

### Chapter 3. The Minories

The Minories had stood at the eastern edge of the City, just beyond Aldgate, since the Abbey of St Clare was founded there in 1293. The spiritual independence of the nunnery was assured by kings and popes from the 1290s onward, but its secular franchises were not guaranteed until a 1401 charter from Henry IV.<sup>1</sup> From around 1350 the nuns lived alongside a small population of lay families—many of them servants or patrons of the abbey—who occupied the north-western corner of the precinct; after the mid-fifteenth century, the Abbey became home to a series of noble dowagers. From the outset, however, the sixteenth century proved difficult. Stow records that in 1515 there ‘was a death of the pestilence in England, especially about London, so that in...the Minories without Aldgate, there died of nun professed, to the number of 27, besides others that were laye people and servants in that house.’<sup>2</sup> It was a substantial loss when one considers that at its dissolution in 1538, the abbey boasted only thirty-one women religious.<sup>3</sup> Tragedy struck again within a few years, when many of the conventual buildings were destroyed by fire. The City donated £200 to the cost of rebuilding, as did the king.<sup>4</sup> Still, the abbey did not fully recover from the costs of reconstruction until the 1530s. Stow put the value of the Minories’ house at £418/8/5*d* p.a. in its final years, though *Valor* lists its annual income as £342/5/10½*d*.<sup>5</sup> In either case, it easily cleared the £200 threshold below which it would have been subject to the first wave of dissolutions. When suppression did come in 1538 the abbess and convent left without incident. The Minories spent much of the century that followed as a stronghold—for the weapons stores of the Ordnance Office and, at least briefly, for London’s nascent Puritan movement.

With its links to the Ordnance Office and to the early nonconformist movement the Minories has attracted the attention of antiquarians and historians for centuries. Stow, recalling the idyllic setting of the Minories during his youth, lamented that ‘In place of this house of Nunnes, is now builded diverse faire and large storehouses, for armour, and habiliments of warre, with diverse worke-houses serving to the same purpose’.<sup>6</sup> The ordnance depot was abandoned in the late seventeenth century, but the parish of Holy

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<sup>1</sup> *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> J Stow, *The Annales of England, Untill 1592* (London, 1601), p. 830.

<sup>3</sup> TNA E 315/233, fos. 227-31; *VCH* London, i.519.

<sup>4</sup> *CLRO* Rep 5, fos 15v, 80; *LPHD* 3(2), no. 1536.

<sup>5</sup> Stow, *Stowe's Survey*, ii.14; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* p. i.398.

<sup>6</sup> Stow, *Survey*, i.126.

Trinity, which was formed in the decades after the dissolution, survived until 1899. Its nineteenth century curates were particularly eager to publish accounts of the precinct's history. Henry Fly led the way, publishing 'Some Account of an Abbey of Nuns Formerly Situated in the Street Now Called the Minories' in the antiquarian journal *Archaeologia* in 1806. In it he offers a brief account of the precinct's post-monastic history along with notes on excavations made there in 1793.<sup>7</sup> He was followed in 1851 by Thomas Hill, who largely reprinted Fly's account, 'together with the addition of several documents, not at the time attainable, and a continuation of its history up to the present time.'<sup>8</sup> Just months after his installation as curate in 1889, Samuel Kinns published a third history of the parish—the first work to focus extensively on the Minories after the dissolution of the abbey.<sup>9</sup> One last curate, Edward Tomlinson, published the *History of the Minories* in 1907; it remains the authoritative study of the liberty. Each of these works offers valuable insights on the development of the Minories and its place in the London's history, but their authors' personal interest in the parish makes them less than objective histories of the precinct.

There are plentiful examples of the dangers posed by such proximity between author and subject. Tomlinson's comprehensive study of the Minories is characterised by his willingness to unquestioningly accept any evidence of the liberty's independence. Inclined to exaggerate the significance of the Minories' franchises, Tomlinson interprets isolated incidents and incomplete accounts as indicative of well-developed, practicable rights. It should not be surprising, then, that he occasionally makes grandiose claims about the extent of the Minories' privileges:

The parish was practically a miniature kingdom of its own, acknowledging no allegiance to any authority whatever except the Crown. The parishioners appointed their own minister, and, when appointed, he claimed freedom from any jurisdiction of bishop or archbishop; marriages were solemnised without banns or licence; they had their own magistrate, and licensed their own publican; persons dwelling in the precinct were free from arrest by outside authorities, and they paid no public taxes, except such as were especially levied upon Royal liberties.<sup>10</sup>

Some of these claims were true in part, or were true for short periods of time, but they were certainly never contemplated so comprehensively by contemporaries. Neither residents of the Minories nor outside authorities like the City, the diocese of London or

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<sup>7</sup> H Fly, 'Some Account of an Abbey of Nuns Formerly Situated in the Street Now Called the Minories', *Archaeologia*, 15 (1806), p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> T Hill, *The History of the Parish of Holy Trinity, Minories, Commencing from the Earliest Period of Its Establishment, and Continued to the Present Day* (London, 1851), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> S Kinns, *Holy Trinity, Minories, Its Past and Present History* (London, 1889).

<sup>10</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, pp. 165-6.

the Crown, would have considered the parish a ‘miniature kingdom of its own.’ In fairness, Tomlinson does acknowledge that such privileges were successfully challenged from time to time. Such challenges, however, have no effect on the way he conceives of the parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tomlinson insists that the residents of the Minories were fully independent in the century between the reformation and the Civil War.

More recently, Gareth Owen and Martha Carlin have worked to create a more objective picture of the Minories. Owen—who writes extensively about the Minories’ place in the Elizabethan religious landscape—faults Tomlinson for his ‘failure to recognise the (strident enough) puritan undertones in the turbulent history of the parish.’<sup>11</sup> Owen, however, may overcompensate for Tomlinson’s failure by himself exaggerating the strength of the Minories’ claims to jurisdictional independence. In Owen’s work, the Minories exists mainly as ‘that luxuriant nursery of the Elizabethan movement.’<sup>12</sup> And even he (mistakenly) suggests that the residents of the Minories enjoyed extensive secular privileges that included ‘exemption from acts of the common council, from the trading regulations of the City, and from the levies of men and money imposed on London.’<sup>13</sup> Martha Carlin’s unpublished *Gazetteer* of the Minories and the adjacent parish of St Botolph Aldgate is not a narrative history of the precinct or its franchises, but its topographical data are an invaluable addition to our knowledge about the Minories, especially when read in conjunction with other sources.<sup>14</sup>

Lying just beyond the ditch that flanked the City wall, the Minories was by no means a large precinct. Owen describes it as ‘little more than a five acre, enclosed site, situated within Portsoken ward’.<sup>15</sup> Evidence from both the fourteenth and eighteenth century sources, however, suggests that it was much smaller, just under 2.5 acres.<sup>16</sup> In 1708 Edward Hatton counted 120 houses in the Minories, while the 1851 census recorded sixty-five ‘inhabitable houses’ there, in which 572 people lived.<sup>17</sup> Especially at

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<sup>11</sup> H G Owen, ‘A Nursery of Elizabethan Nonconformity’, *Journal Of Ecclesiastical History*, 17 (1966), p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> Owen, ‘Liberty of the Minories’, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> It remains available in typescript at the Institute of Historical Research Library at Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1.

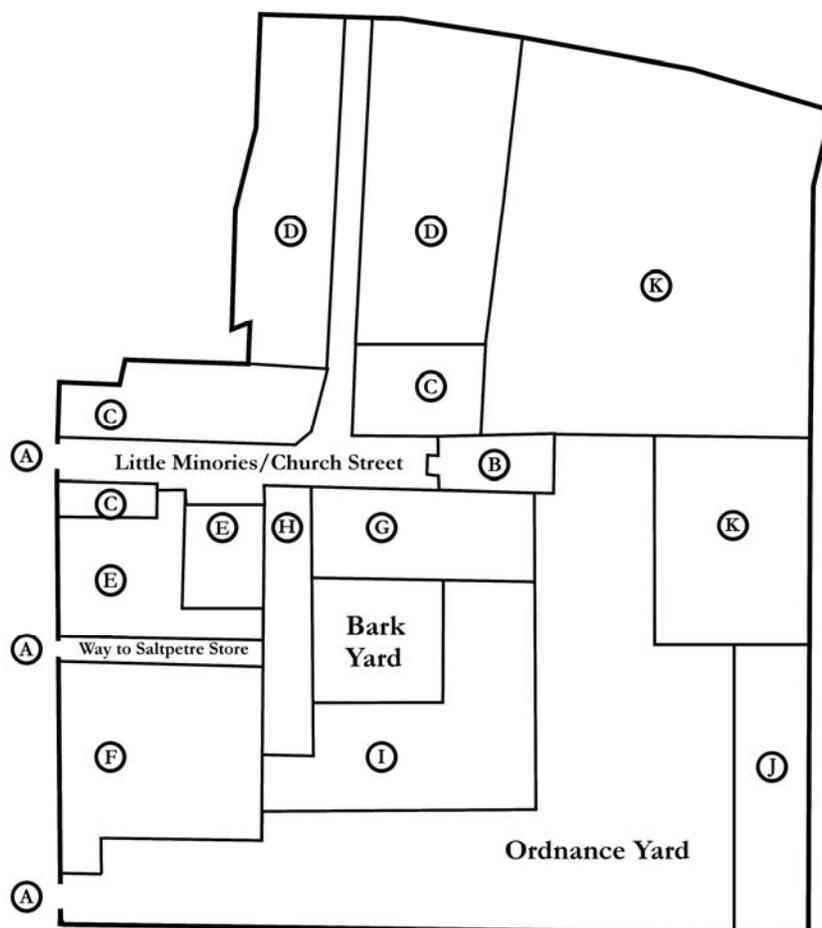
<sup>15</sup> Owen, ‘Liberty of the Minories’, p. 84.

<sup>16</sup> The measurements given on a map of the precinct from the 1760s (TNA MPE 1/479) show the Minories to have been around 2.47 acres, a figure that agrees with measurements of the abbey recorded as early as 1303 and recounted in M Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire. St. Botolph Aldgate: Minories, East Side; the Abbey of St Clare; Holy Trinity Minories*, ed D Keene (Institute of Historical Research Library, London, 1987), ii(2).12.

<sup>17</sup> E Hatton, *A New View of London*, 2 vols, (London, 1708), ii(2).575; Hill, *History*, p. 16. The 1538 tithe survey did not include the Minories, probably because 37 Hen VIII, c. 12, which had defined tithing requirements, had specifically exempted post-monastic liberties. Neither St Anne Blackfriars nor St

the beginning of the period under consideration, the residential area was only a small portion of the precinct. This part of the Minories, which had originally housed the abbey's lay tenants, included no more than a dozen houses when the abbey was suppressed.<sup>18</sup> Most of them dated to the fourteenth century, but in the decades that followed the departure of the nuns, each of them was subdivided into smaller tenements. The remainder of the Minories was occupied in turn by the bishops of Bath, the Grey family, and the Ordnance Office. Especially after 1600, new tenements were built to augment the original buildings, expanding the residential portion of the precinct into adjacent buildings and gardens previously controlled by the Ordnance Office.

**Map: The Minories, c. 1640<sup>19</sup>**



Katherine's is included though St Leonard Foster lane (of which St Martin le Grand formed a large part) was. T C Dale, *The Inhabitants of London, 1638* (London, 1931), pp. v, 90-1.

<sup>18</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, part two.

<sup>19</sup> Adapted from TNA MPE 1/479 and Carlin *Historical Gazetteer*, Fig. 2. **A** Gates. **B** Holy Trinity Parish Church. **C** Tenements existing in 1540. **D** Gardens converted to tenements by 1640. **E** Abbey (later Ordnance) buildings converted to residential use under Dallison. **F** Ordnance Buildings. **G** Storage (former Abbey church). **H** Saltpetre Storage. **I** Official Residence of Lieutenant-General. **J** Stables. **K** Gardens.

## Chronology

After the dissolution of the Abbey of St Clare, Henry convinced the Bishop of Bath and Wells to accept the Minories site in exchange for the bishopric's inn. Two bishops later, in 1548, it passed to the Grey family, which controlled the Minories until 1562. The following year the Crown resumed direct control of the liberty, transferring the Ordnance Office and its stores—which had outgrown their old home in the Tower—to the Minories. These manifold changes almost exclusively affected the conventual part of the Minories; the historically residential portion of the liberty remained intact, its population growing slowly. Each period of ownership brought the residents of the Minories into close association with powerful individuals. The period from 1562 through 1642—during which the bulk of the liberty was occupied by the Ordnance Office—made the Minories unique among London's post-monastic liberties. The Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance was the Crown's representative in the precinct and its leading personage, but he was neither officially nor personally responsible for the administration of the residential portions of the precinct. Less is known about the relationship between the Minories' residents and its earlier proprietors, the bishops of Bath and Wells and the Grey family.

The Minoresses formally surrendered their abbey on 30 November 1538. The following year, after the precinct had been confirmed to the king by an act of Parliament it was, by another act, granted to the Bishop of Bath and Wells in exchange for the episcopal residence on the Strand near Temple Bar.<sup>20</sup> The grant of the Minories included 'all such rights, title, [or] interest' of the king in the precinct, which included the residual secular and ecclesiastical privileges of the former abbey.<sup>21</sup> These franchises were sustained through subsequent transfers, giving later residents of the Minories the opportunity to claim their protection. Very little is known about the decade the Minories spent under the bishopric. The new 'Bath Place' was a great deal farther from court than the bishop's previous palace in the Strand; John Clerk, who had been bishop since 1523, had a tense relationship with Thomas Cromwell and was a marginal figure during much of the 1530s. Clerk, in any case, had little time to enjoy his new residence. In 1540 he was given the important but unenviable task of informing the duke of Cleves of the

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<sup>20</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 80; TNA SP 16/230/17. This 'Act for the assurance of Bath Place to thele of Sutht.' transferred the Bath Place in the Strand to William, earl of Southampton, a close friend of both the king and John Clerk, then bishop of Bath and Wells: W B Robison, 'Fitzwilliam, William, earl of Southampton (c.1490-1542)', *ODNB*.

