stoneware, bottles and glass (Pt III Fig. 61 and archive).

This could only be a temporary arrangement, and by 1820 The Board of Trade was complaining of 'the great dilapidation of the building, its great insecurity, and its entire inadequacy, from want of accommodation, for the ordinary business of the office'<sup>232</sup>. Sir John Soane, as architect responsible for Whitehall, was given a note of the new accommodation required as early as 1819 and by 1823 arrangements were complete for a rebuilding of the offices of the Board of Trade. This was to include final demolition of much of the southern part of the park side.

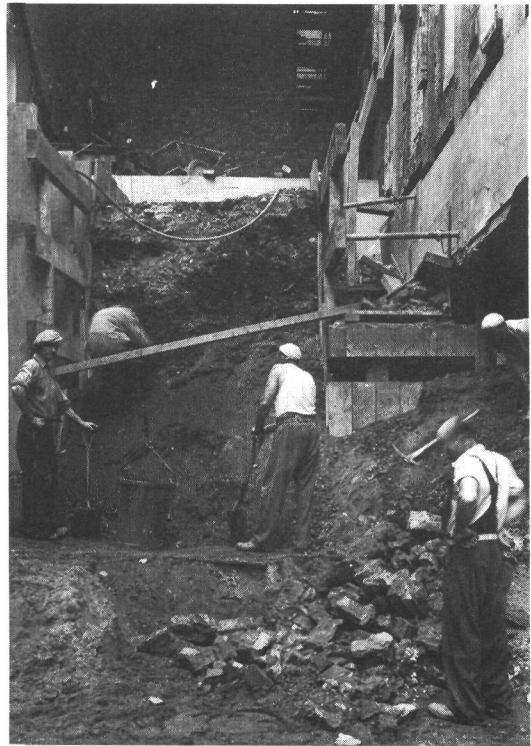


Plate 38 Whitehall: July 1961, rescue excavation of Saxon features (site II) with director, Michael Green, on plank (Crown Copyright)

### MODERN WHITEHALL—THE GREAT REBUILDING OF 1824–48

The nineteenth-century history of the buildings that occupied the old Tudor park side have recently been fully discussed in *The History of the King's Works*<sup>233</sup>. St. James' Park was remodelled by John Nash between 1827 and 1829, sweeping away the vestiges of Charles II's formal layout of 1660 and its modifications. The eastern edge of the new lake was much further west than it had originally been, allowing the earlier phases of development to be recorded in the Treasury excavations (Fig. 10 Phase 4).

Most of the buildings erected for the Treasury, Privy Council and Board of Trade in 1824–48 survived until 1962. The exception was, of course, Soane's

Board of Trade which was extensively remodelled by Barry whose building of 1845 now occupies the west side of Whitehall north of Downing Street. Soane's building required the clearance of all the buildings between the old gallery between the tennis plays and Downing Street. The only part of the old palace to be retained was that part of the Duke of Monmouth's lodging which lay at first floor level immediately south of the gallery. It was this room (mentioned above) which contained the Monmouth monogram in its plasterwork<sup>234</sup>.

By 1844 Soane's buildings were too small for the Board of Trade and it was decided that Charles Barry should alter and extend the building, retaining much of Soane's original work<sup>235</sup>. Barry's exten-



Plate 39 Reconstructed fireplaces in the kitchen of the Duke of Monmouth's lodgings (Crown Copyright)

sion finally removed the remaining vestiges of the Tudor palace from the façade facing Whitehall. He dismantled the front of the great close tennis court and extended his façade as far as Dover House<sup>236</sup>. Large sections of the tennis court were preserved in the alterations and these have been discussed (p. 79–81).

Barry's Privy Council, Board of Trade and Home Offices of 1845–6 are substantially the buildings on Whitehall today and it was their refurbishment in 1960–62 that made possible the excavations which are the subject of this report.

