Crafting Artisanal Identities in Early Modern London: The Spatial, Material and Social Practices of Guild Communities c.1560-1640

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Crafting artisanal identities in early modern London: the spatial, material and social practices of guild communities c.1560-1640

In recent decades, scholars have begun to substantially reassess the economic and political significance of the craft guilds of sixteenth and seventeenth century London. Revisionist work by economic historians (Epstein and Prak, 2008), has convincingly overturned the notion that guilds were unanimously restrictive of commercial growth, opposed to innovative practices and exploitative of their members. Several political and social studies (Rappaport, 1989; Archer, 1991; Gadd and Wallis, 2002) have demonstrated the dynamic and philanthropic nature of these corporate bodies, which provided avenues for occupational mobility and charitable support; ensuring that London remained stable despite the extraordinary demographic, financial and social pressures of the final decades of the sixteenth century. The longstanding interpretation of 'guild decline' in the early modern era has thus been widely problematized and shown to be anachronistic.

This thesis proposes a new methodology for examining the craft guilds of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century London, and suggests that the established scholarship has overlooked the significance of artisanal knowledge, skills and identities in the construction of meaningful communities of workshop practitioners, small-scale merchants, and the regulators of the crafts and trades. In this study, the built environments and material artefacts associated with London guilds are considered as active cultural and social agents (Appadurai; Kopytoff, 1986) which both reflected, and in turn reinforced identity formation, and the ritual and political boundaries of communal life. The changing structure of livery halls, their internal configurations and external designs, and the material furnishings and collections gifted, displayed and utilised within these institutional homes, are shown to be essential means through which guildsmen established competing claims for civic authority and professional artisanal accomplishment.

Using textual, visual and material evidence from a range of London craft guilds - primarily, but not exclusively, the Goldsmiths', Armourers', Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies - this work examines the physical and epistemological place of artisanal cultures, c.1560-1640. It considers the collaborative processes through which workmanship was evaluated by master craftsmen on early modern building sites, and the political and social value of such artisanal skills, techniques and knowledge within their associated livery halls. It is demonstrated that through the donation of visual and material artefacts to company buildings, and their subsequent use in the convivial, political and religious rites of the guilds, craftsmen were able to shape their reputations and post-mortem legacies. Their material gifts and bequests reveal that guild halls were simultaneously sites of memorisation (Archer, 2001), sociability, craft regulation and artisanal innovation. Within communities of living guildsmen, freemen wished to be remembered as affluent civic philanthropists, guardians of illustrious histories and, crucially, as masters of their respective artisanal practices. The changing spatial and material environments of guild halls are shown to be social products of complex organisations, which honoured both commensality and hierarchy; fraternal values and political and epistemological distinctions. The rebuilding projects of the London livery halls are considered in juxtaposition to the strained spatial and political relationships between guild halls and city workshops, and contemporary efforts to uphold the authority of liverymen to inspect artisanal standards and material quality within the wider urban environment.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

DHA   Drapers' Hall Archive, London

GHA   Goldsmiths' Hall Archive, London

GL   Guildhall Library, London

SML   Sir John Soane's Museum, London

TNA   The National Archive, London

Introduction: Crafting Artisanal Identities in Early Modern London: The Spatial, Material and Social Practices of Guild Communities c.1560-1640

The Argument

This thesis reconsiders the relationships between craft guilds and artisanal identities through an analysis of the material and spatial means by which London companies were upheld, reconstructed and represented. The built environments and material artefacts associated with craft guilds are understood to be cultural productions that both reflected and, in turn, reinforced identity formation within heterogeneous guild bodies. The changing design, material and spatial organisation of livery halls, and the material fixtures and moveable objects gifted, stored and displayed within these buildings, are considered as active agents in the framing and shaping of both individual reputations and collective identities. A material and spatial approach is presented as a particularly apposite methodology for an examination of communities composed of specialist producers and consumers: of workshop practitioners, retailers and civic authorities with the responsibility to evaluate and regulate material standards and artisanal quality within the expanding metropolis. It is proposed that we cannot adequately grasp the importance of craft guilds, for their diverse memberships, or civic society at large, without a considered analysis of the social and intellectual value of the mechanical arts in England and the artisanal and mercantile cultures within which sociopolitical guild hierarchies were articulated and sustained.

This work is intended to contribute to a rich revisionist scholarship that has asserted the continued significance of craft guilds - in economic, political and social contexts - throughout the early modern era. Building upon these literatures this study approaches the London craft guilds using new methodologies, sources and critical frameworks for an evaluation of the interplay between artisanal identities, epistemologies

and skills, and the institution of the craft guild. The primary conceptual and physical sites for analysis in this thesis are the livery halls of early modern London, the buildings within the ancient City walls through which guild communities were structured and organised. These built environments are reassembled here using material, visual and archival evidence. An examination of their design, construction, use and appropriation reveals guild halls to have been multifunctional built environments through which companies regulated their crafts and trades, socialised and disciplined their members, distributed charity, memorialised deceased members and displayed and demonstrated innovative artisanal practices.[1] These institutional homes were both 'worlds within worlds' - to borrow Steve Rappaport's phrase - with complex internal regulations and spatial politics and, simultaneously, sites within larger cultural and political networks of aldermanic, mercantile and court interests.[2] Not least, livery halls were the buildings from which company searchers, invested with the responsibility to inspect the workshops of all craftsmen and retailers of the relevant craft or trade, ritualistically began - and ended - their perambulation of the city streets.[3] Thus marking out a geography of company authority and symbolically linking all sites of production and retail with the institutional home of the guild.

From the time of their incorporation in the late medieval era, guilds were understood to be organisations that would exist in perpetuity, despite the short human lives of individual members. Their institutional homes, usually established just after or even in anticipation of incorporation, and collections of material things and furnishings were a

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[1] Ian W. Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89-113.
[2] Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[3] Michael Berlin, ' "Broken all in pieces": Artisans and the Regulation of Workmanship in Early Modern London', in *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, ed. by Geoffrey Crossick (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), pp. 75-91.

central foundation of their claims to permanence and sustained importance, constituting and shaping the guild community for multiple generations.[4] Between c.1550 and 1640, livery halls underwent significant alterations to their spatial organisation, material cultures and external designs: modifications that were connected to sociopolitical and demographic changes within the guilds themselves, and to broader cultural trends regarding 'architectural' reorganisation and material improvement. The rationale for remodelling or rebuilding a company hall was never straightforward: some guilds built as a reflection of enhanced political or economic fortunes, others to improve their prestige, demonstrate craft skills, compete with rival companies or better order social relations within the guild. But improvements to built environments were always understood to be a collective responsibility, shared among the livery in the largest guilds, and a broader section of the company hierarchy in the smaller, less affluent, minor guilds, such as the Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies. The design, materials and construction of corporate properties were inherently collaborative ventures, as was the assessment of artisanal value and craftsmanship during workshop searches, masterpiece demonstrations and tests of material quality in assay houses. Likewise, the furnishing of the interiors of livery halls with material artefacts, including furniture, textiles, plate, portraits, sculpture and armour, was understood to be the responsibility of a range of freemen: an obligation to fellow brothers of the guild, and an opportunity for self-promotion. Particularly in the case of material gifts which had been crafted in the workshops of their donors, the offering, display and ceremonial uses of material artefacts provided opportunities both for the demonstration of artisanal skills and craft and mercantile networks, and the memorialisation of significant guildsmen.

The phrases 'craft' or 'artisanal' identities are frequently used throughout this discussion of London guilds. These terms are employed to designate an articulation of self

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[4] John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), p. 44.

and of collective cultures, which were fundamentally rooted in an experiential understanding of material production and of workshop skills and practices; primarily acquired through the mechanism of guild-controlled apprenticeship. As argued in section one of this thesis, it is striking that outside the guild archives, textual evidence alone reveals little about the nature of artisanal self-representation in early modern England. By comparison to artisanal communities in urbanised areas of northern Italy, southern Germany and the Low Countries, the voice of the English artisan is largely absent from manuscript and printed textual cultures.[5] This silence, which has not been acknowledged or addressed by London guild historians - largely because of their sole focus upon English guilds as sociopolitical institutions - is not taken here to be an absence of identity, but rather a reflection of a culture within which tacit knowledge(s) were better demonstrated through visual and material mediums. It is shown that even within rare English manuscripts on the mechanical arts, authors admit that artisanal expertise and workshop secrets cannot be reduced to the written word alone: observation, experience and collaboration are essential features of craft mastery. The sources used in this thesis, which best elucidate these aspects of experience - including accounts of rebuilding projects and of the evaluation of workmanship; visual and material evidence of guild halls; surviving material gifts and products of the workshop - are not just another set of source materials, distinct from those customarily used by guild historians, but an essential methodology for examining craft practitioners.

It is the explicit aim of this thesis to move away from a 'single-company history' approach, which has so far dominated guild scholarship, and make comparisons and connections between different guild organisations, thus doing justice to their variety and

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[5] Pamela Long, *Openness, Secrecy Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001); Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004).

heterogeneity.[6] A range of guild records, including court minutes and accounts, inventories, building plans and surveys, will and gift books, from the archives of the Armourers' and Brasiers', Bakers', Basketmakers', Brewers', Carpenters', Cutlers', Drapers', Goldsmiths', Ironmongers' and Pewterers' Companies, have been consulted, dating from c. 1560 to c. 1640. The principal case studies in this analysis of the material and spatial construction of guild communities are drawn from the Goldsmiths', Armourers', Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies. All four were essentially craft guilds, though, particularly in the case of the Goldsmiths' Company, they were not exclusively composed of workshop practitioners; in various capacities their members were engaged in the manufacture, retail and regulation of material products within the metropolis. These four companies were chosen for consideration, from among dozens of other possibilities, because; first, they collectively represent a broad variety of guild institutions, in terms of civic prestige and types of material production. Ranging from the Goldsmiths' Company, a member of the great twelve livery companies, whose guildsmen were involved in luxury trade; to the Carpenters' Company, a guild of much more humble means and social pretentions, whose members were engaged in building construction.[7] Second, these companies all have rich archival records for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including accounts of the reconstruction of their livery halls and documentation of their material collections. Third, the Goldsmiths', Armourers', Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies all have early modern material remains in their twenty-first century livery halls, allowing for object-based analysis.

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[6] This comparative approach is championed in: Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, eds, *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research in association with Guildhall Library).

[7] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 27, 'London's twelve wealthiest and most powerful companies were called 'great companies', though many of their members were neither rich nor influential'.

The primary focus of this study is from c. 1560 to c. 1640, though the chronological perspective is extended in several chapters to take in pre-Reformation legacies and post-civil war impacts. Ian Archer has described the years between 1560 and 1640 'as the golden age of the London livery companies, as their membership increased dramatically and their continuing vital role in trade regulation was supplemented by a growing involvement in the provision of welfare'.[8] Considering the spatial and material focus of this thesis, we should add to this list, that these were the decades in which most London companies significantly adjusted or entirely rebuilt the late-medieval built fabric of their livery halls, a phenomenon which was in part connected to the growth of the companies and their increasing range of responsibilities. It was also a time in which guilds acquired increasing quantities and types of material goods and refashioned interior material collections. From the latter half of the sixteenth century, a range of intellectual and professional groupings in England also began to re-examine, in manuscript and print, the meaning, nature and significance of the mechanical arts, thus renegotiating long-established taxonomies of knowledge and value. As argued in the first section of this thesis, this had a profound impact on the way in which artisanal epistemologies and identities were framed and conceptualised. Chronologically speaking, this study finishes in c. 1640, as the turmoil of the civil wars and interregnum were a time of considerable upheaval within the guilds, and are worthy of an entirely separate study.[9]

The Craft Guild

The craft guild was the basic and ubiquitous unit for the organisation and regulation of artisanal labour across urbanised late medieval and early modern Europe. Guilds varied

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[8] Ian W. Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London,* ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 15-28 (p. 15).
[9] Michael Berlin, 'Guilds in Decline? London Livery Companies and the Rise of a Liberal Economy, 1600-1800', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800*, ed. by S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 316-41 (pp. 325-26).

widely in terms of membership size and the financial capital and resources at their disposal, but nearly all tried, through legal means, to ensure that their members held the exclusive rights to manufacture particular material products.[10] Most craft guilds also controlled apprenticeship systems, the 'on the job' training process through which propositional knowledge and tacit skills were effectively transferred to new generations of artisans in a workshop setting.[11] Moreover, the ruling bodies of many guilds also attempted further economic regulation, including fines to prevent the manufacture and retailing of faulty wares; the employment of 'too many' freemen or apprentices within a single workshop; and the illegal engagement of 'strangers' and 'aliens' within their civic jurisdictions.[12] The London Goldsmiths' Company's first extensive book of Ordinances and Statutes, compiled in September 1478, included regulations 'for taking apprentices and their enrolment'; 'for keep[ing] shop'; 'for working gold and silver to the standard' and appropriate penalties 'if any man reveals the secrets of his craft'.[13] Through the authority of royal charter, London craft guilds were also invested with the particular responsibility to routinely 'search' the workshops and retail spaces of all artisans and retailers engaged in their particular craft or trade. Faulty products, those that fell short of a particular quality standard, were brought back to the livery hall in question and ceremonially broken up in front of guild authorities; the persistent malefactor would be fined or suffer physical punishment if a public apology was unforthcoming.[14] In most urban areas across Europe, guilds were directly involved with local government, with citizenship closely related to guild membership. In London, a

[10] S. R. Epstein, 'Craft Guilds', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Economic History*, ed. by Joel Mokyr, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), II, 35-39.

[11] S. R. Epstein 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship and Technological Change in Pre-Industrial Europe', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, pp. 52-80; Bert De Munck and Hugo Soly, "Learning on the Shop Floor' in Historical Perspective', in *Learning on the Shop Floor: Historical Perspectives on Apprenticeship*, ed. by Bert de Munck, Steven L. Kaplan and Hugo Soly (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 3-32; Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68 (2008), 832-61.

[12] Epstein, 'Craft Guilds', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Economic History*.

[13] Thomas F. Reddaway and Lorna E. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509* (London: Arnold, 1975), pp. 209-74.

[14] Patrick Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 85-100.

charter of 1319 made guild membership - freeman status - a prerequisite for citizenship and, thus, full participation in the political and economic life of the City. Only freemen could legitimately keep shops and run workshops and businesses, and were entitled to nominate aldermen or elect common councilmen, or serve in relation to either office.[15] This political aspect of London guild institutions has been most attractive to historians, leading to the significant neglect of other crucial aspects of their existence and identity.

Scholarly Approaches to the Craft Guild

From the second half of the nineteenth century, histories of London guilds have customarily been written as 'domestic chronicles', focusing upon individual company narratives.[16] These include antiquarian accounts of the Armourers' and Brasiers' and Goldsmiths' Companies, which are, selectively, utilised in this thesis.[17] Comprising centuries of transcribed archival records, one should not underestimate the importance of these studies for modern guild scholarship; particularly in cases where the condition of the original archival materials has significantly deteriorated in later decades.[18] But these studies have clear limitations. The focus upon a single company results in an absence of comparative perspective, 'a ghettoisation of the subject'; moreover a simple narrative structure, ranging from the incorporation of the company to the present day, usually lacks a distinct analytical or theoretical focus.[19]

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[15] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 29-31, 188.

[16] G. D. Ramsay, 'Victorian Historiography and the Guilds of London: The Report of the Royal Commission on the Livery Companies of London, 1884', *The London Journal*, 10 (1984), 155-66; Gadd and Wallis, 'Introduction', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 1-14 (pp. 2-4).

[17] Charles John Ffoulkes, *Some Account of the Company of Armourers and Brasiers: with a Catalogue of the Arms and Armour in Possession of the Company* (London: The Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, 1927); *Memorials of the Goldsmiths Company*, ed. by Walter Sherburne Prideaux, 2 vols (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1986-87).

[18] The Armourers' Company's sixteenth-century archive has suffered considerable water damage in the twentieth century, for example.

[19] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, p. 15, 'There is a crying need for works of synthesis and comparison'.

The first English scholar to write an integrated history of the London companies presented a narrative of the decline of the guilds. Writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, the economic anti-statist historian George Unwin posited the view that 'the gilds of the West expired in giving birth to progress'.[20] Unwin argues that the 'death' of the guilds - their supposed loss of control over economic regulation - was essential for the development of market relations, for the emergence of 'western' economic progress and political liberty.[21] In this assertion of the interrelation between the 'decline' of guilds and the rise of economic liberalism, Unwin echoed the received wisdom of classical economic theory as articulated in Adam Smith's 1776 *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.[22] A central pillar in Unwin's thesis of the decline of the London companies is the notion of sustained internal conflict within guild organisations, between economically conservative governors, the livery, that 'do not faithfully represent the industrial interests of the company', and their wilful artisanal subordinates.[23] In this latter group, the yeomanry, Unwin sees the beginnings of 'the separate organisation of wage-earners known [in later centuries] as trade unions'.[24] The questionable validity of this representation is discussed below, but for many decades following the publication of Unwin's two key monographs - *Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1904) and *The Gilds and Companies of London* (1908) - the concepts of 'community' and 'craft guild' thus seemed wholly antithetical, and the institutions themselves increasingly redundant from the later sixteenth century.

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[20] George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 4th edn (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 4.
[21] Berlin, 'Guilds in Decline?', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, p. 319, 'from a very early point, historical research on English guilds outlined a distinctive model of decline that stressed the inevitable break-up of these institutions with the triumph of laissez-faire capitalism'.
[22] Ibid., p. 317.
[23] Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies*, p. 224.
[24] Ibid., p. 349.

But in recent decades, early modern craft guilds have enjoyed something of a reputational rehabilitation among economic historians. The portrayal of guilds as monopolistic, rent-seeking institutions, restrictive and exploitative of their artisanal memberships, and thus ultimately detrimental to the development of flourishing economic markets has been challenged on several fronts.[25] Scholarship by S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak demonstrates that craft guilds did not systematically oppose new technology or stifle inventive artisanal practices. In particular, the mechanism of craft training, apprenticeship, and the 'coordination roles played by guilds in complex production processes', might have even stimulated innovatory craft practices.[26] The timing of the decline of the guilds' economic regulatory powers has also been subjected to closer scrutiny, across a range of crafts and trades. It is generally agreed that though under substantial financial and political strain, the London companies were still the primary institutions, well into the eighteenth century, through which crafts and trades were organised and regulated, both within and beyond the ancient City walls.[27] Joseph Ward shows that the traditional representation of City authorities, pitted against licentious activities in the liberties and growing suburbs beyond, overlooks the fact that London companies routinely searched extra-mural workplaces, and that senior guildsmen themselves often resided within these neighbourhoods.[28] Ward argues that the nature of the guild 'community' in early modern London was ambiguous, depending 'largely on how closely they [guildsmen] chose to identify themselves and their interests with their guild's'.[29]

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[25] James R. Farr, 'On the Shop Floor: Guilds, Artisans, and the European Market Economy, 1350-1750', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1 (1997), 24-54.

[26] Epstein and Prak, 'Introduction: Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, pp. 1-24 (pp. 7-11).

[27] Berlin, 'Guilds in Decline?', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, pp. 325-38; John Forbes, 'Search, Immigration and the Goldsmiths' Company: A Study in the Decline of its Powers', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 115-25.

[28] Joseph Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[29] Ibid., p. 6.

Indeed, beyond questions of economic regulation and relevance, from the 1970s, scholarship has revealed that early modern guild institutions provided multifarious material, social, political and spiritual benefits and supports for members, shaping civic identities and concepts of status and community.[30] There was seemingly no aspect of the lived experiences of medieval or early modern urban dwellers not touched in a profound way by the institution of the craft guild. In his work on French artisanal social and cultural networks, James Farr suggests that scholars should be wary in assuming a purely 'production-centred definition' when considering the identity of the early modern craftsman.[31] Moving beyond 'an institutional or productive (even economic) framework', Farr asserts that artisans 'were not defined primarily as producers […] but rather as an état, a rank or 'degree".[32] Similarly, Geoffrey Crossick warns us from presumptuously supposing that 'if one was an artisan […] artisanship was at the heart of one's social being and personal identity'.[33]

The principal studies of London companies examine precisely these civic ranks and degrees. The scholarship of Steve Rappaport and Ian Archer separately shows that guilds were essential for the maintenance of stability and order within sixteenth-century London, in the face of extraordinary demographic, political and social pressures. Rappaport's *Worlds Within Worlds* rejects the notion of 'quasi-class conflict within guilds' as proposed by Unwin, and the alleged 'epidemic' or 'chronic instability' within the City itself. To the contrary, Rappaport suggests that guilds were largely harmonious bodies, providing multiple opportunities for upward socioeconomic and political mobility. Prospects for

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[30] James R. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550-1650* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1988); id., *Artisans in Europe, 1400-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Geoffrey Crossick, 'Past Masters: In Search of the Artisan in European History', in *The Artisan and the European Town,* ed. by Crossick, pp. 1-40.
[31] James R. Farr, 'Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans', in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by Crossick, pp. 56-74 (p. 56).
[32] Ibid.
[33] Crossick, 'Past Masters: In Search of the Artisan', in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by id., p. 5.

improving one's material standing and status within the guilds is said to have been possible

for an estimated three-quarters of the male population of the City, who were freemen.

Their stake in the system allegedly ensured stability throughout the metropolis.[34]

Rappaport also presents the governing elite of London as showing great sensitivity to the

needs and demands of their social and political subordinates: it is argued that the

liverymen of the guilds were flexible and accommodating in their approach to complaints

and grievances brought to the company courts by a range of merchants, master craftsmen

and journeymen.[35] Though somewhat sceptical of this harmonious, consensual picture of

social relations within guild institutions, Archer also stresses the sociopolitical importance

of the London companies, particularly during the unrest of the 1590s, as fuelled by

demographic growth, plague, price inflation and high rates of taxation.[36] Archer suggests

that the 'extraordinary level of cohesion' among the aldermanic elites of the City

safeguarded civic stability.[37] These significant citizens, who also governed parish vestries

and sat on company courts, were generally responsive to the grievances of their

subordinates. They also demonstrated generosity and paternalism through charitable

largesse, directed at destitute urban dwellers and 'decayed' members of their own

companies, thus ensuring a reasonably strong degree of institutional 'loyalty'.[38] In contrast

to Rappaport, Archer suggests that the responsiveness of the company courts to demands

by middling artisan householders often depended upon the petitioner making the claim

and the nature of the grievance being raised: it was, for example 'relatively easy to secure

action on quality control, but much more difficult to persuade rulers to discipline

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[34] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 378-87; Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London', *London Journal*, 5 (1979), 3-34.

[35] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 381, 'In settling disputes between groups of companymen assistants often sought a *via media*, a compromise which recognised and accommodated diverse needs of employers and employees, craftsmen and merchants.'

[36] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 9-17; id., 'The Burden of Taxation on Sixteenth-Century London', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 599-627.

[37] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 49.