<sup>21</sup> 31 Hen VIII, c. xxv.

annulment of his sister's marriage to Henry VIII. Clerk fell ill during his journey back to England and died soon thereafter.<sup>22</sup> His successor as bishop was William Knight, who was consecrated in the church at the Minories, though little else is known about his relationship to the precinct. He apparently spent much of his time in his diocese.<sup>23</sup> After his death in 1547, he was succeeded by William Barlow. Barlow was a favourite of protector Somerset, to whom he sold seven of the bishopric's manors and the bishopric's palace in Wells in May 1548.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, Barlow surrendered Bath Place and the Minories to King Edward VI in exchange for several other properties, and the Minories passed permanently out of religious ownership.

Edward did not immediately part with the Minories, but instead demised the precinct to Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset (duke of Suffolk from October 1551), in a series of discreet grants between 1548 and 1552/3. Tomlinson offers convincing evidence that Grey had occupied the great house in the Minories since the death of Bishop William Knight in 1547.<sup>25</sup> Grey's final grant, dated 13 January 1552/3, included a description of all his lands in the Minories and established his responsibility to pay the stipends of both 'the chaplain to celebrate and minister the sacraments to the inhabitants' and the 'collector of rents and auditor' of the precinct.<sup>26</sup> The grant also suggests that the value of the residential property in the Minories had increased significantly in the years since the dissolution. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records the abbey as having received £24/13/4d from rents within the precinct in the mid-1530s, a figure in close agreement with the 1539 Augmentations' income from the precinct (£25/1s).<sup>27</sup> In Grey's 1552/3 grant, the value of rents in the precinct is recorded as £37/11/5½ d p.a.<sup>28</sup> If the growth in rental value resulted from increased housing capacity, it occurred entirely within the residential part of the Minories. Both Grey and his successors left the old conventual buildings intact, which was rare among new owners of monastic sites. According to Tomlinson,

The similarity of description of the various tenements in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII and Edward VI points conclusively to the fact that the outward aspect of the monastic buildings remained practically

<sup>22</sup> R Rex, 'Clerk, John (1481/2?-1541)', *ODNB*.

<sup>23</sup> Kinns, *Holy Trinity, Minories*, p. 11-2; R Clark, 'Knight, William (1475/6-1547)', *ODNB*.

<sup>24</sup> G Williams, 'Barlow, William (d. 1568)', *ODNB*.

<sup>25</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 109-10.

<sup>26</sup> TNA C 66/849/10.

<sup>27</sup> *Valor* i.398.

<sup>28</sup> *CPR Ed. VI*, iv.406; TNA C 66/849/10. Martha Carlin's analysis of rents in the residential portion of the precinct shows that, though a few houses seem to have been subdivided into smaller tenements in the first years after the dissolution, the increase in the rental value of the precinct was primarily the result of changes in the terms of leases as they expired: Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, ii.32-3.

unchanged for years, and it is probable that it continued much the same until the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne.<sup>29</sup>

In May 1553, a few months after his final grant of property in the Minories, Grey paid the king £3/-/8d for the right to alienate his Minories property to his brothers Lord Thomas Grey and Lord John Grey, his half-brother George Medley, and John Harrington. Suffolk subsequently received £400 from the four men.<sup>30</sup> The Grey family did not fare well during Mary's reign; Henry was executed for treason in February 1553/4. Thomas and John Grey both forfeited their shares in the Minories by attainder for their part in Wyatt's rebellion.<sup>31</sup>

On her accession Elizabeth restored both in blood, and soon thereafter John Grey bought both his brother Thomas and Harrington's interests in the Minories. It was not until February 1561/2 that Grey and Medley—who held the freehold in common—formally partitioned the precinct between them. By June 1562 both Grey and Henry Medley (George's son and heir) had sold their portions of the Minories to Lord Treasurer William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester.<sup>32</sup> Paulet bought the precinct with the explicit intention of converting it to the use of the Ordnance Office.<sup>33</sup> He paid dearly for it. Just ten years earlier Henry Grey had sold the Minories for £400; Paulet bought it for £1580.<sup>34</sup> Queen Elizabeth did not officially purchase the precinct from Paulet until September 1563, but it is clear that Paulet's plans for the liberty were underway by autumn of 1562, when the privy council named the first porter and gatekeeper of the Minories, 'now intended to hold munitions belonging to the Ordnance Office'.<sup>35</sup> The Crown held (and the ordnance occupied) the liberty of the Minories until 1673, after which it returned to private hands.

The Minories was unique among London's liberties in that it asserted ecclesiastical privileges more vociferously and more consistently than it did secular rights. There is, in fact, very little evidence that the residents of the Minories claimed any particular secular franchises in the century before 1640. They maintained their longstanding separation from the City's Portsoken Ward, but the City never actively pressed for reunification. Residents did resist the City's 1623 attempt to interfere on behalf of the Cutlers' Company, but they acquiesced after the Privy Council became

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<sup>29</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 86.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>31</sup> 1 Philip & 2 Mary, c. 30.

<sup>32</sup> *CSPD* 1601-3 (Add 1547-65), p. 541.

<sup>33</sup> See TNA SP 12/15/71, SP 12/21/58, SP 12/22/15 and SP 12/30/4.

<sup>34</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 118.

<sup>35</sup> *CSPD* 1601-3 (Add 1547-65), pp. 377, 541.

involved.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the residents of the Minories never resisted the authority of the Middlesex justices of the peace.<sup>37</sup> More problematic were claims of ecclesiastical independence made during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Few post-monastic liberties had much reason to press their theoretical religious privileges, which therefore fell out of use rather quickly.<sup>38</sup> Tomlinson praises the residents' noble resistance:

The inhabitants of the Minories on their part considered that the privileges of a peculiar were far too valuable to be lightly relinquished, and therefore for generations they stoutly maintained their rights, and, though occasionally giving way on minor points under extreme pressure, on the whole they resisted successfully for very many years all the attempts of either the ecclesiastical or civil authorities to dispossess them of their heritage.<sup>39</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Tomlinson overstates the strength of the Minories' claims to independence. Owen reminds his readers that the ecclesiastical privileges rested 'on the dubious assumption that the parish was a royal peculiar exempt from ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction.' They therefore failed to withstand the determined assaults of the Elizabethan bishops of London.<sup>40</sup> The bishops of London, it should be remembered, had the backing of the Privy Council, which after the Elizabethan settlement saw religious nonconformity as prime threat to political stability.<sup>41</sup>

### **The Parish of Holy Trinity**

In the past century, historians have thought of the Minories primarily as one of the incubating chambers for London's early Puritan movement. In a 1965 paper on the precinct, Gareth Owen contends that 'The Minories...can stake a fair claim to the title of the mother parish of Elizabethan nonconformity.'<sup>42</sup> The heavy focus on the Minories' confessional tendencies is understandable since its claims to exemptions were primarily of an ecclesiastical nature. Furthermore, extant sources from the parish church are more common than secular sources for the post-Reformation period. Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials for Holy Trinity Minories survive from 1563.<sup>43</sup> A manuscript volume that begins as churchwardens' accounts in 1566 shifts to minutes from meetings

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<sup>36</sup> *Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia, 1579-1664*, eds W H Overall and H C Overall, (London, 1878), pp. 261-2.

<sup>37</sup> From the 1590s onward, the Privy Council regularly asked the Middlesex JPs to assess illegal building in the liberty, and it is clear that the Minories officers regularly presented suspects at the Middlesex sessions of the peace.

<sup>38</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 82.

<sup>39</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 165.

<sup>40</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 92.

<sup>41</sup> Owen, 'Nursery', p. 75.

<sup>42</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 84.

<sup>43</sup> GL MS 9238.

of the parish vestry around 1600.<sup>44</sup> Together, these sources offer invaluable information about the liberty and its residents. They present the Minories as a consistently-governed parish, but they also provide evidence of the dramatic changes that resulted from its effective loss of ecclesiastical independence in the early 1570s—a process underappreciated by Gareth Owen.

The parish church stood at the junction of the residential and conventual sides of the precinct. It had been a side chapel in the northwest part of the conventual church. Martha Carlin identifies it as the ‘parishe chapel’ that in 1507 contained an image of the Holy Trinity.<sup>45</sup> Like many other London religious houses, a small lay population had long lived within the precinct of the Abbey of St Clare. Care for the souls of these lay residents was entrusted to the abbess by papal bull in 1294, which severed the lands of the abbey from the adjacent parish of St Botolph Aldgate.<sup>46</sup> The bull also exempted the precinct from the jurisdictions of the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>47</sup> The pastoral needs of lay tenants were met by the abbey’s priests in one of their church’s side chapels. Strictly speaking, the area was extra-parochial: there is no evidence of lay involvement in religious matters before the dissolution. Still, the sacraments had been provided to residents within the precinct for almost 250 years when the abbey was suppressed in 1538. The main part of the conventual church was not pulled down after the dissolution. After 1563 it was used by the Ordnance Office for the storage of saltpetre, the chief ingredient in gunpowder.<sup>48</sup> The old side chapel of the Holy Trinity was properly separated from the rest of the church to become the parish of Holy Trinity Minories. In the plentiful years of the late 1560s and 70s, lime was purchased to whitewash the church every year or two.<sup>49</sup> The churchyard was also whitewashed, and scripture verses adorned the church walls alongside a Tudor rose, the queen’s name, and a tablet listing the ten commandments.<sup>50</sup> In autumn 1567 major repairs were made throughout the church.<sup>51</sup> In the decades that followed, however, the building suffered

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<sup>44</sup> LPL MS 3390.

<sup>45</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.3.

<sup>46</sup> The same thing happened later at St Katherine by the Tower. See p. 164, below.

<sup>47</sup> Fly, ‘Some Account of an Abbey’, pp. 95-6. A bull issued the following year also conferred upon the abbey the unusual right to celebrate the mass even if England were to be placed under a general interdict by the Pope. Hill, *History*, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> TNA MPE 1/479.

<sup>49</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 6v, 8v, 31, 44, 48, 55v.

<sup>50</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos. 44, 45v; Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.6.

<sup>51</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos. 8-15v.

neglect for want of funds. By 1706 it had fallen into such disrepair that the vestry decided to raze all but the north wall and rebuild it from the ground.<sup>52</sup>

In the decade that followed the dissolution of the abbey, the Minories' parochial status was unclear. In theory, the area could have reverted to its historic parish of St Botolph Aldgate.<sup>53</sup> That was the contention of William Grene. A citizen of London, merchant tailor and official of the Court of Augmentations, Grene took a twenty-one year lease on the rectory of Botolph Aldgate in 1543. Three years later he complained to the Court of Augmentations that

the bishop of Bath and Wells, William Knight...told his servants and the inhabitants of the precinct to attend services at St Botolph Aldgate, but had allowed John More...then keeper of the Minories, to set up an altar and font in the recently-defaced church there. Grene claimed that this had so reduced his income that he was unable to pay the farm of the rectory of St Botolph Aldgate.<sup>54</sup>

The court named a commission to look into the matter, but its findings have not survived. Whatever their decision, Grene was never able to reclaim the Minories' residents to his parish. When William Barlow, the subsequent Bishop of Bath and Wells, returned the precinct to King Edward on 21 May 1548, it was said to be within the county of Middlesex, but its parochial links are not mentioned.<sup>55</sup>

Tomlinson claims that the earliest known reference to a parish in the Minories came in the 1557 will of Julian Morgan.<sup>56</sup> Robert Olyver, however, identified himself as a gentleman of the parish of St Trinity in the Minories in his 1550 will.<sup>57</sup> This seven year difference is not insignificant. The nonconformity that later thrived in the Minories is more comprehensible in a parish established under the firmly Protestant Edward than Mary. Henry Grey, third marquess of Dorset (later duke of Suffolk), received the precinct from Edward VI in 1548. Suffolk was the father of Lady Jane Grey—claimant to the throne after Edward's death—and a committed Protestant whose household clergy included such nonconformists as John Aylmer, John Willock and James Haddon.<sup>58</sup> There is every reason to believe that the constitution and patronage a parish formed

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<sup>52</sup> F J Collins, 'Notes on the Church of Holy Trinity Minories', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1962), p. 160.

<sup>53</sup> Whitefriars, for example, reverted to St Dunstan in the West.

<sup>54</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, ii(3).1. For further information, see M C Rosenfield, 'The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses, with a Special Study of Holy Trinity, Aldgate' (U of London PhD thesis, 1961), pp. 187-8.

<sup>55</sup> Rosenfield, 'Disposal', p. 188.

<sup>56</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 161.

<sup>57</sup> TNA PROB 11/33/4.

<sup>58</sup> R C Braddock, 'Grey, Henry, duke of Suffolk (1517-1554)', *ODNB*; Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 86.

under the supervision of a man such as Suffolk would have been affected by his confessional stance. Suffolk's brother John Grey remained in the Minories until 1562, and his half brother George Medley was still there in late 1567, when he was easily the highest ratepayer in the parish.<sup>59</sup> The presence of members of this prominent Protestant family must, over the course of two decades, have fostered the nonconformity for which the liberty became renowned.