## APPENDIX 1

### POST-MEDIEVAL BRICK TYPOLOGY

Not illustrated

- A Red Tudor laid in English bond. 8–8½in × 4–4½in × 2in (205–212mm × 103–109mm × 51mm).
- A\* Red Tudor laid in English bond; found only in the great close tennis play (Sites II and VI), and drain I.T.I./VI.T.I. 9in × 4in–4½in × 2in (231mm × 103–109mm × 51mm).
- B Stuart red, intermediate, c. 8½in × 4½in × 2½in (218mm × 109mm × 58mm).
- C Sand faced red, 8½ × 4½–4¾in × 2½in (212mm × 109–122mm × 64mm).
- D Red rubbers, 18th century, variable size, 11–12in × 4in × 5in (282–298mm × 103mm × 128mm).
- E Multi-coloured stock, 8¾in × 4½in × 2½in (212mm × 109mm × 64mm).
  - 1–018 purple Munsell scale (Munsell 1975)
  - 4–054 yellow Munsell scale
  - 2–054 brown Munsell scale
- F Yellow stock 8¾in × 4½in × 2½in (224mm × 109mm × 64mm)—4–054 yellow Munsell scale.

These letters are used on the archive general plan and site documents.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The single-minded support of members of staff of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and the Ancient Monuments Architectural Office, particularly John Charlton, Peter Curnow, John Hurst and especially Peter May, was of crucial importance. Much help was also provided by John Harvey, and by Alan Cook, then of the Ancient Monuments Architectural Office (recording the excavations on the east side of Whitehall), and

members of the Ancient Monuments Branch, particularly H. Gordon Slade who recorded the standing remains of the Tudor buildings in 1960 and early 1961.

The London Museum (now the Museum of London) was involved at an early stage. The enlightened support of its then director, Dr Donald Harden, ensured that experienced archaeologists from its staff, such as Francis Celoria, were drafted in to help supervise the work. Professional and amateur archaeologists, especially members of the former Thames Basin Archaeological Observers Group, provided invaluable help with the digging, but most of this work was carried out by contractor's staff, or Ancient Monuments workmen, who were unfailingly helpful and courteous.

Gradually facilities were provided for post-excavation work, largely at the prompting of the London Museum. Philippa Glanville, then on the staff of the Museum, helped set up the post-excavation work and the initial planning for publication. The London Museum undertook the curatorial responsibility for the vast quantity of archaeological finds, which were subsequently donated to the Museum, with small exhibitions being displayed in the Privy Council offices on site.

In 1973, ten years after the completion of the excavations, Rhona Huggins and John Middlemiss were appointed as research assistants by the Museum, and financed by the Department of the Environment to prepare the finds for publication. On the completion of the drawings and analysis the finds were transferred to the new Museum of London store.

In 1980 Derek Gadd was seconded from the Museum to start work on the publication, and he was followed in 1981 by Rhona Huggins, working as a consultant for the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate. Michael Green as Director, has written the Saxon and early Medieval excavation report. The report on the late Medieval to nineteenth century features has been written by Simon Thurley in collaboration with Mr Green.

Rhona Huggins prepared the pottery report and supervised the assembly of the many other specialist finds reports by the late F. W. Anderson, B. Bloice, D. Brothwell, the late F. E. Camps, R. E. Chaplin, I. Eaves, B. Ellis, J. C. Evans, A. R. Goodall, I. H. Goodall, J. P. C. Kent, H. Oldroyd, the late J. E. Thornton, and D. F. Williams, whose contributions are gratefully acknowledged. The help and advice of past and present members of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory is gratefully acknowledged.

The location, site and development plans and sections have been drawn by M. Green, S. Thurley

and Miranda Schofield. The finds were drawn by J. Middlemiss and R. Huggins. Photographs on site were taken by staff of the Ministry of Works photographic section.