[38] Ibid., p. 111.

wholesalers or those who expanded the size of their enterprises beyond reasonable limits'.[39]

The work of Rappaport and Archer shows that London guilds were strictly structured according to set hierarchies of status, 'with men in one estate possessing more wealth, political power, and prestige than men in inferior estates'.[40] At the pinnacle of the institutional hierarchy of the guild was the master of the company. Customarily elected on an annual basis, the master, or prime warden, was closely supported in his governing duties by three wardens. Among other responsibilities, the wardens searched workshops and collected rents from guild-owned properties. The master was also sustained by a group of ex-wardens known as the assistants. Collectively the wardens and ex-wardens (and occasionally liverymen who had never served in this office), constituted the court of assistants, which exercised almost total authority over all decisions concerning the governance of the guild and the regulation of the craft or trade. This included the resolution of disputes between guildsmen, the presentation of apprentices and the granting of property leases.[41] Voting rights and responsibilities, as concerning the election of the master and the wardens, were almost always restricted to the assistants or the livery.[42] The liverymen were senior guildsmen who were physically distinguished from the rest of the company by their ceremonial liveries: fur lined cloaks with satin hoods. The livery served as stewards on quarter days and at feasts and participated in the administrative and judicial work of the guilds, 'such as overseeing lawsuits and appeals for action to the crown or parliament'.[43] They also enjoyed trade privileges, such as the right to

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[39] Ibid., p. 260.

[40] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 218.

[41] Ibid., p. 250, 'Depending upon the company, from one-quarter to more than three-fifths of all liverymen were assistants, making the words 'liveryman' and 'assistant' almost synonymous in many companies.'

[42] In the Armourers and Brasiers', Coopers, Goldsmiths' and Grocers' Companies the livery played a role in the election of their rulers. See: Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 252-53; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 103-04.

[43] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 255.

take on more apprentices and operate larger commercial premises than most ordinary freemen.[44] Admission into the livery was relatively expensive and controlled by the company's assistants.[45] Those guildsmen - the majority - who were not members of the livery were known as the yeomanry. This group tended to be relatively socioeconomically heterogeneous, consisting of a range of retailers, master craftsmen, householders and journeymen. The latter were effectively wage or day labourers, who had not established their own workshops.[46] In many companies the yeomanry had their own regulations, officers and revenue and would organise their own formal and informal social gatherings, memorials and 'drinkings'; in the Cutlers' Company Hall the yeomanry even had their own separate hall chamber.[47]

In his early twentieth-century accounts of the London companies, Unwin portrays the yeomanry estate, particularly those of the Clothworkers', Haberdashers' and Skinners' Companies, as proto-trade unions: craft practitioners consistently battling the liverymen, 'merchants who had no knowledge of the handicraft'.[48] This portrayal of 'conflict between the industrial interest as represented by the yeomanry, and the commercial or other interests represented by the court of assistants' is problematic on a number of levels.[49] First, the historical reality is that the yeomanry were definitely not intended, nor perceived as being, autonomous organisations. In no company did the yeomanry hold absolute rights to elect their own officers for example, or control their own finances.[50] The yeomanry were one among a number of company estates bound by notions of patronage and duty. Further, the boundary between the estates was porous for some, as the most ambitious and successful members of the yeomanry - known as wardens of the yeomanry or the

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[44] Ibid., pp. 250-73.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 256-57.
[46] *Ibid*., pp. 219-232; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 106-11.
[47] Guildhall Library, MS 7164, fol. 8[r].
[48] Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies*, p. 224.
[49] Ibid., p. 231.
[50] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 230-31.

bachelors in the great twelve companies - would eventually become liverymen.[51] This mobility was a 'more realistic prospect' in relatively small craft guilds such as the Pewterers' or Armourers' Companies, where the liverymen accounted for a much higher proportion of members as compared to the great twelve. Approximately 12 per cent of all guildsmen belonging to the Armourers' Company, for example, were liverymen, as compared to 3.7 per cent of all Merchant Taylors.[52] Second, as Archer has argued, 'Unwin's model of conflict between traders and handicraftsmen […] is not applicable to the lesser companies where a much greater community of interest between rulers and ruled prevailed.'[53] In the great twelve companies mercantile interests tended to predominate, although 'their power was diluted by a strong retailing element and a sprinkling of artisans', while in the lesser craft guilds, such as the Pewterers' and Carpenters' Companies, almost all members were practising artisans.[54] Third, Unwin's assertion that merchants 'had no knowledge of the handicraft' is highly problematic and has no empirical basis. Even Unwin himself concedes that many individuals involved in retail or trading activities at the peak of their careers, 'had gone through an apprenticeship to the manual side of his craft'.[55] Members of the livery, particularly the wardens, were also routinely involved in the assessment of the material quality of their members' workshop products, through their responsibilities of search: this involved close interaction with workshop practitioners and an understanding of their skills and processes. It is the aim of this thesis to demonstrate that 'knowledge' of artisanal products and practices was a contentious and

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[51] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 109-10.
[52] Ibid., p. 114.
[53] Ibid., p. 102.
[54] Ibid., pp. 101-2, 104-5, (p.104), 'In the lesser companies mercantile domination of the craft was scarcely ever an issue. On the contrary, artisan involvement in the government of the craft was commonplace.' See also: Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, *1603-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 44.
[55] Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies*, p. 62; Ian W. Archer, 'The Government of London, 1500-1650', *The London Journal*, 26 (2001), 19-28 (p. 21), 'all members of the ruling group [the aldermen] had shared the experience of apprenticeship with the tradesmen who constituted the bulk of the city's population'.

variable notion. Particularly within a guild as heterogeneous as the Goldsmiths' Company, the meaning and demonstration of craft 'knowledge' was fluid and subjective.

The assertion by social and cultural guild historians, such as Farr and Crossick, that the complexity and richness of the lives of early modern craftsmen should not be reduced simply to their labour in the workshop - a Marxist 'reductive economism' - is certainly legitimate.[56] English artisans, like their continental counterparts, had multiple familial, kin-based, religious and social associations that reached beyond their particular guild organisation.[57] But this scholarly shift against a 'production-centred definition' also carries certain dangers.[58] Primarily, we should be wary in moving too far from the reality that London companies were fundamentally economic, as well as sociopolitical organisations, largely composed of men who were both producers and retailers of material goods. As Michael Berlin has argued, 'The concentration on the guilds as symbolic communities of the most recent guild scholarship need not be at the expense of understanding their role as economic institutions with a direct and changing role in London's development'.[59]

Crossick has also cautioned that a scholarly focus upon guild archives inevitably causes us to perceive or construct all identities through this institutional prism.[60] This study makes no apology for the fact that artisanal identities are considered primarily through the exceptionally rich archival records of the London craft guilds. The purpose of this thesis is precisely to consider how concepts of 'skill', 'mastership' and craft 'knowledge' were perceived and represented within the institutional context of the guilds. It is concerned

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[56] Farr, 'Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans', in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by Crossick, p. 58.
[57] Gervase Rosser, 'Craft Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', *Past and Present*, 154 (1997), 3-31, (pp. 7-8); Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).
[58] Farr, 'Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans', in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by Crossick, p. 58, 'Most historian of artisans, Marxist or not, have similarly 'essentialized' labour, assuming a direct functional activity between this activity and what an artisan was.'
[59] Berlin, 'Guilds in Decline?', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, p. 325.
[60] Crossick, 'Past Masters', in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by id., p. 5.

with the ways in which hierarchies of artisanal expertise might be mapped onto, or exist in tension with, the sociopolitical rankings so skilfully elucidated in the works of Archer and Rappaport. This is not to deny that there were many craftspeople in London and its environs who worked outside of the guild system. London companies were fundamentally masculine organisations, thus although women were actively engaged in household and market economies, they were effectively barred from obtaining the freedom and citizenship and so banned for working for wages or operating businesses.[61] Widows of guildsmen, though not formally company members, did however enjoy some of the benefits of freedom: they inherited 'the economic rights' of their deceased spouses 'and thus could ply a craft or trade with some degree of institutional freedom'.[62] These rights would be renounced if the woman re-married outside of the guild of her former husband.[63] In early modern London there were also unfree populations of working 'foreigners' (unfree English) and 'aliens' (immigrants, largely from the Netherlands and France) operating in the city and the suburbs.[64] In the first half of the sixteenth century the London companies, with the decidedly ambiguous support of the crown, clamped down on this unregulated economic activity by extending the freedom to these groups (though with significant restrictions attached) and gaining the rights to regulate all practitioners of crafts and trades working within two miles of the City.[65] The success of such guild regulation and the threat, or opportunity, which these bodies of 'foreigners' and 'strangers' represented to freemen,

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[61] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 38-39; Farr, 'On The Shop Floor', pp. 42-47; Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman, 'Women's Work, Gender Conflict, and Labour Markets in Europe, 1500-1900', *Economic History Review*, 44 (1991), 608-28; Merry E. Wiesner, 'Guilds, Male Bonding and Women's Work in Early Modern Germany', *Gender and History*, 1 (1989), 125-37.
[62] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 39.
[63] Ibid., pp. 40-41.
[64] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 131.
[65] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 45, 'London's foreigners and strangers were offered both the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, that is, the privileges of economic independence in exchange for their acceptance of the authority of both the City and the companies to regulate their economic activities.'

varied according to estate, craft or company and the socioeconomic condition of the capital in a particular season or year.[66]

As scholars, our understanding of guild institutions and identities is inevitably coloured by the fact that the governance and administration of a London guild, and thus all their records, were controlled by the liverymen, particularly the court of assistants.[67] Guild historians face the same methodological challenge of all social historians who use elite-authored or mediated sources, such as criminal court records: the potential difficulty of uncovering authentic mentalities or plebeian expressions of self.[68] In this thesis, wherever possible, the 'voices' of the yeomanry are acknowledged, especially through their material contributions to company buildings; even though this estate were not authoring the guild archive. Transcribed copies of letters and petitions to the company courts can reveal yeomanry attitudes: as for example, the goldsmiths' disputes with the company assayer throughout the final decades of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries.[69] Though it has to be acknowledged that even here, such views might not have been representative of the entirety of the yeomanry, or even the petitioners themselves. As Archer has noted, 'the polemics into which men are drawn in the heat of a particular conflict are not necessarily typical of their normal positions'.[70] In the main, this study is concerned with the most successful and affluent guildsmen, those who operated as master craftsmen, and had thus established their own workshops and businesses and who had also, largely, reached livery status within their associated craft guild.

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[66] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 131-40. It has been argued that in certain crafts and trades, such as gold and silver work, 'alien' craftsmen brought advanced workshop skills and techniques to the London market; though the extent to which these immigrant craftsmen disseminated their 'superior' talents to indigenous craftsmen is harder to ascertain, see: Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1400-1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 219-58.

[67] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 102.

[68] Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 24-27.

[69] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, ed. by Walter Sherburne Prideaux, 2 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896-97), I, 82-83.

[70] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 102.

Before moving onto a discussion of methodologies, it should be acknowledged that in general there were two features of the political culture of guild organisation in London that might appear to obscure a connection between guild membership and craft identities. First, besides apprenticeship, there were alternative routes through which a man might claim membership of a London company and, thereby, citizenship. The practices of 'patrimony', entering the company to which one's parent belonged, and that of 'redemption', paying a fee for association, were paths for those men who had usually not been indentured to a master craftsman and trained in a workplace in a particular artisanal skill.[71] Second, the right of a guildsman to practice any trade or craft in the city, known as the custom of London, undermined, in some instances, a straightforward correlation between a particular craft or trade and its associated guild.[72]

In response, it should be stressed that the use of patrimony or redemption to gain freedom of the City was relatively rare. Rappaport's quantitative analysis of surviving mid-sixteenth-century freedom registers shows that, 'Apprenticeship […] was the route through which nine in every ten men in the capital became citizens and companymen in the sixteenth century'.[73] Moreover, the existence of guildsmen who had never been indentured and, thus, had no formal craft or trade training was primarily a feature of the most prestigious and affluent great twelve livery companies, such as the Mercers' and Grocers' Companies, predominately composed of merchants and retailers. Upwardly mobile young men - those with the familial connections and financial resources to bypass the apprenticeship system altogether - were most likely to seek membership of a mercantile London company, which would offer them the greatest opportunities for political and socioeconomic betterment. Only the elites of these companies could also serve on the

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[71] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 24.
[72] Ibid., p. 91.
[73] Ibid., p. 24.

City's court of aldermen.[74] It is also the case that the custom of London appears to have affected occupational homogeneity primarily in the largest, mercantile companies, rather than in the minor craft guilds. Archer has found that even among the ruling bodies of the minor crafts, almost all members were guildsmen practicing the trade of the appropriate craft. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-eight men who entered the court of the assistants of the Coopers' Company between 1567 and 1602 for example, 'were working coopers', and 'fourteen of the sixteen assistants in the Plasterers' Company in 1582 were artisan plasterers'.[75] A similarly strong correlation between craft guild and the occupational practices of its members has been noted for the Cordwainers' and Carpenters' Companies.[76]

A Spatial and Material Approach

A consideration of the spaces in which institutional identities were forged, and the material cultures through which individual and collective reputations were asserted and sustained are essential methodologies for this analysis of artisanal identities and guild cultures in early modern London. As a building type, London livery halls and their rich material cultures have hitherto received very little scholarly attention - the important contributions of John Schofield and Robert Tittler are considered in the main body of the thesis. Indeed, detailed discussions of 'spatial' and 'material' approaches and relevant historiographies are largely reserved for the first chapters of the second and third sections respectively and it is only necessary here to introduce the key conceptual issues that underpin these methodologies.

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[74] Ibid, p. 218, 'Great companies, however, had yet another estate, that is, companymen who sat on the City's court of aldermen'. See also: Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, 1603-1643 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 9.
[75] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 104-05.
[76] Giorgio Riello, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade: The Cordwainers Company in Eighteenth-Century London', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 141-59; Jasper Ridley, *A History of the Carpenters' Company* (London: Carpenters' Hall, 1995), p. 29.

One of the central aims of this work is to consider what the physical construction and adaptation of company spaces tells us about the conceptualisation of guild identities and, further, how these productions affected the nature of the guild community in question.[77] This examination of the changing spatial and material environments of London livery halls takes as its basic theoretical premise Henri Lefebvre's notion that 'space' is not simply a neutral void or physical container, waiting to be filled, but is itself a social product, constructed and meaningful in relation to the political and communal values or principles of a particular historic culture and context.[78] Space is an active framework that 'both contains and generates' socioeconomic and political referents and signs. Not simply inherited from 'nature' or past societies, space for Lefebvre is actively fashioned by contemporary human agents and, like material goods, it might be used and consumed.[79] Three key elements are, according to this Marxist social theorist, always interacting or interconnecting during the production of space. First, *spatial practices*: the routine human activities of working, sleeping or travelling within a given physical locale. Second, *representations of space*: the theoretical models through which physical space is organised and regulated in any particular historic or cultural context, 'relative and in the process of change', such as architectural plans or the legislation which governs spatial relations.[80] Third, and finally, *representational or 'lived' space*: the most abstract and slippery of Lefebvre's spatial matrix, which constitutes the immaterial symbols and signs through

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[77] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans., by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 31, 'Schematically speaking, each society offers up its own peculiar space, as it were, as an 'object' for analysis and overall theoretical explication […] each mode of production, along with its specific relations of production.'

[78] Ibid., p. 349, 'is equivalent, practically speaking, to a set of institutional and ideological superstructures'.

[79] Ibid., p. 88.

[80] Ibid., p. 41, 'Representations of space are certainly abstract, but they also play a part in social and political practice'.

which the individual 'imagination seeks to change and appropriate' dominant discourses of spatial relations.[81]

Early modern guild communities and their livery halls offer particularly rich case studies for the 'social production of space'. First, the complex nature of these institutions, their diverse roles and responsibilities, meant that many different 'spatial practices' were simultaneously occurring within the same sites. To take the Goldsmiths' Hall on Foster Lane as an example: guildsmen lived, governed, socialised, consumed, laboured, tested materials and demonstrated artisanal skills within this single building. Thus, a variety of sociopolitical, economic, cultural and epistemological 'spaces' were effectively produced through the same built environments. The heterogeneous nature of the community, including journeymen, master craftsmen, merchants and even nascent bankers, and their varied interactions with this livery hall, meant that within the same walls, guildsmen were effectively creating different notions and meanings of institutional space.[82]

Second, official company 'representations' of guild spaces, including building plans and inventories, demonstrate that the years from c.1560 to 1640 were a time in which London guilds were engaged in particularly intense processes of material and cultural spatial production. Sites and halls were enlarged, stories were added, parlours and court rooms embellished, galleries inserted and routes between rooms adapted and materially elaborated. Guildsmen invested personal finances, materials and artisanal ingenuity into the new designs and material fabric of their institutional homes, because it was clearly understood that buildings effected and structured collective identities. In the early 1590s, for example, over a third of all members of the Carpenters' Company donated timber,

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[81] Ibid., p. 39.
[82] David Mitchell, 'Innovation and the Transfer of Skill in the Goldsmiths' Trade in Restoration London', in *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550-1750*, ed. by David Mitchell (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1995), pp. 5-22.

Throughout this analysis of the livery halls of London, it is asserted that the physical materials of built environments had a significant impact upon the meanings and uses of company spaces. As Peter Arnade and others argue, 'The meanings that such space contains, and those that it confers, derive, literally, from that materiality'.[87] The interdisciplinary reading of late medieval and early modern guild halls in York, taken by the buildings archaeologist Kate Giles, is particularly compelling. Appropriating the concepts of Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration (1984) and Pierre Bourdieu's idea of *habitus* (1977), Giles effectively demonstrates the ways in which material aspects of guild halls, such as internal timber framing or exterior plastered facades, 'operated as reflexive material culture', both reflecting communal identities and 'actively used to negotiate and transform urban social relations and power structures'.[88] In this thesis it is argued that the material features of buildings - both their structural and moveable components - had particular importance within communities of artisanal practitioners, who were actively asserting collective and personal identities.

Borrowing initially from theoretical models developed in the fields of historical archaeology and economic anthropology, historians have become increasingly receptive to the idea that 'things' constitute an essential body of primary evidence. We might even speak of an emerging 'material turn' in the humanities and social sciences in the last two decades, an epistemological shift as significant as the 'spatial' and 'linguistic' turns that

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and Beaudry, pp. 484-501 (pp. 498-99), 'New cultural theories have argued for the significance of contingency, individual agency, ambiguity, and the multiplicity of meanings.'

[87] Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell and Walter Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 515-48 (p. 524).

[88] Katherine Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, c. 1350-1630*, ed. by John Hedges (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), pp. 113-58; Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity: The Appropriation and Consumption of Medieval Guildhalls in Early Modern York', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Sarah Tarlow and Susie West (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 87-102.

came before it.[89] Two principal arguments have been made in relation to the importance of material cultures and our construction and understanding of the past. First, material cultures might be interpreted or translated as cultural signs that reveal identities, systems of belief and knowledge, or social values and change.[90] The recent volume on the meanings of medieval and early modern material culture, edited by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, argues, for example, that a focus on the use and significance of 'everyday objects', 'allows for a more textured and nuanced understanding of past beliefs and practices. In this way, the grand narratives of history can be read against the grain of lived experience'.[91] Second, material objects, like people, have been said to have 'social lives' and culturally-embedded biographies, a unique effect and agency.[92] Things do not just represent identities or social and cultural values, but act to create them.[93]

An analysis of the past that only considers texts not only neglects much of the surviving evidence, and is, therefore, unduly partial, but also ignores the basic fact that material artefacts were, and often continue to be, the primary basis for human interaction, exchange and expression.[94] It is argued in this thesis that material objects - including plate, armour, wall paintings, civic portraiture, textiles and furniture - were an essential means through which early modern London guildsmen expressed competing claims to civic status

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[89] Dan Hicks, 'The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Cultural Studies*, ed. by Hicks and Beaudry, pp. 25-98 (pp. 25-26); Richard Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005), 591-603.

[90] John Dixon Hunt, 'The Sign of the Object', in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, ed. by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 293-98.

[91] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1-23 (p. 14).

[92] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai, pp. 64-91.

[93] Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

[94] Matthew D. Cochran and Mary C. Beaudry, 'Material Culture Studies and Cultural Archaeology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, ed. by Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 191-204.

and professional artisanal accomplishment. The donation of material goods for display or use in one's livery hall, in life and at death, were important tools by which men established and sustained their positions within complex guild hierarchies. A consideration of material culture is held to be particularly important for our understanding of the ways in which identities, knowledge and networks were communicated within the *guild* institution, precisely because its members were producers, retailers and consumers of material goods. In the final section of this thesis it is argued that within specific guild communities, certain materials, designs and physical objects, particularly when crafted within the workshop of the donor, had special cultural valence and meaning. Identity and memorialisation as represented in the livery hall were associated with one's virtuosity as a workshop practitioner in life.

In a ground-breaking work of economic anthropology, Arjun Appadurai proposes that a consideration of material culture should consider the entire 'trajectory' of the life of a 'thing' (or 'things-in-motion') and that such an approach, embracing exchange, distribution, consumption and de-commodification, demonstrates 'that commodities, like persons, have social lives'.[95] In the same volume, edited by Appadurai, the cultural anthropologist Igor Kopytoff likewise suggests that commodities should be conceptualised within a 'biographical' model, to demonstrate that material objects might move in and out of 'the commodity state', thus revealing 'a moral economy that stands behind the objective economics of visible transactions'.[96] In relation to the 'art object' specifically, Alfred Gell argues that, 'I view art as a system of action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it'.[97] Underlying these approaches to material culture studies is the notion that physical things, akin to human beings, have agency, meaning a

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[95] Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by id.
[96] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai, p. 64.
[97] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 6.

direct effect upon social relations. In the third section of this thesis, three case studies of the 'social lives' of material objects - a miniature armoured sculpture, a series of wall paintings and a silver and rock-crystal standing salt - are considered within the institutional homes of their donors. This approach allows us to uncover the ways in which material gifts invested with and representative of the skills and epistemologies of their donors and viewers, acted within and shaped artisanal communities. A consideration of the 'trajectory' of these material objects demonstrates that the meanings and effect of these things varied over time, and was dependent upon their location within the hall and surrounding material fixtures and furnishings.

Structure of the Thesis

This analysis of the cultural, social and epistemological connections between craft guilds and artisanal identities in early modern London is divided into three sections, each consisting of four separate chapters. In each section a different methodology and range of primary sources are applied to the complex issue of elucidating craft cultures and identities. Through an examination of a range of contemporary 'artisanal', 'mathematical', 'architectural' and 'scientific' texts, the first section addresses the contentious nature of craft 'knowledge' in early modern England. Printed accounts by those who had a vested interest in undermining workshop practitioners as unenlightened 'mechanick men', distanced from true theoretical understandings of their craft, are juxtaposed with archival accounts of guildsmen collectively ascertaining expertise and skill on the early seventeenth-century building site. Through a consideration of inventories, building plans, painted representations and company court minutes and accounts, the second section of this thesis examines the changing built environments of the London craft guilds; the means through which late-medieval company halls were spatially and materially transformed from the mid sixteenth century. It considers how the physical adaption of livery halls restructured and

materialised corporate communities; and the ways in which 'insides' of company buildings and their exterior walls and boundaries, articulated different visual and 'architectural' languages of authority, exclusion and control. A close analysis of the contentious battle to force all silver and gold workers and retailers to return to premises on Goldsmiths' Row on Cheapside reveals how spatial and material connections between livery halls and artisanal workshops and retail spaces in early modern London could fundamentally shape and even threaten to fracture a corporate community. The third and final section of this work uncovers the connections between craft guilds and artisanal identities through an examination of guild gifting cultures and the physical interiors of early modern livery halls. A close consideration of company inventories and the social 'lives' of three material objects, donated by master craftsmen for display and use in their institutional homes, reveals the centrality of workshop expertise and skills to the establishment of guild identities and memorial cultures. It is shown that across the early modern era, the construction and perpetuation of corporate histories, myths and memories were rooted in the collective workshop experiences of their members.