Owen also suggests that the liberty's sizeable alien population helps explain the 'extraordinary position of the Minories, a five-acre parish in an insalubrious quarter of London, as a subversive influence within the Established Church'.<sup>60</sup> According to Owen, many of the liberty's aliens worshipped at the parish church, which contributed to its reformist tendencies. In 1568, however, only eight of the seventy aliens living in the Minories reported membership in the English church—a mere 11.4%.<sup>61</sup> In St Martin le Grand, 48.7% of aliens attended the English church; in St Katherine by the Tower, it was 62.1%.<sup>62</sup> The alien community in the Minories was smaller and of more recent origin than those in the other liberties. A higher proportion of the aliens there would have come to England as religious refugees, but there is no evidence that they influenced the confessional stance of the parish in any significant way.

Patronage of the parish curacy was not formally established until the Restoration. In his 1708 *New View of London*, Edward Hatton recorded that 'the Living is a Rectory in the Gift of the Lord Chancellor or Keeper, for the time being; the present incumbent, Dr King, Value £2/13s per Annum, paid by the Master of the Ordnance'.<sup>63</sup> There is no evidence that the Lord Chancellor had any role in the parish before the Civil War, but the £2/13s paid by the Ordnance Office had its origins in the first years of the parish.<sup>64</sup> Suffolk's final grant secured to him all reversions of land within the precinct on condition that he pay £2/13/4d annually 'for a stipend or sustentation of a Chaplain to perform divine service and administer the sacraments and sacramental things to the inhabitants' with another '£5 allowed for the fee of the warden of the said capital house and the collector of rents and auditor of the premises'.<sup>65</sup> This was not an unusual

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.; LPL MS 3390, fo 2v.

<sup>60</sup> Owen, 'Nursery', p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> *Returns of Aliens*, eds Kirk and Kirk, iii.422-3. Sixty of the remaining 62 strangers claimed membership in the metropolitan stranger churches.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., iii.425-39.

<sup>63</sup> Hatton, *View*, ii.575.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Seymour, writing in 1733, claims that by then the sum had been 'lost for want of being claimed'. R Seymour, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjacent*, 2 vols, (London, 1733-5), i.271.

<sup>65</sup> TNA C 66/849/10.

arrangement for parishes formed in post-monastic precincts. In Blackfriars—where the parish of St Anne was set up about the same time—financial responsibility for the parochial clergy was assigned to Thomas Cawarden, the major freeholder of the precinct.<sup>66</sup>

If Cawarden's experience in Blackfriars was mirrored by Suffolk's in the Minories, then his financial obligation to the curate of the Minories was likely accompanied by patronage of the living. Documentary evidence related to the parish is almost nonexistent until the 1560s. By 1566, when the churchwardens' accounts begin, the parish vestry had claimed the right to name its own curate, a right that was respected well into the seventeenth century. Suffolk's reformist ideals may have inspired him to give the advowson over to the fledgling parish. The right of a religious community to choose its own minister was, after all, 'a form of barely-disguised parochial congregationalism treasured by the best reforming churches on the continent but deeply incongruous within the Anglican system.'<sup>67</sup> Suffolk or his successors may well have made the gift after the parish demonstrated its nonconformist tendencies, or the parishioners may have claimed the advowson during the power vacuum that was left after the fall of the Grey family during Mary's reign. It seems somewhat less likely that the parishioners had always enjoyed the autonomy of naming their own minister, since it would imply that the payment made by Suffolk was based solely on his having freehold of the whole parish.<sup>68</sup> When the precinct came under the control of the Ordnance Office in 1563, the Master of the Ordnance became responsible for funding the curacy. The Lieutenants-General of the Ordnance—who oversaw the daily functioning of the office and whose official residence was in the Minories—did not claim special authority over the parish until the 1630s.

The vestry's right to choose its own minister had a significant impact on the Minories' Elizabethan history. Gareth Owen argues that 'in the face of the opposition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the puritan movement within the Elizabethan church could be truly effective on the parish level only in circumstances that allowed for a harmony of interests between local laity and clergy.'<sup>69</sup> The patronage system that characterised the English church therefore served as a damper on the development of more radical reformist sentiments. In Holy Trinity Minories, confessional harmony between

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<sup>66</sup> See p. 122, below.

<sup>67</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 88.

<sup>68</sup> E Finnie, 'The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics, and the Church in the Reformation Period', *Innes Review*, 36 (1985), pp. 3-8.

<sup>69</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 88.

parishioners and clergy was aided not only by internal patronage but also by the ecclesiastical privileges claimed by the parish. Tomlinson asserts that the possession of these privileges ‘affords what is perhaps a unique example of the blessings of home rule.’<sup>70</sup> That may be true, but both Owen and Tomlinson overstate the scope, strength and durability of the ecclesiastical franchises claimed by the Minories. Noting the absence of the parish from the records of the bishop of London’s 1561 visitation, for example, Owen claims that ‘in the early days of [Elizabeth’s] reign, parishioners could effectively boycott an episcopal visitation’.<sup>71</sup> Holy Trinity was one of thirteen parishes that failed to respond to the bishop’s request for information in 1561.<sup>72</sup> The Minories was a young and very small parish—it had only two baptisms in each 1563 and 1564, the first years for which records exist—so its omission was unlikely to cause any sort of backlash.<sup>73</sup> While the parish clearly cooperated in subsequent Elizabethan visitations Tomlinson notes that the absence of visitation payments from parish records between 1607 and 1730 as evidence that the parish successfully reasserted its independence.<sup>74</sup> The Minories retained its nonconformist tendencies into the seventeenth century, and the parish is indeed missing from the episcopal visitation records, but so too are any hints of ecclesiastical battles like the ones that involved Holy Trinity in the 1560s and 70s,<sup>75</sup> and the parish participated in the episcopal tithing survey in 1635.<sup>76</sup> The parish reasserted its ecclesiastical privileges after the Restoration, when the Minories became (along with Fleet Street) a centre for the clandestine marriages that were outlawed under the 1753 Marriage Reform Act.<sup>77</sup>

Without the protection of the abbess, the ecclesiastical freedoms enjoyed in the Minories hinged on the claim of its curacy to be a donative. Unlike a presentative living, against which a vigilant bishop could effectively veto the ministry of unorthodox clergymen, a donative was a benefice that the patron could bestow without presentation to or investment by the ordinary.<sup>78</sup> The parish claim to the privilege was based on the

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<sup>70</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 165.

<sup>71</sup> Owen, ‘Liberty of the Minories’, p. 92. GL MS 9537/2, fo 107v.

<sup>72</sup> GL MS 9537/2, fos 64-66v, 77v, 79v, 101, 105v, 106v, 108.

<sup>73</sup> GL MS 9238, fo 3.

<sup>74</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 167.

<sup>75</sup> See GL MS 9531/14 and 15; cf. GL MS 9531/13, fos 152v, 192-3v.

<sup>76</sup> LPL CM VIII/37.

<sup>77</sup> 26 Geo II, c. 33; before the passage of the act, marriage in England was governed by the Church of England and its courts, and the prevalence of clandestine marriages in the Minories after the Restoration was therefore a reassertion of its independence from ecclesiastical oversight.

<sup>78</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, (Oxford, 1989). For more detailed information on donatives, see R Phillimore, *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*, ed W G F Phillimore, 2nd edn, 2 vols, (London, 1895), i.252-9.

independence guaranteed to the Abbey of St Clare in the 1290s by King Edward I and Pope Boniface VIII. Upon the dissolution of the abbey, its rights were transferred to the Crown under a 1533 statute. The statute specifically provided for the continuation and transfer of ecclesiastical privileges, declaring

that all manner of provocations and appeals, hereafter to be had, made or taken from the jurisdiction of any abbots, priors, or other heads and governors of monasteries, abbeys, priories and other houses and places exempt, in such cases as they were wont or might afore the making of this Act...to have or make immediately any appeal or provocation to the Bishop of Rome...shall and may take and make their appeals and provocations immediately to the King's Majesty of this Realm...so that no Archbishop or Bishop of this Realm shall intermit or meddle with any such appeals, otherwise or in any other manner than they might have done afore the making of this Act.<sup>79</sup>

Papal peculiars thus became royal peculiars. On 1 April 1550, however, Edward VI issued a patent that declared all exempt jurisdictions in and around London to be 'part and parcel of the diocese of London and within the care jurisdiction and visitation of the Bishop of London & his successors Bishops of London forever.'<sup>80</sup> When Mary succeeded her brother, she confirmed the bishop of London's rights over royal peculiars in his diocese, though she made a special exemption for the chapel of the Tower. Since they directly contravened the Henrician statute, Tomlinson insists that the Edwardian and Marian patents were *ultra vires*.<sup>81</sup> Legitimate or otherwise, they proved helpful in ensuring orthodoxy in the Minories, where a nascent puritan community was openly challenging the middle path of the Elizabethan church.

Concerns about unchecked Protestantism in the Minories can be traced back to the first months of Queen Mary's reign. By Mary's accession, Suffolk had sold his freehold in the Minories, but he maintained strong links with the precinct, as his brothers and his half-brother were among the four new freeholders. Suffolk survived the downfall of his daughter Jane, who claimed the throne at the death of Edward VI in July 1553, but the following winter he was enmeshed in another conspiracy against the queen. When he fled London in response to a 25 January 1553/4 summons from the Privy Council, Stephen Gardiner (then bishop of Winchester) was sent to the Minories to investigate.<sup>82</sup> Searching George Medley's house, Gardiner found documents concerning Suffolk's plan

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<sup>79</sup> 25 Hen VIII, c. 19, §6.

<sup>80</sup> *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates (1101-1654)*, eds T Rymer and R Sanderson, 20 vols, (London, 1704-35), 15.222 as trans in Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 164.

<sup>81</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 165.

<sup>82</sup> R C Braddock, 'Grey, Henry, duke of Suffolk (1517-1554)', *ODNB*.

to lead an uprising against the queen.<sup>83</sup> One of Suffolk's co-conspirators escaped to Italy, but the duke was executed for treason on 23 February 1553/4. Seven days later, Mary issued letters patent confirming the authority of the bishop of London in places such as the Minories. Faced with the increasing brutality of the Marian persecutions, those with mild reformist sentiments lay low while more prominent Protestants disappeared to the continent.

After Elizabeth's accession, the 1559 Act of Uniformity required the use of the new *Book of Common Prayer* throughout England and Wales. The 1559 prayer book alienated many of the committed Protestants, who had returned from continental exile at the end of Mary's reign with great hopes for a more fully reformed English church. The vestments prescribed for clergymen under the 1559 prayer book sparked an eight-year battle of wills between Elizabeth and her bishops on the one side and the group of radical reformers who would soon earn the epithet Puritan on the other.<sup>84</sup> The vestiarian controversy, as it became known, reached its zenith between 1564 and 1566, as the Archbishop of Canterbury attempted to force universal adherence to the prayer book.<sup>85</sup> The crisis 'crystallised the opposition of young reform-minded clergy against the Elizabethan settlement.'<sup>86</sup> Clergymen and laymen whose consciences severed them from their home parishes flocked to the Minories.<sup>87</sup> It thus became a focal point for nonconformity in the Elizabethan church. Displays of Puritan sentiment there peaked during the height of the vestiarian controversy in the mid-1560s, after which they faded for a few years, only to resume in the following decade.

For almost twenty years, the Minories was the home of leading Protestant families, independence in selection of clergy and a practicable if tenuous claim to ecclesiastical independence. It was, truly, a tinderbox of religious radicalism. A single spark—provided by the influx of radical clergy driven from their benefices—was enough to set the Minories ablaze. Katherine Bertie, the widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, took up residence in the liberty soon after her return from continental exile.<sup>88</sup> During Edward's reign 'Katherine's encouragement and inexhaustible purse helped to

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<sup>83</sup> 28 January 1553/4 letter from Gardiner to Sir William Petre. TNA SP 11/2/20.

<sup>84</sup> L J Trinterud, 'The Origins of Puritanism', *Church History*, 20 (1951), pp. 46-7.

<sup>85</sup> B Usher, 'The Deanery of Bocking and the Demise of the Vestiarian Controversy', *Journal Of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), p. 434.

<sup>86</sup> Owen, 'Nursery', p. 68.

<sup>87</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 82.

<sup>88</sup> Katherine (*née* Willoughby) was the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Brandon's third marriage—to Mary Tudor, the younger sister of Henry VIII and widow of Louis XII of France—produced a daughter, Frances, who in 1533 was married to Henry Grey. Grey became duke of Suffolk after the death of both of Brandon's sons in July 1551.

shape a new protestant culture.<sup>89</sup> Her patronage was instrumental in bringing influential puritans to the parish. Miles Coverdale, the godly Edwardian bishop of Exeter who tutored her children, preached at Holy Trinity Minories thirteen times between November 1567 and October 1568.<sup>90</sup> Three of Katherine's other *protégés*—John Field, Michael Pattenson and Robert Brown—all preached in the church there in the latter years of the 1560s.<sup>91</sup> John Field, a noted separatist and friend of John Foxe, moved to the nearby parish of St Giles Cripplegate around 1569, but remained a frequent visitor to the Holy Trinity pulpit.<sup>92</sup> Field preached there no fewer than twelve times between March 1567/8 and November 1570.<sup>93</sup> Katherine moved to Lincolnshire more or less permanently in the early 1570s. 'Subsequently,' Owen writes, 'the Suffolk association with the parish faded, but there can be few doubts about the crucial contribution made by the family to the initial cause of radical Puritanism in the area.'<sup>94</sup> Even during her residence in the parish, the duchess of Suffolk was not the orchestrating force behind all Puritanism in the Minories. The only record that directly connects her to the parish was a donation of ten shillings on 7 December 1567. Bertie, like so many other nonconformists, may have been drawn to the precinct by its reputation; her presence, in turn helped to draw prominent preachers to the parish.