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The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Plate 1); the Museum of London (Plate 2); the Greater London Photograph Library (Plates 13, 29 and 32); the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, London (Plate 14); Her Majesty the Queen (Plate 15); Westminster City Archives (Plate 24); the Provost, Fellows and Librarian of Worcester College, Oxford (Plate 35). The following illustrations are Crown Copyright, and are reproduced with permission of the Controller Of Her Majesty's Stationery Office: Plates 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38 and 39.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used either in the text, or in the bibliography of manuscript and printed sources

AM	Ancient Monuments
BL	British Library, London
Bod. Lib.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cal. SP Dom.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series
Cal. SP Ireland	Calendar of State Papers, Ireland
Cal. SP Span.	Calendar of State Papers, Spanish
Cal. SP Ven.	Calendar of State Papers, Venetian
D	Downing Street site
Dt.	Dorset House site
H.G.	Horse Guards site
HBMC	Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England
L&P HVIII	Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII
LCC	London County Council
LTS	London Topographical Society
MOW	Ministry of Works
MS	Manuscript
n	Note
ND	No date of publication given
No.	Number
P.G.	Privy Garden site
PRO	Public Record Office, London
VCH	Victoria County History
WA	Westminster Abbey
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
Yd	Yards

#### I–XVIII

Roman numerals refer to site numbers. See also D, Dt, H.G., P.G. above

#### NOTES

1. Archbishop Grey's Register, 1872, 200.
2. PRO C47/3/31.
3. Hembry, 1978, 152.
4. Thurley, (forthcoming).
5. *ibid.*
6. Samman, 1988, includes a detailed itinerary of Wolsey's movements.
7. PRO OBS/1 1419.
8. *ibid.*
9. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 53–8.
10. Rosser and Thurley, forthcoming.
11. Cal. SP Span. IV, pt i, 303–4.
12. Cal. SP Ven. 4, no. 664.
13. Rosser and Thurley, forthcoming.
14. WAM 18049 A and B.
15. PRO SC12/3/13.
16. PRO SP1/67.
17. Cal. SP Span. IV, pt ii. 154.
18. PRO E36/251 p. 161.
19. PRO E36/251 p. 11.
20. PRO E36/251 p. 98.
21. PRO E36/251 p. 171.
22. PRO E36/251 p. 233.
23. Rosser, 1984, 177.
24. PRO E36/251 p. 183.
25. PRO E36/251 p. 269.
26. PRO E36/251 p. 247.
27. G. Chettle 1950 excavation archive held by HBMC.
28. PRO SP1/65 p. 280–5.
29. Castiglione, 1967, 118.
30. Elyot, 1880, i, 171.
31. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 228.
32. For instance see Bod. Lib. Rawl. MS 776 f.120v for Richmond, and BL Cotton MS Vesp. CXII p. 285v for Windsor.
33. See Thurley, 1989, 330–69.
34. Bruce, 1977, 89.
35. For a detailed discussion of jousting in the court of Henry VIII, and for the reasons for the abandonment of the sport by the King in 1528–38 see Anglo, 1968, 64.
36. Thurley 1988, 12–13.
37. On the influence of Manuscripts see Turquet 1983, 368–72.
38. Thurley, 1989, 354–5.
39. *ibid.* also PRO E351/3211.
40. The two particular books which fully document the first year's works are PRO. E36/251 and E36/252. They are partly duplicated in WAM 12257, and summarised in PRO SP1/69 p. 265–6; E351/3322. Further accounts and fragments are in BL Add. MS 20030 ff.150, 150v; MS. Royal 14B IVA & IVB; Lansdowne roll 14. The Bodleian library contains many more fragments: Bod. Lib. Vet.E.1.b6; Vet.E.1.b7; MS.Eng.Hist.b.192/1.
41. For a full discussion of this view see Marks, 1964.
42. For a full discussion of this plan see L.C.C. 1930, XIII, 41–4.
43. Illustrated in Barker and Jackson, 1974, 75.
44. Illustrated in Kingsford, 1925 (pull out).
45. Harris, 1967, 89.
46. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 300–21.
47. L&P HVIII, IV, no. 6390.
48. *Ibid.*
49. L&P HVIII, VI, no. 578 (25).
50. PRO SP1/69 p. 265/6.
51. Thurley, 1989.
52. WAM 12257.
53. PRO E36/251 p. 1–294; E36/252 p. 299–650.
54. PRO E36/251 p. 1.
55. PRO E36/251 p. 12.
56. PRO E36/251 p. 12.
57. PRO E36/251 p. 96.
58. PRO E36/251 p. 12, p. 43.
- 58A. PRO E36/251 p. 20, p. 35
59. PRO E36/251 p. 247.
60. PRO E36/252 p. 329.
61. PRO E36/252 p. 570.
62. Harris, 1967.
63. Bod. Lib. MS Eng. Hist. b. 192/1 f.2.
64. Stow, 1908, 102