Section One: Artisanal Identities and 'Communities' of Knowledge in Early Modern England

Chapter One: Knowledge, Identity and the English Artisan

What constituted 'knowledge' of craftsmanship in early modern England and how was this understanding produced, articulated and disseminated? Which groups within English society had cultural and intellectual 'ownership' over the newly rehabilitated mechanical arts? Who could read 'languages' of artisanal expertise? Finally, what was the social and political value of artisanal knowledge and skill within the corporate body of the guild itself? Before we can consider the changing built environments and material collections of guild communities in early modern London and how such demonstrations of artisanal skill and collaboration were linked to communal craft identities and practices of memorialisation, it is necessary to first interrogate the broader cultural value of the mechanical arts. We must consider the ways in which material production and knowledge of workshop practices were invested with social, political and intellectual capital within and outside of guild institutions.

The documents produced by Nicholas Stone, master mason to the crown, and his workshop assistants, are rare evidence for the construction of personal artisanal or craft-based identities through the medium of the written word in seventeenth-century England. Between 1631 and 1642, Nicholas Stone kept a workshop account book detailing contracts negotiated with clients and the materials employed, rates charged and craftsmen hired for specialist piecework. As perhaps the foremost sculptor and master mason in England throughout much of his thirty year career, the account book reveals some very illustrious and 'cultured' patrons. These include King Charles and Henrietta Maria, the Paston family, Lord Clifford and Lord and Lady Arundel.[1] Stone's clients were clearly among the most eminent and politically influential families in the country. Aside from the 'quality' of person

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[1] SML, MSS 22.

with which Stone was associated, the account book also reveals his multiplicity of skills. It is striking that Stone was being employed both to design and execute stone and marble sculptures - such as the monument 'agreed with my Lord Clifford' in 1632, which was to be 'in white marbell 3 foot long 2 foot broad' with the familial arms 'fairly polished and glased in white marble' - and to design and organise building projects. Stone directed teams of craftsmen, as at the Arundel's impressive property, Tart Hall, on the west side of St James's Park, during the 1630s.[2] In addition to the account book, which appears to have been a continual work in progress, updated within the workshop on Long Acre, St Martin-in-the-Fields, on a regular basis, Stone also started a notebook, probably in the last decade of his life, which retrospectively acknowledged some, but not all, of the major projects accomplished in his lifetime.[3] It is significant that the order in which he accounted for these commissions was not necessarily chronological, many works were grouped according to location and context; all the monuments he erected within a single church for instance, regardless of date of completion, were itemised together.[4] This organisation of his material production was probably a reflection of contemporary practices of mnemotechnics, whereby things or words might be recalled through their imagined location in particular architectures.[5] As well as this process of material recollection, Stone's notebook contains a short diary of significant events occurring within his immediate urban environment between November 1640 and October 1642, including a terrifying experience in January 1641 during which he personally witnessed ('I saw it all'): a 'rued multetud of Cetezones and prenteses cam[e] in tumults man[n]er to the parlement Hows with lowe cries saing no

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[2] Ibid., fol. 12[r].

[3] SML, MSS 23 [not paginated]. See also: Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 193, 'From c. 1600 the tomb-makers moved westwards to the suburban parishes of St Martin and St Giles-in-the-Fields where in the decades before the Civil War lived the great family workshops, those of Stone, Marshall and the Christmases.'

[4] W. L. Spiers, 'The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone, Master Mason to James I and Charles I', *Walpole Society*, 7 (1918), p. 36.

[5] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 89-98.

Bishepts no papes lords to have foot in parlement.'[6] Considering Stone's close connections

with the King and court - his career was effectively over as he penned this recollection and

journal - these major political events were of considerable personal consequence.

Taken together, Stone's account book and notebook constitute the most detailed

archival evidence in existence for the workshop practices of an early modern English

mason; or for that matter any artisan practitioner in seventeenth-century England. We

might even consider them to be autobiographical documents of a sort, certainly an

articulation of a clear sense of independent, successful craft identity.[7] The account book

locates Stone within a network of extremely ambitious and prosperous craftsmen, paid for

the undertaking of whole schemes of work (not by the measure), and several of whom, like

Stone himself, were employed by the Royal Works and acted as masters of their respective

companies.[8] The document is also revealing of the artisanal dynasty which Stone was

attempting to construct through the transmission of his own tacit and propositional

knowledge, the former an experiential, embodied understanding of materials and craft

techniques and processes, the latter associated with theoretical texts and book-learning.[9]

Multiple entries in the account book were written in the hands of his sons Nicholas and

John, who were both trained for a short time within their father's workshop and went on to

become sculptors in adult life, as did their eldest brother, Henry.[10] The youngest son, John

Stone, also contributed to his father's notebook after the latter's death, adding a list of

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[6] SML, MSS 23.

[7] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2, 'In much […] past scholarship, a too rigid conceptualisation of genre - a desire to identify early modern autobiographic practices which are discernibly are own - has obscured this culture of innovation and adaptation'.

[8] For example the master joiner Jeremy Kellett and the master carpenter Anthony Jerman.

[9] Epstein and Prak, 'Introduction: Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy', pp. 6-7.

[10] Adam White, 'Stone, Nicholas (1585x8-1647)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/26577> [accessed 21 October 2011]. Stone was also responsible for eleven apprentices, indentured to him through the Masons' Company of London. See also: Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England* (London: UCL Press, 1994), p. 88, Stone sent his sons Nicholas and Henry to Italy for an appropriate education and 'the purchase of models, casts and drawings for his […] workshop'.

sixteen church monuments which he personally constructed between 1650 and 1657.[11]

There is a clear sense that this manuscript, for both father and son, was a written memorial of material production, a statement of successful (and successive) artisanal accomplishment.

At his death and subsequent burial at the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields in August 1647, Nicholas Stone poignantly bequeathed to his three sons 'all my books manuscripts draughts designes instruments and other thinges thereunto belonginge, which nowe remayne in my studie in my nowe dwelling howse'.[12] Having apprenticed his descendants within his own workshop, Stone's final wish was to pass on the instruments of his trade: those varied media which both constituted and embodied a lifetime of accumulated artisanal knowledge, experience and skill.[13] The significance of these objects as symbols of craft identity and epistemological status is heightened by the fact that these textual and material remains of Stone's working life were the only moveable possessions specifically itemised in his last will and testament. They thus appear to have been Stone's most precious belongings. The easy juxtaposition of texts, drawings and physical tools in this master mason's will demonstrates that Nicholas Stone understood his labours to have been both 'theoretical' and 'practical'. Indeed it is highly probable that this artisan, who had been entrusted for decades to create material memorials for the most eminent families in the kingdom and design their homes, would have had little appreciation for the classically-inherited distinction between 'liberal' (intellectual) and 'mechanical' (manual) arts. A dichotomy between the activities of the 'mind' (*theoria*) and 'hand' (*technē*) which

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[11] SML, MSS 23.

[12] TNA, PROB 11/203. The reference to Stone's 'studie' is indicative of his elevated social status.

[13] Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 53, 'A masons' collection of books and drawings was often a cumulative resource: the models collected by one generation would be preserved and passed on to the next.'

had been undergoing significant revision in political, cultural and intellectual milieus across

Europe, for multiple generations before Stone's lifetime.[14]

Workshop account books must have been maintained by other substantial English

master craftsmen for the effective operation of their businesses; but these documents

simply have not survived. Stone's notebook, a much more personal recollection of a

working life, is an even more unusual example of an English artisan practitioner articulating

or commemorating his labours through text. For those familiar with continental evidence of

artisanal verbosity, these relatively slim volumes of 'life writing' certainly seem rather

meagre.[15] Indeed, from the perspective of Stone himself, the dozens of sculptures and

memorials that he personally designed and crafted, within highly visible spaces, including

Westminster Abbey, and the architectural projects which he planned and managed, must

have been the most significant public material markers of his artisanal, social and political

prestige and legacy (see Figure 1.1). The account book and notebook were probably never

intended to be seen by anyone beyond the workshop and immediate household: they were

personal accounts and reflections, not texts for dissemination. The material aspect of this

artisanal construction of self should be closely borne in mind as the textual evidence for

mechanical arts is examined throughout this section.

On the basis of a paucity of surviving manuscript evidence, there was certainly no

tradition of writing self-reflexive artisanal autobiographical accounts in early modern

England, heterogeneous narratives of religious, social, civic and workshop lives. Nicholas

Stone's unusual adoption of the written form might in part be explained by continental

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[14] Elspeth Whitney, ' Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 80 (1990), 1-169 (p. 5), 'It is now often acknowledged that many of the attitudes long associated with the Middle Ages and considered to be inimical to an appreciation of technology, including an emphasis on theoretical over practical knowledge, intellectual over manual labor, and a concern with inner spiritual and moral needs rather than material progress, were more flexible than had been assumed and were held neither absolutely nor without modification.'
[15] The term 'life writing' is taken from: Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England.*

influence, specifically his (probable) youthful experiences as a workshop assistant in Amsterdam to the Dutch architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser.[16] The evidence from European countries such as Italy, France and the Netherlands, suggests that engagement with written forms of identity promotion or self-knowledge was rather more common in these geographic and cultural areas. As James Amelang has proposed, it was not quite that there was a '"corpus" with distinctive characteristics common to all its adepts' in these regions, but rather that there existed a loose 'social and cultural practice' of articulating life experiences through the medium of the written word.[17] Many artisans in England, particularly in London, and especially those engaged in relatively skilled and socially prestigious crafts and trades, were fully literate.[18] An ability to read and write was essential for taking orders and keeping accounts in many workshops and businesses and was a requirement for all young men indentured to the Goldsmiths' Company as apprentices for example.[19] Though many London artisans could write, they simply did not perceive textual discourse as an appropriate or adequate representation of their selves; their working, political or personal lives. The only extensive autobiographical accounts of a practicing London craftsman are writings by the seventeenth-century Puritan turner Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658), inhabitant of the parish of St Leonard's Eastcheap.[20] Wallington's writings constitute an extended examination of his spiritual salvation and thus 'patterns of work and consumption and the ethics of getting and spending were subordinate to […] the fate of the godly community'.[21]

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[16] White, 'Stone, Nicholas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[17] James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisanal Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 3.

[18] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 118-141, 129, 'Illiteracy was stratified by occupation and trade as well as by general social categories.'

[19] Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p. 298.

[20] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, p. 2, 'more than 2,600 pages of personal papers- memoirs, religious reflections, political reportage, letters, and a spiritual diary - have survived'.

[21] Ibid., pp. 112-42 (p. 112).

The 'Mechanical Arts' and 'Artisanal Epistemologies'

Moving beyond the nebulous category of personal artisanal accounts, to texts concerning the ontological status of the *artes mechanica* - a range of craft practices and constructive arts, including, by the sixteenth century, hydraulics, painting, sculpture, pottery, machines of war, metallurgy and alchemy - and we find that there was no strong tradition in England of artisanal authored accounts which engaged explicitly with this broad genre either.[22] This absence is substantial because of the apparent connections between written articulations of the mechanical arts and the nature and status of artisanal knowledge in late medieval and early modern Europe.[23] The translation of tacit, manual practices or craft 'mysteries' into literary products, by craft specialists, has been persuasively interpreted as strong evidence both for the construction of robust artisanal identities and for the 'unspecified but significant' contribution of artisanal communities to new cultures of scientific investigation and knowledge.[24]

In the last decade, a considerable body of interdisciplinary scholarship has broken down the traditional subject boundaries between histories of art, science and technology.[25] Close attention to European textual articulations of craft processes, tools and machinery, has revealed a shifting cultural and intellectual landscape, in which the classical model of epistemological hierarchies, and thus the nature and status of material or technical production, underwent substantial modification. Between the ninth and twelfth centuries,

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[22] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship,* pp. 175-243.
[23] The contribution of the English 'mathematical practitioners' is discussed in depth in chapter three of this section.
[24] Pamela H. Smith, 'In a Sixteenth-Century Goldsmiths' Workshop', in *The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialisation*, ed. by Lissa Roberts, Simon Schaffer and Peter Dear (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007), pp. 33-57 (p. 33).
[25] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*; Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*; Pamela Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, eds, *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects and Texts, 1400-1800* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007); Ursula Klein and E. C. Spray, eds, *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

the Aristotelian construction of human knowledge - between production (*technē*); action (*praxis*); theoretical knowledge (*epistemē*) - was partially dismantled, and the *artes mechanicae*, as they became known, gained a considerable degree of metaphysical and ontological prestige; an epistemological standing which was further established and heightened in following centuries.[26] The anachronistic view that craft practitioners laboured mindlessly by rote, outside the realms of rationality and intellect, is no longer held to be an adequate representation of late-medieval and early modern understandings of artisanal labour or of the dynamic social forces through which cultures of knowledge were forged. Recent studies have attempted to locate 'middle grounds', including physical sites, texts and material processes, through which a range of expertise, 'artisanal labor, experimental inquiry into the material world, and learned investigation of nature', were pooled to create new methods of obtaining knowledge and justifying knowledge claims about the physical world.[27] Two scholarly accounts of these dialogues merit particular consideration.

Pamela Long has demonstrated the processes through which written accounts of the mechanical arts, particularly works on military arts, mining and metallurgy, were closely allied, from the late fifteenth century, with political and military authorities in the fractious regions of northern and central Italy and southern Germany.[28] Investment in military technology and built environments by political elites, or those aspiring to civic greatness, raised the ontological status of constructive arts. The result was the partial dismantlement of the classical, Aristotelian hierarchy of knowledge, which conceived of human society as fundamentally divided between those that mechanically laboured (who were by definition

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[26] Whitney, 'Paradise Restored'; Catherine King, 'Making Histories, Publishing Theories', in *Making Renaissance Art*, ed. by Kim W. Woods (London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University), pp. 251-80 (p. 254).
[27] Klein and Spray, *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe*, p. 4.
[28] Pamela O. Long, 'Power, Patronage, and the Authorship of Arts: From Mechanical Know-How to Mechanical Knowledge in the Last Scribal Age', *Isis*, 88 (1997), 1-41.

enslaved), men engaged in political or military action, and the few who had true knowledge of unchanging principles.[29] According to Long, the boundaries between the worlds of workshop experimentation (tacit, embodied knowledge) and intellectual, humanistic written discourse (propositional knowledge) were broken down in these geographic regions; mutually enriching the participants and contributing to 'a transformation of the culture of knowledge'.[30] In certain city states, 'trading zones developed in which learned men and artisan practitioners communicated reciprocally, exchanging knowledge'.[31]

Through an analysis of the cultural production of the free imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Pamela Smith has demonstrated the manifold means through which craftsmen in this area developed a distinctive 'artisanal epistemology': an expression of tacit forms of knowledge which was articulated through material products of the workshop and written treatises. This distinguishing philosophy was centred on the craftsman's experimental understanding of the natural world, 'a way of knowing nature' which was accumulated through years of physical toil in the artisanal workshop.[32] Artisans acquired and produced knowledge of natural processes through bodily or sensory interaction with matter and tools: 'In this dynamic process, knowledge was gained by doing; it was transmitted through observation and the imitation of bodily gestures; it was accumulated in and demonstrated by objects, which were judged and compared by experts.'[33] Material demonstrations of familiarity with nature - for example Bernard Palissy's ceramic casts of animals and plants from life or Albrecht Dürer's ink drawings of animals and the natural world - proved that they were 'active knowers' and thus individuals of social and

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[29] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, pp. 1-15.
[30] Ibid., p. 141.
[31] Ibid., p. 15.
[32] Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, pp. 95-127.
[33] Smith, 'In a Sixteenth-Century Goldsmith's Workshop', in *The Mindful Hand*, ed. by Roberts, Schaffer and Dear, pp. 40-41.

ontological status.[34] Crucially, in addition to enhancing the prestige of craft practitioners, Smith interprets this bodily, artisanal epistemology as a highly significant element in the development of natural philosophy, critically informing the scientific experimental method that fully developed in the seventeenth century.[35]

It is notable that in both Long and Smith's persuasive accounts of the artisanal contribution to human 'knowledge', the European workshop practitioners made written, as well as physical, articulations of a distinctive material philosophy. Alongside their material artefacts, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), and Bernard Palissy (ca. 1510-1590) all authored texts which reflected directly upon the complex relations between theoretical knowledge and practical application.[36] Craftsmen themselves thus made their own verbal intervention in the contentious debate over the relationship between tacit and propositional knowledge. This explicit 'translation' of workshop practices into written codified knowledge by trained artisans was a rare phenomenon in England. The cultural and political circumstances through which manuscripts, and later printed texts on themes such as gunpowder artillery or hydraulic works, came to be linked to political authority and status - as Pamela Long has uncovered for central Italy and southern Germany from the fifteenth century - were not analogous to the relatively centralised system of authority in England.[37] English craft practitioners, those who had been trained as apprentices in the workshops of guild masters and were subsequently active members of livery companies, rarely employed the pen or the printing press as an agent of epistemological exchange. There are two fundamental and interrelated explanations for

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[34] Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, p. 8.

[35] Ibid., pp. 155-81.

[36] Ibid., pp. 69-72,'In about 1512 Durer began to formulate a theoretical articulation of his artisanal experience […]attempt to combine, as he put it, "Kunst" (meaning art informed by "intellectual understanding" - note that he did not call it "Theoria") and "Brauch" (practical skill)'.

[37] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, p. 245, 'I suggest that these writings came out of a new alliance between techne and praxis. Both university-trained humanists and workshop-trained artisans wrote such books, both groups within the context of patronage.'

this silence. First, public communication of artisanal knowledge and technical skills was understood to be an inappropriate activity for guildsmen, who had taken a vow upon admission to their company, to protect the 'mystery' or secrets - effectively the 'intellectual property' - of their mutual organisation, as brothers of the guild had pledged for centuries before.[38] The typical early modern London apprentice indenture stipulated that the youth in question would 'his said master faithfully serve, his secrets keep'.[39] This proprietorial attitude to collective, experiential knowledge of workshop techniques was no doubt intended to protect the economic interests or livelihoods of the associated artisans; but recent scholarship by S. R. Epstein has suggested that this should not lead us to assume that the craft culture of secrecy necessarily impeded technological innovation.[40] Second, we might question whether contemporary English craftsmen understood written or pictorial forms of communication to be truly effective means of articulating craft practices, which were essentially embodied and experiential.[41] Studies of early modern apprenticeship have shown that learning tacit craft skills, technological techniques and the properties of materials, were necessarily 'face-to-face' and involved a lengthy period of workshop observation and experimentation, particularly in the most skilled and prestigious

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[38] Ibid., pp. 88-89; Carlo Marco Belfanti, 'Guilds, Patents, and the Circulation of Technical Knowledge. Northern Italy during the Early Modern Age', *Technology and Culture*, 45 (2004), 569-89; Karel Davids, 'Craft Secrecy in the Early Modern Period: A Comparative View', *Early Science and Medicine*, 10 (2005), 341-48.

[39] Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p. 234.

[40] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 81-2; Epstein, 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship and Technological Change', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, ed. by Epstein and Prak, pp. 52-80.

[41] This difficulty of articulation is also an issue acknowledged by modern craft theorists, see: Peter Dormer, 'The Language and Practical Philosophy of Craft', in *The Culture of Craft*: *Status and Future* ed. by Peter Dormer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 219-30 (p. 229), 'Unless a person can explain the principles of his or her activity - unless there is a theory about it - then he or she may be credited with having skill but not understanding.' See also: Glenn Adamson, *The Craft Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), p. 1, 'The idea that making is its own particular sort of thinking is an appealing one. But it also constitutes a major challenge for anyone who wants to do justice to making through the seemingly inadequate tools of words and ideas.'

crafts such as silver work.[42] The actual length of an individual's apprenticeship contract varied - the 1563 Statute of Artificers set out a minimum seven year term - depending upon the social and professional background of the youth and master, and the nature of the craft and trade; but true mastery of the craft often took many years of workshop labour and guild participation, beyond the formal apprenticeship period.[43]

It should be stressed that it is not the intention of this thesis to artificially or unhelpfully separate the 'scholar' from the 'craftsman', two categories of epistemological and social status which have repeatedly stirred historiographical debate.[44] The claim here is not that there was an absence of artisanal influence over the new scientific method or natural philosophy in England, a topic which has attracted much scholarly interest in the last half century and a matter which clearly goes well beyond the boundaries of this present thesis; but rather that in England, guild-trained craftsmen rarely articulated their tacit or propositional knowledge through the medium of the written word, beyond the records of the guild institutions. Knowledge dissemination between English craftsmen appears to have been a practice which remained active within the boundaries of the guild system itself: it was predominantly a process of observation and oral instruction and exchange. This is a silence which has not been directly acknowledged by historians of

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[42] Epstein and Prak, 'Introduction: Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy', pp. 5-9; Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, pp. 97-98; De Munck and Soly, "Learning on the Shop Floor' in Historical Perspective', p. 16, 'apprentices needed to learn how the raw materials would react to the mechanical and chemical production processes, in a context of variable surrounding conditions, such as temperature, level of humidity, quality of the materials used, and other elements that were often impossible to measure accurately'.

[43] Epstein and Prak, 'Introduction: Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy', p. 8, evidence from across Europe 'suggests that a complete training took much longer than the number of years specified in the [apprenticeship] regulations, which must be read as the minimum time to develop a specific and locally defined set of skills'. See also Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Pre-modern England'.

[44] Walter E. Houghton, 'The History of the Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 2 (1941), 33-60; A. R. Hall, 'The Scholar and the Craftsman in the Scientific Revolution,' in *Critical Problems in the History of Science*, ed. by Marshall Clagett (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 3-23; Paolo Rossi, *Philosophy, Technology, and the Arts in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970); Jim A. Bennett, 'The Mechanics' Philosophy and the Mechanical Philosophy', *History of Science*, 24 (1986), 1-28.

science or guild cultures, and which clearly has implications for this present examination of how English artisanal identities were constructed, expressed and perpetuated. It is worth noting that when Nicholas Stone recorded the fruits of his craft labours - as we have observed, itself an unusual practice for an English artisan - there was no deep engagement with the materials or transformative processes of his artisanal practice. Material products, such as chimney pieces and memorial stones, are mentioned by the master mason, sometimes with specific detail of their unique designs, but they are always represented as finished pieces; we are given no sense of the skills, techniques or bodily labour invested into each work. Bluntly, Stone's texts are not meditations on the nature of early modern artisanal knowledge of the sort which might be found in certain Italian city states and south German principalities.[45] As a direct result of the English craftsman's apparent lack of verbosity, there is a lacuna in the existing scholarship concerning the relationship between English craft practitioners and their understanding of artisanal practices. In order to render the artisan articulate and elucidate connections between status and epistemology, it is necessary to be rather more thoughtful and imaginative in our use of textual, visual and material sources. Before engaging directly with the rebuilding projects of the London craft guilds and their material and spatial production of personal and collective identities, we turn to a range of contemporary textual materials which spoke of the social and intellectual value of the mechanical arts and artisanal epistemologies in early modern England.