The churchwardens' records detail the practical effects that nonconformity had on the parish.<sup>95</sup> Over the three years from 1568 through 1570 parishioners' tithes amounted to only £25/4/9*d*. By comparison, £38/-/3*d* was collected from those attending sermons in 1569 alone. This suggests that the crowds which gathered in the liberty to hear godly preachers were sizeable and that most of them lived outside the parish.<sup>96</sup> The precinct's reputation for fiery preaching attracted the notice of bishop of London Edmund Grindal, who had reluctantly begun enforcing conformity in his large diocese in 1565.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> S Wabuda, 'Bertie, Katherine, duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580)', *ODNB*.

<sup>90</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 5, 5v, 19, 19v. Collections taken during his sermons totalled £5/10/4*d ob*.

<sup>91</sup> S Wabuda, 'Bertie, Katherine, duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580)', *ODNB*.

<sup>92</sup> P Collinson, 'Field, John (1544/5?-1588)', *ODNB*.

<sup>93</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 19, 29, 37v, 43v. Collections made during the sermons of popular preachers brought substantial sums of money to the parish. See p. 87, below.

<sup>94</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 86.

<sup>95</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 17-40.

<sup>96</sup> London was still small enough that godly people throughout the metropolis could easily attend the services and sermons led by prominent Puritan clergy. See P Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), ch. 6; C Haigh, 'The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *History*, 85 (2000), p. 573.

<sup>97</sup> P Collinson, 'Grindal, Edmund (1516x20-1583)', *ODNB*.

There is no evidence that the ecclesiastical independence claimed by the Minories deterred Bishop Grindal from demanding orthodoxy there. William Bonham, the parish lecturer, was imprisoned by Grindal in December 1570 for ‘disturbance of good order’.<sup>98</sup> Alongside him in prison was Nicholas Crane, who had distributed communion in the Minories on 31 July 1569 but never seems to have preached in the parish.<sup>99</sup> Bonham and Crane were close associates: they had been arrested together in June 1567 at the Plumbers’ Hall, and they would later found a conference of nonconformist clergy that began meeting secretly in London in the 1570s.<sup>100</sup> The churchwardens recorded payments in January 1569/70 to the imprisoned Bonham and Crane.<sup>101</sup> Edwin Sandys succeeded Grindal as bishop of London from 13 July 1570. Ten days later, Bonham returned to the pulpit of the Minories, where he continued preaching through the autumn at least, despite his poor health.<sup>102</sup> Crane may have remained in prison as late as November 1570. He did not reappear in the Minories again until 1577, when he shared oversight of poor relief there with the godly preacher Thomas Wilcox.<sup>103</sup>

Tomlinson argues that Edwardian and Marian regulation did not effectively enable ‘the bishops to assert their authority in any of those cases where it was disputed.’<sup>104</sup> An assessment of battles between the Minories and the bishopric of London, however, shows that the bishop generally had the upper hand. If the Minories was ever able to assert spiritual independence, it was only for short periods of time. Seth Jackson—who was curate during William Bonham’s term as parish lecturer—discovered as much soon after Bonham’s arrest. Jackson was not so prominent in Puritan circles as Coverdale, Field or Crane; there is no evidence linking him directly to any of London’s private conventicles. But considering his role at Holy Trinity Minories and the godly preachers and congregations the parish attracted, ‘there can be no doubt about his intimate contacts with members of such assemblies’.<sup>105</sup> Between 18 and 21 December 1569, the churchwardens’ accounts record five shillings ‘Geven to Mr Jacson when he

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<sup>98</sup> W Nicholson, *The Remains of Edmund Grindal Successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), p. 318; Bonham and Seth Jackson were the most frequent preachers during the period, and Bonham received regular payments from the churchwardens, unlike other preachers. LPL MS 3390, fos 35, 35v, 36v, 39v.

<sup>99</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 25v.

<sup>100</sup> B Usher, ‘Crane, Nicholas (c.1522-1588)’, *ODNB*.

<sup>101</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 35v. Crane received 9/4d while Bonham received only 6/8d, though he continued to receive payments as parish lecturer, as well.

<sup>102</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 39v.

<sup>103</sup> B Usher, ‘Crane, Nicholas (c.1522-1588)’, *ODNB*; P Collinson, ‘Wilcox, Thomas (c.1549-1608)’, *ODNB*; LPL MS 3390, fo 50v.

<sup>104</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 165.

<sup>105</sup> Owen, ‘Nursery’, p. 71.

was in prison'.<sup>106</sup> If Jackson was detained in the latter half of 1569, it cannot have been for long. Between 17 July 1569 and 15 January 1569/70, Jackson ministered to the parish every Sunday but one, according to the churchwardens' accounts.<sup>107</sup> Jackson was certainly imprisoned by bishop Grindal in January, however, and he did not return to the Minories until 28 May 1570.<sup>108</sup> He died later that summer. In his will Jackson left all his goods to the 'congregation of Christ', and he named Crane and Bonham as his overseers.<sup>109</sup>

If Edwardian and Marian letters patent were not strictly legal instruments for the enforcement of religious conformity, they were relatively effective at the time. Confronted by the Minories' claims to ecclesiastical independence, Bishop Grindal felt empowered to demand the compliance of its clergy. There is no evidence that any minister or preacher of the parish successfully rebuffed such a request without imprisonment, as we have seen was the case with Jackson, Bonham and Crane. Grindal's interference, however, invited the resistance of Holy Trinity's congregation, who did not turn their backs on their imprisoned clergymen. Crane and Bonham both received money from the churchwardens while imprisoned in January 1569/70, and Bonham continued to collect regular payments as parish lecturer despite being unable to carry out his duties. In the months after Bonham's release, parish officers distributed poor relief to non-parishioners on his advice.<sup>110</sup> During his four-month imprisonment, Seth Jackson was given the rather substantial sum of £1/8s in addition to his salary as curate (£2/5s per quarter).<sup>111</sup> The parish paid a further £1/15s to ministers serving in Jackson's stead. Tomlinson is probably correct in claiming that such payments were evidence of the parishioners' active resistance to the bishop of London, but Owen acknowledges that 'parochial defiance was crumbling under the weight of official pressure'.<sup>112</sup> It could hardly do otherwise. The queen and her privy council were openly hostile to nonconformity. Had the Minories chosen to press secular privileges, it could at least have hoped for ambivalence from the royal government, which was never eager to bolster the franchises of the City of London. There was no similar interest behind which religious privileges could take shelter.

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<sup>106</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 34.

<sup>107</sup> John Field filled in for Jackson on 9 October 1569.

<sup>108</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 28v.

<sup>109</sup> GL MS 9051/3, fo 253v. The will was dated 2 July and proved 6 August 1570.

<sup>110</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 38, among the recipients recommended by Bonham was his aunt, who received four shillings on 22 October 1570.

<sup>111</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 28.

<sup>112</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 93; Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 166.

The gradual establishment of the bishop of London's authority over the Minories caused noticeable changes in the administration of the parish. Radicalism did not disappear from the precinct suddenly or completely, of course, but it became less pronounced over the course of the 1570s. Parish finances fell dramatically. The varying specificity of records kept by successive churchwardens makes it difficult to draw precise conclusions, but trends are identifiable, especially by considering the churchwardens' accounts in the context of events in the parish. From 1567 to 1571, radicalism was ascendant in the Minories. The resultant largesse was the result of collections taken at the church door during sermons, as evidenced by the detailed records kept during the period.<sup>113</sup> Holy Trinity was, after all, among London's relatively impoverished parishes.<sup>114</sup> The curate's salary increased as parish coffers swelled. In 1567, Walter Haynes received £1/5s quarterly; three years later his successor Seth Jackson was receiving £2/5s quarterly. No data survive on the salary of the parish lecturer before 1570, when William Bonham received £2/10s each quarter. The discrepancy suggests the relative importance of the two positions in parish life.

Poor relief offered by the parish also benefited from the substantial contributions made by those who came to hear the godly preach. In 1569, £25/11/2½d was distributed to the poor by the churchwardens. Sixty-four percent of it (£16/9/1d) went to people noted as living outside the Minories, coming primarily from the neighbouring parishes of St Botolph Aldgate, St Katherine Creechurch and Whitechapel and from the nearby liberty of St Katherine by the Tower. Even the £9/2/1½d distributed within the parish included £2/3/2½d that went to all-comers at the church door, some of whom no doubt came from outside the parish, as well. The wide dispersal of Holy Trinity's poor relief is unsurprising if one considers the small population of the parish and the large crowds attracted there for sermons. Data from 1570 omit three months of the year, but they are strikingly similar to the previous year. Of £20/6/4d distributed to the poor, fifty-six percent (£11/9/5½d) went directly to people living in other parishes. Of the remaining £8/16/10½d, almost a quarter (£2/5/4d) was distributed at the church door.<sup>115</sup>

The records for the following two years (1571-2), consisting primarily of non-itemised biennial sums, are too general to be of much use. Active suppression of nonconformity in the precinct seems to have ended with the elevation of bishop Grindal

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<sup>113</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 5-29v. It is possible to identify both the men who preached on any given Sunday and the amount collected from the congregation during his sermon.

<sup>114</sup> Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 41n.

<sup>115</sup> See figure 3.3, p. 110, below.

to the archbishopric of York in July 1570. There is no evidence of any confrontation between the parish and Edwin Sandys, the subsequent bishop of London.<sup>116</sup> Sandys was more sympathetic to evangelical causes than his predecessor, and his elevation to the bishopric coincided with a decrease in Puritan activity in the Minories. Expenditure on poor relief, funded primarily by the voluntary collections made at sermons, stood at £50/15/6*d* for the two year span of 1571-2 but declined to £12/-/2*d* over the two years 1573-4.<sup>117</sup> Payments to clergy also fell, the salary of the preacher dropping more rapidly than that of the curate. In 1573 the incumbent and the lecturer each received £2/10*s* quarterly. By the 1575-6 biennium, the curate's pay had been reduced to £1/10*s* per quarter, while the lecturer was receiving only fifteen shillings.<sup>118</sup>

Recovery was already underway, though. The two years of 1575-6 witnessed a spike in collections made during sermons. Over the same period, poor relief approached previous levels: £42/1/1*d* was disbursed during the biennium.<sup>119</sup> The curate's salary remained stable (at £1/10*s* quarterly) through the end of the decade and dropped slightly (to £1/2/6*d*) during the 1580s, but expenditure on preachers rose steadily. In the 1577-8 biennium, the parish lecturer received £2/3/4*d* quarterly, increasing to £2/13/4*d* in 1582 and £3 in 1583, finally topping out at £4/10*s* per quarter in 1585. Thereafter, the preacher's salary declined through the end of the century, but it always remained higher than that of the curate.

The reestablishment of the Minories as a centre of godly preaching came about under the leadership of committed Puritans Robert Heas (curate from 1574) and George Cheston (lecturer after 1575).<sup>120</sup> Sandys's departure for the archbishopric of York in March 1576/7 signalled the end of easy relations between the Minories and the diocese of London. His successor as bishop there was John Aylmer, whose effective primacy after Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal's suspension in May 1577 made him particularly keen to enforce uniformity in his own diocese.<sup>121</sup> Aylmer's first episcopal visitation ended poorly for the parish. After appearing before the bishop in June, Cheston was imprisoned on 10 August 1577.<sup>122</sup> A year later, Heas also ran afoul of Aylmer's push for orthodoxy. Heas consistently failed to observe the prescribed order in administration of sacraments and refused to don the required vestments during services,

<sup>116</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 90.

<sup>117</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 41v, 45v. See figure, 3.2, p. 109, below.

<sup>118</sup> See figure 3.1, p. 108, below.

<sup>119</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 48v.

<sup>120</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 45, 48.

<sup>121</sup> B Usher, 'Aylmer, John (1520/21-1594)', *ODNB*.

<sup>122</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 53.

for which Aylmer placed the parish under interdict.<sup>123</sup> Extremely rare after the break with Rome, the interdict achieved its desired result. A few days later, 31 August 1578, Heas capitulated and put forth sureties for good behaviour.<sup>124</sup>

Forced to curb overtly Puritan preaching and public displays of nonconformity, parish finances suffered substantially. Clergy who had been imprisoned under Bishop Grindal in 1570 had continued to enjoy the support of the parish, or at least of the parish vestry. Those confronting Bishop Aylmer in 1577-8 were less sure of themselves. The parish, certainly, had fewer financial resources available to it. The 1577-8 biennium witnessed the total collapse of poor relief at Holy Trinity Minories.<sup>125</sup> In 1578 the vestry drew up clear guidelines to govern relief, suggesting that the problems of the previous biennium had been caused by maladministration or corruption. Previously among the churchwardens' many duties, the vestry entrusted poor relief to a board of eight men that included the two churchwardens.<sup>126</sup> The regulations stipulated that each week two of the overseers for the poor would 'receave at the church dore...such almes and reliefe, as charitable & well disposed persons shall give towards the mayntenance of the pore'. The sum collected was to be verified by the board after each service, and no relief was to be distributed 'without the consent & appointment of the persons above named or the greatest part of them'.<sup>127</sup> In any case, the assistance offered to the poor by the parish never returned to earlier levels. In 1581 £4/14/10*d* was distributed. Seventy-eight percent (£3/13/5½*d*) of it went to parishioners, with the remainder representing the last time assistance was extended to those outside the precinct.<sup>128</sup> Data for 1582 and 1588 suggest that the decrease in donations was permanent; less than one pound was disbursed each year.<sup>129</sup> Sums expended on relief rose in the 1590s to around two or three pounds annually, but they were increasingly dedicated to the care of fewer individuals over longer periods.<sup>130</sup>

John Aylmer's confrontations with the Minories did not eradicate Puritan sentiment there. It did force a degree of outward conformity on the parish, which drove

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<sup>123</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 90. It should be noted that Heas was simultaneously the incumbent of Holy Trinity Minories and the neighbouring St Botolph Aldgate, but the Minories alone was placed under interdict, probably in consideration of its long-standing reputation for radicalism.