65. Wriotheshly, 1877, 45; Hall, 1904, 242.  
 66. Anglo, 1968, 44–63.  
 67. PRO E36/251 p. 128.  
 68. PRO E36/252 p. 252.  
 69. PRO E36/252 p. 422.  
 70. PRO E36/251 p. 251.  
 71. PRO E36/251 p. 237.  
 72. Bod. Lib. MS. Eng. Hist. b. 192/1 f. 2v.  
 73. Harris, 1967, 89.  
 74. BL Royal MS 14B IVB.  
 75. PRO E36/251 p. 171.  
 76. PRO E36/252 p. 582.  
 77. PRO E36/252 p. 612.  
 78. PRO E36/251 p. 640.  
 79. PRO E36/251 p. 81, WAM 12257 p. 50.  
 80. 'foundation of the parke walle whiche conte in bredthe iiiii fote and likewise in depth' PRO E36/252 p. 640.  
 81. Now at Parham Park, Sussex.  
 82. The Axe (for which see p. 68) although acquired in 1531, was not incorporated into the palace site but remained an inn run by the Crown (PRO E36/251 p. 171, E36/252 p. 436).  
 At some stage before 1547 it was let to one Edward Everard (LCC, 1931, XIV, 106).  
 83. Bod. Lib. Vet. E. 1. b6, (back cover recto).  
 84. L & P HVIII, IV, no. 6709 (17).  
 85. See Thurley, 1989, 313–4.  
 86. PRO E36/252 p. 414.  
 87. PRO E36/252 p. 416.  
 88. Scaino, 1951, 160–165. For sixteenth-century tennis see also: De Luce 1979; Marshall, 1878; and on English sixteenth-century royal courts, Thurley, 1989, 345–59.  
 89. BL Royal MS 14B IVB.  
 90. L & P HVIII, VI, no. 578 (25).  
 91. At The More, Hertys, Wolsey brick measured 9in × 4½in × 2½in (230mm × 108mm × 54mm), at Hampton Court 9½in × 2½in × 4½in (250mm × 57mm × 121mm). The Henrician brick at Hampton Court was smaller. The King is known to have used Wolsey's materials from Battersea and Ipswich at Whitehall, (see PRO E36/251 p. 108–11).  
 92. Wolsey's great hall: Thurley, forthcoming.  
 93. PRO E36/251 p. 238.  
 94. PRO E36/252 p. 315.  
 95. cf. Thornbury Castle, Glos., 1515–21, where the irregularly-femestrated hall-like structure in the west range of the Base Court may have been a tennis play; Thurley, 1987, section 4.  
 96. Most clearly on Canaletto's view of Whitehall from Richmond House. Reproduced in Barker, 1974, 214.  
 97. The range can be seen on the plan of Whitehall reproduced in Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 309.  
 98. PRO E36/251 p. 247.  
 99. LCC 1931, XIV, 14 (footnote \*)  
 100. L & P HVIII, VI, no. 578 (25).  
 101. Bod. Lib. MS. Eng. Hist. b. 192/1 f. 33.  
 102. See Thurley, 1989, 359–65.  
 103. Thurley, 1988, 18–20, Plan F and Figs 1, 2.  
 104. Bod. Lib. Rawl. MS D 780 ff. 218–244, ff. 161–171.  
 105. BL Royal MS 14B IVB.  
 106. BL Add. MS 20030 f. 150v.  
 107. *ibid.*  
 108. Only one of these has been published: Woods, 1982, Figs 22, 23.  
 109. Bod. Lib. Rawl. MS D 775 f. 55.  
 110. Bod. Lib. Rawl. MS D 776 f. 43.  
 111. Graziani, 1976, 301–2.  
 112. Millar, 1963, 52–3.  
 113. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, pl. 7.  
 114. LTS, 1905.  
 115. As shown in the painting at Hampton Court of *Henry VIII and his children* illustrated in Colvin *et al.*, 1982, pls. 26, 27.  
 116. PRO E351/3261; LCC, 1931, XIV, 38.  
 117. Cal SP Span, IV pt 1, 1529–30, 303–4.  
 118. *ibid* IV pt 2, 154.  
 119. PRO SP1/71 f. 171.  
 120. PRO SP1/71 f. 167–8.  
 121. Hall, 1904, I, 242.  
 122. Illustrated in LCC, 1930, XIII, pl. 5.  
 123. BL Add. MS 20030 f. 150v.  
 124. Bod. Lib. MS Eng. Hist. b. 192 f. 89v.  
 125. L & P HVIII, XV, no. 686.  