Structure of this Section

This analysis of the relationships between craft 'knowledge' and artisanal identities in early modern London is divided into three further chapters. Chapter two considers the Goldsmiths' Company's manuscript copy of *The Goldsmiths' Storehouse* (1606), an

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[45] Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, pp. 59-93.

intriguing textual exploration of the 'many hidden secretes of that Ingenious Misterie'.[46] Written by an individual who was not himself a practising goldsmith, but with close familial links to the craft and trade, the *Storehouse* suggests that within the guild hierarchy, connections were made between a man's social and political prestige, his estate, and his depth of craft knowledge. From the perspective of the company elite, not all goldsmiths were considered to be politically or epistemologically 'whole'. Moreover, the author of the *Storehouse* repeatedly reflects upon the nature of artisanal knowledge within the institutional context of the guild: was true understanding of the goldsmith's craft forged through tacit workshop experiences or theoretically informed book-learning? Further, was the production and assessment of material artefacts and processes the work of a single skilled individual or a collective cultural process, undertaken within an established society of guild-trained master craftsmen?

The third chapter of this first section examines the broader social, political and intellectual value of the mechanical arts in England, through an analysis of printed material by a variety of 'mathematical practitioners', architectural theorists and 'natural philosophers'. The epistemological identity and status of the *artes mechanicae* were the theme of intense debate and interest, in England, as across Europe, in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and there existed manuscript and print cultures which actively engaged with practices of material production and the thorny relationship between theoretical knowledge and embodied, tacit skills. It is suggested that this textual evidence certainly reveals a society in which the mechanical arts were embraced as essential facets of gentlemanly self-construction and public improvement; specifically the technical mysteries of the artisanal workshop were understood to be essential models for the investigation and production of new systems of knowledge. But through this reinforcement of status on the part of the 'mathematician' or 'scientist', practising

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[46] GHA, MS C II.2.

craftsmen themselves were repeatedly maligned and distanced from the social and intellectual capital associated with their labour. The workshop practitioner was consistently represented in English works of applied mathematics, natural philosophy, 'how-to' manuals and books of secrets, as ignorant of the theoretical principles, the true Aristotelian *epistemē*, allegedly underlying his mechanical labours. Classical anxieties about the status of the mechanical labourer lingered on within early modern English society.[47] Without a deep understanding of the geometric or natural principles purportedly operating through the practice of the mechanical arts, the workshop practitioner was presented as no more enlightened than the inanimate tools which he mindlessly operated. Thus through this theorising of the mechanical arts and codification of 'workshop' knowledge, the status and agency of the English artisan was far from heightened; rather the 'mechanicians' themselves were written out of the cultural and epistemological narrative.

In juxtaposition to this construction of artisanal ignorance and error within print cultures, the fourth and final chapter of this section considers the social and political value of skilled labour within communities of practising craftsmen. This case study consists of a collection of archival material produced by members of the Goldsmiths' Company during the 1630s as they rebuilt their institutional home; it reveals a range of craft-based epistemologies operating within the same physical and conceptual site in the heart of seventeenth-century London. It is shown that contrary to the theories of the architectural enthusiasts, the planning and construction of a building were not understood to be separate activities, carried out by persons of radically different intellectual abilities, but processes which were integrally linked. The paper designs or plots drawn up by the master mason Nicholas Stone were a significant medium for the articulation of design ideas, but they were not the only form of artisanal communication, nor were they produced in isolation from the physical building site, or in mind of one who was detached from the

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[47] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, pp. 2-3; Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, pp. 7-8.

practicalities of craftsmanship. Moreover, whilst the texts of the mathematical practitioners reduced craft labour, including carpentry, masonry and metalwork, to a matter of geometrical principles and thus achievable by any man with a basic grasp of mathematics, assessing the value of craftwork was, in reality, much more complex than the 'correct' utilisation of a ruler and might only be undertaken by those with the requisite artisanal skills, status and experience. English texts on the mechanical arts present tacit knowledge as a series of mechanical processes, performed by rote, which might be adequately imitated by a leisured gentleman with sufficient time and patience; but the master craftsmen involved with the Goldsmiths' project showed that their labour could only be effectively undertaken and evaluated within a community of guild-trained practitioners. These archival records demonstrate that whilst English craftsmen might not have customarily translated tacit, embodied practices into written treatises or manuals, they nevertheless possessed a strong sense of identity and status based upon knowledge of materials, artisanal skills and techniques.

Chapter Two: *The Goldsmiths' Storehouse:* **Skill, Identities and the Social Distribution of**

Knowledge in the Early Seventeenth-Century Guild

On 20 June 1606, the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company were presented with the gift of a manuscript whose author 'had taken great pains in translation', the work was entitled *The Goldsmiths' Storehouse. Wherein is layde up many hidden secrets of that Ingenious Misterie.* The text in question was presented, 'compiled, made, and drawn into this Method by H-G. Citizen and Gouldsmythe of London'.[48] 'H.G' was almost certainly the youthful Oxford scholar Hannibal Gamon the younger, son of a practising London goldsmith and member of the associated company.[49] The overall focus of the work is upon the activities of the upper echelons of the guild: those involved in assaying, refining and monetary circulation. Containing a wide variety of subject matter, including the social and political organisation of the Mint, translations of late-medieval lapidaries and alchemical experiments and formulas, the *Storehouse* can be situated within the broad genres of 'how-to-do-it manuals', books of craft secrets and technological treatises.[50] These manuscripts and printed texts, produced and circulated in ever greater numbers in sixteenth-century Europe, allegedly revealed 'the secrets of the arts' which had formerly been hidden within artisanal workshops.[51]

For the purposes of this investigation into the connections between 'knowledge' and artisanal identities within the context of the guild institution, the *Storehouse* reveals three significant themes. First, the notion that the master craftsman was able to assess the value of materials and craftsmanship not simply from a mathematical understanding of metallic

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[48] GHA, MS C II.2.

[49] Janelle Day Jenstad, "The Gouldesmythes Storehowse', Early Evidence for Specialisation', *The Silver Society Journal*, 10 (1998), 40-43; Ann Duffin, 'Gamon, Hannibal (bap. 1582, d. 1650/51)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10329> [accessed 15 July 2012]. Gamon graduated with a BA from Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1603, and with an MA in 1607.

[50] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, p. 112-20.

[51] William Eamon, 'Arcana Disclosed: The Advent of Printing, the Books of Secrets Tradition and the Development of Science in the Sixteenth Century', *History of Science*, 22 (1984), 111-50.

compositions, or a thorough book-based humanist education, but primarily through his extensive tacit experience and acutely trained sensory faculties. Second, the manuscript reveals a clear sense of the apparent parallels between a guildsman's social and political rank or position within the Goldsmiths' Company and the nature and depth of his 'knowledge' of craftsmanship. Third, along with a directly related entry in the Goldsmiths' court minutes and accounts, concerning the re-establishment of the masterpiece assessment, Gamon's manuscript demonstrates that the production of knowledge about craft products - or rather an assessment of their intrinsic material, as well as technical and aesthetic qualities - was a collective social process, which ideally took place in particular locales, within selected groups of guild-trained master craftsmen.

The Goldsmiths' Storehouse exists today in five manuscript copies.[52] The London Goldsmiths' Company's manuscript copy of the Storehouse is divided into three books, with multiple short chapters. The first section, of nineteen chapters, contains a diverse range of material, including the history of weights utilised by the goldsmith; 'the causes and reasons of the making of monye'; the 'stuffe, fourme or fashion monnye is made of'; the instruments used by the assayer; the political and epistemological statuses of the chief officers of the Mint and the complex process of the Trial of the Pyx.[53] The latter procedure was the annual assessment in the Exchequer at Westminster, from the thirteenth century, of the weight, size and metallic composition of coins produced by the Royal Mint. This test of quality control was of particular interest to senior members of the Goldsmiths' Company, because of their close involvement with the Mint: liverymen served on the jury of the Trial of the Pyx, and high-ranking goldsmiths ran the institution for much of the

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[52] Jenstad, 'The Gouldesmythes Storehowse', p. 40, the text 'survives in two manuscript versions. The five known copies are housed at Goldsmiths' Hall, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC, the British Library (two copies), and the Public Record Office.'
[53] GHA, MS C II.2, fols 1^r-33^v.

sixteenth century.[54] Hannibal Gamon claims that he himself had served on the jury in 1600 and 1601.[55] The second book of the *Storehouse* is a lapidary, 'secretes of Nature', with seventy-nine short chapters, each focusing upon a particular gem or precious stone, 'wheare they growe, their names, coullors, vertues, and valeues, according as they are boughte from marchante to marchante'.[56] The third and final book of seventeen chapters focuses upon the process of assaying, the testing or 'affryminge' of gold or silver for its precious metal content. This was a procedure which every item crafted by a practising gold or silver worker was expected to undergo within the assay office at the Goldsmiths' Hall, before being hallmarked and circulated within the public market. Chapters within this third book are chiefly metallurgical recipes for the separating of gold and silver, including the use of 'Aqua Fortis' and 'Sulphur or Brimstone'.[57] This range of subject matter within a single text - including coinage, the minting process, assaying and alchemy - was typical for a contemporary work of metallurgy.[58] One of the foremost technical treatises in early modern Europe, *Pirotechnia* (1540), authored by the Sienese metallurgist Vannoccio Biringuccio, includes descriptions and explanations of ores, assaying, alloys, bronze casting, the separation of gold and silver, among many other themes.[59] It is highly probable that Gamon modelled his text upon existing metallurgical treatises, such as *Pirotechnia*, with a distinctly English twist - including explanations of the social, political and professional hierarchies within the Royal Mint and the Goldsmiths' Company.

In terms of authorship, it is not possible to deduce how far Hannibal Gamon (the younger) produced a personal 'translation' of various established authorities, in addition to

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[54] Christopher Edgar Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 225, 'From the recoinage to the end of Elizabeth's reign the Mint was run by three men, Thomas Stanley, John Lonyson, and Richard Martin - all prominent goldsmiths.'
[55] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 28[r].
[56] Ibid., fols 33[r]- 64[r].
[57] Ibid., fols 65[r]-.
[58] Eamon, 'Arcana Disclosed', pp. 115-17.
[59] Pamela O. Long, 'The Openness of Knowledge: An Ideal and Its Context in Sixteenth-Century Writings on Mining and Metallurgy', *Technology and Culture*, 32 (1991), 318-55 (p. 330).

his own observations; or whether the text he presented to the Goldsmiths' Company was essentially a copy of an already extant compilation of works, and thus the labours of other educated individuals. The *Storehouse* certainly draws heavily on the works of several respected ancient and contemporary sources, including Aristotle's *Ethics,* Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* and Agricola's *de re Metallica*.[60] In some instances these inter-textual borrowings are acknowledged, as for example in chapter sixteen of the first book, in which Agricola is recognised as being the authority on 'the makinge of those [touch] Ne[e]dels bothe for the Tryall of golde and sylver'.[61] Gamon was not a trained craftsman - his education had taken place at Oxford, not as an apprentice within a London workshop - but some of the experimental, applied detail was in all likelihood derived from the observations and experiences of his goldsmith father, Hannibal Gamon senior. Authors of early modern technical treatises often originated from an artisanal family: Georgius Agricola (1494-1555) was a university educated humanist, but came from a dynasty of craftsmen in Saxony.[62] These familial connections were 'central to his appreciation for empirical knowledge and practical techniques'.[63] Multiple generations of the Gamon family were actively involved with the Goldsmiths' Company: Hannibal's brother Henry (other son of Hannibal Gamon senior), was made free of the guild in 1604 (having served an apprenticeship) and Hannibal Gamon (the younger's) son, Richard Gamon, joined the Goldsmiths' Company in 1626 (through the mechanism of patrimony). Richard's son James Gamon (grandson of Hannibal Gamon the younger, author of the *Storehouse*), was also indentured to a master goldsmith in 1653, continuing the familial association with the Goldsmiths' Company.[64] The probable circumstances of the textual production of the *Storehouse*, of a university-educated

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[60] Jenstad, 'The Gouldesmythes Storehowse', p. 41, the text also 'incorporates part of Thomas Aunsham's early sixteenth century manuscript treatise on minting and assaying'.

[61] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 23ʳ.

[62] Long, 'The Openness of Knowledge', pp. 334-35.

[63] Ibid., p. 355.

[64] Records of London's Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freemen 1400-1900 (ROLLCO) <http://www.londonroll.org> [accessed 20 October 2012]

gentleman in dialogue with workshop-based artisanal practitioners, is similar to the 'collaboration and communication' between different cultures of learning and knowledge which Pamela Long has identified in southern Germany and northern and central Italy from the fifteenth century.[65]

Tacit and Propositional Knowledge

Within a chapter on the philosophy of money, in the first book of the *Storehouse*, Gamon claims that whereas 'everye man knowethe' the basic distinction between bullion and money, 'tryall at the Assay' is required for 'the perfit knowledge of Golde and Sylver'.[66] This complex process, through which the material purity of a given metallic sample is tested, is said to 'Requyrethe a perfit Assay man, whose perfection must be grounded upon Artificiall Exercise; for these things doe rather consist in doinge, then in Reasoninge, for they are not eselie reduced to matter of Argument, unlesse Exercise be joyned with speeche'.[67] It was thus not enough for a man to have read or to have heard, second-hand, about the craft process of assaying; textual learning was no substitute for first-hand manual practice, or 'Exercise'. Assaying involved an experiential understanding of many workshop variables, including furnace temperatures and the ductility and malleability of metals. Like all other contemporary writings on the mechanical arts, the *Storehouse* did not genuinely equip the reader with sufficient knowledge (or experience) to carry out the associated craft processes: it was not a true 'instruction' manual.[68] Indeed, the precise technical knowledge of the assayer was a closely guarded secret. In 1560 for example the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company chastised their assayer, John Kirk, for revealing the secret of his mystery through teaching certain gentlemen of the court, 'the feate of assayes makinge'.[69]

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[65] Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, p. 246.
[66] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 5^v.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, pp. 4-5.
[69] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 62.

In 1601 the Goldsmiths' wardens ordered that no man should walk on the terrace while they (the wardens and assayer) were in the assay house: presumably because one might have, from that vantage point, covertly observed the activities within.[70]

Like many other contemporary authors of mechanical arts treatises, Gamon acknowledges the difficultly (and irony) of expressing non-discursive practices through the written word.[71] After claiming that assaying practices were not 'eselie reduced to matter of Argument', Gamon quickly notes: 'Notwythestyandinge the said Triall of Assaies of Golde and Sylveris made with these communications herafter followinge'.[72] Through this emphasis upon the practical elements of artisanal expertise, Gamon reiterates the counsel of earlier assaying discourses. The German metallurgist and mining and assaying practitioner Lazarus Ercker (ca. 1530-94) stated in his *Treatise on Ores and Assaying* (1580), which was itself inspired by Agricola's *De re metallica*, that 'These things cannot be pictured on paper in such a way that they can be understood and judged merely by reading about them. Reading shows you the way, but the work of your own hands gives you the experience'.[73] The qualities of the 'perfect' assayer - who must be acutely aware of 'any defecte' which would make the assay 'uncertaine and not reportable' - are further developed within this chapter of Gamon's *Storehouse*. Assaying 'askethe a good Judgement, gotten rather by yeares and experience, then by speculation and dispute […] [further] that besides his grounded experience in this scyence or mysterye should have a perfit eie to vewe [or 'discerne'], and as stedye a hande to waye for other mens senses

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[70] Ibid., I, 100.
[71] Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, p. 81, 'The failure of the written word - part prejudice against handwork and part lack of language to describe experience - comes through in many attempts to describe artisanal understanding.' See also Eric H. Ash, 'Introduction: Expertise and the Early Modern State', in *Expertise: Practical Knowledge and the Early Modern State*, ed. by Eric H. Ash (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 1-24 (p. 9), 'The issue of tacit knowledge and its role in constituting expertise […] implicitly sets limits on the degree to which expertise *can* be understood.'
[72] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 5ᵛ.
[73] Long, 'The Openness of Knowledge', p. 350; Lazarus Ercker, *Treatise on Ores and Assaying*, trans. by Anneliese Grünhaldt Sisco and Cyril Stanley Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 194.

cannot serve him'.[74] The metallurgical expert is thus said to combine both extensive workshop experience and uniquely attuned sensory perceptions: a combination of expertise for the production of knowledge with which supporters of the 'new method of philosophizing' would have been wholly in sympathy.[75]

If the perfect assay master was a man of applied experience, excellent judgement, heightened sensory discernment and textual learning, then what of the other practising goldsmiths in London: those who bought, sold and, crucially, crafted material products? In the final, nineteenth, chapter of the first book of the *Storehouse*, Gamon considers the social distribution of artisanal knowledge within the Goldsmiths' Company: 'of other particular partes of this Arte, more knowen and used by everye particular gouldesmythe, as of consequence being trained up therein, it followethe by Tradition from one to another'.[76] 'Tradition' thus refers to the system of training through which a master's technical skills were disseminated to apprentices, through observation and practice in the workshop. Gamon starts by setting up a distinction between 'a complete Goldesmythe' and a guildsman who 'is but parte of a gouldsmythe': the former is 'a workeman bothe in golde and sylver', the latter 'is skilled but in one of these'.[77] The further specialisation of workshop skills had allegedly resulted in a situation in which very few guildsmen could personally undertake every technique required for the production of a single piece of plate; that the silver worker 'can onlye nayle it, and fashion it and can goe no farther, so that then for the graving and chasinge, an other which can doe no other worke, must finyshe that worke'. Likewise, with regard to the gilding of silver, 'an arte of singular skill, and fewe can

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[74] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 6^v.

[75] Smith and Schmidt, 'Introduction: Knowledge and Its Making in Early Modern Europe', in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 1-16 (p. 13).

[76] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 32^v.

[77] Ibid.

doe it, as it oughte to be, and as it hathe bene donne in tymes paste'.[78] Many goldsmiths

are said to be similarly singular or incomplete:

> For wheras his skill oughte to doe anything pertinent to a golde worker, it is
>
> devided into severall mens skils, As one to make Jewels onlye, another Ringes,
>
> others Borders, others Chaines brasletts, others wyer worke […] And so no general
>
> golde worker, but a part of one.[79]

Crucially, aside from those who were working artisans, with no wider civic responsibilities,

Gamon dedicates a final paragraph to 'the Marchant goldesmythe, otherwise termed the

Buyer and Seller'. By contrast to the workmen, these individuals 'must have skill and

knowledge, in all the aforesaide severall knowledges. Or els[e] he cannot be este[e]med in

this function a perfitt Artiste'.[80] From the author's perspective then, the retailers and

merchants who dominated the highest echelons of the Goldsmiths' Company were the

guildsmen with the broadest range of practical skills and theoretical understanding of the

craft. Contrary to his analysis in favour of the tacit knowledge of the assayer (in chapter

seven of the first book of the *Storehouse*), Gamon claims here that ultimate 'skill and

knowledge', 'cannot in manye yeares be attained unto only by Tradition; Unles[s]

le[a]rninge; which is gotten by Readinge severall Authors, be joyned therto'.[81]

Apprenticeship is allegedly insufficient if a man aspires to political and epistemological

'completeness' or to be 'synguler in the arte'.[82] The experiential features of workshop

training thus ideally were to be combined with theoretical book-learning. Within a treatise

which attempted to mediate the tacit and propositional knowledge(s) of the goldsmith -

and from the perspective of an individual with a university, not workshop education - it is

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[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., fol. 32[r].
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., fols 32[v-r].

unsurprising that Gamon placed emphasis upon the textual basis of the 'marchant' goldsmith's education. In part this weighting must have been a rhetorical tool of self-promotion.

'A masterpiece to bee begonne and finished by himself'

Gamon claims that it is imperative that 'everye workman [...] wilbe accounted a perfit worke mayster, to labour with all his Industrie, and dilligence, to gaine to be synguler in the arte, which he professethe'.[83] We might dismiss this representation of the craft and trade as the opinion of a single guildsman, and an individual perhaps at one remove from the operation of the mystery; except that the year after Gamon presented his manuscript to the Goldsmiths' Company, in November 1607, the court of assistants issued a declaration concerning 'the arte and misterie of Goldsmithrie [...] dispersed into many partes'.[84] As Gamon had suggested in his *Storehouse*, nearly eighteen months earlier, the governing elite of the company were very troubled that 'now very fewe workeman are able to finishe and perfecte A piece of plate singularly with all the garnishinges and partes thereof withoute the helpe of many and severall hands'.[85] Further, individual workshops had apparently taken to specialising in the production of a particular type of metalwork: 'onely Bell saltes or onely belles or onely casting bottles [...] some to be spoone makers and some to be badge makers'.[86] The wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company were particularly concerned that their guildsmen were seeking the 'use and helpe of sondry inferior handy crafts as pewterers founders and turners for the perfecting of divers workes to the great scandal and disgrace of this misterie'.[87] Such a statement is indicative of the guilds'

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[83] Ibid., fol. 32[v].
[84] GHA, O, fols 551-52.
[85] Ibid.
[86] This heightened specialisation was not unique to London, see: Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, 'Goldsmiths' Apprenticeship during the first half of the Seventeenth Century: the Situation in Paris', in *Goldsmiths Silversmiths and Bankers*, ed. by Mitchell, pp. 23-31; Farr, 'On the Shop Floor'.
[87] GHA, O, fols 551-52.

proprietorial attitude towards their particular craft techniques and skills, a detailed discussion of which is reserved for the third section of this thesis.

The perceived solution to this 'negligence' - which the wardens feared might 'bring aliens and strangers workemanshipp in better reputation' - was the reestablishment of the custom of producing a masterpiece as a condition of entering the guild, receiving the freedom and setting oneself up as an independent master craftsman.[88] That no workman:

> shalbe allowed to have assaye and tutche within Goldsmithe hall or shalbe suffred to keepe open shoppe wherein to worke for himself as A workmaister before such tyme [...] he have made and wrought within the workehouse newly erected in Goldsmiths Hall [...] such A compleate peece of worke commonly called a masterpiece to bee begonne and finished by himself.[89]

Frustratingly, the court minutes give no further detail of the techniques and skills which were to be tested through a trial piece, or of the 'workehouse' built especially for the restoration of the 'complete' goldsmith. The structure was probably assembled in the courtyard of the Hall complex, or within the assay offices, so as to cause minimal damage to company property.[90] But it is significant that such a space for ascertaining skills and boosting artisanal reputation - for a masterpiece was 'a physical embodiment of collective knowledge and individual creativity and virtuosity' - was housed within the Goldsmiths'

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[88] Lien Bich Luu, 'Aliens and Their Impact on the Goldsmiths' Craft in London in the Sixteenth Century', in *Goldsmiths Silversmiths and Bankers*, ed. by Mitchell, pp. 43-52 (p. 45), 'The total number of alien goldsmiths active in London between 1558 and 1598 was probably greater than 500. This level was higher than in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century but because of London's enormous population growth the number of alien goldsmiths was proportionally smaller.'