<sup>124</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 53.

<sup>125</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 50v.

<sup>126</sup> See p. 97, below.

<sup>127</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 50v.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, fos 58v-59.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, fos 59v-60, 75. See figure 3.2, p. 109, below.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, fos 82v, 83v, 92v. In 1595 and 1596, money spent 'for the nursinge of the childe that is kept at the charge of the parishe' was the only expenditure recorded under poor relief, costing the parish a total of £5/4/9*d*.

away the visiting preachers whose sermons had drawn coreligionists from around London and filled the parish coffers. In 1580 the Privy Council closed a loophole that had allowed preachers to avoid the administration of Holy Communion, after which there is no evidence of further conflict between diocese and parish.<sup>131</sup> Moderate Puritan preachers Humphrey Wildblood and John Nicholson continued to preach there during the 1590s, inspiring Owen to claim that ‘a Minories lectureship never lost its appeal to ardent nonconformists’.<sup>132</sup> Even in the 1620s, godly churchmen made their homes in the Minories. ‘Staunch puritan and effective preacher’ John Randall died at his house there in May 1622.<sup>133</sup> Five years later Josias Nicholls, one of the leading nonconformists of late Elizabethan Kent, appears in Minories records for the first time. He witnessed a churchwarden’s will and almost immediately established himself in the parish.<sup>134</sup> Brett Usher writes that

From November 1627 until May 1635 he was evidently the senior member of its ruling vestry. Unless a minister was present he always signed the minutes first, but there is no evidence that he himself acted as minister or preacher. Perhaps, as a venerable relic of the campaigns of the 1580s, he was now regarded as a quasi-Presbyterian elder.<sup>135</sup>

Usher may overstate Nicholls’s status, however. From May 1630 Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance John Heydon took pride of place in the vestry, appropriating even the right to patronage of the parish living.<sup>136</sup> It is doubtful that Heydon, who went on to become a royalist officer in the Civil War, embraced the godly strains of parish life in the Minories. By the 1630s, they were certainly subdued. Despite the continued presence of old guard Puritans, the centre of London nonconformity passed permanently out of the Minories after 1580. Another liberty—the Blackfriars—succeeded it in the decades before the Civil War.

### **The Ordnance Office and the Secular Status of the Minories**

The lack of a central, non-parochial authority figure in the Minories does much to explain why the liberty never claimed secular privileges in the same way as it did ecclesiastical franchises. In liberties like Blackfriars or Paris Garden, the major freeholder of the liberty inherited and protected its rights and privileges, and St Katherine’s and St

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<sup>131</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 65v and 68v record payments to a constable who was arrested on three occasions in 1584 and 1585, but there is no evidence that his imprisonment was related to a confessional dispute.

<sup>132</sup> Owen, ‘Liberty of the Minories’, p. 94.

<sup>133</sup> S Wright, ‘Randall, John (1570-1622)’, *ODNB*.

<sup>134</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 116; GL MS 9052/10.

<sup>135</sup> P Collinson, ‘Nicholls, Josias (c.1553-1639/40)’, rev. B Usher, *ODNB*.

<sup>136</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 117v. TNA SP 16/435/17, 3 Dec 1639.

Martin le Grand continued to be held by religious corporations that actively resisted any loss of their chartered rights. After 1563, however, the Minories belonged to the Crown. Apart from strictly religious issues, outside authorities found it expedient to address concerns about the Minories to the Lieutenants-General of the Ordnance. Unlike his counterparts in other liberties, the lieutenant-general was not directly affected by the Minories' status as a liberty. His immediate responsibility was not to the precinct but to the Ordnance Office. The Ordnance Office was itself an extension of the Tower, whose franchises caused substantially more friction with the City than those of the Minories ever did.

The topography of the liberty limited contact between the Ordnance Office and residents. Separate gates connected each part of the liberty directly to the highway that ran parallel to London wall (which is now called the Minories), and each part of the liberty employed its own porters. A small door in the wall of the parish church was for decades the only direct route between the two sides of the Minories, but parish records suggest it was used extremely rarely.<sup>137</sup> The lieutenant-general was nevertheless the main point of contact between the Minories and other secular authorities. In March 1587/8 the Privy Council contacted lieutenant-general Sir Robert Constable (and the 'principal inhabitantes' of six other liberties) ordering them 'to contribute unto the charge of tenn thousand men appointed to be levied within the said Cytie' of London.<sup>138</sup> In the midst of war with Spain—and under the watchful eye of a military officer—the residents of the Minories could hardly avoid contributing their share. A few years later, the Privy Council again contacted the lieutenant-general, now Sir George Carew. Reminding him of the proclamations banning the consumption of meat during lent, the council expressed its concern that 'notwithstanding such strict orders as have bin and are every yeare published by her Majesty's proclamacion' certain butchers continued to 'utter great quantity of flesh during the time of Lent'.<sup>139</sup> The City had few concerns with the Minories. During the only known period of tension, the aldermen addressed their complaints to the Privy Council, which in turn contacted the Ordnance Office.

While contemporaries grouped the Minories with London's other liberties and exempt places, it was for the Minories a distinction more honoured in the breach than the observance. Evidence of the relationship between the precinct and outside authorities (the City, the county of Middlesex and the royal government) shows that, in practice, the

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<sup>137</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 22v.

<sup>138</sup> *APC* 1587-8, p. 428.

<sup>139</sup> *APC* 1592-3, p. 61.

residents of the liberty enjoyed few concrete privileges. Acquiescence to the Privy Council was the only feasible option for dealing with such a powerful authority, but the relationship between the Minories and other centres of authority was less straightforward. In August 1584, for example, the master of St Katherine's hospital certified to the council a list of houses he had searched for signs of recusancy in Tower Hill and the Minories.<sup>140</sup> His search suggests both the complex confessional makeup of early modern London (even of famously Puritan parishes like Holy Trinity), but also the ways in which authority was exercised over the liberties. Recusancy was treated as a civil matter as much as a religious one. While local JPs reported known recusants to the county's deputy lieutenant, the liberties seem to have had a separate system. In this case an official from one liberty carried out searches in other nearby liberties, though in other matters both St Katherine's and the Minories integrated themselves into the governance structures of Middlesex. Minories residents were particularly likely to participate in the sessions of the peace. In 1573, the churchwardens recorded a payment of 6/4d 'for making of a supplication to my lord treasurer to obtayne Mr Fisher to be our Justice & for our charges travelinge aboute it', but there is no other evidence that there was ever a JP named specifically for the Minories.<sup>141</sup> Almost five decades later, when the Privy Council ordered the demolition of illicit tenements in the Liberty, it directed its letters not to a special justice for the Minories but to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex jointly.<sup>142</sup> Sessions records for Middlesex confirm that the liberty's officers regularly presented suspects before the county justices.<sup>143</sup>

The ability of the City to correct the behaviour of Minories residents was less clearly established. The enforcement of building regulations—one of the few times the issue arose—was inconclusive, since their interference was a direct result of Privy Council action. Another incident dates from April 1639, when Edward Cludd, a citizen and mercer of London wrote to Sir John Heydon. Cludd had stood as surety for a Minories resident called Morton in an action being pursued in the City of London. When Morton failed to appear, Cludd stood to lose £100. He asked Heydon to give him a 'warrant for the apprehension of Morton if he should find him in any way of your liberties within the Minories.'<sup>144</sup> Heydon accordingly issued a 'warrant to the Constable

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<sup>140</sup> *CSPD* 1581-90, p. 198.

<sup>141</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 43v. Based on records from Bridewell Hospital, Ian Archer declared that Jasper Fisher was a particularly diligent JP. Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 228.

<sup>142</sup> *APC* 1618-9, p. 458.

<sup>143</sup> *Calendar to the [Middlesex] Sessions Records 1612-1618*, ed W H C Le Hardy, 4 vols, (London, 1935-42)

<sup>144</sup> TNA SP 16/418/73.

and Headborough of the precinct of the Trinity, Minories, to assist Edward Cludd in the execution of any writ or other legal warrant upon John Morton within the precinct of the Minories.<sup>145</sup> In isolation it is difficult to assess the importance of this incident. Tomlinson argues that it ‘proves conclusively that no writ could be executed within the parish without the consent of the parish, or of someone supposed to represent it.’<sup>146</sup> Given Heydon’s well-documented interest in the Minories and his prominence within the royal government at the time, however, it seems more likely that Cludd’s deference to Heydon’s ‘liberties within the Minories’ was unusual, though necessary. There is no evidence to suggest that the Minories ever attempted to shelter suspected criminals. Indeed, the request for a special justice and Heydon’s willingness to issue a warrant highlight the generally unimpressive state of the Minories’ secular privileges. On the whole, the primary effect of the Minories’ status as a liberty seems to have been a claim to be addressed separate from Middlesex or London in matters of general concern. It may have been more than a parish, but it was certainly less than ‘a miniature kingdom of its own.’<sup>147</sup>

Only two of the ten men who held the lieutenantancy-general between 1563 and 1642 showed any sustained interest in the residential portions of the Minories. Sir Roger Dallison, who served as lieutenant-general from 1608 to 1616, left a decidedly negative mark on the liberty; he was the only early modern lieutenant-general deprived of his office.<sup>148</sup> Both the Minories and the Ordnance Office suffered from his greed and neglect. In 1612 Dallison secured from King James a sixty year lease on a significant part of the Minories.<sup>149</sup> The lease, which was made to Dallison personally (i.e. not in his official capacity), included tenements on the residential side of the precinct and undeveloped lands on the Ordnance side. Had it been made in good faith, the arrangement would have been agreeable to both parties, the king receiving ready money and Dallison enjoying the ongoing income from subtenants of the properties he leased.<sup>150</sup> Dallison, however, almost immediately converted many of the buildings on the Ordnance side of the Minories to residential uses, renting the new dwellings at a

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<sup>145</sup> TNA SP 16/418/74.

<sup>146</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 175.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>148</sup> Sir Walter Earle MP, who ran the ordnance for Parliament during the Civil War, was deprived by Cromwell in 1652, and the office was not filled again until the Restoration. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-6.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>150</sup> TNA C 66/1956/21.

substantial profit.<sup>151</sup> Demand certainly existed for new housing in the Minories (as it did throughout the metropolis), but such speculative construction flew in the face of contemporary royal policy. So long as Dallison retained the lieutenancy-general, however, there was little chance for his building scheme to be quashed.

Dallison's maladministration, however, soon caught up with him. In 1616 he found himself unable to satisfy the Ordnance Office's creditors, and he petitioned to be allowed to sell his lands and call in his debts, so as to be able to pay the king.<sup>152</sup> He was almost immediately deprived of office.<sup>153</sup> His successor, Sir Richard Morrison, was shocked by the state in which Dallison left the Ordnance Office. Morrison initiated a series of investigations that continued for nearly half a decade. He began by drawing up a survey detailing the state of Ordnance properties in the Minories. The residences of many 'officials, clerks, gunmakers, smiths and weelwrights' had been razed or rented to people with no links to the office, and the workshops 'all altered into private tenements,' including the workshops for the 'making of the King's Musquetts & Calivers &c. for the repairing of them when they came from sea'.<sup>154</sup> With Dallison's illegal tenements uncovered, it was not long before the commissioners for buildings moved to stop other construction in the Minories. Seven new structures in the Minories were included in an August 1618 list of 'principall buildinges as have ben erected contrary to his Majesty's proclamacions...John Cooper, dwelling in the Tower, hath built two tenements of tymber upon new foundacions not as yet fully finished. Simon Warren, a broker dwelling in Houndsditch, hath built five tenements upon new foundacions and parte upon an old stable all of tymber'.<sup>155</sup> Although the commissioners for buildings had never before interfered in the Minories, its notional status as a liberty did not protect it after Dallison's fall. In 1619 the buildings commissioners submitted another list of 'new buildings erected at the Minories near the Tower, contrary to proclamation'.<sup>156</sup> The council moved decisively, telling the sheriffs of both the City and Middlesex that all such buildings in the Minories 'be forthwith pulled downe to the ground and utterly demolished, so as the example thereof and his punishment (being agreeable with his Majesty's expresse

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<sup>151</sup> Under the sixty-year leases Dallison granted, a substantial amounts of new housing was built on the southern edge of the old residential district (along what had during the days of the abbey been the passage to the laundry) and along the northern extension of the street known then as Little Minories and today as St Clare Street. Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, 2(1).38-42.

<sup>152</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 130; see TNA E 351/2644-2649 and SP 14/108/38.

<sup>153</sup> TNA E 403/1727.

<sup>154</sup> TNA SP 16/13/91 (fo. 162).

<sup>155</sup> *APC* 1618-9, p. 245.

<sup>156</sup> *CSPD* 1619-23, p. 36. TNA SP 14/108/38. 13 Apr 1619.

pleasure formerly signified) may deterr others from presumeing to offend in the like kinde hereafter.<sup>157</sup>

The Privy Council moved simultaneously to restore the Ordnance parts of the Minories to their previous uses. In March 1618/9 they asked ‘the King’s learned counsel’ to consider the legality of Dallison’s lease in the Minories, and to report back on the same.<sup>158</sup> The following January, the council wrote to Morrison to express its concern over the enclosure of public ways and open ground in the Minories, ‘to the great hinderance and prejudice of his Majesty’s service in conveying such carrages two and fro as belong to the Office of the Ordinance’. The council ordered him to ‘cause the said inclosures and pales to be pulled downe and layd open and playne for the more convenience of his Majesty’s service in the same manner formerly it was before Sir Roger Dallison’s graunt.’<sup>159</sup> In July 1620, the council went even further, ordering that

divers houses in the Minories...formerly reserved for gunners, wheelwrights, and other artificers connected with the defence of the realms, but of which leases have been granted by Sir Roger Dallison...be restored to the previous uses, and they summoned before Council, for breach of trust in letting them.<sup>160</sup>

In its relationship to the royal government the Minories gained no discernible privileges from its supposed status as a liberty. In this case the Privy Council was primarily concerned about the way Dallison’s programme of development impeded the smooth functioning of the Ordnance Office, but we have already seen that the council was also concerned with illegal building in the liberty more generally. The royal government did acknowledge the strange jurisdictional position of the precinct; rather than taking sides, they ordered officials of the City and Middlesex to cooperate in enforcing orders there.

