SHOP AND OFFICE IN MEDIEVAL AND TUDOR LONDON

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SUMMARY

Because so little medieval or Tudor structure is ever found above ground level in the City of London, archaeologists have been unable to ascertain the nature of early shops. Accordingly, the structure and layouts of shops, and the fittings of offices, are discussed here from historical evidence.

STALLS AND LOCK-UP SHOPS

For centuries, an important part of London's retail trade was carried on by itinerant street traders, and by persons walking or riding to market, as may still be seen among peoples in, say, North Africa. However, there were obvious limits as to what a man or woman could carry, especially where a heavy commodity was concerned: indeed, a stationer was originally one who sold bound books, and therefore literally 'kept stationary'. Thus, it became a matter of great convenience to have 'a standing'—a regular pitch that customers would come to know. In 1327, London bakers 'were not allowed to sell in their houses or in front of their ovens, but only from boxes or baskets in the market': for the latter privilege, they paid a fine plus a toll of a halfpenny a basket (CPMR 1323–64, 23). At St Botolph, Aldersgate, monies were received 'for standing about the church' on St Bartholomew's Day 1507, with reference to Bartholomew Fair (Cox 1913, 33).

In the course of time, persons who could afford to put up a stall on which to display and from which to sell their wares, and pay the appropriate toll ('stallage', Latin *stallagio*), did so. Although the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives no usage of the word 'stall' earlier than 1377 nor of 'stallage' before *c.*1250, the former is of Saxon origin, while earlier examples of *stallagio* can be found (*eg* in a Bridgwater charter of 1200 (Ballard 1913,

176). The stall used by a butcher—or, less-usually, a fishmonger—was known as a 'shamble' (Old English *sceamel*, 'bench'): hence, the butchers' district in a town, as in London, was called 'the (flesh-) shambles' (Stow I, 313).

Some of these moveable boards (or stalls) or 'stallboards', presumably trestle tables, were temporary affairs, like those put up for Bartholomew Fair, where 21 merchant taylors had booths in 1567 (Clode 1875, 112) or on market day. Others became permanent fixtures, such as those of the butchers in Mountgodard Street and the fishmongers in Old Fish Street (Stow I, 343, 346). Complaint was made, probably for general obstruction, about the latter 'fishboards' in 1422 (CPMR 1413–37, 136). A jeweller contracted to lease 'a moveable stall' beneath the Ludgate for 10 years from 1375 (Riley 1868, 382). A familiar sight was the fruit stall which stood outside the gateway of Lincoln's Inn in Chancery Lane from 1531 for about 400 years (Baildon 1900, 295–6; Jackson 1953, 55).

Alternatively, a market-house was provided, to give shelter to basket-women and stallholders, like the Stocks Market built (where the Mansion House now stands) for the use of those selling 'fish and flesh'. In its early days, the Stocks seems to have comprised both an open space and a covered area. In 1345, the butchers were to occupy the Stocks and the fishmongers to trade beneath 'the

FIG 1   Stalls and basket women in the 'high street' north of Leadenhall, 1598 (Folger ms V.a. 318, f.13). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.

penthouses' adjoining on flesh-days, while on fish-days the reverse arrangement applied. By 1543, the market contained 25 boards or stalls for fishmongers and 18 for butchers (Stow I, 226; Riley 1868, 222–3).

Otherwise, an obvious refinement was to provide sheltering walls and a roof, so that Stow could tell how 'over the which stallboards they ... built sheds to keep off the weather' (Stow I, 343). Although a shed does not necessarily suggest to us a permanent building, some of these structures may have lasted for lengthy periods: the father of John Edwards, girdler, had a 'little shed' near the Ludgate for forty years.[1] Hence, when we are told that 'In a commercial metropolis such as Genoa the store (*apotheca, bottega*) had eliminated the bench at least by the mid 12th century' (Postan and Rich 1952, 329), we may feel that some further detail is needed.

The word 'shop' is recorded (through the Middle English *schoppe*) in the *Oxford English Dictionary* only from 1297; there was probably a Saxon original that produced Medieval Latin forms such as *sopa* (*c.* 1100) and *shopa* (1189). A cognate Old English word *ceap* meant 'market', giving names to some towns

(*eg* Chepstow, Chipping Norton) and London streets (Cheapside and Eastcheap).

A favoured location for a shop was against the wall of a church. At St Giles's Church in Edinburgh 'The small shops or booths, which were erected between the buttresses about 1560, were called *Kraimes*, and the wares sold in them *Kraimery* (comp. German *Krämerei*)' (Baedeker 1910, 529), the latter term denoting pedlary. Such booths may still be seen in German towns, like those clustered round the Holy Ghost Church in Heidelberg. In London, the churchwardens of St Magnus the Martyr paid three shillings rent to the Bridge House 'out of three shops now parcel of the church'.[2] At St Margaret Pattens, during the same year (1559–60), the 'shed' was rented out at 3s 4d a year, as opposed to 'the little shed under the church wall', which, fitted with a 'hanging lock' (*ie* padlock), went to a leatherseller for only 2s per annum (1576–7). Possibly the two were the same structure, with the earlier rent higher in order to defray the costs of building: the materials used for the church wall (1559–60) included 'a quarter of tile' and four posts.[3]

From about 1570, St Ethelburga's Church,

in Bishopsgate, had a shop built against its west end, abutting on the south side of its porch: the space it occupied was only 1.75m wide and 1.3m deep. A second, slightly wider, shop was erected on the north side of the porch in 1614[4]: both could have changed very little from their appearances shown in an engraving of 1736 (see Fig 2). At the latter date, they had unglazed windows with stallboards, and were joined above with a coved fascia surmounted by a flat roof. Each shop had a low upper storey (that of the 1570 shop being without a window), connected with a balustrade. Both shops survived until well into the present century (RCHM 1929, pl 63).