[89] GHA, O, fols 551-52.

[90] David Mitchell has proposed that by 1640, the Goldsmiths' Company's masterpiece regulations had 'fallen into disuse', see: 'Innovation and the Transfer of Skill', in *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers*, ed. by id., p. 22.

Hall.[91] In the early seventeenth century, the institutional home of the Goldsmiths' thus contained sites dedicated both to ensuring the correct metallurgical composition of gold and silver objects produced in the workshops of all related practitioners (the assay house), and to the technical and aesthetic quality of the workmanship itself (the 'workehouse').[92] Significantly, in view of our attempt to ascertain the processes through which artisanal communities established epistemological authority, the final masterpiece of the goldsmith was to be subject to 'the viewe and Judgement of the fowre wardens […] and 2 skillfull workemen of the same misterie to be by the said wardens yearly nominated and chosen for that purpose adjudged and declared to be A perfecte and skill full workeman and soe recorded'.[93] Since the wardens clearly hired 'workemen' for the purposes of arbitrating upon artisanal abilities, we might question Gamon's claim that the 'marchant' goldsmiths had 'skill and knowledge, in all the aforesaide severall knowledges'.[94] Perhaps the wardens - some of whom were not apprenticed and trained in the craft - would have recognised the general characteristics of quality craftsmanship, but might rely on the expertise of 'skillfull workemen' for the ascertaining of particular technical features and material quality. Whatever the precise dynamic between the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company and the '2 skillfull workemen', it is significant that the ideal scenario for assessing the material embodiment of artisanal 'perfection' was within a group of knowledgeable and authoritative guild members. As chapter four demonstrates, these social and political aspects to craft evaluation and self-promotion were hardly unique to the Goldsmiths' Company.

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[91] S. R. Epstein, 'Transferring Technical Knowledge and Innovating in Europe, c. 1200-c. 1800', *Working Papers on the Nature of Evidence: How Well do Facts Travel?*, 01/05 (2005), 1-40. Department of Economic History, LSE, London. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/22547/> [accessed 15 March 2011].

[92] Political, spatial and socioeconomic connections between the Goldsmiths' Hall and neighbouring workshops are examined in the following section.

[93] As John Styles has suggested, this 'growth of subcontracting and specialisation' was part of a broader trend among luxury crafts and trades, see: 'The Goldsmiths and the London Luxury Trades, 1550 to 1750', in *Goldsmiths Silversmiths and Bankers*, ed. by Mitchell, pp. 112-20.

[94] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 32[r].

It is not known how widely the manuscript of Hannibal Gamon, which, as was noted earlier, survives in five separate copies, circulated within the Goldsmiths' Company or civic society at large. *The Goldsmiths Storehouse* might have purposefully been kept in manuscript form, as opposed to the printed medium, in order to preserve the notion that Gamon was revealing 'secrets' to a select group of trustworthy intimates. The flattery of the retailers within the guild, who were said to have ultimate 'skill and knowledge', including experiential and book-based learning, was undoubtedly a reflection of Gamon's own university education, his audiences' expectations - presumably many were rooted in the upper echelons of the guild - and the wider textual culture of *artes mechanicae,* in which patrons were routinely complimented and praised.[95] Gamon's articulation of the complex processes through which experienced master goldsmiths collectively ensured the material quality of silver, gold and precious stones, may have also been intended to reassure the consumers of these products. In this regard it is pertinent that the first printed text in English on 'The Rules belonging to that Mystery', *A Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares* (1677), was produced precisely to make the assaying and marking processes transparent for 'the Publique Good', 'whether Buyers, Sellers, or Wearers of any manner of Goldsmiths Work' (see Figure 1.2).[96] Likewise, the Goldsmiths' Company's decision to reinstate the trial of the master-piece, was perhaps not simply linked to an ambition to raise technical standards among apprentices and journeymen, but to legitimise these skills and symbolically reassure consumers of a standard level of quality.[97]

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[95] Long, 'Power, Patronage and Authorship of the Arts'.

[96] W. B., *A Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares; or, A Manual for Goldsmiths and All Other Persons, Whether Buyers, Sellers, or Wearers of any Manner of Goldsmiths Work* (London, 1677).

[97] Bert De Munck, 'Construction and Reproduction: The Training and Skills of Antwerp Cabinetmakers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Learning on The Shop Floor*, ed. by De Munck, Kaplan and Soly, pp. 85-110, (p. 87), in the case of early modern Antwerp cabinetmakers, the master-piece was significant to 'preserve the image and prestige of the masters and their products, the importance of skills and quality gradually shifted to a representative level'.

If the views of the 'working goldsmiths' had been similarly preserved for posterity, they might well have contested the notion that the governing guildsmen were superior to them 'in all the aforesaid severall knowledges'.[98] In this respect it is telling that when a controversy erupted in the 1580s between the company's assayers and certain working goldsmiths, it was decided that the matter was to be considered by five liverymen 'and men skilful in making assays'.[99] The latter group were brought in to arbitrate precisely because the Goldsmith's court of assistants was unable to reach a satisfactory decision on the basis of its own expertise and political subjectivity. Though perhaps not representative of the views of all members of the Goldsmiths' Company, the *Storehouse* does allude to the contested nature of artisanal knowledge in early modern guilds; the balance between 'good Judgement, gotten rather by yeares and experience' and 'le[a]rninge; which is gotten by Readinge severall Authors', is never fully resolved within Gamon's text.[100] His assertion that artisanal understanding is allied to a man's status within the guild - distinguishing between 'everye particular gouldesmythe' and 'the Marchant goldesmythe' - does alert us to the idea that guild hierarches were not just conceived in terms of social and political status; knowledge of craft processes were also highly significant. In the following chapter we consider the broader textual and intellectual cultures within which the social and epistemological value of artisanal knowledge were articulated and contested.

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[98] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 32^r.
[99] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 81.
[100] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 6^v, fol. 32^r.

Chapter Three: The Mathematical Arts (and Crafts), Natural Philosophy and the 'erroneous' Artisan

The Goldsmiths Storehouse was an attempt to adapt the existing textual genres of metallurgical treatises and books of secrets to the requirements and interests of the early seventeenth-century Goldsmiths' Company. As with most written articulations of the *artes mechanicae*, Gamon's manuscript presents an ambiguous message about the relationship between tacit and propositional knowledge - or the 'problem of embodiment' as Simon Schaffer has phrased it - and the associated status of the working practitioner.[101] The *Storehouse* was the product both of a book-based, university education and the experiential 'Exercises' of the master craftsman. In this chapter, broader textual constructions of artisanal knowledge and identities in early modern England are considered, through an examination of a range of printed literature on material production and the nature of 'true' mechanical knowledge. It is suggested that the texts of the mathematical practitioners', architectural theorists' and 'natural philosophers" - loose classifications which were not mutually exclusive, or divided between the 'scholarly' and the 'artisanal' - reveal a society in which theoretical knowledge was inextricably linked to (craft) practice, and thus the status of the mechanical arts was undoubtedly enhanced. But fundamentally this connection did not result in the raised ontological prestige of the craftsman.[102] The dichotomy repeatedly set up within texts of the 'mathematical' and 'scientific' arts, between the enlightened author and the guild-trained artisan, the latter allegedly an ignorant, unskilful labourer, whose work was inevitably full of error, is evidence of the social marginalisation of the artisan, in print, from 'true' knowledge of his practice.

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[101] Simon Shaffer, 'Science', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, ed. by Joad Raymond, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), I, 398-416 (p. 399).
[102] Bennett, 'The Mechanics' Philosophy and the Mechanical Philosophy'; Shaffer, 'Science', in *The Oxford History*, ed. by Raymond, pp. 412-14.

This consideration of codified workshop or technical knowledge demonstrates contemporary engagement with questions of material and technical value in wider society, outside of the guild organisation. It alerts us to the broader implications of a study of artisanal identities and cultures, as many varied professional and social groups in early modern London had an understanding and a stake in what it meant to be a true master of the mechanical arts and particular languages and material mediums through which accomplishment was enacted and communicated. Moreover, this interrogation of the social and epistemic value of the mechanical arts in early modern England is also intended to act as a theoretical foundation from which later considerations of rebuilding projects, architectural design, and the evaluation of labour, in practice, and within the institutional structures of the guild, are contextualised and contrasted. It is not possible to see what is distinctive about the guild-based culture of ascertaining, demonstrating and upholding craft knowledge, without considering alternative discourses in contemporary society. In chapter four of this section, artisanal practitioners are shown to conceive of connections between identity, skill and expertise within social, political and spatial contexts which are largely overlooked in contemporary 'mathematical' and 'scientific' literatures.

Carpenters, Carvers, Joiners and Masons,

Painters and Limners with suche occupations,

Broderers, Goldesmithes, if they be cunning,

Must yelde to Geometrye thankes for their learning

Robert Recode, *The Pathway to Knowledg* (London, 1551).[103]

In 1570, Sir Henry Billingsley, an English merchant and translator, Master of the Haberdashers' Company, on four separate occasions, and according to John Aubrey, 'one of

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[103] Robert Record, *The Pathway to Knowledg Containing the First Principles of Geometrie* (London, 1551), fol. i^r.

the learnedest citizens that London has bred', published a translation, from Greek and Latin editions, of Euclid's *Elements of Geometrie*.[104] This was the first time this text had been printed in the vernacular in England.[105] According to the opening address 'From the Translator to the Reader', Billingsley's express purpose in undertaking such an arduous task, was to provide his audience with 'a perfect knowledge and instruction of the principles, groundes, and Elementes of Geometrie': for 'without the diligent studie of Euclides Elements, it is impossible to attaine unto the perfect knowledge of Geometrie, and consequently of any of the other Mathematicall sciences'.[106] Billingsley's hope was that such a translation would encourage the 'good wittes both of gentlemen and others of all degrees, much desirious and studious of these artes'; remarking that in Holland, France, Italy and Spain, society was much enriched by the study of Greek and Latin texts and thus 'do flourishe so many cunning and skilful men, in the inventions of strange and wonderful thinges'.[107]

The 'Mathematicall Preface' to this first English translation of Euclid was composed by the astrologer and mathematician John Dee, a preliminary work which subsequently achieved greater notoriety than the main body of the text itself.[108] Crucially, Dee, a man deeply immersed within continental mathematical sciences, presents mathematics as fundamental to all knowledge, as the basis of universal wisdom.[109] Arithmetic and geometry are proposed as the underlying essence of all material and spiritual things or beings. Mathematics is said to occupy a curious 'middle' position 'between thinges

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[104] *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara*, trans. by Henry Billingsley (London, 1570).
[105] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: A Selection Based upon Existing Temporary Portraits*, ed. by Richard Barber (London: The Folio Society, 1975), p. 38, 'He had been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of the City of London. His house was the fair house in Fenchurch Street'.
[106] *The Elements of Geometrie*, fol. ii^v.
[107] Ibid. fol. iii^r.
[108] John Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', in *The Elements of Geometrie,* trans. by Henry Billingsley.
[109] R. Julian Roberts, 'Dee, John (1527-1609)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7418> [accessed 4 March 2012]

supernaturall and naturall'. Mathematics is both substantial and immaterial: by 'materiall things […] to be signified […] through their particular Images, by Art, are agg[r]egable and divisible' and yet 'the general [mathematical] *Formes*, notwithstanding, are constant, unchangeable, untransformable and incorruptible'.[110] Through mathematics, the physical and the supernatural are linked in Dee's treatise; a consideration of 'grosse and materiall thynges, may be led upward […] toward the co[n]ceiuyng of *Numbers*, absolutely'. In his conceptualisation of the breadth of this system of knowledge, Dee imagines a 'Mathematical Tree' with 'chief armes and second (grifted) branches'; these appendages are the twenty-seven mathematical arts and sciences including astronomy, architecture, music and navigation.[111] Every man, from goldsmiths, 'in their mixture of metals', to military men, from physicians to lawyers, are said to be improved and their practices enhanced by a basic grasp of Euclid's mathematical principles. And so that the reader might 'the easier perceive, and better remember, the principal pointes' of his Preface, Dee also organised a visual explanation of his textual treatise, 'the Ground platt of my whole discourse' (see Figure 1.3).[112] This graphically demonstrates the variety of Renaissance mathematics. It is a highly appropriate motif as plans, 'plots' and charts were becoming key tools of the active mathematical practitioner by the later decades of the sixteenth century.[113]

Dee's 'Mathematicall Preface' is a valuable starting point for a consideration of textual representations of the mechanical arts in early modern England, for it expresses very clearly the notion that mathematical principles underlie the operation of the crafts: 'that Geometrie, had but served for buildyng of an house, or a curious bridge, or the roufe of Westminster hall, or some witty pretty devise, or engyn, appropriate to a carpenter, or a

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[110] Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', sig.*ᵛ.
[111] Ibid.
[112] [Immediately follows the 'Preface', not paginated].
[113] Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnston, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England, 1500-1700* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 12.

joyner &c.'[114] Through an enumeration of dozens of arts allegedly based upon Euclid's Elements, from 'vulgar' measuring to cosmographie, the study of the heavens, Dee effectively enacts a levelling of the 'higher' and 'lesser' arts. Whether undertaking a basic work of carpentry or executing a virtuoso painting or sculpture, all men were effectively affirming the 'science' of geometry. Moreover, Dee presents a significant modification to the Aristotelian notion that manual and intellectual operations were fundamentally distinct; according to the English scholar, it was through a consideration of base, material things that 'we will be led upward' to the unchanging, absolute principles of mathematics.[115] The Mathematical arts and sciences existed 'between thinges supernaturall, imortall, intellectual, simple and indivisible: and thinges naturall, mortall, sensible, compounded and divisible'.[116] Engagement with the material and mechanical did not reduce one to the lowly social position of an enslaved brute, as in Aristotelian thinking, but might, to the contrary, reveal to the practitioner the basis of universal wisdom.

> [As] Plato affirmeth, the Architect to be Master over all, that make any worke. Wher[e]upon, he is neither Smith, not Builder: nor separately, any Artificer: but the He[a]d, the Provost, the Director, and Judge of All Artificiall workes, and all Artificers […] he, onely, searcheth out the causes and reasons of All Artificall thynes.
>
> John Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface' (London, 1570).[117]

Significantly, John Dee considers the practice of 'Architecture' to be within the remit of the mathematical sciences, though he acknowledges that for many of his readers, this inclusion might be a surprising choice: 'because it is but for building, of a house, Pallace, Church,

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[114] Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', sig. d4^r.

[115] Ibid., sig. *2^r; Jim Bennett, 'The Mechanical Arts', in *The Cambridge History of Science: Early Modern Science*, ed. by Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston, 7 vols (Cambridge, 2006), III, pp. 673-95 (p. 674), 'Mathematics was the way to move beyond the empirical, to secure practice in some systematized and generalized account, to ground art in a structure of assured knowledge or (in the terminology of the period) a "science".'

[116] Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', sig.*^{v}.

[117] Ibid., sig. d4^{r-v}.

Forte, or such like, grosse workes'.[118] Dee's rationale for architecture 'to be reckned among

the Artes Mathematicall' is first practical or instrumental: 'Geometrie, geveth to

Architecture many helpes: and first teacheth the Use of the Rule, and the Compasse:

wherby (chiefy and easily) the descriptions of Buildings, are despatched in Groundplats'.[119]

A thorough knowledge of geometry is thus essential for the primary process of building

design. Crucially mathematics ensures that throughout the design process, classical

proportions and symmetry are upheld: 'By Arithmetike, the charges of Buildinges are

summed together'.[120] But Dee's understanding of design goes beyond mechanical

calculations and, following from the writings of Leon Battista Alberti, architects are said to

be individuals uniquely capable of theoretical understanding: 'to have some Mathematicall

perfection: by certain order, nu[m]ber, forme, figure, and *Symmetri* mentall: all natural &

sensible stuffe set apart'.[121] This difference between pure principles and the practicalities

of construction, 'natural and sensible stuff', is given particular weight within Dee's *Preface;*

a clear distinction is repeatedly made between the status, role and intellectual capabilities

of the 'architect' and that of the artisan or mechanic.[122] The latter is said to have no

independent thought distinct from the architect, he cannot design 'for the hand of the

Carpenter, is the Architectes Instument'.[123] Only the architect might appreciate and apply

the principles of geometry to the façade or 'face' of a building, a mathematical order which

Dee refers to as 'Lineamentes': 'to prescribe unto buildynges, and every part of them, an

apt place, & certaine number: a worthy man[n]er. And a se[e]mly order'.[124]

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[118] Ibid., sig. d3^r.

[119] Ibid., sig. d3^v.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., sig. d4^r; Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition*, p. 60, 'In justifying architecture as a mathematical art, John Dee referred to Alberti as well as Vitruvius, and Dee himself owned three copies of *De re aedificatoria*'.

[122] Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule,* p. 11.

[123] Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', sig. d4^r.

[124] Ibid; Christy Anderson, 'Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660,* ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven; London: Yale

In the first substantial articulation of an 'English' architectural theory, Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), an English diplomat and collector of architectural drawings, with first-hand experience of classical and Renaissance writings and buildings, as royal Ambassador to Venice from 1604 to 1624, reiterates the Vitruvian principle, that the architect is fundamentally distinct from the humble artisan.[125] In the first part of his treatise, *The Elements of Architecture […] from the best authors and examples*, Wotton distinguishes between the true designer, and those who engage with base materials:

> I must heere remember that to choose and sort the *materials*, for every part of the Fabrique, is a Dutie more proper to a second *Superintendent*, over all the Under Artisans […] and in that Place expressely distinguished, from the *Architect*, whose glory doth more consist, in the Designement and *Idea* of the whole *Worke*, and his truest ambition should be to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter.*[126]

Whereas the craftsman is engaged with the mechanical, material processes, the architect is said to possess 'a *Philosophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceave it) to be no superficiall, and floating *Artificer*; but a *Diver* into *Causes*, and into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*'.[127] Just as Dee had stressed the importance of geometrical knowledge for the undertaking of architectural design, Wotton claims 'that when any thing is *Mathematically* demonstrated weake, it is much more *Mechanically* weake: Errors occurring more easily in the management of *Grosse Materials*, then *Lineall Designes*'.[128] 'Error' was *the* catchword for contemporary artisanal practice.

University Press, 1995), pp. 239-86 (p. 253), 'Lineamentes' are the visual structure of the building, manifested in proportion, symmetry, and decorum: the principles of classicism.'

[125] Ibid., p. 255.

[126] Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture, Collected by Henry Wotton Knight, From the Best Authors and Examples* (London, 1624), pp. 11-12.

[127] Ibid., p. 55.

[128] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Wotton was clearly writing for a gentry audience, or men who aspired to such status; those who were actively engaged in the rebuilding and remodelling of their city and country properties.[129] He claims in his *Preface* to the work that 'Architecture, can want no commendation, where there are *Noble Men*, or *Noble* mindes'.[130] Wotton is highly sensitive to the political and social significance of property ownership to gentry owners and readers: 'being the *Theatre* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest* part of his owne Life, the *Noblest* of his Sonnes *Inheritence*, a kinde of private *Princedome'.[131]* In his explanation of the fundamentals of classical architecture, Wotton reveals his own social context and that of the anticipated reader of the *Elements*: employing the language and visual imagery of heraldry in his description of the orders.[132] Classical orders, like heraldic symbolism, are said to be related directly to the social order or hierarchy. So for instance, in his account of the Doric order, Wotton claims that 'to discerne him, will bee a peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*: For he is best knowne by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize* […] when he is alone'.[133] In theorising 'architectural' pursuits as an appropriate pastime for English gentlemen, using a symbolic vocabulary with which they were familiar, Sir Henry Wotton is at pains to distinguish between the intellectual process of design and the lowly practice of physical construction. As within the writings of practical mathematics and the new natural philosophy, 'vulgar' artisan practitioners are represented as ignorant of the geometrical principles underlying their labours.

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[129] Platt, *The Great Rebuildings*.
[130] Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, sig. 3^r.
[131] Ibid., p. 82.
[132] Anderson, 'Learning to Read Architecture', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, p. 255.
[133] Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 36.

Mathematical Practitioners and Artisanal 'error' in Early Modern England

 In 1556, a decade and a half before Billingsley's translation of the *Elements* was printed for the first time, another English gentleman, Leonard Digges, published a text entitled a *Boke Named Tectonicon*: an English-language volume 'conteynyne the flowers of the Sciences Mathematical, largely applyed to our outward practise, most profitably pleasaunte to all maner of men in this realme' (see Figure 1.4)[134] Consisting of directions for the measurement of land, the calculation of quantities and the correct utilisation of 'mathematical' instruments, including the carpenter's rule, the square and a variety of cross-staff, Digges's work is a testament to the early modern appetite for printed works of mathematics in the vernacular, reprinted at least twenty times over the next century.[135] For this analysis of the position of craftwork within epistemological taxonomies, the most striking aspect of the text is the combination of theoretical mathematical principles - primarily those derived from basic geometry - and the practical, tool-based application of such knowledge.[136] According to its author, the primary purpose of *Tectonicon* is to reveal to the ignorant and semi-literate peoples of England, particularly 'the Landemeater, Carpenter or Mason', the principles of Euclidian geometry, rules which had formerly been 'locked up in straunge toungues'.[137] This knowledge of mathematical theory was to be gained through textual learning and practical application: that 'oft diligent re[a]ding, ioyned

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[134] Leonard Digges, *A Boke Named Tectonicon Briefelye Shewynge the Exacte Measurynge and Speady Rekenynge All Maner Lande, Squared Timber, Stone, Steaples, Pyllers, Globes* (London, 1556).
[135] Stephen Johnston, 'Digges, Leonard (c. 1515-c. 1559)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/7637> [accessed 9 January 2012]. See also: Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, p. 46, 'Its sheer quantitative dominance is hard to overstate: it had more editions in its first century than all the more strictly architectural books in England put together.'
[136] Bennett, 'The Mechanics Philosophy and the Mechanical Philosophy', p. 2, 'It is important for an appreciation of the entire domain not to introduce any qualitative distinctions based on differences of kind - between the more theoretical and the more practical aspects, since the practitioners themselves did not do so.'
[137] Digges, *A Boke Named Tectonicon*, 'L. D. vnto the Reader' [not paginated].

with ingenious practise, causeth profitable laboure'.[138] Thus in addition to the the provision

of a basic explanation of geometry - 'without trouble, not payned with many rules, or

obsure terms' - Digges gives brief instructions for 'the makynge, and manyfolde fruits of

this pryncely Instrument', a version of the cross-staff which he refers to as 'the profitable

staff'.[139] The advertisement on the title-page of *Tectonicon* for the mathematical

instruments of the Flemish artisan Thomas Gemini - the text's publisher and also one of the

most skilled contemporary instrument makers in the City of London - further established

this link between theoretical knowledge and its instrumental application. Following this

example, publications by self-styled 'mathematical practitioners' routinely featured

advertisements for particular instrument makers with workshops in the metropolis.[140]

In its explicit promotion of a combined theoretical and 'mechanical' approach to

craft practices, and the preferment of particular instruments and their makers, *Tectonicon*

was an archetypal product of what has been termed by modern scholars as the English

'mathematical practitioners'.[141] A broad social and intellectual grouping composed of

individuals who promoted their mathematical knowledge through printed texts in the

vernacular; whose identities were closely bound up with the use of instruments and charts

for measurement and observation; and who understood their labours to be public and

practical. The purpose of exercising practical arts based upon arithmetic and geometry was

understood as being both for personal fulfilment and for the benefit of society (not quite

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[138] Ibid.; Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, p. 46, 'For Digges, the traditional practices of the crafts were insufficient and needed to be corrected by mathematical reason.'
[139] Digges, *A Boke Named Tectonicon*, sig. F1^r-F4^v.
[140] Stephen Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science*, 48 (1991), 319-44 (p. 320), 'their self-conscious deployment of instruments, revealing how instruments were used to negotiate the character and status of the mathematicalls'; D. J. Bryden, 'Evidence from Advertising for Mathematical Instrument Making in London, 1556-1714', *Annals of Science*, 49 (1992), pp. 301-36; Bennett, 'The Mechanical Arts', in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. by Park and Daston, p. 675.
[141] Eva G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).

the lofty spiritual heights imagined by John Dee in his 'Preface').[142] The backgrounds, education and experiences of mathematical practitioners were quite varied and under this loose rubric we might include an assortment of landed and university-educated gentlemen; fortification experts and military engineers; engravers, clock and instrument makers; and occasionally joiners or carpenters.[143] Leonarde Digges's life was characterised, as he himself phrased it, by 'both learning and experience'.[144] Stephen Johnston has shown that in addition to writing almanacs, *Tectonicon* and a posthumously published study showing his understanding of contemporary continental mathematic sources, Digges also conducted extensive applied research on the operation of artillery and ballistics.[145] Such varied interests, ranging from the ostensibly academic - what we might term the 'liberal arts' - to the technical or mechanic, were an entirely typical and apparently unproblematic combination for an English mathematical practitioner.