Sir John Heydon took the office of lieutenant-general eleven years after Dallison was deprived of it. Like Dallison, Heydon took a keen interest in the residential part of the Minories. Unlike his disgraced predecessor, however, Heydon integrated himself into the community there, taking an active role in the residential part of the liberty. Heydon also showed himself to be more conscientious in his official role, setting out to reform the notoriously inefficient Ordnance Office.<sup>161</sup> Tomlinson suggests (and Carlin confirms) that during Heydon’s lieutenantancy-general ‘extensive structural alterations were made in

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<sup>157</sup> *APC* 1618-9, p. 458.

<sup>158</sup> *APC* 1618-9, p. 412.

<sup>159</sup> *APC* 1619-21, p. 114.

<sup>160</sup> *CSPD* 1623-5, p. 399.

<sup>161</sup> A Thrush, ‘The Ordnance Office and the Navy, 1625-1640’, *Mariner’s Mirror*, 77 (1991), p. 342; S Porter, ‘Heydon, Sir John (*bap.* 1588, *d.* 1653)’, *ODNB*.

the parish, as the still existing names of Haydon Square and Haydon Street testify.<sup>162</sup> During the 1630s, Heydon oversaw the collection of ship money from the residents of the Minories; his office was simultaneously responsible for supplying the ship money fleets.<sup>163</sup> The relative poverty of the precinct is evident in his returns. In October 1637, Heydon transmitted to Sir William Russell, treasurer of the navy, £14/7/8*d*, the Minories' share of the £5,000 levied on Middlesex that year.<sup>164</sup> In 1639, the liberties of the Minories, Westminster and the Tower were expected to contribute £404 in ship money, of which only £10 was due from the Minories.<sup>165</sup> Heydon's task as collector of this deeply unpopular tax may have been eased by his uncommonly close relationship with the residential side of the liberty.

While previous lieutenants-general had used the official residence in the Minories only rarely, Heydon made his home there. Between 1629 and 1640, he had eight children baptised at Holy Trinity Minories.<sup>166</sup> Heydon's is the only name, of all the holders of his office, which appears in the vestry minutes.<sup>167</sup> For all that, little is known about the effects of his involvement. He first appears among the vestry in May 1630, when he signed his name first, above curate John de Cerf, but there is no indication whether or how his presence affected the decisions of the vestry.<sup>168</sup> The curacy became vacant when de Cerf died in 1639.<sup>169</sup> In December of that year John, Viscount Savage wrote to ask a favour of Heydon, whom he understood to be patron of the living at Holy Trinity:

I presume to importune you on behalf of Thomas Cheshire, a servant of mine, concerning the minister's place for Trinity Minories, now vacant, and at your disposal. What favour you shall show him therein, I shall acknowledge as done to myself, and be obliged to requite it in the like or any other way.<sup>170</sup>

If Heydon had successfully asserted his right to patronage, it is unclear when he did so. As with Heydon, May 1630 was the first time de Cerf's signature appeared in the vestry minutes. Details of his selection as curate are absent from the vestry minutes, but his tenure in that post was unusually long for the parish. Holy Trinity was known for the

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<sup>162</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 136.

<sup>163</sup> TNA SP 16/320/68vi; SP 16/369/34; SP 16/428/54; and SP 16/433/9.

<sup>164</sup> *CSPD* 1637, p. 467.

<sup>165</sup> *CSPD* 1639, p. 491; *CSPD* 1639-40, p. 120.

<sup>166</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, pp. 136-7.

<sup>167</sup> The churchwardens' accounts (LPL MS 3390), in the same manuscript volume, often name the lieutenant-general for his annual contribution to the curate's salary, but Heydon is the only one who signed as a member of the vestry.

<sup>168</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 117v. The vestry was approving the accounts kept by the previous year's churchwardens.

<sup>169</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 117v-27v.

<sup>170</sup> *CSPD* 1639-40, p. 143; TNA SP 16/435/17. 3 Dec 1639.

high turnover of its clergy, begging the question of whether de Cerf had been Heydon's first nominee to the post. Savage may have misunderstood Heydon's relationship to the parish, or Heydon's own inclinations may have run another direction, but the curacy was soon thereafter filled not by Thomas Cheshire but by Thomas Rhidon.<sup>171</sup> Rhidon was himself deprived and replaced after Parliament took control of the precinct in 1642, suggesting that it may well have been Heydon—who had recently joined the royalist forces at York—and not the parish vestry who had chosen him.<sup>172</sup>

The lieutenants-general were the outward face of authority in the Minories after 1563, but the day-to-day responsibility for governing the liberty fell to the householders who served in precinct offices. Many of the offices were in place by the time Edward's accession, and certainly predated the arrival of the Ordnance Office. After Henry Grey took possession of the Minories between 1548 and 1552/3, he took responsibility for the £5 'fee of the warden of the said capital house and the collector of rents and auditor' in addition to the £2/13/4d he paid the chaplain of the precinct.<sup>173</sup> The position of warden and collector of rents—a holdover from the administration of the precinct by the Court of Augmentations—had been discontinued by the time the precinct returned to the Crown in 1563. The parochial administration was then beginning to crystallise. Two churchwardens, the most senior parochial officers, were responsible for the general administration of the parish. Like their counterparts in the City, the churchwardens managed parish finances and other offices, most of which are mentioned in their accounts. While the churchwardens were the chief administrators of the parish, the vestry actively monitored their performance. In January 1592/3, for example, 'by reason of divers losses they have receyved by the insufficiensie of Churchwardens who hath died in nothing werth', the vestry decreed that 'no Churchwarden shall hereafter have the stocke of the parishe without sufficient suretie for the acompt and deliverie thereof'.<sup>174</sup> This decision suggests the increasing centrality of the vestry in the administration of the parish: by the end of the 1590s, churchwardens' accounts gave way entirely to vestry minutes.

Many of the offices in the churchwardens' accounts are only mentioned after 1578, though in all likelihood most had existed long before that time. In 1578 separate

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<sup>171</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 128-9.

<sup>172</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 129v.

<sup>173</sup> *CPR Ed. VI*, iv.406.

<sup>174</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 78v.

collectors for the poor, (who answered to a subcommittee of vestrymen) assumed responsibility for poor relief, which had previously been taken care of by the churchwardens.<sup>175</sup> Martha Carlin mistakenly writes that the constabulary, 'first mentioned in 1584, was not paid'.<sup>176</sup> The first known constable was Lawrence Thomas in 1579, and while there is no evidence of regular remuneration of early constables, the office included an annual salary of £2 after 1612.<sup>177</sup> It appears that the office of scavenger was also formalised by the parish vestry in 1579. The Minories' scavengers were extraordinarily active, perhaps because the residential part of the liberty (with which they were concerned) was relatively small. The actual removal of refuse was left to the rakers, but the scavengers certainly saw to the regular maintenance of the parish laystall, and its 1579 reconstruction.<sup>178</sup> They were also instrumental in the plans for an enclosure of a sewer running from the Minories to the Thames in the 1630s.<sup>179</sup> The parish clerk is first mentioned in 1582, and the vestry explicitly defined the responsibilities of the office in 1597.<sup>180</sup> The post carried with it an annual salary of £4, though its payment is not consistently recorded by the churchwardens. Officers such as the sidesmen, criers, bellmen, and headboroughs are mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts only rarely, but they make it clear that there was a wider body of officers helping to govern the liberty.

Although they appear infrequently in parochial records, the gatekeepers of the Minories deserve specific mention. The unique structure of the office reminds us of the creative ways in which liberty residents approached the task of governance. At any given time, there were two gatekeepers in the Minories. One kept the northern gate, which gave entrance to the residential part of the liberty and the parish church; the other kept the southern gate for the Ordnance Office. Martha Carlin suggests that there was probably a third gate on the site of the later Sheppy Yard, on the Ordnance side of the precinct, but it is unclear when this gate was built or whether it was ever in active use.<sup>181</sup> The keeping of the Ordnance Office gate was significantly more expensive than that of the residential gate. A November 1562 grant records the appointment of William Allen as the first 'porter of her Majesty's house, called the Minorites, now intended to hold munitions belonging to the Ordnance Office', a post which he was to hold for life at a

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<sup>175</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 50v

<sup>176</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.9.

<sup>177</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 53, 108.

<sup>178</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 48, 54, 86, 89.

<sup>179</sup> CLRO Rem VII, fo 138.

<sup>180</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 60v, 95v, 107.

<sup>181</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.9. See map on p. 72, above.

fee of 8*d* a day—an annual salary of £10/8*s*.<sup>182</sup> Allen was still the porter of the precinct in August 1596, when the reversion of the office was granted to Richard Olive on the same terms.<sup>183</sup> The office had changed hands several times by 1616, when a complaint that ‘your Majestie payeth 8*d* a day to a porter keeping of the Gate of the said Storehouse. And hee doth not anything for it, but is a hindrance to your Majesties service that should there be done’ spurred the Privy Council inquire into the specifics of the office.<sup>184</sup> Whatever concerns may have been raised about the position, however, quickly subsided since in August 1618 the office was granted to James Woodward for life at the traditional salary of 8*d* per day.<sup>185</sup>

The arrangements for the parochial gatekeeper caused fewer problems. The northern gate was closed and locked nightly, at ten in the summer and nine in the winter ‘and at noe other hour’.<sup>186</sup> The parish vestry appointed the northern gatekeeper, and funded the repairs made to the gate in 1569 and 1584.<sup>187</sup> In July 1569 the vestry declared that

Whereas the place of the vitler within the precinct of the said parishe is latelye become voyde...and that the disposing of same hath always heretofore been & used by the parishioners. It is agreed by us the said parishioners...that the said Gregory Hopkins shall keep and utter [victuals] within the said parish & precincts of the Trinitie Minories...duringe the pleasure of the said parishioners. And also...that whosoever should be the vitler within the said parishe should also have the chardge and keeping of the keyes of the gate to the said parishe.<sup>188</sup>

Unlike other officeholders in the Minories, the gatekeeper’s term was not limited to one or two years. He was also *ex officio* parish victualler: the only man authorised keep a public house in the Minories. The residents of the precinct were therefore freed from the need to pay their gatekeeper, and the vestry created a mechanism to monitor the behaviour of a single publican. Gregory Hopkins was also expected to make regular payments for the support of his predecessor’s widow. When Hopkins relinquished his post the following July, the vestry named Robert Mott to succeed him and simultaneously modified the payment expected of the gatekeeper-victualler to ‘6/6*d* a monthe to the use of the pore of the said parishe’.<sup>189</sup> Thus the need to maintain a gatekeeper was turned into a net financial benefit for the parish. This arrangement evidently was still in effect in 1612

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<sup>182</sup> *CSPD* 1601-3 (Add. 1547-65), p. 528.

<sup>183</sup> *CSPD* Add. 1580-1625, p. 377.

<sup>184</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 131. See also TNA SP 14/32/36 and SP 15/33/63.

<sup>185</sup> *CSPD* 1611-8, p. 564.

<sup>186</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 108.

<sup>187</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 32v, 66.

<sup>188</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 85.

<sup>189</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 96v.

when the victualler, with the consent of the vestry, hired a deputy gatekeeper at his own cost, to keep the gate for an annual salary of £2.<sup>190</sup>

### The Minories' Community

The social composition of the Minories is more difficult to assess than that of other liberties, in large part because of its small population. It did not have the reputation as a centre of alien settlement that befell St Martin le Grand, Blackfriars, and St Katherine's, and while its Puritan tendencies linked it to Blackfriars, it was never so fashionable as that liberty. The nunnery had certainly housed the great and the good, as evidenced by a chronicle of its lofty connections drawn up by one of Holy Trinity's nineteenth-century curates.<sup>191</sup> We have already seen that some aristocratic residents continued to live there through the end of the 1560s, though perhaps motivated by confessional rather than social considerations. And even before the dispersal of the Minoreesses lay tenants came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. In her physical survey of the precinct, Martha Carlin writes that the Minories boasted dwellings built primarily between during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries:

These were let by the nuns to their active and former officers, servants and retainers, and to other lay residents.... From 1352 until the dissolution of the abbey and after there seems to have been a great mansion...that was occupied by a succession of aristocratic tenants. A second such establishment seems to have been created between 1380 and 1487.<sup>192</sup>

The eleven buildings which housed the Minories' residential population were arranged on either side of the short road (later called Church Street and now known as St Clare Street) that ran from the eastern edge of the precinct westward to the church. Dating from the abbey's early decades, the lay community in the Minories was long-established. According to Carlin, the survival of the abbey after its back-to-back tragedies of plague and fire in the 1510s was largely a result of the lay tenants' cohesiveness and support for the nuns.<sup>193</sup> The abbey never fully recovered from either tragedy: the former killed twenty-seven of the abbey's fifty-odd nuns, and the latter caused more than £500 in damage. After the dissolution of the abbey, the ownership of the Minories precinct by the

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<sup>190</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.9. See also LPL MS 3390, fo 108 (on 1612 gatekeeper).