Ralph Treswell's drawing of the western end of Cheapside in 1585 (see Fig 3) shows that the church of St Michael le Querne had a stall with penthouse roof built against its tower and one bay of the nave: stallboards were fitted in front of it, and on both sides of the church door. Similar in general arrangement was the 'long shop' often erected across the end of a church. 'The long shop, or shed, encroaching on the high street' in front of St Peter Westcheap 'was licensed to be made in the year 1401': William Widginton was renting 'the long shop under the church' there at least from 1555–6 until 1581–2 for £3 a year (Stow I, 314 and II, 397 (xix).[5] The Woodcut Map shows only the tower of St Peter's, the rest being concealed by the Eleanor Cross (AZEL, 4M), and no hint of any shop is given. Both church and shop perished during the Great Fire. The former
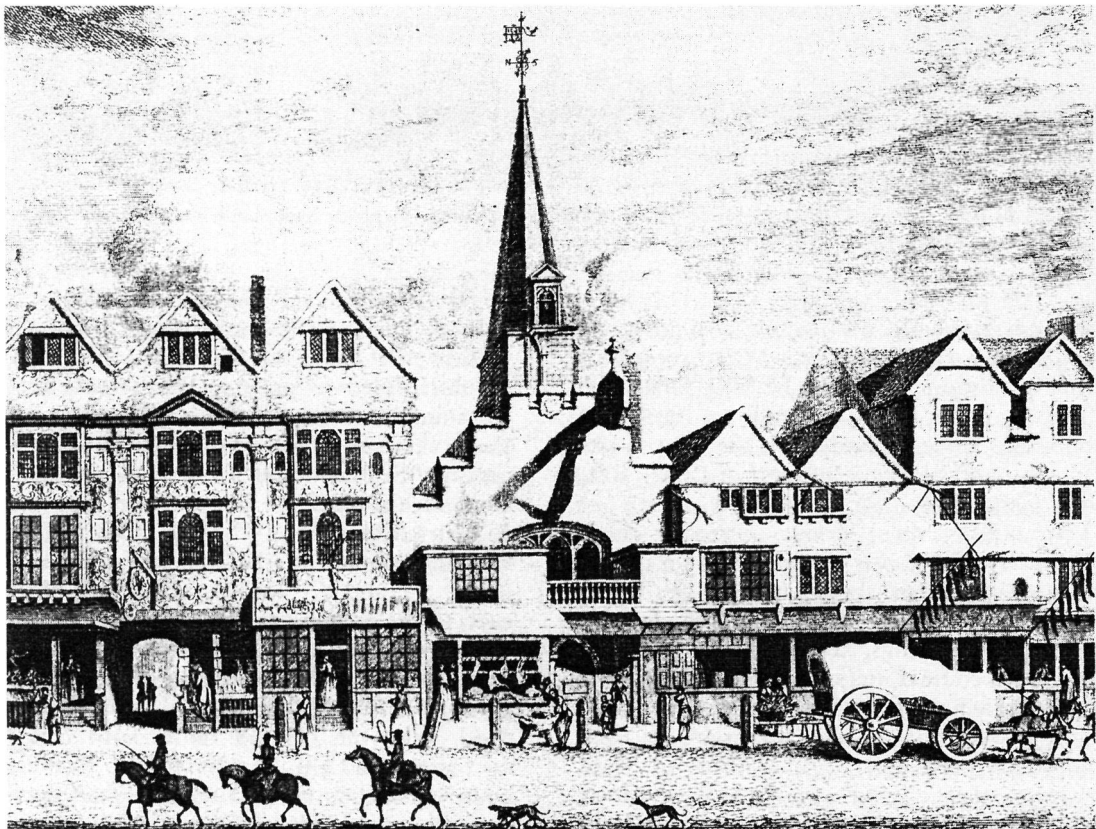

FIG 2 St Ethelburga's Church had two shops flanking its west door at Bishopsgate. This engraving (detail) of 1736 shows that of 1614 (left) and the smaller one of *c.* 1570 (right). (*Perspective Views of all the Ancient Churches*...Drawn by R. West, 1739).
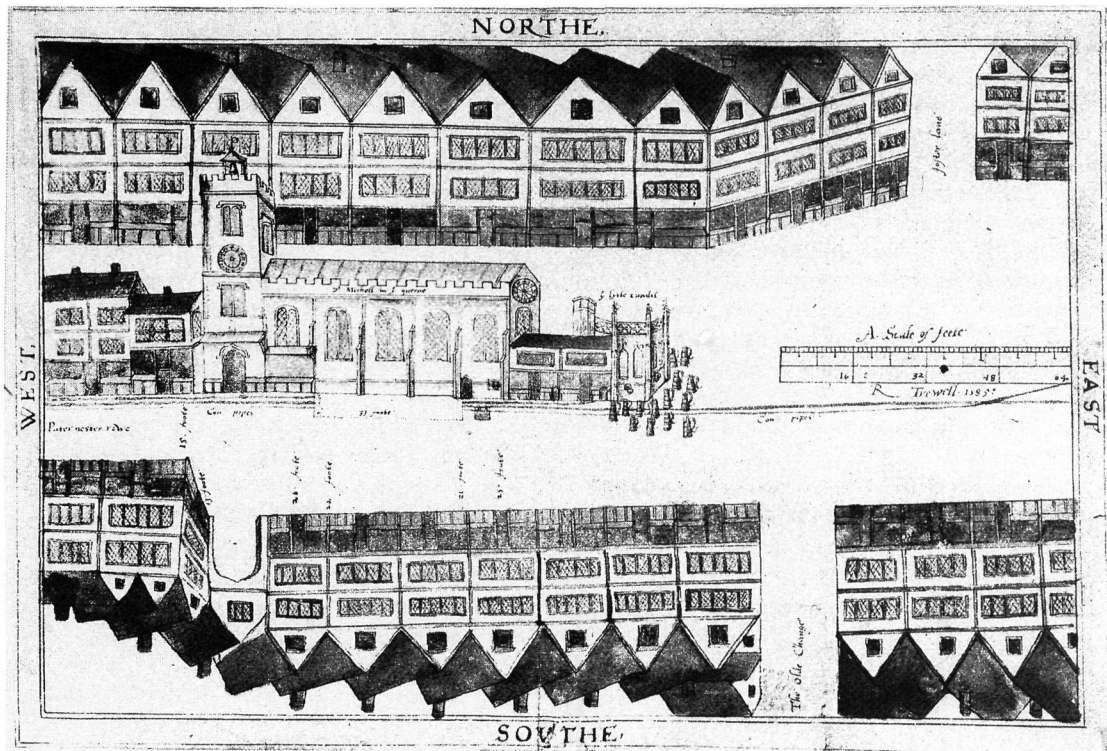
FIG 3 In Ralph Treswell's drawing (1585), these houses at the end of Cheapside have shops, mostly double-fronted, below them. (By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum).

was never rebuilt, and its site remains open to this day, but the latter was replaced by a row of shops, and the 1:2500 Ordnance Survey map (1878) records a range of buildings there, bounded by the church site (north), and having a frontage of 12.2m(40ft) on Cheapside (north) and a depth of 3.66m(12ft) on Wood Street (east). Nowadays, the row forms four properties comprising three shops, being—westwards from Wood Street—nos 123 to 126. Despite various rebuildings, these present a profile unique in context, indicative of their medieval origins: each unit has just a single, low upper storey, and contains only one room on each floor. In particular, nos 123 and 124 best suggest the original layout. Were their enclosing walls—necessary for a walk-in emporium—and upper storey to be removed, the resultant booth, with a maximum depth of 1.9m (6ft 3ins), would be plainly recognis-

able as part of the former long shop. (In their present form, the pair date from 1687.)

John Allde was printing 'at the long shop adjoining unto St Mildred's Church in the Poultry', as in 1582 (Willan 1962, 1). The parish of St Alban built four 'sheds and shops fair and beautiful', in Wood Street, on a site 15.24m × 1.3m (50ft × 4ft 3ins), in 1584. Their four lessees had to pay rents of £2 3s 4d (two), £2 and £1 13s 4d, plus ten shillings each to the parson for tithes, per annum.[6]

Many small manufacturers and traders, particularly printers and booksellers, rented premises in Paul's Churchyard. Thus, on the north side, the charnel house with chapel over were (in 1549) 'converted into dwelling houses, warehouses, and sheds before them, for stationers, in place of the tombs'. At some time, the chapter house, in the cathedral's south-west angle, became 'defaced by means of licences granted to cutlers, budget-makers,

and others, first to build low sheds, but now high houses ....' (Stow I, 330 and II, 19).