Beyond setting an example for the authors of all future mathematical works in the vernacular in terms of the making, advertisement and use of mathematical instruments, Digges's work was also significant for setting the tone of texts on measurement and quantity calculation: one of pejorative regard for the knowledge and skills of contemporary craftsmen.[146] *Tectonicon,* like almost all other works of 'practical geometry' which followed it, was ostensibly produced for the benefit of 'Surveyers, Landemeaters, Joyners, Carpenters, and Masons', practitioners whose repeated performance of 'vulgar errors' was allegedly based on their ignorance of geometry and associated tools. Digges explains 'that the Ruler of tymber measure, which the more parte of them hath, is not made by right

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[142] Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', p. 319.
[143] Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioner*s.
[144] Digges, *A Boke Named Tectonicon*, sig. C3[r].
[145] Stephen Johnston, 'Digges, Leonard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Digges's artillery investigations were pursued as a self-conscious combination of theory and practice.'
[146] Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments', pp. 224-27.

arte. Besydes theyr crafte in seekinge the square of some tymber, is very false'.[147] Digges's expectation is that artisans will ultimately defer to his better judgement, understanding and experience as an expert in the mathematical arts and sciences. Thus whilst the mathematical practitioner apparently saw no distinction between the workings of the mind and the labours of the hand, practising artisans are supposedly ignorant of the theoretical principles underlying their workshop activities. The argument here is not for an artificial or retrospective distinction between the 'scholar', 'mathematical practitioner' or 'craftsman', but rather to highlight the dichotomy or problematic which mathematical practitioners themselves perpetuated: between theory or unchanging principles, and the workshop practices of the guild-trained craftsman.

The Carpenters Rule, another text of practical mathematics, printed in 1602, nearly half a century after Tectonicon's first public appearance, echoes Digges's sentiment concerning the relationship between craftsmanship and knowledge (see Figure 1.5). The central, self-proclaimed purpose of The Carpenters Rule is to act as 'a remedie' for erroneous contemporary craft practice, the unenlightened artisan.[148] The Rule sets out the errors 'most commonly committed' by artisans, the means by which 'ordinarie timber may be measured' and finally the method by which 'extraordinarie timber and solid forms may be measured'.[149] The author, Richard More, himself an apparently reformed carpenter, alleges 'that most men are very ignorant in true measure', or rather geometry, and that 'custome had caused error to be receiued as a truth'. Since the text is dedicated to the Master and Wardens of the Carpenters' Company, the 'custome' to which More refers is an

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[147] Digges, A Boke Named Tectonicon, sig. C3[r].
Stephen Johnston, 'Reading Rules: Artefactual Evidence for Mathematics and Craft in Early Modern England', in The Whipple Museum of the History of Science: Instruments and Interpretations, ed. by Liba Taub and Frances Willmoth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 233-53 (p. 247), 'A prime reason for errors in craft rule was the technique of creation by copying. Criticised by Richard More in 1602, the practice was still drawing the fire of mathematical authors more than half a century later.'
[148] Richard More, The Carpenters Rule; or, A Book Shewing Many Plain Waies, Truly to Measure Ordinarie Timber (London, 1602).
[149] Ibid., sig. A3[v].

intuitive form of tacit craft knowledge, of the type that is passed from master to apprentice in the workshop, and a form of skill transmission controlled by the craft guild.[150] Likewise the accusation that 'this course [of artisanal practice] seemed to be too private, and such as was like to doe but little good', is an attack on the 'mystery', and secretive artisanal epistemology fostered by craft guilds.[151] This dismissal of the 'customary' and 'private' forms of workshop-based learning and practice was echoed by the Royal Society publicist Thomas Spratt, in his *History* of the organisation, published in 1667, at least a generation after More was writing. Spratt claims that compared to the Society members, crafts or tradesmen, 'having had their hands directed from their Youth in the same Methods of Working, cannot when they please so easily alter their custom'. The minds of the 'Mechanics' are 'obscure and fetter'd' and compared to the Royal Society, their organisational bodies are 'infected with [...] narrowness'.[152] The overall impression is that within this hierarchical, private and commercially driven context, artisans can hardly search for natural causes or indeed produce genuine experimental knowledge.[153] But, to return to the mathematical practitioners for the time being: Richard More's aim was to publicly expose the flaws in this guild system of knowledge learning and dissemination and provide a precise, certain, mathematical solution: 'the common errors plainly laid open to the capacitie of the simplist; that so all men might take knowledge thereof'.[154]

This theme of the ignorant artisan was well established by and further perpetuated through the plethora of mathematical texts printed in the 1650s and 1660s, concerned with measuring instruments and logarithmic tables of measurements. In 1651 William Leybourne, a bookseller and printer who also authored his own significant works on

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[150] Ibid., sig. A3^r.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Thomas Spratt, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1667), pp. 398.

[153] Steven Shapin, 'The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England', *Isis*, 79 (1988), 373-404.

[154] More, *The Carpenters Rule,* sig. A3^r.

mathematics and land surveying, published Thomas Stirupp's *Artificers' Plain Scale; or, The Carpenters New Rule.* According to this text, all previous, popularising works suggesting 'rules for the measuring of board and timber' had failed to grasp the obvious flaw in their own publication: that 'very few of our common Artificers have been furthered thereby, because they have not the art of Arithmetick, upon which most of their rules depend'.[155] Stirrup's solution is to provide for craftsmen some basic mathematical rules, upon which their craft is allegedly governed, and three measuring tables 'one for Board, and one for Square Timber, and the third for round Timber'.[156] The entire intellectual rationale for Stirrup's work is the notion that artisanal labour is based upon mathematical principles, but the craftsmen themselves are oblivious or ignorant of such underlying foundations. Five years later, in 1656, the self-proclaimed 'philomath' John Brown published *The Description and use of the Carpenters' Rule*, 'collected and fitted to the meanest capacity'. Like his predecessors, Brown assumes that the artisanal community are epistemologically deficient; that a craftsman, unlike the mathematical practitioner, has no real understanding of the operation of his tools. Brown suggests 'that I might be as an ABCdarian to the Instrumental way of working, being the most proper for Mechanick men, such as Carpenters, Joyners, Masons and Bricklayers, and the like; which for the most part are ignorant of Arithmatick'.[157] Through a characteristic *apologia* for the simplicity of his subject matter, Brown alleges that 'I might have implored the aid of some more abler Pen, but I thought Mechanick men best understand them of their own professions […] because they are men of the same stature in knowledge and expressions'.[158]

The representation of the craftsman as an ignorant, unskilled individual, a textual depiction which was consistent throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was

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[155] Thomas Stirrup, *The Artificers' Plain Scale; or, The Carpenters New Rule in Two Parts* (London, 1651), 'Dedication to the Reader' [not paginated].
[156] Ibid.
[157] John Brown, *The Description and Use of the Carpenters-Rule* (London, 1656), sig. A2v-A3r.
[158] Ibid., sig. A3v.

of course in part a form of marketing strategy on the part of the mathematical practitioner.

Emphasising the reader's lack of knowledge was a means of promoting the texts, charts,

tables and instruments which were said to provide the theoretical framework for the

effective practice of the mechanical arts.[159] We might also question the assumed audience

of these works of applied mathematics. Though the target readership was usually

presented as the simple craft practitioner, readership and reception of these texts, and

indeed ownership of the instruments which they routinely promoted, is hard to gauge.

Significantly, we lack a clear 'response' from potential artisan readers and there are very

few surviving instruments of the humblest sort.[160] It is feasible that the primary audiences

for these printed discourses were more socially and professionally privileged than the semi-

illiterate artisanal grouping that the authors claimed as their professed readership. Many of

these works might have been basic mathematical primers for the middling-sorts and gentry

youth in England.[161] The stock character of the unenlightened artisan, repeatedly producing

shoddy examples of craftsmanship might have been a convenient trope of the

'measurement' genre. 'Applied' mathematics was part of the curriculum for the young

gentleman.[162] In his guide to the fashioning of the well-mannered male, *The Compleat

Gentleman* (1622), Henry Peacham lists geometry - alongside music, poetry and 'exercise of

the body' - as essential skills which the youth must master. According to Peacham, the

English gentleman will find geometry a particularly useful art for the 'surveying your lands,

affording your opinion in building anew, or translating […] Seeing the measure of Timber,

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[159] Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments', p. 325, 'The prime element in the reformation of errors was the replacement of familiar craft instruments with those newly devised by the mathematical practitioner.'

[160] Johnston, 'Reading Rules: Artefactual Evidence for Mathematics and Craft' in *The Whipple Museum of the History of Science*, ed. by Taub and Willmoth, pp. 233-53.

[161] J. Denniss, 'Learning Arithmetic: Textbooks and Their Users in England 1500-1900', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Mathematics*, ed. by Eleanor Robson and Jacqueline A. Stedall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 448-67 (pp. 456-57).

[162] Katherine Hill, 'Juglers or Schollers?': Negotiating the Role of a Mathematical Practitioner', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 31 (1998), 253-74 (p. 260), 'Gentlemen, it seems, were expected to be able to at least 'talk' about mathematics.'

stone and the like (wherein Gentlemen many times are egregiously abused and cheated by such as they trust)'.[163] Echoing the language of artisanal 'ignorance' employed by the mathematical practitioners themselves, Peacham dramatically claims that: 'I feare except Apollo himself [who, according to Plato, 'reproved' the Greeks because of their ignorance of geometry] ascend from Hell to resolve his own probleme, we shall not see it among our ordinarie Stone-cutters effected'.[164]

Surviving examples of seventeenth-century works of practical geometry have come from the collections of the middling sorts and the gentry, and these broad social groups were certainly curious about the mechanical arts; even if the latter considered remuneration for labour to be a deeply problematic issue (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7).[165] The application of geometrical knowledge is encouraged within works which feature practical problems of the contemporary built environment, for instance 'party Walls in a cellar' or a 'May pole 100 foot high, from which a piece is broken off'.[166] Annotations on extant texts of practical mathematics show that the reader, or learner, might apply the geometrical principles within the text, to a consideration of the material and built world around him: 'wittely' practising his new skill, as Leonarde Digges had recommended. The diarist and naval officer Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) made numerous references in his personal diary to his active pursuit of the art of measuring: a practice which apparently brought both personal satisfaction and professional benefits. In August 1662 for instance, on a trip to inspect the royal forest of Waltham, Pepys 'practiced measuring of the tables and other things till I did understand measuring of timber and board very well'. [167] In the following

[163] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), p. 77.
[164] Ibid., p. 76.
[165] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 42-64.
[166] William Leybourne, *The Art of Measuring; or, The Carpenters New Rule Described and Explained* (London, 1669), p. 28, 33.
[167] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. by Robert Latham and Matthew Williams, 10 vols (London, Bell, 1970-83), III (1970), 169.

spring, Pepys 'walked to Greenwich, studying the slide rule for the measuring of timber, which is very fine'.[168] He claimed in June 1663, after a day of practising and improving his measurement technique with a friend in the Temple Church, a yard and a drinking house, 'that I can now do it with great ease and perfection, which do please me mightily'.[169] In view of our understanding of the potential audience for texts of practical mathematics, it is telling that Pepys also boasted, after a pleasant 'morning upon my measuring Ruler', that he had 'found out some things myself of great dispatch, more than my book teaches me'.[170] Pepys was self-confessedly 'very studious to learn what I can of all things necessary for my place as an officer of the Navy, reading lately what concerns measuring of timber and knowledge of the tides'. Such was Pepys's enthusiasm for the practice of measuring that in August 1663 he invested in his own bespoke measuring rule, made by 'Brown the mathematical instrument maker'; Pepys claimed that it was 'certainly the best and most commodious for carrying in one's pocket. And most useful that was ever made'. That afternoon, Pepys took his new instrument to the Deptford Dockyard and publicly demonstrated his skills, which he claimed were more advanced than those of the practitioner himself: 'I fell to measuring of some planks that was serving into the yard, which the people took notice of, and the measurer himself was amused at, for I did it much more ready than he'.[171] Perhaps Pepys was genuinely more proficient at undertaking the 'art of measuring' than the manual worker employed to carry out the estimation of timber at the royal dockyards, but Pepys's rhetorical claims (as a gentleman amateur) to superior knowledge, advanced abilities and 'perfection', were certainly reflective of a broader cultural trend.

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[168] Ibid., IV (1971), 103.
[169] Ibid., IV, 176.
[170] Ibid., IV, 180.
[171] Ibid., IV, 266.

Beyond acting as a rhetorical device for commercial promotion, it seems likely, as Stephen Johnston has suggested, that the denigration of the common artificer within texts of practical mathematics was a means for an aspirational artisan author to indicate his 'allegiance to the mathematicalls' and thus raise himself, intellectually, above and beyond his fellow guild-based craftsmen.[172] This is seen clearly in the case of Richard More, author of *The Carpenters' Rule* and a member of the Carpenters' Company. In More's text the mathematical practitioner is presented as being in possession of knowledge which the humble craftsman desperately lacks. The practitioner with commitment to the mathematical arts and sciences is allegedly both cerebrally superior and capable of producing work which is perfect, mathematically speaking. But there appears to be more to this rhetoric of ignorance and the associated 'vulgar errors' of the craft tradition; beyond the cultivation of personal reputation and the marketing of texts and tools. Suggestively, in the *Carpenters Rule*, Richard More recommends that ambitious artisans, 'for your furtherance herein', might consider 'the lecture at Gresham College', the first institutionalised home of natural philosophy, 'every Thursday in the Termie times'.[173] The latter quotation reminds us of the wider cultural and intellectual landscape within which mathematical practitioners and indeed guild-based artisans were operating. Through engagement in a disparaging discourse about the knowledge and capabilities of the average craftsman, mathematical practitioners were contributing to a highly charged discourse, along with the 'new philosophers', about the nature of true knowledge and the place of the mechanical arts within a revised epistemological taxonomy - it is to this discourse which we now turn.

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[172] Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', p. 326.
[173] More, *The Carpenters Rule*, sig. A4^{v}.

The New Natural Philosophy and the English Artisan

> One evil that has grown to an extraordinary degree comes from a certain opinion
> or belief, long-standing but self-important and harmful, namely, that it is beneath a
> man's dignity to spend much time and trouble on experiments and particulars that
> come under the senses and are materially bounded […] experience being not so
> much abandoned or badly handled as rejected with distain

> Sir Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Book I: aphorism 83 (London, 1620)

In 1594, the ingenious English gentleman Sir High Plat (1552-1608), graduate of Cambridge and son of a prosperous London merchant, 'a man of civille education', published an intriguing text entitled *The Jewell House of Art and Nature,* a broad collection of 'divers new and conceited experiments, from the which there may be sundry both pleasing and profitable uses drawn'.[174] This compilation of natural 'secrets' was based upon investigations personally conducted by Plat within his garden in St Martin's Lane and his estate in Bethnal Green, in addition to direct observations of artisanal practices and critical evaluation of the works of 'ancient authors'. *The Jewell House* is thus concerned with 'recipes', including the colouring of wainscot and the practice of 'grave[ing] and inlay[ing] colours', as well as the composition of soils and manures, the art of distillation and the art of moulding and casting metals.[175] Plat's intention is that the work might primarily be of worldly benefit: though this volume has 'novelty [that] might delight the delicat[e] eares of a few', 'the trew end of all our privat[e] labo[u]rs and studies, ought to bee the beginning of the publike and common good of our country'.[176] Crucially, Plat sees the combination of theory and applied application as the essential feature of his labours, critiquing the

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[174] Sir Hugh Plat, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature: Conteining Diuers Rare and Profitable Inventions, Together with Sundry New Experiments in the Art of Husbandry, Distillation, and Moulding* (London, 1594), sig. C1ʳ.

[175] Ibid., sig. A3ʳ-A4ᵛ; Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature,* pp. 312-13, 'Plat was constantly testing and improving upon secrets he discovered in the works of Palissy, Quercitanus, Wecker, Della Porta, Agrippa, and Cardano. He queried artisans, housewives, and other virtuosi'.

[176] Plat, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature,* sig. A2ʳ.

Scholastics for 'having written divers particulars, only by a theor[et]ical and speculative kind of contemplation, and not drawn from the infallible grounds of practise […] by imagination onely, in their private studies, which when they come to be tried either in the glowing forge of Vulcan, they vanish into smoke'.[177] Plat further criticises some of the traditional philosophical authorities, including Albertus Magnus, for articulating knowledge in vague terms: explaining 'their learned experiments so figurativelie […] that no man, without a manual maister that may even lead him by the hand thorough al[l] their riddles, is able either to make the sureete oile of Antimonie, or to dulcifie Mercuie as it ought to be'.[178]

In his critique of following ancient textual authority without personal experimentation and observation, and his reassessment of the Aristotelian distinction between 'nature' and 'art', Plat espoused views which would become *de rigueur* of the seventeenth-century 'new philosophy'.[179] Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the English politician and philosopher, widely recognised as the key figure in the establishment of the new natural philosophy or science, or at least the first individual to lay out a programme and methodology for a novel, productive natural philosophy, also actively promoted an investigative, experimental agenda based upon nature. By contrast to the scholastic tradition, in which experiments might demonstrate pre-established theoretical knowledge, Bacon's model for the new sciences involved experimentation which would reveal laws of nature.[180] In *The Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human*, first published in 1605, Bacon famously praises the benefits of a 'Historie Mechanicall' or a history of trades; a workshop-based means of learning that allegedly has significant

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[177] Ibid., sig. B3ᵛ-B4ʳ.
[178] Ibid., sig. A4ʳ.
[179] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature,* p. 269, 310-11.
[180] Ibid., pp. 284-89, 291-93.

implications for his own proposed experimental method concerning natural causes.[181]

Bacon claims that an investigation into mechanical histories will suggest 'Many ingenious

practizes in all trades, by a connexion and transferring of the obseruations of one Arte, to

the use of another […] But further, it will give a more true, and reall illumination concerning

Causes and Axiomes, then is hitherto attained.[182] In the *Novum Organum* ('New

Instrument') of 1620, which sets out Bacon's imagined 'restoration' of the sciences, the

manual crafts are compared explicitly with traditional, received wisdom and authority: 'In

the mechanical arts […] they grow and become more perfect by the day, as if partaking of

some breath of life […] By contrast, philosophy and the intellectual sciences stand like

statues, worshipped and celebrated, but not moved forward'.[183] Bacon proposes

'experiments in the mechanical arts, and in the operative part of the liberal arts, and in

those practical crafts that have not developed into an art of their own'. All will allegedly

reveal new knowledge, of natural causes.[184] Bacon's imagined institution for the

undertaking of experiential natural philosophy, 'Solomon's House', as set out in his utopian

New Atlantis, includes laboratories and artisanal workshops.[185]

But despite a clear promotion of the 'mechanical' means of active investigation and

knowledge-making, Bacon's relationship with the actual practitioners of crafts and trades

was highly problematic. As in the case of the English mathematical practitioners, a

heightened respect and curiosity on the part of the 'new scientists', for the manual arts and

crafts, did not result in a cultural revaluation of the status of the workshop labourer. Bacon

claims that though 'the mechanic, mathematician, physician, alchemist and magician all

immerse themselves in Nature, with a view to works', the results are not positive: 'all so far

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[181] Francis Bacon, *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Diuine and Humane To the King* (London, 1605).
[182] Ibid., *The Second Booke*, p. 109.
[183] Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum: with Other Parts of the Great Instauration*, trans. and ed. by Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), p. 8.
[184] Ibid., p. 26.
[185] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature,* pp. 290-91.

with feeble effort and slight success'.[186] Further, that though 'It is true that alchemists have some achievements from their labours, but these came by chance, incidentally, or by some variation of experiments, such as mechanics are accustomed to make, and not from any art or theory'.[187] Workshop practitioners might thus haphazardly stumble, unwittingly, upon evidence of natural causes, but they lack the intellectual capability and education to undertake systematic experimentation and analysis. Artisans were ultimately not accorded a place in Bacon's vision of communal enquiry into natural causes and were thus permanently excluded from the true epistemological basis of craftsmanship: a distain for working practitioners which was bequeathed upon all future generations of natural scientists.[188] As Steven Shapin has demonstrated, the production of credible, authentic experimental knowledge in seventeenth-century England depended upon the performance of investigative practices by particular types of men in specific spatial locations.[189] Robert Boyle's technicians for example, were 'invisible actors'. As a consequence of their practical training, waged labour and absence of gentility, these men 'were not part of the experimental public'.[190]

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[186] Bacon, *Novum Organum*, p. 44.
[187] Ibid., p. 83.
[188] Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, p. 233.
[189] Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, pp. 193-242.
[190] Id., 'The House of Experiment', p. 395.

'Mechanics,

[From *Mechane*, a Greek word, signifying *Endeavour*, *Contrivance*, or *Invention*.] Are those Operations which are dispatch'd as well by the labour of the hands, as of the brain […] Workmen themselves are often called *Mechanicks*: A word ignorantly used by the Vulgar, in contempt, whereas there are scarce any Faculties more *necessary* to Humane Life.'

Joseph Moxon, *Mathematicks Made Easie* (London, 1679), p. 85.

An outcome of this tension between the idealisation of the workshop, and the unease about the status and capabilities of the practitioner, seen in earlier decades, is articulated by a series of texts published from the 1670s, by Joseph Moxon (1621-1691), an individual uniquely positioned on the nebulous boundaries between mathematical practitioner, artisan, tradesman and natural philosopher. A consideration of *The Mechanick Exercises or The Doctrine of Handy-Works* reveals that the appropriate balance between tacit and propositional forms of knowledge continued to haunt discussions of the mechanical arts in the later decades of the seventeenth century.