<sup>191</sup> S Kinns, *Six Hundred Years, or, Historical Sketches of Eminent Men and Women Who Have Come into Contact with the Abbey and Church of Holy Trinity, Minories, from 1293 to 1893* (London, 1898).

<sup>192</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, ii.31; 35-42. Residents of the older of the two great mansions in the Minories included Elizabeth de Burgh (1352); the countess of Warwick (1390s); the countess of Kent (1421); the duchess of Buckingham (1480); the duchess of Norfolk (1487-8); the countess of Suffolk (1502); Robert, earl of Sussex (before 1537) and Elizabeth, countess of Kildare (July 1537).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, ii.4.

bishops of Bath and Wells and subsequently by the Grey family extended the genteel presence in the liberty into the 1560s. From the mid-sixteenth century, however, the western suburbs began to claim the heart of fashionable society. The residence of successive lieutenants-general generally kept one gentry family in the liberty, but when Sir Roger Morrision rented his official residence to the earl of Northumberland in the 1620s, it was a remarkable arrangement. In a letter dated 15 November 1623 John Chamberlain informed Sir Dudley Carleton that the earl 'lies in towne, having hired Sir Richard Morison's house in the Minorites by the tower. His coach is drawn with eight horses, to surpasse his sonne Carlisle, and the Spanish ambassador with his sixe carion mules'.<sup>194</sup>

The Minorities is notable for having missed the first wave of dramatic growth that occurred in London's other post-monastic precincts. In the immediate aftermath of the dissolution the liberty passed *en masse* to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. With a full slate of tenants in the residential portion of the precinct, the bishops used the remainder as their London residence through much of the 1540s. They kept its gardens and open spaces intact, though they did rent some monastic structures adjacent to the residential area to private tenants.<sup>195</sup> The Minorities thus escaped the construction that consumed the open spaces of other former religious houses. There is, similarly, no evidence of speculative building by Henry Grey. The four men who bought the precinct from Grey possessed the Minorities in common. Although three of them were brothers, they lacked either the will or the time to exploit the plentiful open space that remained in the late 1550s. The Ordnance Office therefore took over the conventual part of the Minorities in much the same state as it had been left in 1538. Having outgrown its previous home in the Tower, the office used all available space in its new home. Through the end of the sixteenth century, the presence of the Ordnance Office served as a natural constraint on growth in the Minorities. Martha Carlin's invaluable, exhaustive study of the properties in the liberty shows that, in 1560, the buildings which housed the Minorities' residents remained largely intact, with only a few houses subdivided into smaller tenements.<sup>196</sup> The lack of rental surveys for the precinct after 1560 makes it difficult to reconstruct subsequent developments, but it is clear from the parish registers that the population there began to grow. The two or three baptisms recorded annually in the 1560s grew to a dozen or more per year by the early 1580s.<sup>197</sup> These people had to live somewhere, and it

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<sup>194</sup> TNA SP 14/154/28.

<sup>195</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, ii.32-3.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> GL MS 9238, fos 3-45.

seems most likely that they were accommodated by the subdivision of larger structures in the residential part of the liberty. Roger Dallison's attempts to enrich himself by renting out parts of the Ordnance Office portions of the liberty as private residences in the 1610s were eventually ended by the Privy Council.<sup>198</sup> It seems that new construction in the Minories began in earnest with Dallison. It is only after 1616 that the records of the royal government begin to include the Minories among the notes of 'such persons as are greate offenders in building contrary to his Majesty's proclamacions', and the precinct is featured frequently in such notes thereafter.<sup>199</sup>

Holy Trinity's parish registers suggest that residents of the Minories pursued a wide variety of trades and professions. It should be stressed that, despite their location beyond the jurisdiction of the City of London, many residents were engaged in business that was far from illicit. John Hide, a citizen and merchant tailor, moved to the Minories some time before 1566, when he began a two year term as churchwarden. His quarterly contribution to the church was 2/4*d*, putting him among the wealthiest members of the parish. When a collection was taken in 1567 for repairs to the precinct church, Hide made the largest single donation, accounting for more than fifteen percent of the whole sum raised (£11/18/2*d*). In 1569, he recommended several poor people for relief by the parish.<sup>200</sup> At various times during his life, Hide owned or occupied seven different tenements in the precinct.<sup>201</sup> In 1604 Hide left a charitable bequest 'chargeable out of all my landes tenementes and hereditaments in the precincte called the Myneries' to the parson and churchwardens of St Andrew Undershaft. The churchwardens were to use the forty shillings annually to purchase coal to be distributed among 'three or four of the Ancienties of the said parish', which was in Aldgate ward, not far from the Minories.<sup>202</sup>

The silk industry—dominated by alien craftsmen who enjoyed the support of an eager royal government—also had a foothold in the Minories.<sup>203</sup> In March 1624/5, John Bonnal received a grant 'of the King's interest in the leases of two gardens and a shed there, on condition of his building and maintaining a house for keeping and breeding of silkworms for his Majesty'.<sup>204</sup> Bonnal joined a community of silk-workers that had existed in the neighbourhood for decades. The 1568 return of strangers listed one alien

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<sup>198</sup> TNA SP 14/176/8i; TNA SP 16/13/91-3; *APC* 1618-9, p. 412; *APC* 1619-21, pp. 236-9.

<sup>199</sup> *APC* 1616-7, pp. 15-6; *APC* 1618-9, pp. 245, 458; 1619-21, p. 114.

<sup>200</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 2-3v, 15v, 17, 18, 23, 29v, 31v.

<sup>201</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iv.55.

<sup>202</sup> TNA C 93/6/3, fo 4.

<sup>203</sup> Luu, *Immigrants*, p. 3

<sup>204</sup> *CSPD* 1623-5, p. 497 (12 Mar 1624/5); *CSPD* 1625-6, p. 68 (22 Jul 1625).

silkweaver living in the Minories, but three years later the number jumped to seven.<sup>205</sup> Some of the Minories' alien silk-workers enjoyed substantial success. Roger van Herwege, a silk-twister and member of the Dutch church living in the Minories in 1625 reported that he employed thirty-five Englishmen alongside seventeen Dutch workers.<sup>206</sup>

Two other occupational groups were particularly noteworthy for their concentrations in the Minories: metalworkers and musicians. Metalworkers of many stripes settled in the liberty—the 1568 return of aliens listed a gunmaker, three buttonmakers, two pinmakers and a goldsmith, and the 1571 return added three clockmakers to the mix. While underrepresented among aliens in the Minories, gunsmiths were the most prominent group of metalworkers in the liberty. Henry VIII's reign marked the beginning of large-scale gun manufacture in England.<sup>207</sup> The Ordnance Office's move to the Minories in the first years of Elizabeth's reign therefore helped establish it (and other eastern suburbs) as an early centre of the trade.<sup>208</sup>

The Minories' gunsmiths operated alongside smithies run by cutlers and the makers of precision instruments. Physician and mathematician Thomas Hood lived in the Minories for nearly a decade around the turn of the century, and it was from the Minories that he first introduced the sector—a predecessor of the modern slide rule—to England.<sup>209</sup> The Dutch engineer Cornelius Drebbel (whose compound microscopes and human powered submarine made him famous in his day) also lived in the liberty until his death in 1633.<sup>210</sup> In 1623 his daughters had married the two brothers called Kuffeler. The Kuffeler brothers lived and worked alongside Drebbel at the Minories workshop he had been given by James I; they continued there until the eve of the Civil War, when they moved back to the Netherlands.<sup>211</sup> Less famous men, clockmakers, pinmakers and engineers, lived and worked alongside Hood and Drebbel, producing instruments for which demand far outstripped supply.

Knife-makers caused more of a stir, since illicit operations in the Minories were seen as a direct threat to the established knife trade in London. In 1622 the Cutlers'

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<sup>205</sup> *Returns of Aliens*, eds Kirk and Kirk, i.392, ii.146. See also p. 61, above.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, iii.281.

<sup>207</sup> J F Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker*, 2 vols, (London, 1962), pp. 106-9.

<sup>208</sup> W K Neal and D H L Back, *Great British Gunmakers: 1540-1740* (Norwich, 1984), pp. 155, 160-2, 167, 181, 196.

<sup>209</sup> T Hood, *The Making and Use of the Geometrical Instrument, Called a Sector*, 1st edn (London, 1598); C J Sangwin, 'Edmund Gunter and the Sector' (unpublished article, 2003); H K Higton, 'Hood, Thomas (*hap.* 1556, *d.* 1620)', *ODNB*.

<sup>210</sup> H A M Snelders, 'Drebbel, Cornelis (1572-1633)', *ODNB*.

<sup>211</sup> J H Appleby, 'Kuffeler, Johannes Sibertus (1595-1677)', *ODNB*.

Company set out to identify the alien cutlers living throughout the metropolis.<sup>212</sup> Of the twenty-seven cutlers identified, seven were resident in post-monastic precincts. There were two in East Smithfield (one of whom was listed as ‘very pore’) and one, a widow, in the adjacent liberty of St Katherine’s Hospital. Blackfriars boasted four stranger cutlers, although one, Matthew Margren, ‘useth not the trade, but is the Kinges servaunt, a messenger’.<sup>213</sup> No cutlers are listed as resident in the Minories, but a number must have lived there. The following year, the Cutlers’ Company joined with the Ironmongers’ Company in submitting to the Court of Aldermen a complaint that

divers foreigners had sold, and still continued to sell, such wares in...places in or near the City; some of them had taken houses or chambers in the Minories (a privileged place), where they sold them, to the deceit of His Majesty's subjects and the great hindrance of the Petitioners, who pray the Court to take steps for remedy thereof.<sup>214</sup>

The mayor and aldermen duly forwarded the petition to the Privy Council.<sup>215</sup> No record survives of how the council responded to the complaint, but neither do the Remembrancia of the City record further complaints from the Cutlers. This rapidly-defused incident is the only evidence that the Minories’ liberty status ever caused friction with the City of London. In comparison, other liberties clashed frequently with civic authorities over the precise limits of jurisdiction.

The concentration of alien musicians in the Minories had more obscure origins than that of metalworkers. It seems likely that the first few musicians moved there for unrelated reasons, and others were attracted there by the original settlers. Ambrose Lupo moved to the liberty by 1564, and the lutenist Richard Pike was buried at Holy Trinity in May 1568.<sup>216</sup> The earliest and most enduring of these musical families was the Galliardellos.<sup>217</sup> Mark Anthony Galliardello was a member of a Venetian ‘Jewish musical dynasty’ that provided a number of musicians to the Elizabethan court.<sup>218</sup> Mark Anthony

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<sup>212</sup> *Returns of Aliens*, eds Kirk and Kirk, iii.259.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> CLRO Rememb. VI, fo. 24.

<sup>215</sup> CLRO Rememb. VI, fo 41.

<sup>216</sup> B Usher, ‘The Cosyns and the Galliardellos: Two Elizabethan Musical Dynasties’, *Consort*, 50 (1994), p. 99.

<sup>217</sup> One caveat deserves notice in reviewing the musical families of mid-sixteenth century London: surnames were not fixed at first, being more likely to group occupational or musical cohorts than kinsfolk. By 1570 names had stabilised, but care should be used in reviewing earlier documents for kinship ties. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>218</sup> B Usher, ‘Galliardello, Mark Anthony (d. 1585)’, *ODNB*. Mark Anthony Galliardello was known primarily as Mr Markantony in parish documents; he was in royal service from his arrival in 1545 until his death in 1585. Other Galliardellos at court included Anthony Maria (who took the surname Cosin, as well), who served from 1539 until 1573 and Paul Galliardello, who served from 1555 to 1564. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8. Anthony Maria, however, called Mark Anthony his friend (not his brother or his cousin) in his 1572 will; see preceding note.

lived in East Smithfield in the 1540s, but soon relocated to the Minories. By the time churchwardens' accounts begin in 1566 he was an established presence in the parish, having embraced the outspoken Protestantism of the Minories.<sup>219</sup> The 1563 baptism of his daughter Lucretia is the first entry in the Holy Trinity parish register.<sup>220</sup> In June 1568, he was granted a patent of denization, and six months later he was elected churchwarden.<sup>221</sup> Galliardello kept meticulous records during his two year churchwardenship, the comprehensive data concerning preachers and poor relief are invaluable in understanding the zenith of the precinct's nonconformity. According to Usher, Galliardello was 'prominent in encouraging the activities' of the radical preachers who converged on the Minories in the late 1560s.<sup>222</sup> Galliardello served as churchwarden again for two years beginning in December 1576, during the final suppression of outspoken Puritanism in the liberty. Galliardello was certainly instrumental in drawing up the parish's 1578 poor relief regulations.<sup>223</sup>

Mark Anthony Galliardello's social and professional connections brought other musical families into the Minories. His son-in-law, another foreign musician called Henry Troches, moved to the Minories in 1579/80, and was immediately welcomed into the parish vestry.<sup>224</sup> Although his wife died in 1584, Troches continued to live in the Minories until his own death more than two decades later. After Galliardello's death in 1585 his seventeen-year-old son Caesar took his father's place among the royal violins, continuing in royal service until his death in 1627. Caesar also became an active member of the parish vestry the following year.<sup>225</sup> In 1592 Caesar further extended the Minories music circle when he married Elizabeth Cosyn (daughter of the 'godly Elizabethan composer' John Cosyn).<sup>226</sup> Caesar's surviving sister also married into a musical family: in 1585 she married John Lanier, a sackbut player at court whose father Nicholas was also a royal musician.<sup>227</sup> Their son, also Nicholas, was the first master of the King's Musick and a favourite of King Charles.<sup>228</sup> Despite being strangers, the Galliardellos were the

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<sup>219</sup> LPL MS 3390, fos 1-15v.