In 1560, the Dean and Chapter demised to John Dixon, cutler, a shop that was 2.6m (8ft 6½ins) wide and 'from the chapter house wall unto the churchyard southward' 1.83m (6ft), its width being dictated by the two shops abutting on its sides, on condition that his building did not exceed a height of 6.4m (21ft). Of two sheds or shops demised in 1570, one was built between the buttresses of the east end of St John's Chapel, being 6.48m by 2.28m, and the other, which adjoined it, between two buttresses on the east side of the long chapel, 5.74m by 2.21m.[7] John Day's 'long shop at the north-west door of St Paul's' (1572) was needed for storing his book stock, valued at over £2,000. Day had 'got framed a neat handsome shop. It was but little and low, and flat roofed, and leaded like a terrace, railed and posted, fit for men to stand upon in any triumph or show' (DNB *sub* John Day, 1522–84). In 1590 Simon Martyn, a joiner, leased a 'tenement, shed or little shop' east of the steps on the cathedral's south side; it was 3.66m by 1.52m, and its rent was five shillings a year (Phillips 1915, 11).

Paul's Churchyard was the chief venue for the growing book trade but by no means the only one. When Anthony Wolcock leased a house in Newgate Market (1571), he had to allow Peter French, stationer, to 'dwell in the shed wherein he now selleth books'.[8] A small structure of this nature could be built as an extension to a dwelling: Geoffrey Perke, pewterer, was allowed to make 'a close stall or little shed' 1.52m wide, extending 0.61m 'from the plate of his house' in Knightrider Street (1596).[9]

In 1540, Bartholomew Barne, mercer, leased a shop in Cheapside from the parish of St Christopher le Stocks. This had a width of 2.46m (8ft 1in), depth of 3.89m (12ft 9in), rear dimension of 2.69m (8ft 10in), and height of 2.74m (9ft). Barne covenanted to demolish and rebuild this by Christmas 1542 (Freshfield 1895, 13), which suggests that it was a lock-up shop, rather than an integral structure, as discussed below. Often a building of this kind was extended upwards, in order to obtain storage space. One finds legal expressions such as 'with the shops, cellars, sollars and appurtenances' used: in this context, the sollar (from the French *solive*, 'beam, joist') was any room above ground-floor level, being a foil to the cellar, below ground. Here, it most likely denoted a loft, since 'chamber' was the usual word for an upper (bed)room.

In practice, there seems to have been no difference between a booth, shed or small shop, any of which could have had living accommodation above it. When William Hobson, haberdasher (died 1559), converted the former Corpus Christi Chapel in the Poultry into a warehouse, he also made 'shops towards the street, with lodgings over them' (Fry 1908, 50–4). From his researches, John Schofield concluded that the earlier shops had only one upper storey (Schofield 1984, 88), like the 'two shops with two dwelling places built thereupon' in the Old Fishmarket in the parish of St Mary Magdalen, Fish Street of 1384 (CIM IV, 151). One mercer let his shed and chamber in Westcheap, St Mary le Bow, to another for 3s 4d a year (Stow I, 258 re ?1422–3), while a later man leased a house in Newgate Market 'wherein dwelleth Alice Scott, widow, ... in the upper rooms and the said William the shop.[10] Ralph Treswell's drawing of Cheapside, 1585 (see Fig 3), shows a semi-detached pair of small shops at the west end of St Michael le Querne Church. Each shop was about 3.35m (11ft) wide and 2.13m (7ft) high, having a doorway midway between its two shop windows, with the usual stallboards; at the east end was a low, round-headed doorway, reaching to ground level. Each upper storey was 2.44m (8ft) high, having one long window, and plainly contained living-accommodation.[11]

THE INTEGRAL SHOP

Thus far, we have considered those shops which grew out of stalls. There was however another, parallel, line of development, by which a shop or shops occupied the ground floor of a house or frame of buildings. This concept of the 'integral shop' is purely notional, inasmuch as the structure of the

one would have been identical to that of the other, while many shops would become altered through subsequent rebuildings. However, the growing tendency to 'live over the shop' did encourage the provision of long shopping complexes, larger shops, and multi-storey buildings.

If the size of a shop depended upon the building that contained it, obvious restrictions were imposed on building size by the use of timber-framing, while, as always, high urban land values were responsible for narrow building frontages. In fact, the shop was merely a room which had a window giving on to a street or alley that was suitable for purposes of trade; John Trigges, draper, desired his apprentice to enter upon the shop of his dwelling house (Sharpe 1890, 652). In practice, successive occupants would utilise such a room for domestic or commercial usage at will, as suggested by the off hand way in which leases refer to shops; further-more, six years after the death (in 1525) of John Porth, his shop was used for storing firewood and coal, while that of William Bingham, clothworker (died 1583), contained only his old lumber (Littlehales 1905, 45).[12] Hence, the only significant aspects of the shop were its width, depth and height; and the presence or absence of any associated rooms and cellars.

Dimensions of shops are hard to come by, except in respect of the properties belonging to Christ's Hospital and the Clothworkers' Company: although the surveys of these were made in the early 17th century, many of the properties described in Schofield (1987) had survived from earlier centuries. Schofield found that a room of about 2.44m (8ft) by 3.04m (10ft) was usual, entered either from the street direct or else through a passage (Schofield 1987, 22). Otherwise, frontages have been noticed of around 3.05–5.48m (10ft–18ft) for the usual, single-fronted shop: Derek Keene found those in Cheapside much narrower, being generally less than 1.83m wide (6ft), although he observed some in Winchester of no more than 1.2m (4ft) (Salzman 1967, 443–4, 597–8, 478–82; Keene 1984, 14, and 1985a I, 162). A row of 15 13th-century shops extending from Ironmonger Lane to Old Jewry occupied 45.72m (150ft), while in 1369 a range of buildings comprising 20 shops with a gateway to be erected near the bakehouse of St Paul's Cathedral was 78.64m long (258ft) (Thomas 1929, 125; Salzman 1967, 238, 441–3). Almost all Treswell's shops in Cheapside (1585) were double-fronted, having a door between two windows, for a frontage of 6.1 to 7.32m (20–24ft) (see Fig 3).

Where a building contract specified measurements, these were the length and breadth of the whole structure (plus some-times scantlings of timber members, and occasionally overhangs of jetties), so that the depths and heights of shops themselves are seldom found. However, we hear of depths of 3.66m (12ft) and 7.62m (25ft), and heights of 2.74m (9ft) and 3.2m (10ft 6in): in 1383, the 2.74m height was '*parentre les plates et les somers que porterount les gistes*' (Salzman 1967, 597–8, 443–4, 483–5, 478–82), which we may interpret as 'between the groundsills and the bressumers'. Unusually large was the 'great shop' in Bucklersbury (1405), where the contract specified dimensions of 18ft by 22ft 4ins (5.48m × 6.8m) (Freshfield 1895, 13).

An agreement of 1370 for erecting 18 shops at the brewhouse near Paul's Chain required that an existing stone wall 2ft (0.61m) thick was to be built up high enough to carry the joists of the first floor. Six shops to be built in Southwark in 1373 were to be constructed exactly like those of 'le longe Rente' across the end of the Austin Friars' Church in London (Salzman 1967, 443–4, 447).

While we are not concerned here with living accommodation, or any other rooms not associated directly with the work of the shop, we may observe in passing that by 1300 there were many London shops in buildings which had two storeys, or a first floor with garrets over, although we saw earlier that the smaller types were still in use in Tudor London; and by 1400 both hall and kitchen were often upstairs, on the first floor (Schofield 1984, 88–9, 91). The engraving of Edward VI's coronation procession (1547) shows the fronts of goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside in buildings of three storeys with garrets (Keene 1985b, 10, 11).