   The Mechanick Exercises are a series of texts, published in fourteen instalments, the first in January 1677/8. The *Exercises* are printed and illustrated representations of the crafts of smith, joiner, carpenter, turner and printer, those that allegedly 'work upon Geometrical Principles' (see Figure 1.8).[191] As it stood, this was undoubtedly an ambitious project, but at the outset, Moxon also intended to write accounts of several other, more elevated trades. In the *Preface* to the first edition of the *Mechanick Exercises* he states that future texts will cover drawing, engraving, mathematical instruments and globe and map making; though these imagined elements of the project never materialised in print.[192] In 1700, an *Exercise* on *Bricklayers Work*, clearly a reflection of building practices in the post-

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[191] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises; or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works* (London, 1677-1700), I , sig. A4^v.
[192] Charles F. Montgomery, ed., *Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. xviii.

Fire city, was also printed. Published nine years after Moxon's death, it had probably been written by his son James Moxon, a map engraver and seller of globes and instruments.[193] In addition to being one of the leading publishers of 'scientific' and mathematical works in London, particularly of tabular material and paper mathematical instruments, Joseph Moxon was also a globe and map-maker, with trading premises at The Sign of Atlas at Cornhill and later Ludgate Hill.[194] He was, self-confessedly, a man, who had for 'many years been conversant in Handy-Works' and was 'willing to communicate to the Publique the knowledge I have attained to'.[195] As a consequence of a petition signed by thirteen significant members of the mathematical community, Moxon was appointed hydrographer to the King in January 1662, 'for the making of Globes, Maps and Sea-Platts', and in 1678 he was elected fellow of the Royal Society, the first 'tradesman' to be endowed with this honour and the only one to be invited to join the institution during the seventeenth century.[196] His formal inclusion within the Society, for whom he had made several globes, was probably a consequence of the production of the *Mechanick Exercises,* which must have been seen as a contribution to the 'history of trades' programme, first imagined by Francis Bacon in the *Novum Organum*.[197] In the *Preface* to the first instalment of the *Exercises*, Moxon makes his intellectual debt to Bacon absolutely explicit:

The Lord Bacon in his Natural History reckons that Phylosophy would be improv'd by having the Secrets of all Trades lye open; not only Because much Experimental Philopsophy is Coutcht among them: but also that the Trades themselves might by

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[193] Ibid.

[194] D. J. Bryden, 'Moxon, Joseph (1627-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/19466> [accessed 22 March 2012]. See also: Graham Jagger, 'Joseph Moxon, F.R.S., and the Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 49 (1995), 193-208 (p. 198), Pepys recorded visits and purchases in Moxon's shop.

[195] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1693), I, sig. A4ʳ.

[196] Bryden, 'Moxon, Joseph', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Jagger, 'Joseph Moxon', pp. 194-95.

[197] Ibid., p. 198; Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, p. 230, 'The history of trades project was inspired by Francis Bacon's list of "Particular Histories" appended to the 1620 edition of *The Great Instauration* that aimed at providing the mass of observations, which by means of induction, would renovate philosophy.'

a Philosopher be improved. Besides, I find that one Trade may borrow many

Eminent Helps in Work of another Trade.[198]

Contrary to the perspective of guild authorities, who were highly protective of the

techniques and 'mysteries' of their particular craft and the jurisdictional boundaries of their

members and searchers, Moxon represents all artisans utilising the same tools and

operating through the same theoretical principals. Differences between a humble

ironmonger and a skilled instrument maker are said to be matters of degree. 'Smithing', the

starting point for the *Exercises* project, allegedly incorporates 'all Trades which use either

Forge or File, from the Anchor-Smith to the Watch-Maker; they all working by the same

Rules, though not with equal exactness, and all using the same Tools, though of several

sizes'.[199] Distinctions between craftsmen are thus apparently based upon the preciseness of

the practitioner: carpenters and joiners work by the same principles in Moxon's text, but

'Joyners work more curiously, and observe the Rules more exactly than Carpenters need

do'.[200] This view contrasts sharply with the attitudes of practising guild-based artisans.[201]

Through his depictions and descriptions of the appropriate use of tools and

materials for the undertaking of craftsmanship, Moxon appears to be celebrating and

promoting the acquisition and dissemination of geometrically-based artisanal knowledge.

Manual operations are endowed with 'rationality' and 'reason'.[202] According to Moxon, the

mechanical arts ideally provide personal enrichment, as well as being of benefit to the

commonwealth, a perspective shared with Royal Society fellows and mathematical

practitioners. In the *Preface*, the reader is rhetorically questioned: 'What Perspective

should we have to delight our Sight? What Musick to ravish our Ears? What Navigation to

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[198] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1693), I, sig. A3^v.
[199] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1677), I, sig. A4^{r-v}.
[200] Ibid., VII (1679), fol. 119.
[201] The deepening tensions between the Carpenters' and Joiners' Companies are discussed in Section three, chapter three.
[202] Ibid., I, sig. A3^r.

Guard and Enrich our Country? Or what Architecture to defend us from the inconveniences of different Weather, without Manual Operations?'[203] Moxon sets himself up as a cultural interpreter, an individual uniquely well placed to translate tacit workshop practices into textual and visual languages which the curious gentleman might comprehend. In some instances Moxon provides literal translations of the 'languages' of the workshop. He claims for example in the first instalment that 'it behoves you to know the names Smiths call the several parts of them [tools] by, that when I name them in Smiths Language […] you may the easier understand them as you read them'.[204] Likewise, when explaining the *Art of Joynery* in section four of the *Exercises*, Moxon instructs his reader that 'By *Straight Lines* I mean that which in Joyners Language is called a *Joynt*, That is, two pieces of wood are shot (that is plained)'.[205] In his *Mathematicks made Easie. Or, a Mathematical Dictionary*, of 1679, Joseph Moxon also acts as a translator, providing a concise glossary of significant mathematical terms and phrases: 'Wherein the true Meaning of the Word is Rendered, the Nature of Things signified Discussed, and (where need requires) Illustrated with apt Figures and Diagrams.' In his address to the Reader, Moxon suggests that his 'Experience' makes him an ideal candidate for such an interpretative endeavour, having applied himself 'to Mathematical Learning' for thirty years.[206]

In the case of *The Mechanick Exercises*, we might question the effect of this standardisation of craft vernaculars into a single 'scientific' language. As Cynthia Koepp has suggested in her examination of the representation of crafts and technology in Diderot's mid-eighteenth century *Encyclopédie,* the purpose is not necessarily to bestow dignity upon manual, mechanical labours, but rather an attempt to establish a 'stable

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[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., fol. 1.
[205] Ibid., IV (1678), fol. 59.
[206] Joseph Moxon, *Mathematicks Made Easie; or, A Mathematical Dictionary Explaining the Terms of Art and Difficult Phrases used in Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, and other Mathematical Sciences* (London, 1679), sig. A4^r-A7^r.

epistemology', 'to prise the vocabulary of the manual arts away from the domain of the workers, to change it, to bring it under control, and finally to create a new language of the mechanical arts available to "all"'.[207] Indeed, the broad conceptual premise of Moxon's *Exercises* and some of the copperplate engravings were plagiarised from the French author, André Félibien, Secrétaire de l'Académie des Sciences. In his 1676 text, *Des Principes de l'Architecture, de la Sculture, de la Peinture, et des autres arts qui en dependent,* Félbien includes descriptions of the tools and plans utilised in, among other crafts, smithing, carpentry and building.[208] He also incorporates a dictionary of 'des Termes propres a chacun de ces Arts', into the text; several of Moxon's *Excercises* also include an alphabetical 'Explanation of Terms'.[209]

As a highly skilled practitioner and a member of the Royal Society, Joseph Moxon clearly valued the lessons of the workshop. His emphasis upon *Exercises*, a term which we also encountered in Gamon's early seventeenth-century *Goldsmiths' Storehouse*, underscores a concern with the practical application of theoretical knowledge. In the *Preface* to the first instalment of the series, Moxon articulates a particular anxiety about the relationship between tacit and propositional forms of learning and knowing, which is worth quoting in full:

> I thought to have given these Exercises the Title of the Doctrine of Handy-crafts; But when I considered the true meaning of the word Handy-crafts, I found the Doctrine would not bear it, because Handy-craft signifies Cunning or Sleight, or Craft of the Hand, which cannot be taught by Words, but is only gain'd by Practice and Exercise: therefore I shall not undertake that with the bear reading of these

[207] Cynthia J. Koepp, 'The Alphabetical Order: Work in Diderot's Encyclopédie', in *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organisation and Practice*, ed. by Steve L. Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 229-57 (p. 251).

[208] Montgomery, *Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, p. xxiv, 'Moxon's debt to Felibien was more than inspirational: most of the joiner's tools illustrated in Plate 4 were taken directly from Plate XXI of the French work.'

[209] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, VII, fol. 163.

Exercises any shall be able to perform these Handy-works; but I may safely tell you that these are the Rules that every one that will endeavour to perform them must follow, and that by the true observing them, he may, according to his stock of Ingenuity and Zeal in diligence, sooner or later inure his hand to the Cunning or Craft of working like a Handy-craft, and consequently be able to perform them in Time.[210]

Evidently, Moxon considered the reading of his *Mechanick Exercises* as an insufficient basis for the adequate performance of artisanal labour; propositional learning had to be conjoined with 'Practice and Exercises'. This is a theme which is perpetuated throughout the series of works: in his description of 'filing in general', for instance, the author claims that 'this Hand-craft you must attain by Practice, For it is the greatest Curiosity in filing'.[211] In his account of 'the Art of House-Carpentry', Moxon stresses that both theory and applied knowledge are required: 'Books of Architecture are as necessary for a Builder to understand as the use of Tools'.[212] Notably absent in this discussion is the crucial role of apprenticeship training, organised and regulated by the London companies.

In spite of his obvious praise for the mechanical arts, Moxon is also dubious about the capabilities of mere craft practitioners. As with all other texts of 'practical geometry' which had been published in the preceding decades, Moxon distinguishes between the gentleman or mathematician who has knowledge of the theoretical principles, 'the good and ready Rules of Art', underlying workshop practices and the naive craftsman who performs in ignorance, 'by Tedious working, and he that has the best Eye at Guessing'.[213] Tellingly, the first line of the *Preface* to the *Exercises* claims that 'I see no more reason why the sordidness of some Workmen should be the cause of contempt upon Manual

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[210] Ibid., I, sig. A4ʳ.
[211] Ibid., fol. 16.
[212] Ibid., VII, fol. 119.
[213] Ibid., I, sig. A3ᵛ.

Operations, than that the excellent Invention of a Mill should be despis'd, because a blind Horse Draws in it'.[214] The learned gentleman philosopher might understand the fundamentals of craftsmanship 'by the true observing' of geometrical rules and 'consequently be able to perform them [handy-crafts] in Time', whereas the craftsman might operate as a dumb animal, no more conscious of the value and principles of craftsmanship than the inanimate tools which he mindlessly operates.[215]

Within communities of English mathematical practitioners, and later those of natural science, the guild-trained artisan was not accorded a place in the accurate or reliable production and communication of 'true' knowledge. Craftsmen were allegedly too ignorant, secretive, untrustworthy, or motivated by base material gain, to be capable either of constructing material products without error or of conducting genuine experimental investigations into natural causes. In the textual cultures of mechanical arts and indeed mechanical philosophy in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, 'craftsmen' or 'mechanicians' as a vague social grouping, were universally maligned. The construction and self-promotion of the identities of 'mathematician' and 'scientist' evidently required the social and intellectual distancing of the figure of the artisan from epistemological capital. Among contemporaries there remained a profound sense of unease in relation to those who had been trained and raised within the guild organisation and thus engaged in material production on a professional basis. In the next chapter we turn to the seventeenth-century building site and consider a guild-based comparison to this culture of printed epistemologies.

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[214] Ibid., sig. A3^r.
[215] Ibid., sig. A4^r.

Chapter Four: The Rebuilding of Goldsmiths' Hall: Demonstrating, 'measureinge and estimateinge' Artisanal Knowledge

In 1634, the Goldsmiths' Company began an extensive building project: the demolition of their wooden Hall on Foster Lane, which had been the focal point for guild governance, regulation and sociability for nearly three centuries - described by John Stow as a 'proper house but not large' - and its replacement with an enlarged, red brick and stone-clad, 'Palladian' style building (see Figure 1.9).[216] The political and spatial implications of this reordering and redesign of the company's institutional headquarters are considered in the subsequent section of this work, but for our present purposes, this site of construction is a revealing case study for an examination of the relationship between artisanal identities and communities of skill and knowledge in the seventeenth-century metropolis. Under the direction and supervision of the master mason Nicholas Stone, appointed 'Surveyor' for the project from its early stages, this rebuilding task involved a network of the most eminent and experienced master craftsmen in England, artisans who were highly assertive about the social, epistemological and pecuniary value of their labour. The question of who might be appropriately placed or equipped to assess high quality craftsmanship was an issue of great significance for all parties concerned and within such a complex web of expertise and professional competition, artisanal skill could not be reduced to geometric calculations or basic instrumental measurement. The contemporary texts of mathematical practitioners which laid out the 'art of measuring' thus failed to take account of the fact that ascertaining the 'value' of workmanship could be a subjective, social process of arbitration and compromise, which would ideally take place within assemblies of similarly trained, skilled and established guildsmen.

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[216] John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, 305.

The demolition of the old Goldsmiths' Hall and design and construction of the new building involved a large cast of guildsmen: craftsmen from across the construction trades, as well as many from within the Goldsmiths' Company itself, were involved with the project. Thus though the Goldsmiths employed a Surveyor for the provision of drawn 'plots' or plans and the overall supervision and assessment of artisanal labour, the acquisition of materials and the observation of the workforce and structural progress were understood to be a communal, company responsibility. In this analysis of craft identity and the demonstration of artisanal expertise and status upon the seventeenth-century building site, two key issues are explored. First, the social and epistemic value of plans of the new building: a form of 'theoretical' design communication which was employed throughout the project. It is shown that this was a graphic language which was shared by a range of guildsmen and only understood as a productive method of communication when utilised in conjunction with the changing built environment itself. Second, we consider the complex social and political procedures through which the quality and worth of craftsmanship were determined on-site. It is revealed that interpreting the value of the master craftsman was a matter of expert mediation, undertaken within communities of guild-trained authorities.

'Plots', Design and Status Disputes

In 1971 the architectural historian John Newman wrote a short article on the design of the seventeenth-century Goldsmiths' Hall for *Architectural History,* with the explicit intention to uncover 'the manner in which Inigo Jones's ideas were disseminated in England'.[217] In his desire to expose Nicholas Stone, the supervisor of the Goldsmiths' building-works and 'protégé' of Jones as 'the first documented example outside the Royal Works of an architect practicing in the modern sense of the word', Newman also overlooked the nuances within the archive which suggest a complex negotiation between theoretical

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[217] John Newman, 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall: Design and Practice in the 1630s', *Architectural History*, 14 (1971), 30-39 (p. 30).

knowledge and material expertise.[218] Though Stone provided the final 'plotts' for the rebuilding project and oversaw the works, he did not act or work alone, relying upon the skills of a variety of guildsmen on location. Moreover, contrary to the contemporary textual construction of a detached 'architect', a unique 'Philosophical Spirit' in the words of Henry Wotton, on this project there was no clear distinction between design and practice.[219] Drawn plans were not finished blueprints or products of a purely 'theoretical' mind but works in progress which were repeatedly considered on-site by all artisans and 'workemen' and physically adapted according to changing circumstances.[220] The 'mind' and 'hand', as envisaged within Aristotelian philosophy, were not fundamentally disengaged in early seventeenth-century England: planning and material construction were collaborative processes, as they had been for centuries before.[221] In this chapter, the connections between social and professional status and graphic communication are examined; the question of the particular architectural aesthetic for the 'outwarde' walls of the Goldsmiths' new Hall is reserved for the following section of this study.

When Nicholas Stone was declared 'Surveyor of the Companyes building' in December 1634, responsible for providing plans and for 'direct[ing] the workemen therein', the Goldsmiths must have had confidence in such an appointment, even if they had been strongly encouraged to make this selection by persuasive members of the royal court.[222] Stone, the talented sculptor and mason, whose 'life writings' were considered at the opening of this section, had been appointed as master mason to the crown just two years previously; he was also elected master of the Masons' Company for the second year

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[218] Ibid., p. 33.
[219] Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 55.
[220] Anderson, *Inigo Jones*, p. 63, 'By distinguishing between practical knowledge and theoretical learning, Vitruvius sets up a fundamental and irreconcilable paradox in classical architectural theory between theory and practice.'
[221] For a discussion of the connections between late-medieval English building practice and geometry, see: Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, pp. 17-30.
[222] GHA, S1, fol. 40ᵛ.

running in 1634.[223] For the rebuilding of their Company Hall the Goldsmiths thus had one of the most skilful, and certainly the most politically prestigious mason in the nation. The court minutes and accounts produced throughout the construction project reveal the ways in which Stone's identity and self-representation, as a building expert, were strongly connected with the ability to communicate his design ideas to fellow guildsmen, through the medium of paper sketches, works in progress which regrettably no longer survive. In order to comprehend the significance of this form of design communication and the groups which might have 'read' and employed such a graphic language, the process through which the new Hall came into being must be taken up some months before Nicholas Stone became involved in the project.

On 3 June 1634, three months after the issue of 'the great decayes and wante of repayringe this hall' had first been raised at a court meeting of the Goldsmiths' Company, a 'plott' for the new building, drawn by Mr Hawes, a practising master goldsmith and liveryman of the guild, was considered by the assistants, wardens and committee for building.[224] We are given no sense in the court minutes of the nature of this design, of the sort of visual representation which had been put forward, but significantly, after considering the drawing in their company parlour, the most exclusive room in the existing Hall, the ruling body of the guild also 'deliu[er]ed [the plan] to the workemen aparte to consider of it by themselves'.[225] Decisions about adaptations to the built environment were clearly not to be made without consulting men possessing practical knowledge of construction. This whole scheme proposed by John Hawes the goldsmith was however soon 'altogeather frustrated', as a month after his design for the new building had been

[223] Howard Colvin, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 4th edn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 990-92; Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.26, 'the officers of the Works were often also wardens or heads of the guilds, and the Works recruited heavily, though certainly not exclusively, from their members'.
[224] GHA, S1, fols 4[v-r].
[225] Ibid., fol. 4[v].

approved, Inigo Jones became, somewhat unexpectedly, involved in the project.[226] Though

the Goldsmiths had specifically decided at a court meeting in June 1634 not to send for 'the

Kings surveyer', Jones, 'upon some occasion of passing by [the Goldsmiths' Hall], did view

the same'.[227] As Inigo Jones was that very month working on the remodelling of St Paul's

Cathedral, approximately two hundred yards south-west of the company's institutional

site, an accidental discovery of the Goldsmiths' plans for a new building is not totally

implausible.[228]

Initially, Inigo Jones encouraged the Goldsmiths to undertake a competitive process

of design for the new building: the court minutes reveal that 'according to the advice of Mr

Survayer It is now agreed […] that Mr Wardeins give order for the drawing of 2 or 3 seuerall

plots'.[229] This strategy of comparing multiple design ideas included a new attempt by the

goldsmith Mr Hawes, two by 'Mr Burrage and Osbourne the Bricklayers' and another by

'Mr Forman the carpenter'. It was also desired by the livery that Jones might 'come hither

and to view the grounde and plotts together'.[230] It is striking first, that a number of skilled

craft practitioners, one of whom was not professionally involved in construction work,

were capable of producing basic plans for the production of a new building.[231] Since none

of the 'plotts' survive, unfortunately we have no way of evaluating the graphic language

employed; it seems probable that the designs would have been basic two-dimensional

ground plans or perhaps orthographic drawings, as this was the style most commonly

adopted for the design of new structures in early seventeenth-century England.[232] Second,

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[226] Ibid., fol. 10^v.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Newman, 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall', p. 31.
[229] GHA, S1, fol. 10^v.
[230] Ibid., fol. 11^r.
[231] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 39, 'Between 1540 and 1640 around fifty English artificers are documented as providing drawings, mostly, 'plotts', or 'platforms' for plans, but occasionally 'uprights' for elevations.'
[232] Laura Jacobus, 'On 'Whether a Man Could See before Him and behind him Both and Once': The Role of Drawing in the Design of Interior Space in England c. 1600-1800', *Architectural History*, 31

it is fundamental that an assessment of the quality of the designs was understood to be

rooted in a consideration of the existing built environment.[233] 'Mechanical' and intellectual

processes were fundamentally interlinked. Indeed, when it had been 'agreed by most

voyces' in October 1634, which of the entries would be considered at the next court of

assistants - one of the designs executed by the bricklayers and the 'plott' submitted by

Hawes - it was also 'ordered that these two plotts remayne with the Clerke for any of the

Assistants to have recourse unto in the meane time to view them and the ground togeather

the better to informe themselues to deliver their opinion at theire next meetinge'.[234] It was

clearly assumed that senior members of the Goldsmiths' Company could interpret a drawn

plan, and that an understanding of graphic representation, combined with a consideration

of the material circumstances of the plot, would be a sufficient basis for corporate

discussion.

In the event, the deliberations of the company men over the relative merits of the

various designs for their new institutional home proved to be largely inconclusive: 'divers

plotts for new building the hall were now viewed […] [but] after much debateinge thereof

noethinge was noe resouled on'.[235] The impasse was apparently broken when Nicholas

Stone, who had been invited to the court meeting, probably on the recommendation of

Inigo Jones, 'was intreated to take some paynes once more to draw an other plot with what

speed hee could'.[236] At the same meeting, it was 'ordered that for the Companyes building

they may entertayne an understandinge and skillfull man well experienced in building to

bee a surveyor for the worke […] it is generally thought fitt that Mr Stone the King's Mason

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(1988), 148-65 (p. 148), 'an orthographic (i.e. non-perspective) system of rendering to show all upright sides of an interior arranged radially on a single sheet of paper'.

[233] For an examination of the way in which Inigo Jones negotiated the relationship between theoretical texts (including architectural plans) and the corresponding built environment, see: Anderson, *Inigo Jones*, pp. 49-87.

[234] GHA, S1, fol. 20ᵛ.

[235] Ibid., fol. 23ᵛ.

[236] Ibid.; Jones's professional relationship with Stone began when, in his capacity as Surveyor of the King' Works, he employed Stone as master mason for the building of Banqueting House in Whitehall (1619-22).

shall bee the surveyor in all the building'.[237] On 3 December 1634, Nicholas Stone was again present at the company court, together with his 'plott for the new building'. It was decided by a close vote at the ballot - 'Nyne to eight' - that his plan should be referred for further consideration. Despite his status and established expertise, Stone's ideas were still subject to close scrutiny.[238] The designs proposed by Nicholas Stone for the 'ffronte and sides to the streetside and the patterne of the great gate to Ffoster lane ward as alsoe the ffronte of the hall Parlor and dyneinge Chamber towards the greate Courte' were to be examined by 'workemen and such of the Assistants as wilbee present with them'. Specifically, Forman, Burrage and Osbourne, the senior craftsmen who had been formally contracted to the project earlier that month, were to 'set downe in writing' any 'excepcons [that] shalbee taken to the plot or any parte thereof'.[239] Suggestively, the carpenter and bricklayers insisted that such 'excepcons' 'cannot bee soe well set downe in writing as by conferring with Mr Stone'.[240] Such an explicit affirmation of their preference for verbal exchange is revealing. Though these senior artisans were fully literate, from their perspectives, tacit craft processes were best communicated orally: this was the familiar guild culture of workshop example and emulation.[241] As master craftsmen, their natural inclination was not to make amendments to design ideas in writing, but to physically demonstrate on-site. Textual alterations to the plan of the new building were simply inadequate; not 'soe well' suited as verbal interaction in person and on location.