 126. BL Add. MS 20030 f. 150v.  
 127. Barker and Jackson, 1974, 214.  
 128. BL Royal MS 14B IVB.  
 129. *ibid.*  
 130. LCC, 1931, XIV, 106.  
 131. L & P, HVIII, XX, no. 1035 (f. 23).  
 132. BL MS Lansdowne Roll 14.  
 133. L & P HVIII, XX, no. 1129.  
 134. Bod. Lib. MS. Eng. Hist. b. 192/1.  
 135. BL MS Lansdowne Roll 14 and Bod. Lib. Vet. E. 1. b 7 (front cover recto).  
 136. Barker and Jackson, 1974, 75.  
 137. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 313.  
 138. L & P HVIII, XVII, no. 220 (77).  
 139. Chapman, 1958, 58–9.  
 140. Ascham, 1570, ff. 19v–20.  
 141. PRO 351/3326.  
 142. Barker and Jackson, 1974, 75.  
 143. Cal. SP. Ireland, 1596–7, 262.  
 144. LCC, 1931, XIV, 106–7.  
 145. PRO E351/3233.  
 146. Barker and Jackson, 1974, 75.  
 147. PRO E351/3236.  
 148. PRO SP12/4 no. 57.  
 149. PRO E101/474/24.  
 150. PRO E351/3332.  
 151. Machyn, 1847, 269.  
 152. PRO E351/3204.  
 153. PRO E351/3214.  
 154. PRO E351/3216.  
 155. PRO E351/3227.  
 156. PRO E351/3228.  
 157. Brailsford, 1969, 108.  
 158. Brailsford, 1969, 108.  
 159. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 144.  
 160. Cal. SP. Dom, 1603–10, 161.  
 161. LCC, 1931, XIV, 47n.  
 162. LCC, 1931, XIV, 106.  
 163. LCC, 1931, XIV, 107.  
 164. LCC, 1931, XIV, 107.  
 165. PRO Parliamentary Surveys Middx 50; Ogilby and Morgan 1681–2.  
 166. PRO E351/3240; LCC, 1931, XIV, 47n.  
 167. *ibid.*  
 168. PRO E351/3245; LCC, 1931, XIV, 47n.  
 169. For the two phase development of the lodging see the accounts quoted in LCC, 1931, XIV, 47n.  
 170. LCC, 1931, XIV, 83.  
 171. PRO E351/3254; LCC, 1931, XIV, 83n.  
 172. PRO E351/3253; LCC, 1931, XIV, 83n.  
 173. LCC, 1931, XIV, 83–89, and plan on 89.  
 174. PRO E351/3239; LCC, 1931, XIV, 24n.  
 175. PRO E351/3264; LCC, 1931, XIV, 25.  
 176. Orgell, 1985, 90–112; Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 335–7; Leacroft, 1973; Harris *et al.*, 1973.  
 177. Orgell, 1985, 93. Reproduced in all the works cited in n. 176 above, and LCC, 1931, XIV, 10.  
 178. Reproduced in LTS, 1905.  
 179. PRO E351/3263; LCC, 1931, XIV, 24.  
 180. For discussion of this feature see works cited in n. 176.  
 181. PRO E351/3263; LCC, 1931, XIV, 25.  
 182. On Prince Henry, see Strong, 1986, 15.  
 183. Reproduced in LCC, 1931, XIV, 41.  
 184. LCC, 1931, XIV, 40n.  
 185. LCC, 1931, XIV, 26.  
 186. LCC, 1931, XIV, 41.  
 187. LCC, 1931, XIV, 56n.  
 188. Brailsford, 1969, 212.  
 189. LCC, 1926, X, 80–81, and pl. 77.  
 190. For these see LCC, 1931, XIV, 54–5.  
 191. LCC, 1931, XIV, 57.  
 192. Kipp's view is reproduced in Colvin *et al.*, 1976, pl. 37.  
 193. Pepys, 1920, I, 423.  
 194. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 264.  
 195. Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 154.  
 196. PRO WORK 5/4; LCC, 1931, XIV, 68n.  
 197. PRO WORK 5/21; LCC, 1931, XIV, 70n.  
 198. Soane took a plaster cast of this monogram and it survives in the Soane Museum, London. A photograph of it is in LCC, 1931, XIV, 81.  
 199. PRO WORK 5/32; LCC, 1931, XIV, 69n.  
 200. Pepys, 1920, II, 95.  
 201. PRO WORK 5/15; LCC, 1931, XIV, 113; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 281.  
 202. PRO WORK 5/1.  
 203. PRO WORK 5/7; (Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 271).