Goldsmith's Row, in Cheapside, was said to have been 'the most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops that be ... in England'. Built for Thomas Wood, goldsmith, who was Sheriff in 1491, its 10 houses and 14 shops were 'all in one frame, uniformly built four storeys high, beautified towards the street with the Goldsmiths' arms and the likeness of woodmen [*ie* the naked wild men of the woods depicted in heraldry], in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly painted over and gilt'. Wood gave this splendid complex to his livery company. The facade was newly painted and gilded in 1594, at which time Sir Richard Martin was serving out a short time of mayoralty in one of these properties (Stow I, 345–6).

In the western part of Cheapside, as depicted in Treswell's drawing,[13] the larger shops were generally uniform, though the widths of their frontages differed, if Treswell's draughtsmanship is to be relied upon, being about 4.57m (15ft), 4.88m (16ft), 6.1m (20ft) and 7.32m (24ft). This allowed for two shop windows, one on each side of a central doorway: in only two instances was the doorway to one side of the single window. Each window had a stallboard projecting into the street, supported on legs.

Abutting on the Royal Exchange's south front was a range of three storey buildings, extending on both sides of the entry to the quadrangle. The left hand part of the range had four and the right hand three each chimney stacks and dormers, suggesting a total of seven properties, each with a shop. There were 16 bays to the left hand shops: every bay, whether for door or shop window, had a lattice window over it, beneath the bressumer. Each left hand (four-bay) shop had two doorways, presumably one for a passage and the other giving access to the upper floors; each of the other two bays contained part of the shop window with a small, narrow opening below it. (These 'narrow openings' will be touched upon later.) The right hand shops were of three bays, having only one shop window *cum* narrow-opening bay each, but having the

same lattice windows as before (Burgon 1839 II, facing p. 345).

Sometimes a shop was enlarged by moving its frontage out towards the street. This was effected not by under-building the jettied upper storey but by bringing out the front wall even further, the resultant extension being given a tiled, penthouse roof reaching to above the bressumer. (In 1599, Thomas Willmer's 'shop or shed without Ludgate' was 'to be built under his own house there'[14] which suggests something similar.) Examples of this practice can be seen in the Copperplate Map: one, in the north-west angle of Thames Street and New Fish Street, shows both the roof of such an extension and the stallboard on its supports, confirming that the premises included a shop (see Fig 4); a drawing of Aldgate High Street in 1817 illustrates shops that had been extended in this way (AZEL, CP2; Schofield 1984, 163).

The shopping precinct on London Bridge was a special case. Here, the layout was physically constricted: the bridge's upper surface was 6.09m (20ft) wide, but 3.66m (12ft) of this was taken-up by the roadway (Home 1931, 87; Jackson 1971, 10), so that the buildings overhung the bridge on both sides. Two reconstructional cross-section drawings show a pair of properties on the Bridge with rooms on three floors and garrets above: the two houses are linked by an upper walk (*hautepas*) at second floor level (Home 1931, 87; Jackson 1971, 21). Both drawings are of great interest, although plainly conjectural: for example, in such cramped quarters, a staircase at an angle of 50 or 60° would have been highly unlikely.

THE SELDS

For much of our period, it was common for shops to be part of, or associated with, other buildings. Even so, to have shops actually inside another building (like that recent phenomenon of our own time—small, specialist boutiques within a large store) was quite another matter, although there were exceptions. One such expedient comprised the booths commonly set up in Westminster Hall. Indeed, those renting in the Palace of Westminster in 1460 included persons by the

FIG 4   The Copperplate Map of *c.* 1557 (detail). In the building immediately above 'S. Magnus', the penthouse roof and stallboard on legs denote a shop. (Museum of London).

(Westminster) Hall door, in the Hall, and by the chapel door, as well as 'the goers in the Hall': the latter, who were presumably not actual stallholders, included vendors of gloves, points and strings, and three shepsters (*ie* dressmakers) maids (J.B.; APC 1571–75, 308).

Another expedient was represented by the selds. The seld (Anglo-Norman *seude*, Latin *selda*, 'seat') was, in the present context, some kind of building, as when reference was made to 'this sild or shed'. Those selds situated behind the shops in Cheapside were in the nature of private bazaars—warehouses, open at the side, containing standings whereon individual traders had chests, cupboards and benches where their goods were stored and exposed for sale. A reconstruction plan of the situation as of *c.* 1250 showed perhaps 20 to

30 traders in a single seld; and an estimate of about 50 years later suggested that Cheapside then contained some 400 shops and 4,000 units in selds (Riley 1868, xviii, xix, 22.n5; Keene 1985b, 12).

At various times, the New Seld was known as the Tamarsilde (as in 1280), Seldam (1331), Crowned Seld (1384) and New Seld (1410) (Stow II, 329; I, 268, 257). In St Mary le Bow parish, in Cheapside, was a tenement called unimaginatively le Seelde 'with buildings thereupon', which was held of Clerkenwell Priory by John de Northampton, a London draper (CIM IV, 156; Close 1385–89, 21). In general, a seld was used by, and often named for, the particular tradesmen using it. The candle-makers who held selds in Cheapside in 1283 had 17 shops (*sic*), of which seven were held

of the Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and the rest of private persons (Riley 1868, 22). The name Tamarsilde itself was a corruption, showing a place to which tanners took their hides for sale; other tanners' selds occurred in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry (from 1309) and in Friday Street, for 'foreign', *ie* non-London, tanners (Stow II, 329). There were several Winchester-selds in the city: at Queenhithe (from 1244), later known as *Andovreseld*, being that to which the Andover and other 'foreign' merchants went to deal in wool; in the parishes of St Michael Paternoster Royal (1276) and All Hallows the Great (1347); and the *Selde de Winton juxta* Stenden Bridge, at Walbrook (date not known but William de Stonden held land at Walbrook in 1428) (Stow II, 324; I, 242, 227).

Occasional references suggest that selds existed in some form well into the 16th century. A great tenement called 'le Sowdam', with cellars, sollars and warehouses, in Bush Lane was leased in 1527 and again from 1555 (CPR 1555–7, 105), while a yearly rent of £14 13s 4d was due from 'le Crowne Celde' in Cheapside, St Mary le Bow, in 1550 (CPR 1549–51, 387). In general, selds appear to have passed out of use by then, probably as their properties were sold for redevelopment, a view supported by various changes of name. Hence, in 1578, two men were granted 'a tenement once called le Tannersseld and now the Cowe Face' in Cheapside, and mention was made of 'the Kaye seld alias the sign of the Kaye' there (CPR 1575–8, nos. 3379, 3714). Moreover, by an Act of 1563 and a licence of 1567 (SRIV, 430, s.10 and 433, s.23; CPR 1566–9, no. 930), tanners were required to trade not from specified selds but in Leadenhall and Southwark markets.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that the name Steelyard, as applied to the Hanseatic League's London house, was a mistranslation of the Middle Low German *stalhof*, 'sample courtyard': however, while the earliest extant ordinance of that establishment (1320) referred specifically to the booths there, this could have signified 'stall court-yard', from the Old French *estal*. In English, it has appeared in forms such as Styl- or Stielwharf and Steelyerde (all 1384) (CIM

IV, 154, 151), which are too late to make the matter certain. In any case, it represented an application akin to the seld.