<sup>220</sup> GL MS 9238, fo 3, ff. Three other children were baptised by the end of 1568.

<sup>221</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 24.

<sup>222</sup> Usher, 'Cosyns', p. 100.

<sup>223</sup> LPL MS 3390, fo 50v.

<sup>224</sup> Troches' signature appears frequently in vestry endorsements from 1580 through 1615, after which his son Jacob seems to have taken his place. LPL MS 3390, fos 56v-109, *passim*.

<sup>225</sup> B Usher, 'Galliardello, Caesar (bap. 1568, d. 1627)', *ODNB*; LPL MS 3390, fos 72v, 77.

<sup>226</sup> Usher, 'Cosyns', p. 95. There is no known relationship between Anthony Maria Galliardello (alias Cosin) and John Cosyn's family, although both lived in the Minories.

<sup>227</sup> M I Wilson, 'Lanier, Nicholas (bap. 1588, d. 1666)', *ODNB*. Lanier was collector for the poor in 1588. He refused the constabulary in 1590, naming William Gouge as his deputy, but he accepted the churchwardenship in 1591-2. LPL MS 3390, fos 75, 77-9.

<sup>228</sup> Wilson, 'Lanier, Nicholas', *ODNB*.

dominant family of the parish for nearly three-quarters of a century. In the 1560s and 70s, Mark Anthony was integral to Holy Trinity's nonconformity. His children's marriages kept prominent musicians in the precinct after his death, and his son (and sons-in-law) were in their turns active members of the parish. Even in death Caesar Galliardello left his mark on the liberty by introducing noted Puritan Josias Nicholls to the Minories. The Galliardello family was exceptional, however. They were they only aliens in any of London's liberties who took a prominent role in local government. Despite larger alien populations in St Martin's, St Katherine's and Blackfriars, it is clear that very few aliens in those neighbourhoods held local offices there.

The musicians of the Minories were only the most prominent members of a larger and more diverse group of aliens resident in the liberty. Owen argues 'the Minories, no less than other London liberties, was a centre of "foreign" and alien craftsmen attracted by the exemptions claimed against the operation of City craft and trading regulations', but we have already seen that the Minories secular franchises exist primarily in the arguments of later writers.<sup>229</sup> The number of aliens in the liberty did grow quickly during the middle decades of the sixteenth century, but as a population centre it never approached the prominence of the other liberties studied here, or of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Langborne and Tower Wards in the City. In the 1590s, those neighbourhoods each included several hundred aliens; Bishopsgate Ward reported 577 aliens in 1593.<sup>230</sup> Only seven aliens from the Minories contributed to the 1549 lay subsidy; thirteen strangers did so in 1564. In the Blackfriars, another liberty without a history of alien settlement at the time of the dissolution, thirty strangers contributed to the 1564 subsidy.<sup>231</sup> Subsidy evasion and underpayment were general problems during Elizabeth's reign, confined neither to the poor nor to aliens.<sup>232</sup> The non-English, however, were a relatively easy group to track, and in the last decades of the sixteenth century sporadic attempts were made to record the whereabouts of strangers who had stopped contributing to subsidy assessments. A 1596 return, for example, listed fifty strangers who had previously contributed to the subsidy in the Minories as 'dead and gone'.<sup>233</sup> The numbers of subsidy payers therefore under represents the actual number of strangers in an area. Thirteen immigrants contributed to the 1564 subsidy assessment

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<sup>229</sup> Owen, 'Liberty of the Minories', p. 85.

<sup>230</sup> BL Lansd 74, no. 31.

<sup>231</sup> *Returns of Aliens*, eds Kirk and Kirk, i.176, 303, 308.

<sup>232</sup> Archer, 'Burden of Taxation', p. 610; M J Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England: Local Administration and Response* (London, 1994), pp. 65, 71.

<sup>233</sup> *Returns of Aliens*, eds Kirk and Kirk, ii.480.

from the Minories, but four years later a return of strangers listed seventy as resident there. In 1571, another return counted sixty-nine.<sup>234</sup> The residential portion of the Minories was of course quite small, but the immigrant population there was still a fraction of the size of those elsewhere in London.

### Conclusions

When Parliament seized control of the Minories in 1642, Sir Walter Earle MP took the office of lieutenant-general, but much of the Ordnance part of the precinct was transferred to a new Corporation for the Poor of the City of London.<sup>235</sup> After the Restoration, the Ordnance Office recovered the lands it had lost to the new corporation. The king also 'asserted a right to present the living' for the first time: 'In March 1661 the then incumbent was reappointed to his living by the king, and thenceforth the Crown's right of patronage was never challenged.'<sup>236</sup> The Ordnance Office left the liberty permanently in the first months of 1672/3, two former lieutenants-general receiving the bulk of the Crown's property there.<sup>237</sup>

Between the dissolution of the Abbey of St Clare in 1538 and the outbreak of civil war in 1642, the Minories changed remarkably. Where once a dozen households had lived alongside a few dozen nuns, there sprang up a large and coherently (if abnormally) governed community. Especially in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, its residents were decidedly resistant to interference by outside (religious) authorities. On the whole, however, those living in the Minories were disinclined to press their privileges to the breaking point. Even their early prominence as a Puritan enclave was short-lived. After John Aylmer conclusively established the bishop of London's jurisdiction in the Minories the vocal nonconformity of the preceding decade did not re-emerge. Though the parish of Holy Trinity continued to harbour Puritan sympathies into the mid-seventeenth century, they were subtle enough to escape the wrath of future bishops of London.

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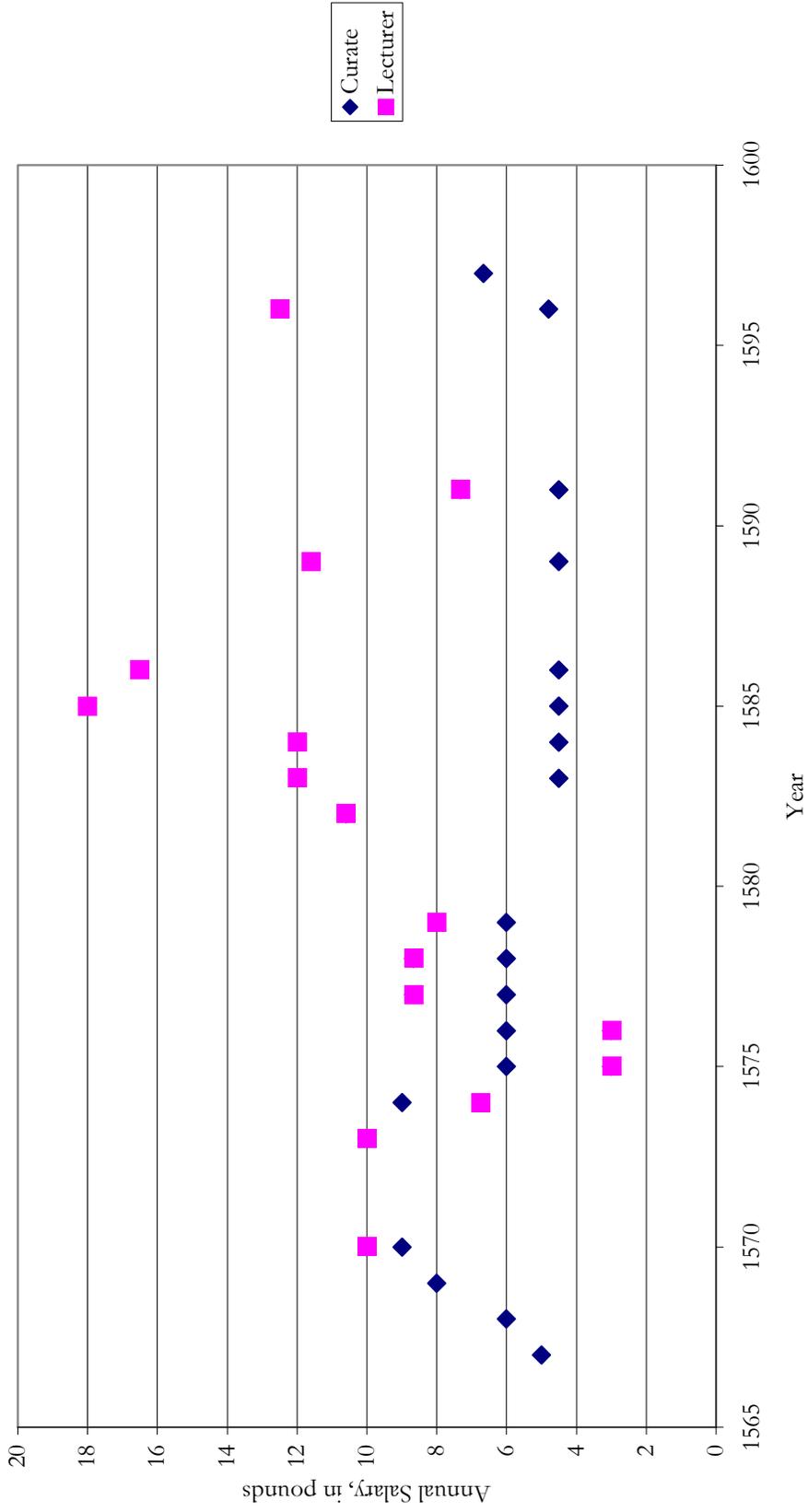
<sup>234</sup> Ibid., ii.127-30, iii.422-3.

<sup>235</sup> Tomlinson, *History of the Minories*, p. 144-6.

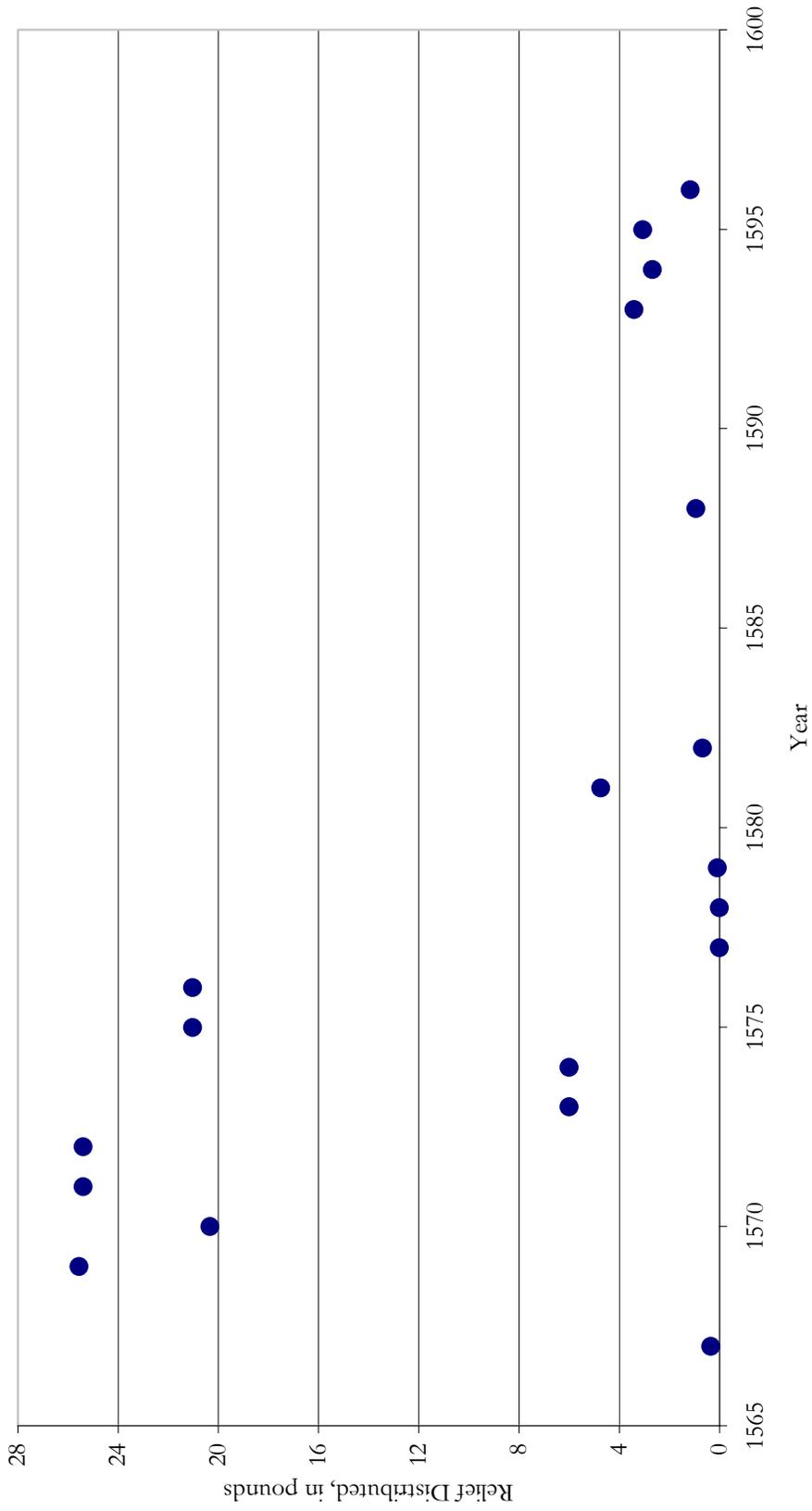
<sup>236</sup> Carlin, *Historical Gazetteer*, iii.11.

<sup>237</sup> Fly, 'Some Account of an Abbey', p. 112; Kinns, *Holy Trinity, Minories*, p. 16.

3.1 Clergy Salaries at Holy Trinity Minorities, 1567-1597



### 3.2 Poor Relief in the Minorities, 1567-1596



### 3.3 The distribution of poor relief at Holy Trinity Minorities