204. PRO WORK 5/15; LCC, 1931, XIV, 27–8; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 281.  
 205. PRO WORK 5/21; LCC, 1931, XIV, 113; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 281.  
 206. PRO WORK 5/17; LCC, 1931, XIV, 113; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 281.  
 207. LCC, 1931, XIV, 114–22.  
 208. PRO C66 3185; LCC, 1931, XIV, 51–2, and pl. 37 shows the extent of Danby's original grant.  
 209. LCC 1931, XIV, pl. 3, Anonymous painting.  
 210. PRO WORK 5/21 and WORK 5/23.  
 211. LCC, 1931, XIV, 108–164; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 440–3; Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 562–6.  
 212. Colvin *et al.*, 1982, 144; Colvin *et al.*, 1976, 153.  
 213. PRO L.C.5/137 p. 410–11; LCC, 1931, XIV, 42n.  
 214. LCC, 1931, XIV, 42n.  
 215. Aberdare, 1964, 271.  
 215A. LCC, 1931, XIV, pl. 36.  
 216. Brailsford, 1969, 108.  
 217. PRO L.C. 5/141, 142, 118; LCC, 1931, XIV, 40n.  
 218. LCC, 1931, XIV, 29.  
 219. See both LCC, 1931, XIV; Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 549–66, 571.  
 220. LCC, 1931, XIV, 52–5.  
 221. PRO T. 56/18, p. 399.  
 222. LCC, 1931, XIV, 58.  
 223. LCC, 1931, XIV, 59.  
 223A. Stroud, 1966, 92–6.  
 224. LCC, 1931, XIV, 59–63 traces the ownership of this property.  
 225. LCC, 1931, XIV, 72–3.  
 226. Reproduced in LCC, 1931, XIV, pl. 57.  
 227. Shown on the plan of Dorset House, LCC, 1931, XIV, pl. 57.  
 228. *ibid.*  
 229. LCC, 1931, XIV, 79.  
 230. LCC, 1931, XIV, 43.  
 231. LCC, 1931, XIV, 83–91.  
 232. Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 551.  
 233. Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 551–62, and pls 46–49.  
 234. Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 442.  
 235. Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, 560.  
 236. Mordaunt Crook and Port, 1973, pl. 49 a and b.

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