A few other parallels with the seld could be found. In Stow's time, the Mercers' Chapel was 'divided into shops letten out for rent' (Stow I, 270); and a famous example was Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange.

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE AND ITS SHOPS

Reference was made earlier to the market houses that gave shelter to the stalls erected beneath them. In time, such structures were often extended upwards in order to afford accommodation, for the meetings of local government and other purposes. The Stocks Market contained 16 chambers over the stalls (Stow I, 226): the Market's roof and chimneys are visible in the Copperplate Map (AZEL, CP2). Accordingly, although based on foreign originals, Gresham's Royal Exchange may be seen as a logical development of both seld and market house.

For generations, the merchants who managed London's money and commodity market had met for their informal deliberations twice-daily in the open Lombard Street. The suggestion of Sir Richard Gresham, Sir Thomas's father, in 1537 for an exchange on the lines of the Antwerp *beurs* (1531) was not taken up (Burgon 1839 I, 31–3), and the City Corporation's own scheme of 1565 to buy a house for conversion into 'a Burse to be more fair and costly builded in all points than is the Burse at Antwerp' proved equally abortive (Clode 1888 I, 396–400). When eventually Sir Thomas's Royal Exchange came to be built (1566–9), it bore a striking resemblance to Antwerp's Hansa House (1564–8), which again was hardly coincidental (Pevsner 1976, 238).

The new Exchange had two functions. One was indeed to provide a place where the merchants could walk and talk as hitherto, but sheltering from inclement weather in the arcades that bordered the quadrangle on all sides (Smith 1967, 264–5). The other purpose was to create a complex of retail outlets: hence, the first floor above each of the four arcades comprised a gallery (termed a 'pawn',

from the French *pan*) giving on to shops. The latter, together with associated tenements and cellarage, were intended to be rented out, to provide income. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to recover the plan of a pawn, or the layout of its shops.

Some details of the tenants of the Exchange and their holdings are given by an undated document which has been assigned to *c*. 1600, doubtless because it refers to the Lady Anne Gresham (died 1596) as being deceased. This rental[15] shows that there were then 106 shops in the upper pawn, the usual rent for one of these being £1 2s 6d a quarter, but there were occasional variations that the present writer cannot explain, except that a shop in a corner position paid double that amount. The shops in the pawns were very small: one measured only 2.28m (7ft 6in) by 1.52m (5ft).[16] In a few cases, shops were rented out together with something else, represented by a formula, in an expression such as '1 shop & prōz'. The latter must have denoted either the Medieval Latin '*et prontuarius*' or Middle English 'and promptuary', used in the sense of 'and a storeroom'. These storerooms were rented—never on their own—for an extra 11s 3d each, and tenants mostly held a single storeroom in association with one or two shops.

SHOP LAYOUT AND FITTINGS

The structural requirements of a shop during this period differed little from those of one in Pompeii in AD 79 (*cf* Pevsner 1976, 257). Now, they consisted of a small room that was open to the street, except for a timber partition to a little above waist height: shop fronts were unglazed until the late 17th century.

One looks in vain for shop fronts in the Woodcut Map but this omission is rectified by the finer detail of the Copperplate Map, where shops in, say, Cheapside, Cornhill, Budge Row and Thames Street are readily identified from the stallboards supported on legs shown beneath their windows (AZEL, CP2).

Nowadays, a shop window that lacks its plate glass is seldom seen outside one of the open air museums, or some other recon-
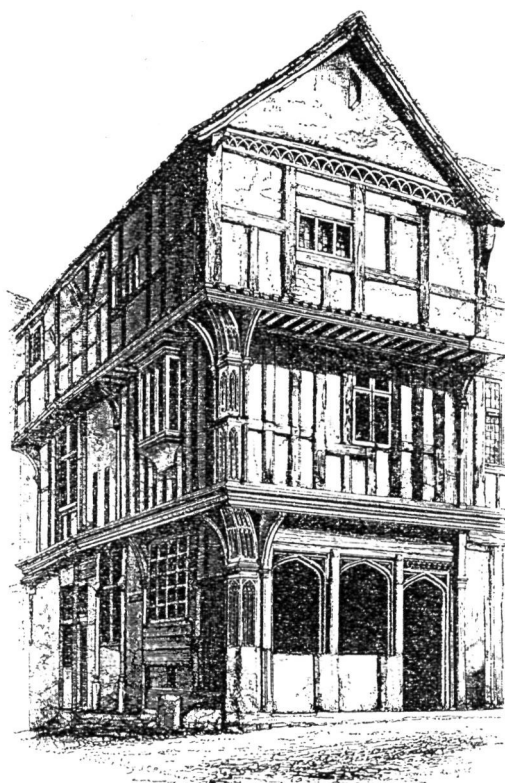

FIG 5 This late 15th-century building of a wealthy citizen who lived 'over the shop' survives in Shrewsbury (from J. H. Parker *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England*, 1859).

structed house like that in Tewkesbury's Church Street. However, a phrase such as 'A window to the shop of timber'[17] confirms that the large opening was unglazed, since window glass was still rare enough to invite mention in such cases. Étienne Perlin, visiting from Paris, observed that in England 'all the shops of every trade are open, like those of the barbers in France, and have many glass windows, as well below as above in the chambers' (Grose 1809, 511). It is difficult to understand the remark about French barbers' shops, where an unglazed window would have been inconvenient: Jost Amman's illustration of a German barber's shows a window open at the top, and the lower half closed with (presumably glazed) lattices (Schopper 1568, M7).

In the absence of surviving London

examples, medieval and Tudor shops in the provinces (often altered since) are noticed here. Sometimes, the unglazed shop window would have retained its large void, as at Aldham, Essex, and Coddenham, Suffolk. An early 16th-century shop in 'Cradocks', Robertsbridge, had such an undivided window space, closed at night with two top-hung wooden shutters: the surviving wall-plate (not *in situ*) shows the shutters' rebate and hinge-rides (Stenning 1985, nos. 7, 17(TS); Martin and Mastin 1974, 75, 16). Otherwise, the space was divided into bays by vertical members (muntins), to produce windows of two bays—seemingly the commonest type—or three or four bays. In their later form, these bays were panelled to make pointed, or round-headed but still unglazed, windows, as survive at Butcher Row, Shrewsbury (two-light) and Lavenham (three-light) (Stenning 1985 *passim*; Wood 1965, 221 and plate XXXIVb). A picture of Cheapside in 1547 shows shops with such two- and three-light windows, although one shop had only a single round-headed window flanking its doorway (Keene 1985b, 10, 11); all these windows had displays of plate, indicating that business was transacted only inside the premises, although these may have been mounted specially for the occasion, which was the passing of Edward VI's coronation procession.

To reduce the unpleasantness of living in a building with a main window that was normally open, the size of the window opening was sometimes decreased, either by means of panelling, as just mentioned, or by fitting a row of glazed windows above, below the bressumer, as with the shops which abutted on the Royal Exchange (Burgon 1839, II, facing p. 345). The shop in the former Pot or Parrot in St Ann's Lane, St Ann and St Agnes parish (1572), had three upper windows, with hinges and hooks of iron.[18]

Four provincial shops of 1300–1600 are noted as having 'curious narrow "doors" [*recte* doorways] with ... internal shutters', thought to have been used for transfer of goods (Stenning 1985, 35). Unfortunately, in one example cited, in Lavenham (Wood

1965, pl XXXIVb), the tall opening was obviously an original doorway, but openings below sill-level were surely intended for delivering goods or raw materials into cellars, as suggested: examples are noticed above, both in the small shops next to St Michael le Querne Church (Schofield 1987, pl 1) and the larger ones south of the Royal Exchange (Burgon 1839, II, facing p. 345).

The house rented by Robert Burton from St Ann and St Agnes parish in 1567 had a shop with 'a falling stall next the street'. In 1572, the former Pot had 'a falling stall of a great plank with four pair hinges [*sic*] and hooks of iron and two bolts of iron with forelocks'. (These 'forelocks' were iron wedges, for holding bolts home, like those used at that period to secure the chamber in a breech-loading artillery piece.) As well, this shop had a 'sommer' ('summer' for 'bressumer') with three bolts and three forelocks.[19] The shop window would have been closed up at night, and otherwise as occasion demanded: when, in 1544, Thomas White, merchant taylor, declined office as alderman, he was sent to Newgate, and the windows of his shop were ordered to be closed while he remained obdurate.[20] Plainly, the falling-stall was a stallboard that was hinged to the sill: during the day, this would have been kept in a horizontal position by means of stays ('hooks of iron'), and at night it would have folded down against the wall. The use of the three bolts on the 'summer' is not apparent, unless they held a shutter-board or perhaps a penthouse roof.

The basic arrangements of a shop are shown admirably in a French woodcut of *c.* 1480. This establishment, apparently a grocer-*cum*-apothecary's, had a large unglazed window with a muntin dividing it into two bays. Attached to the window sill and projecting from it was a stallboard, whereon stood small sacks, left open to show their contents. Within was the counter, placed at a right angle to the doorway. There were shelves around the walls, with bottles and jars, and various other items hung from hooks (Jeannin 1957, 36).

The term 'stallboard' is to be distinguished from 'shop-board'. When Edmund Coote's

Englische Schoolemaister (1596) says 'thou mayest sit on thy shop-board' (Adamson 1946, 56), the reference is to the low table on which a tailor sat cross-legged while sewing. Otherwise, 'shopboard' (compare 'sideboard') could indicate an actual counter, presumably like that for which St Mary at Hill parish paid 6s 8d in 1524–5. (Littlehales 1905, 328). The stallboard projecting from the shop window, as a permanent fixture, was a constant nuisance to pedestrians, especially at night. We hear of stalls (*recte* stallboards) that were 1.83m wide by 0.56m deep (William Harmert's 'bulk or stall' in Aldermanbury, 1599), and 0.61m by 0.36m (William Proctor, chandler, in Hosier Lane, 1595). William Coolder, haberdasher, was licensed to replace his stall before the Bull in Fleet Street with one that was 4.57m by 0.76m: its height from the ground was to be 1.01m.[21] In 1585, the Court of Aldermen ordered that the stalls which abutted on the Ludgate should 'bear in breadth but only ten inches [0.25m] from their principals':[22] four years earlier, 'the stalls of the shops on London Bridge' were restricted to four inches (0.10m) (Welch 1894, 83).

The detailed woodcuts made by Jost Amman to illustrate verses on the classes of society (in Schopper 1568) provide a convincing record of contemporary German business premises: many London shops would have been identical, in shape, size and layout. All these German shops show a room wherein goods were both made and offered for sale; and virtually all are depicted with unglazed windows, and a fixed stallboard supported on two or three legs.

The gunsmith's had a rectangular horizontal aperture made about midway down the low front wall with an internal chute, presumably for receiving raw materials. Many shops had a rod fixed horizontally across the window-opening, from which wares such as purses and daggers were hung, or the rod was replaced by a shelf, sometimes with hooks on its underside. (Some of these features are apparent in the shoemaker's, reproduced here as Fig 6.) The hatter had a shelf in this position for his hats, and a frame of battens below it with pegs for caps; the

FIG 6 German shoemaker's shop (from Schopper *Panoplia*, 1568). One room contains both the shop and the 'work(ing) shop'.

gunsmith (Schopper 1568, H7, F6, F7) had two battens, the butts of his pistols being fastened to the upper and their muzzles to the lower. Where the shop window was partly glazed, the upper half would be left empty, and the lower glazed with two or more casements: the latter were latticed or, less usually, fitted with sheets of bullseye glass.

Reverting to recorded London practice, we notice that the large window opening did not always obviate the need for further fen-estration. The shop of a barber-surgeon had both a 'window and bars' and 'a window of wood', while that of a goldsmith had 'windows of boards and [?others] framed'.[23] A 'window of wood' was likewise unglazed, being a rectangular frame with wooden bars of square-section let into top and bottom: these bars were fitted on the skew, so that their edges, not flats, were seen. Often, such a window could be covered from inside the room, by means of a sliding wooden shutter.

The shop was often entered direct from the street (Schofield 1984, 160). In a lease of

1572, part of the former Pot in St Ann and St Agnes parish had a 'street door to the same shop with hinges and hooks of iron and a lock and key'.[24] Otherwise, access to the ground-floor was obtained by means of a doorway off a passage. Of some surviving provincial shops of 1300–1600, about half each had street-door or passage entry, so far as the evidence showed (Stenning 1985, *passim*): the Cheapside shops depicted in the 1547 engraving favoured passage entry (Keene 1985b, 10–11).

Many shops sold the goods made on the premises, their wares being manufactured, stored and sold in the one room. In time, a separate room may have been provided behind the shop, called merely 'a back room': when not used as a parlour or office, this was utilised as the 'working shop' or storeroom. A contract of 1405 required the building of a 'great shop' and 'sotelhouse'—perhaps a showroom or storeroom—10ft by 18ft (3.05m × 5.48m) in Bucklersbury. Salzman believed that each of three shops in Friday Street (1410) was to have a sale-room: the text has '*trois stalles*' (Salzman 1967, 478–485), which suggests merely that each would have the usual stallboard. Whatever sort of accommodation existed upstairs was common to the house, with or without a shop; and a phrase such as 'the stairs leading into the hall' became usual.

Reasonable details of shop-layouts may be deduced from the evidence-book of St Ann and St Agnes parish, of which use was made earlier. Richard Hill's shop (1547) had a street-door and a 'window of wood', and a cellar below; Widow Arnold's 'little shop' had a hall and small buttery, while Overton, smith, had a shop with cellar, a wainscotted hall, a lattice buttery and a paved kitchen. Harvey's shop in his house next to the churchyard (1573) had a backroom that was wainscotted and had windows with ten panes of glass; a buttery with a 'grate' of wood at the entrance of the hall, with a door into the cellar; a hall that had a portal (*ie* fixed internal draught-screen) to its doorway, was wainscotted all round and fitted with settles, and contained 'a fair bay window framed of timber and glazed with fourteen panes of

glass', with a cellar below; a counting-house; and a kitchen next the hall, having an oven and a wainscot portal. The former Pot's shop (1572) had a falling-stall, three upper windows, a street-door, and four doors to the cellar, a back room leading off the shop, having a door and a window with 'two foot of glass', and doors to the kitchen and yard.[25]

Ellis Wayte, skinner, had in his shop (1558) a press (*ie* cupboard), two chests and a 'ware chest', a stallboard, a form and two shelves.[26] William Mase, grocer, needed rather more (in 1573) for handling his large and varied stock of spices: a counterbeam with scales, five pairs of small scales, a brass mortar with its stock and two iron pestles, 29 old 'standers' (unidentified: believed specially-made casks), 17 empty sugar and five candy chests, three currant butts, two old shop counters, two 'sessers' (presumably 'scissors', for cutting up sugar loaves), a hanging candlestick, brass and lead weights, shelves, shelf-cloths, and 12 old trays with old boxes.[27]

Cellars were fairly common, being underneath the shop or an associated room, such as the hall. The former Pot's shop had four doors leading into its cellars ('with two leaves', hinges, hooks and bolts); and the door giving access to the back-room ('with one leaf', hinges, hooks and a lock).[28] George Robins, dyer, was given permission to make 'a cellar door' for the Roebuck, his shop in Lad Lane (1596): since this feature measured 0.91m north and south, and the same 'westward from the plate of the house',[29] it represented the usual horizontal type of access, rather than one of the vertical 'narrow openings' mentioned earlier.

The numerous distinctive signboards affixed to, or hanging from, the facades of buildings were necessary in an age when the ability to read was by no means common, and the problems of locating persons and premises in the crowded metropolis were considerable. In practice, one could not have known without being told when such a sign indicated an inn, such as the Bell in St Martin le Grand (McMurray 1925, 71); a butcher's shop, Three Kings in St Clement's Lane; a tailor's, The Cock, in Long Lane (Fitch 1974, 30, 246); an artist's, the

Maidenhead, Gutter Lane, the home of Nicholas Hilliard (Auerbach 1961, 9, 10); haberdasher's, Our Lady, in the Poultry (Fry 1908, 58); a cookshop, King David, Thames Street; or even a private dwelling, the Old Barge, Bucklersbury (Stow II, 2 and I, 259). Contrary to popular belief, signs rarely had any obvious significance, though we do find a brewer at the Cup, behind St Nicholas Shambles[30]; a butcher at the Boar's Head, in Pudding Lane (Fitch 1974, 118); a gun-founder at the Fiery Ball, Houndsditch (Fry 1908, 64); Richard Jugg, a stationer, at the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard, and Christopher Barker there at the Tiger's Head, a sign derived from the crest of his former patron, Sir Francis Walsingham (DNB *sub* Jugg and Barker).

None of these early signs seems to have survived to the present day. In 1882, a mutilated stone effigy of a bear was found during alterations to No. 47 Cheapside (Barrett 1891, 488). This probably originated as a statue rather than a sign[31]: not even sculpted relief panels seem to occur in London as signs before the 17th century. Since the animal is shown muzzled, collared and chained, it represented not the Warwicks' bear with ragged staff but the creature secured to a post for baiting. Nevertheless, it marked the site of the mercer's shop kept by Baptist Hicks (1551–1629; later Viscount Campden), and his father before him, at the sign of the White Bear (DNB), being the property mentioned above. Sadly, these premises were bombed during the 1939–45 War, when this sign, displayed over their door, was destroyed.[32]

THE OFFICE AND ITS EQUIPMENT
Akin to the shop was what we understand as the office. Unfortunately, the word 'office' was used quite indiscriminately during this period, with various connotations. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'house of office', or 'office house', as the service quarters of a house, set apart for the work 'below stairs'. Hence, from 1548, the bachelors of the Drapers' Company could 'occupy the Drapers hall, parlour and houses of offices, the bookhouse only excepted' on their annual

feast-day (Johnson 1915, II, 298), while Stow (I, 272) refers to 'the kitchens and other houses of office' in the Guildhall. On the other hand, in London, 'house of office' generally denoted a privy.

Certainly, the office as such existed in medieval and Tudor London, although it was sometimes called a 'study' or 'back room', amongst other things. The term 'office' itself could signify both 'service quarters' and 'office'. At the accession of Elizabeth I, the 'offices' of the Archbishop of Canterbury's household included the kitchen, larders, laundry-house and stable[33], whereas near the great gate of Drapers' Hall was 'An office to write in' (Johnson 1915, II, 281). It was noted of Ivy Lane that 'divers offices be there kept by registers [*sic*], namely, for the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the probate of wills, ...' (Stow I, 342). Although the place of work of Henry Fanshawe, Queen's Remembrancer, was at Westminster, his London house included 'the hall wherein the office is now kept', as well as 'the two places used for my studies'.[34]

The government's central departments (*eg* the Exchequer, Court of Requests, Principal Secretary's office) were at Westminster, though there were out-stations—such as the Customs House and Mint—elsewhere. There was no London equivalent of the *Uffizi* ('offices') complex, built in Florence for civic and commercial purposes, in 1560–71 (Pevsner 1976, 27, 31–2). Some senior civil servants worked at home, their run-of-the-mill work being handled by deputies: indeed, while Sir William More was one of the two Chamberlains of the Exchequer, from 1591 till his death in 1601, the Pipe Office was kept at his house, in rooms in the upper frater of the former Blackfriars (Chambers 1951, II, 498, 506). The City Corporation had the various administrative and accounting departments of its Chamber, Lands Committee, Bridge House, and various Courts. The legal profession worked from the Inns of Court, and from offices in Fleet Street and the area around St Paul's Cathedral. In the private sector, there were men working in offices away from home, in the premises of the trading corporations (*eg* the Merchants

of the Staple, and Muscovy Company) and the halls of the livery companies.

The office was often styled a 'counting-house', because it housed the counting-table, to which reference will be made later. Thus, such an establishment was provided for the officials of the Bridge House,[35] and the governors of Christ's Hospital, who 'made them a counting house and lodging for their clerk' (Tawney and Power 1924, III, 420).

The counting-house itself appeared in various forms. At times, it was an extension to a dwelling, as in 'stalls, penthouses, signs, compting houses',[36] like Mr Makepeace's 'counting house over the church alley' in St Matthew, Friday Street;[37] or a separate building, such as the messuage called 'a little compting house' in St Christopher Stocks parish (Madge 1901, 95). Two carpenters were fined for each having made a 'compting house contrary to order' at Tower Royal and Lad Lane (Marsh 1916, 242).

Probably the most usual form of counting-house was a room set apart as such in a private house: Chaucer in the *Shipman's Tale* wrote of a 'counter house' to which its occupier could retire, behind his 'counter door'. Salzman thought that three shops to be constructed in Friday Street in 1410 had provision for offices but the contract specified '*trois entrecloos*' (Salzman 1967, 483–5), which suggests only a partition to shut off the area behind each shop, perhaps to form a workshop or parlour. The plan of Stephen Browne's house in Thames Street, St Dunstan in the East (*c.* 1463), shows a 'counter' between the chapel and the parlour (Kingsford 1923–4, 149). The premises leased by St Ann and St Agnes parish to William Hammond, vintner, in 1566 contained both 'the room next the street called the office glazed round about' and 'a counting house and two garrets', while Marmaduke Frankland, cordwainer, rented (1573) property having 'a counting house made of boards out of the chamber over into the hall'. The Bell brewhouse in the same parish had 'A room called an office and a little chamber over it' (1555).[38] Of the nine counting houses that Schofield found described in the Treswell surveys (including two in Clothworkers'

Hall), seven were on the first floor (Schofield 1987, *passim*). The two ground-floor examples were square in plan, measuring 2.74m (9ft) at the rear of a shop, and 2.44m (8ft) opening off a warehouse (Schofield 1987, 55, 107).

Hans Holbein's splendid painting (1532) of Georg Gisze (1497–1562), a Hansa merchant,[39] shows the latter's corner of the counting-house in London's Steelyard in intimate detail. On the table, which was covered with a patterned carpet-like 'board cloth', were a book (probably for accounts) with leather binding and straps, a pewter inkstand, containing sealing wax and some reckoning-counters, two pewter inkwells, a sandbox, a seal holder, a pair of scissors, a gold signet-ring, some quill pens, and a vase of Venetian glass, containing a few pink carnations. Two shelves above held some books, one strapped as before, a wooden box-file, and a shallow drum-shaped storage-box, and suspended from the shelves were a goldsmith's balance (Sir Thomas Gresham's balance, of the steelyard type, is in the Museum of London), a seal, and a decorative pierced-metal ball for string. Hanging on the wall were a few large keys, while some beading fastened lower down formed racks holding several letters, some addressed to Gisze, and a few parchment seal-tags. Contrasting with all this comparative opulence was the wall behind him—of nailed, vertical wooden boards, painted apple-green.

The London property of Gregory Isham, mercer, contained a counting-house furnished with a nest of boxes, three presses for letters, a table, a wooden money-chest, a board (presumably a table top), a form and some shelves (Ramsay 1962, 159). The mansion of Sir Thomas Ramsey (died 1590) in Lombard Street had two counting-houses: the contents of the one in the yard included a 'drawing [*ie* having a draw-leaf] comptor of oak', a counterbeam with basins, a pair of gold-balances, ten statute-books, and an old small chest; and in the upper counting-house, a wainscot press, a table, a 'great plate chest' and a testament (Fairholt 1866, 329, 330, 334). The basic equipment of such an office was at least one each desk, filing system, calculator and safe. Fortunately, one of the

port books comprises a record of goods imported into London during 1565:[40] these included some pieces of office furniture brought over from Antwerp, and so provide useful terms of reference.

A 'counting house or counter to write in' was doubtless some kind of writing-bureau, like the 'desk, and other necessaries for a counting-house' imported by John Rotsey, mercer.[41] Thomas Whythorne sorted his legal documents into boxes 'in my counting house or desk made for the purpose' (Osborn 1962, 122). The usual style of desk seems to have been an ordinary wooden table, covered with a cloth: on this was placed the actual 'desk', being either a stand or a wooden box with a sloping top (the latter resembling the bible-box) on which an open ledger could rest when in use (Jeannin 1957, 190). The 'counting chest and boxes in it' appears to have been a large coffer with a layer of drawers fitted, perhaps for storing papers. A 'nest of wainscot boxes to put writing in' and 'long counter of boxes' suggest filing cabinets.[42]

The office calculator was represented by the counting-board, counting-table or 'counter table'[43]—hence, our word 'counter' for a piece of shop furniture—on which money calculations were made. Chaucer's Shipman had a 'counting board', and a real-life contemporary, Sir Robert Bealknap, judge, had in his dwelling house an old specimen of the same (*computatorium de bordo*) (CIM V, 37). The counting-board was in effect a flat form of abacus, using the manipulation of brass, coin-like reckoning counters (jettons), many imported from Nuremburg (Barnard 1916 and Pullan 1970). Where such calculations were not necessary, for example, after computed sums had been recorded in books or on wooden tallies, the table was often draped with a cloth of green baize ('For comforting of the sight, it is very good to cover the desk with green') (DNB *sub* Peter Bales), as seen in a picture of the Court of Wards in session (Williams 1974, 84). Indeed, the royal counting-house was (and still is) called The Board of Green Cloth. Dr Guy observed that the Privy Council used a red

tablecloth and the Court of Star Chamber—which held its meetings in the same room—a green one (Guy 1985, 2, 81): the true distinction was between the former's patterned and the latter's plain tablecloth.

Finally, there was the safe, represented by a strongbox. Several examples of such survive, notably those of Sir Thomas White (died 1567), merchant taylor, in St John's College (which bears White's merchant's mark, as well as the Merchant Adventurers' arms), and Sir Thomas Bodley (died 1613) in the Bodleian Library, both in Oxford. Tudor strongboxes were made of iron, being strengthened externally with vertical strips. When the lid was lifted, the elaborate lock-mechanism—often finished off in a highly decorative manner—was seen. Stephen Vaughan bequeathed to his brother-in-law 'my greatest iron chest standing at my house at the Three Legs in Cheap'. Benedict Jay, serjeant of the royal woodyard in Whitehall, left his 'counting chest' and £200 in ready money to his son.[44]

ABBREVIATIONS
BHGB Bridge House Grant Book
BHR Bridge House Rentals
CLGB 1 City Lands Grant Book 1
CLRO Corporation of London Records Office

GL Guildhall Library, London
PRO Public Record Office

NOTES
[1] CLRO, rep 21, f.314 re 1584
[2] CLRO, BHR 1554–68, re 1559–60
[3] GL, ms 4570/2, pp. 9, 15, 113, 119, 13
[4] GL, ms 4241/1, pp. 85–229 passim & 236
[5] GL, ms 645/1, ff. 38, 108
[6] GL, ms 7673/1, ff. 116v, 2, 2v
[7] GL, ms 25121, nos. 522 & 525
[8] CLRO, BHGB, f. 3
[9] CLRO, CLGB 1, f. 172
[10] CLRO, BHGB, f. 20
[11] GL, ms 2895/1, f. 188
[12] PRO, PROB. 2.424
[13] Smith 1967, 263, where these are described as taverns, despite their shop windows and stallboards; Schofield 1987, pl 1
[14] CLRO, CLGB 1, f. 176v
[15] Gloucestershire Records Office, Gloucester: Denison-Jones ms D.225 Z8
[16] DNB *sub* Izaak Walton. The belief that Walton occupied premises in the Royal Exchange seems to be erroneous
[17] GL, ms 1605, f. 70
[18] GL, ms 1605, f. 59
[19] GL, ms 1605, ff. 62, 59
[20] CLRO, rep 11, f. 78v
[21] CLRO, CLGB 1, ff. 176, 170
[22] CLRO, rep 21, f. 331v
[23] GL, ms 1605, ff. 65, 67
[24] GL, ms 1605, f. 59
[25] GL, ms 1605, ff. 63v, 67v, 59
[26] PRO, PROB.2.346A
[27] PRO, PROB.2.394
[28] GL, ms 1605, f. 59
[29] CLRO, CLGB 1, f. 172v
[30] CLRO, BHR 1554–68, f. 82v
[31] This suggestion is owed to Caroline Barron
[32] *Ex inf* Rosemary Weinstein
[33] PRO, SP12.1, ff. 20, 21, 28v, 29
[34] PRO, E192.1:TG25474
[35] CLRO, BHGB, f. 1v
[36] CLRO, rep 21, f. 327v
[37] GL, ms 1016/1, f. 69v
[38] GL, ms 1605, ff. 56, 67, 53v
[39] In the Berlin-Dahlem Gemäldegalerie: reproduced in colour in Larousse 1981, 182
[40] J. E. G. Bennell 'The import trade of early Elizabethan London, as shown by port book E190.3.2 of 1565'. M. Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1970
[41] *ibid*, pp. 91, 100
[42] *ibid*, pp. 144, 124, 129
[43] *ibid*, p. 111
[44] PRO, PROB. 11.33/5 & 69/30

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