Throughout the initial negotiations leading up to the submission of plans for a 'more decent and commodious form', the process of design for the new Goldsmiths' Hall was a largely collaborative endeavour, a constant dialogue between various communities

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[237] GHA, S1, fol. 23[v].
[238] Ibid., fol. 34[v].
[239] Ibid.
[240] GHA, S1, fol. 39[v].
[241] For an examination of the myriad interactions between manuscript, print and oral cultures in early modern England, see: Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Cultures in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

of guild expertise. The 'plotts' were not finalised plans, but rather a fluid means of thinking through design ideas. Once Nicholas Stone had been established as the Goldsmiths' 'surveyor' for the building project, this sense of intellectual and material collaboration was not significantly altered. Thus contrary to the theoretical writings of John Dee and Sir Henry Wotton, the 'architect' for this project did not design the structure in isolation from either 'vulgar' craftsmen or the materials required for such a building; nor were the craftsmen working with Stone his passive 'instruments' but rather his peers, some of the most talented and successful artisans of their generation. When Nicholas Stone presented the Goldsmiths with two draughts of plans 'as concerninge the makeinge of the great pairre of stairs leading up into the great chamber' in November 1637, he pointedly remarked that such designs were produced after 'conference had with very able artists in the like affaires'.[242] His linguistic choice of 'artists' to describe his associates, is a valuable indication of Stone's own perception of the worth and status of his fellow craftsmen.

In the court minutes and accounts produced by the Goldsmiths' Company, their official record of this extensive building project, it is clear that Stone's status as Surveyor for the new building was fundamentally linked to his production of plans for the redesign of the structure: both external elevations and sketches of particular internal features, such as the aforementioned 'great pairre of stairs'.[243] Over the course of one particular incident, recorded in the company archive, it is possible to discern Stone's personal understanding of graphic 'intellectual property'. In January 1636/7, after submitting to the Goldsmiths' court his designs for the wainscot and screen for the Hall, Nicholas Stone also recommended suitable master craftsmen for the realisation of his plans. However, these suggestions were not accepted without question and a heated debate broke out between the Surveyor and Mr Robert Hooke, the assistant (and former master) of the Goldsmiths' Company, who had

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[242] GHA, T, fol. 31[r].
[243] Ibid.

been appointed by his fellows for 'aydinge and assisting' the Surveyor in his work.[244] The

dispute centred precisely on the matter of who had authority over the drawn plans of the

new Hall, specifically, how readily accessible the designs might be to other craftsmen:

> Mr Hooke did affirme that a Composicon with any workemen might bee made
>
> better in private then with soe many and therefore desired that hee might have the
>
> draught of the Plotts to shew unto other workemen but Mr Stone desired that they
>
> might not bee shewed whereby to bee Comon but that they might remayne with
>
> John Parker [Company Clerk] to be viewed at any time, which the Comittee for the
>
> most parte agreed unto And Mr Hooke was desired to confer with some workemen
>
> against the next Courte of Assistants at which time the Comittee desire It may bee
>
> then debated.[245]

This quotation from the Goldsmiths' court minutes suggests that authority was seen to be

located in control over 'the draught of the Plotts'. Regulating access to the unique designs

of Nicholas Stone was at the root of the disputation between the two guildsmen. Whereas

Robert Hooke, the goldsmith, wished to take the designs away from the Clerk and discuss

them with 'any workemen' - presumably craftsmen other than those recommended by

Stone - the master mason and 'the most parte' of the liverymen of the Goldsmiths'

Company, were strongly opposed to the notion that the plans might 'bee shewed whereby

to be Comon'.[246] Nicholas Stone was keen to monitor the artisanal audience for his new

designs for the interior decoration of the Goldsmiths' Hall; doubtless he feared that if they

left the close supervision of the Goldsmiths' Clerk, his ideas might be appropriated by any

number of skilled craft practitioners in the city. Moreover, Stone perhaps resented the very

idea of another guildsman presenting his plans to spectators, when he himself was absent.

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[244] Robert Hooke was Master of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1633-34.
[245] GHA, S2, fols 236[v-r].
[246] Ibid.

The 'plots' were evidence of Stone's skill and identity as the foremost mason in the country. As we have seen, his architectural drawings were among the few artefacts which he directly bequeathed to his sons, also practicing masons and artisans.[247]

Measurement and Evaluation of Artisanal Labour

The role of Nicholas Stone as designer and manager for the rebuilding of the Goldsmiths' Hall was a complicated and multifaceted responsibility. In addition to the provision of plans and the acquisition of core materials, Stone was also expected to identify suitably skilled and reliable craftsmen for the company's project, negotiate their terms of contract and take responsibility for measuring and evaluating craftwork once a commission had been completed. Such a considerable responsibility was familiar to the master mason. At the point at which he agreed to work on behalf of the Goldsmiths' Company, Stone had already operated as chief mason for Banqueting House (1619-22) and Windsor Castle (1626-). Stone had also acted as surveyor for the construction of three gateways in the Botanic Garden, Oxford and the partial reconstruction of Cornbury House in Oxfordshire (1632-33), both at the expense of the First Earl of Danby.[248] Stone's aforementioned account book, kept between 1631 and 1642, also reveals that in 1639, after his responsibilities to the Goldsmiths' Company had been discharged, he was surveyor for the enlargement of Tart Hall in London, owned by the Countess of Arundel. From May to November of 1639, Stone regularly received expenses, related to the Arundel project, 'to paye to workmen and for matterealls'.[249]

Having submitted his 'plotts' to the Goldsmiths' Company in January 1636/37 for certain interior design features, such as 'Ceelinge the Rooffe of the hall and the wainscotting thereof', Nicholas Stone also suggested appropriate artisans for the realising

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[247] TNA, PROB 11/203.
[248] Adam White, 'Stone, Nicholas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[249] SMA, MSS 22, fol. 34[r].

of his designs. The court minutes relate that 'Mr Stone recom[m]ended unto the Company 3. Workemen vizt A plaisterer A Joyner and a Carver'.[250] Entries in Stone's own workshop account book reveal that three years previously, he had employed the same joiner, Jeremy Kellett, for a private project for which he had acted as master mason.[251] The plasterer that Stone recommended for the decoration of the new Goldsmiths' Hall, Mr Knifman, was also employed by Inigo Jones in the late 1630s for executing the plasterwork in the Queen's Chamber at Whitehall: 'a fret Ceelinge […] wrought with Ovalls and squares garnished with Garlandes and Festones and other enrichements'.[252] In making his recommendations for master craftsmen for the Goldsmiths' project, Nicholas Stone was evidently drawing upon an established network of artisanal patronage and expertise.

The articles of agreement drawn up between the Goldsmiths' Company and the particular craftsmen skilled in a range of artisanal techniques, including carpentry, joinery, carving, masonry and plasterwork, demonstrate how separate contracts, specifying different types of labour and varied material provisions, were necessary for such a large, prestigious project.[253] They also show that in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the means of contracting labour and subsequently evaluating craftwork, were relatively fluid: ranging from payment by the day, to financial remuneration for the completion of a particular element of a complex design scheme.[254] The labour initially required for the relatively unskilled task of demolishing the old Goldsmiths' Hall and removing the materials, for instance, was recruited on a direct basis, by the day, the medieval tradition of

[250] GHA, S2, fol. 236ᵛ.
[251] SMA, MSS 22, fol. 11ᵛ.
[252] Claire Gapper, 'The Impact of Inigo Jones on London Decorative Plasterwork', *Architectural History*, 44 (2001), 82-87 (p. 86).
[253] Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City, 1660-1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 86, 'what became the most common procedure was one in which patrons made contracts with different trades. This was a form of contracting by the great, but it spread the risk among several different operators. This was the system used at St. Paul's for example.'
[254] For an explanation of hiring by the day in the masonry trade, see: David Parsons, 'Stone' in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. by John Blair and Nigel Ramsey (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 1-27 (p. 4).

contracting workers: 'the foundacon worke shalbe done by day worke and not to be great'.[255] By contrast, the plasterer, Mr Knifman, and joiner, Mr Kellett, were recruited in January 1636/7 on the basis of payment by the measure, though their relative artisanal skills were clearly taken into account and valued separately: 'the plaisterer hee offted to doe the worke for 3 [shillings] the yard the Company findeinge all the materialls The joyner demaunded xv [shillings] the yard and to ffinde nothinge but glue and nayles'.[256] As the project progressed, certain accomplished artisans were contracted 'by the great': a circumstance in which a particular master craftsman was given responsibility to complete a scheme of work and if necessary, sub-contract elements of the project to other skilled individuals.[257] In October 1638 for example: 'Mr Wardens agreed with Mr Knifman the plaisterer for the plaisteringe and whiteinge the ceeling in the Gallerye and the roome at the staire head goeinge into the great chamber and the ceeling ouer the gate comeinge into the yard all which hee is to doe very well and workeman like and to finde all materialls and to paye all workemens wages and hee to have for the doeing thereof iiij [pounds]'.[258] Similarly, in November 1639, an agreement was made with the joiners John Lane and Edmund Ward for 'wainscotting the greate Chamber and the parlor […] Accordinge to the designes prepared by Mr Nicholas Stone and now shewed unto them consisting of 9 papers for the doeinge whereof the Companye is to paye 140 [pounds] in money and finde all the stuffe'.[259] The joiners were particularly well remunerated for their skilled ability to interpret numerous drawn designs.

As isolated pieces of evidence, these contracts with master craftsmen give the impression that evaluating artisanal labour was a reasonably straightforward business, that, as in contemporary 'measurement' texts, a certain monetary value could be assigned

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[255] GHA, S1, fol. 4[r]; McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p. 86.
[256] GHA, S2, fol. 236[v].
[257] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 24.
[258] GHA, T, fol. 118[r].
[259] GHA, V, fols 22[v-r].

to a set measure or scheme of work.[260] However, the negotiations recorded in the

Goldsmiths' court minutes, between Nicholas Stone and the artisans employed for the

rebuilding project, reveal that evaluating craftsmanship, once work had been undertaken,

could be a complex process of arbitration and negotiation. The carpenters who carried out

all the major construction work for the Goldsmiths' project were Anthony and Hugh

Jerman, the third and fourth generations of an eminent family of carpenters in the City of

London.[261] Their family name suggests that they might have been descendants of

persecuted Protestants from the Low Countries.[262] Court minutes show that Anthony

Jerman's father and uncle [?], Edward and Elias Jerman, had rebuilt the Ironmongers'

Company Hall on Fenchurch Street in 1585.[263] Anthony Jerman was company carpenter for

the Goldsmiths throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century - accompanying

the wardens on views of their corporate property and advising on reconstruction - and was

elected Master of the Carpenters Company in 1633-34. Both father and son (Anthony and

Hugh) were also jointly appointed City Carpenters from the same year. Anthony Jerman's

other son, Edward, went on to become a designer of some significance in the post-Fire City.

Edward Jerman was 'architect' for the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange and Mercers' Hall

and supervisor for repairs to the Company of Barber-Surgeons' anatomy theatre and,

significantly, the Goldsmiths' Hall. For these prominent building projects Edward provided

designs, selected master craftsmen and supervised works, much like Nicholas Stone's

Surveyor role for the Goldsmiths in the 1630s.[264] As one might expect from members of the

most influential dynasty of carpenters in London, the Jermans were highly assertive about

the value of their skilled labour. For several years a dispute ran between the carpenters and

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[260] Leybourne, *The Art of Measuring*.

[261] GHA, S1, fol. 105ʳ, fol. 115ᵛ.

[262] John Newman, 'Jerman, Edward (c. 1605-1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/26577> [accessed 21 October 2011].

[263] GL, MS 16967/1, fol. 168ʳ.

[264] John Newman, 'Jerman, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Nicholas Stone, acting on behalf of the Goldsmiths, which centred precisely on the means through which their craftsmanship might be adequately assessed.

The issue of measurement first came to the attention of the Goldsmiths' court on 5 April 1636 when Anthony Jerman 'desired the Company to appoynte one to measure his worke because hee alleageth that hee is a greater some of money out of purse for the Companyes building then hee hath receaued'.[265] A year later, in April 1637, Jerman once again 'desired that his worke might bee viewed and measured', on this occasion, 'before any more thereof bee hidden by the plaisterer or otherwise heeshalbee a looser'.[266] The next month, on Quarter Day, the Goldsmiths proposed 'Thursdaye Ffrydaye and Satterday in Whitson weeke for measureinge and estimateinge of the Carpenters worke', as these were the first days when Nicholas Stone was available 'to be present at the doeinge therof'.[267] Despite the fact that Anthony Jerman's requests for the appraisal of his craftsmanship were met, the carpenters were clearly not satisfied with the outcome - 'the reporte of the view and measuring of his worke' - and Stone's evaluating abilities were brought into question.[268] Significantly, those who had initially been appointed to carry out the appraisal of the Jermans' workmanship were not trained carpenters.[269] Thus in January 1637/8, Anthony once again complained to the Goldsmiths' court of assistants, who granted his request:

> that all his worke about the hall shalbee measured againe by two Carpenters to bee brought by himself and two other Carpenters to bee brought by the Companye to which purpose Mr Stone beinge now present was requested to bringe two

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[265] GHA, S2, fol. 185^v.
[266] Ibid., fol. 240^v.
[267] Ibid., fol. 262^v.
[268] GHA, T, fol. 10^r.
[269] GHA, S2, fol. 261^r, 'Alsoe that the Carpenters worke shalbee measured as soone as conveniency will permit and that Mr Bowen in Philpott Lane neere Ffanchurch Streete and Mr Knifman the plaisterer are nominated to bee measurers for and on the behalf of the Company if it shall not bee otherwise ordered.'

carpenters to joyne with Mr Jarmans Carpenters in the measuringe of his worke […]

and Mr Marr and Mr Bowen [goldsmiths] […] to be present at the said

measuring.[270]

From the perspective of the master carpenter, the only appropriate context in which his

artisanal skills might be adequately evaluated was within an assembly of men specifically in

possession of carpentry expertise. The presence of Marr and Bowen was clearly to ensure,

from the viewpoint of the Goldsmiths, that their corporate interests were also being

upheld.

But even once this process of intra-craft evaluation had been undertaken,

ascertaining the worth of the Jermans' labour continued to be a controversial issue. The

matter of arbitration came to a height in the Goldsmiths' court in April 1638, three months

after the agreement that each party might bring their own experts to the site had been

brokered. During the court meeting a petition by master carpenter Jerman was read to the

assembled goldsmiths: 'wherein hee alleageth many losses […] thereby and that his

workemanship and timber cometh to 1686 £ or there aboute and that hee hath receaued

but 1200 £ and therin desireth the Companye to make choise of 3 or 4 sufficient carpenters

ffreemen and hee will doe like to mediate the difference betweene them'.[271] Jerman was

clearly proposing that he would himself take control of the evaluation process. Having

heard this appeal, and clearly in the interests of a 'balanced' hearing, the wardens 'alsoe

read to Mr Jarman the carpenters bill of booke of accompt for the carpenters worke

accordinge to the measure taken by Mr Marr on the Companyes behalf in presence of Mr

Jarman and certen others on his behalfe'. According to this official company document, and

contrary to the claims of the carpenter himself, 'the Totals thereof amounteth unto the

some of £ 1217 […] or thereabout'. Each party seemingly unwilling to compromise and 'the

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[270] GHA, T, fol. 44[r].
[271] Ibid., fol. 74[r].

difference beeinge debated on both sides', the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company finally

offered 'to refer the price of all estimate worke unto two indifferent men or to Mr Surveyor

but Mr Jarman refused soe to doe'. This impasse continued until Nicholas Stone brought

political and social pressure to bear from senior carpenters within the Royal Works: 'Mr

Stone useinge some speeches of the Kings Majesty Mr Carpenter, Mr Jarman said hee

would refer the difference unto Mr Carpenter'. Early in the following spring, 'the kings

Majesty Mr Carpenter and Mr Banks of East Smithfield Carpenter' delivered their

'judgement and determinacon' to the company, and not without further dispute, the

measuring matter was finally resolved in August 1639.[272]

On the site of the Goldsmiths' Company's new Hall, disputes about measurement

and evaluation of craftsmanship were not just a point of tension for the carpenters:

dissatisfaction was also repeatedly articulated by the bricklayers who had been

commissioned for the rebuilding project. The disagreements between the Goldsmiths and

the bricklayers Burridge and Osbourne reveal how subjective the evaluation of labour and

the estimation of skilled craftsmanship, even that allegedly agreed 'by the measure', might

be. In April 1638 the bricklayers were in attendance at the company court - the same

meeting at which Anthony Jerman's petition had been read to the assembled goldsmiths -

'and demaunded the remaynder of the much money as they pretended to bee due unto

them for the bricklayers worke in buildinge of the hall and the Officers houses and

tenement adioynenige.'[273] Crucially, the dispute centred on the 'difference betweene them

and the Companye for the price of every rodd of brickworke.'[274] The original terms of their

contract had been negotiated by the goldsmith, Robert Hooke, 'on the Companyes

behalfe', the minute details of which 'were to[o] tedious' to relate, according to the droll

commentary of the Goldsmith's Clerk. However it is clear from the bare outlines of the

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[272] GHA, V, fols 7[v-r].
[273] GHA, T, fol. 73[r].
[274] Ibid.

court debate in the spring of 1638 that the antagonism between Hooke and the senior

bricklayers was partly based on the former's insufficient understanding of their craft

practices. Though 'Osborne confessed the agreement of all the brickwork to bee for 26

[shillings] the rodd runnynge measure as hee termed itt', Hooke had understood 'that they

would not demaunde measure for brickwork in vacant places of dores and windowes

where noe brick were used there was noe agreement made in writeinge'.[275]

The bricklayers ultimately took 'exceptons at the omission of the vacuities [the

vacant spaces] as they term it'.[276] Though this was not an immensely obscure term -

Wotton had used the expression 'vacuities' in his *Elements of Architecture* - it is revealing

that the Clerk deemed it necessary to signify a linguistic distinction between the realms of

the bricklayers and that of the goldsmiths: as he or they 'term[ed] itt'.[277] Such a process of

linguistic mediation, reminiscent of Joseph Moxon's later attempts at translation, is

suggestive of discrete vernaculars within the crafts. Clearly not all guildsmen spoke the

same technical languages.[278] In the initial negotiation between the bricklayers and

goldsmith Hooke, verbal translations of tacit processes, between different groups of

craftsmen, were clearly problematic. Moreover, since there was further confusion in the

Goldsmiths' court as to whether 'the worke of hewinge the bricke for the buildinge was

alsoe to be included in the bricklayers worke', it seems that those unfamiliar with the craft

of bricklaying had not adequately considered their terms for the preparation of

materials.[279] Perhaps Burrage and Osbourne were being rapacious and attempting to take

advantage of the Goldsmiths, but a genuine misunderstanding over the terms of their

contract seems credible. Eventually, on the advice of Nicholas Stone, the bricklayers, whose

professional pride had plainly been dented as a result of their treatment by the company -

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[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture,* p. 27.
[278] Fox, *Oral and Literate Cultures in England, 1500-1700*, pp. 89-90.
[279] GHA, T, fols 73ʳ-74ᵛ.

Osbourne 'was silent they were desired to withdrawe themselues' from the court - were offered '190 [pounds] more in full of their demand to this daye otherwise they are to reape noe benefit by this proceedings.'[280]

Conclusion

The project to rebuild the Goldsmiths' Hall reveals a number of significant features about the nature of 'knowledge' within artisanal communities in early modern London. First, a comprehension of theoretical principles and tacit, experiential skills, rooted in the material and built environment, were fundamentally interlinked. The production of architectural plans - which involved an understanding of geometry, and, in the case of Nicholas Stone, a familiarity with continental architectural treatises and design theories - was directly related to a thorough analysis of the building site. No plans for the new Hall were considered in splendid isolation from the material realities of building, or without the advice of those with professional construction expertise. The artificial distinction between theory and practice, as evidenced in English architectural writings by John Shute and Sir Henry Wotton, was a reflection of the Vitruvian effort to enhance the status of the 'architect' (to the detriment of the 'practitioner'). Hannibal Gamon and Joseph Moxon, writing generations apart and in quite different social, intellectual and professional contexts, both suggested that artisanal practice was a tenuous balance between theoretical understanding, or book-learning of some description, and the undertaking of 'Exercises'. Even within treatises with the explicit purpose of articulating artisanal practices through the medium of the written word, neither author could deny that the root of craft expertise lay in workshop experience.

Second, evaluation of craftsmanship was a fundamentally collaborative process, in which varied social, professional and political pressures might be brought to bear.

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[280] Ibid., fol. 74[v].

Assessment was not just a matter of aesthetics or technical skills. Particularly in the case of senior master craftsmen, who were operating at the very peak of professional hierarchies, artisanal labour could not be reduced to mere measurements or geometric precision as the 'mathematical practitioners' would have it.[281] As we saw in the lengthy controversies over the evaluation of the Jermans' carpentry work for the Goldsmiths' Hall, craftsmanship was subject to the appraisal of numerous guild authorities and artisanal experts, and assessments were made collectively.[282] The Goldsmiths' masterpiece scheme for ascertaining practitioners who were 'perfect' and 'skill full' workmen, was a semi-public event, within their guild hall, involving the 'viewe and Judgement' of guildsmen invested with civic authority and artisanal expertise.[283] Within the *Storehouse* Gamon also describes the collaborative (and socio-political) nature of the annual Trial of the Pyx, organised by the Royal Mint and 'performed at the starre chamber before the kinge, or his Lordes'.[284] Twenty-four 'ancient and skilfullest goldsmythes' were summoned 'with their glasse, waightes, stronge water, and all other things necessarye pertinent to asaye makinge', and while 'the Lordes goe to dynner in the next Room [...] so the Jurie goe to work'.[285] Just as Steven Shapin has outlined 'the physical and symbolic siting of [natural philosophical] experimental work' and the 'social relations obtaining within these sites', we might say that artisanal labour and culture was legitimated through the evaluation of guild-based expertise, in particular spaces - such as the assay house, the 'work house', the parlour or the court room.[286]

Third, though all guildsmen clearly understood the importance of collaborative design, production and assessment, artisans did not all speak the same technical languages,

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[281] De Munck, 'Construction and Reproduction', p. 102, 'The 'value' of skill cannot be determined objectively any more than can the quality of a given product.'
[282] Smith, 'In a Sixteenth-Century Goldsmith's Workshop', pp. 39-40.
[283] GHA, O, fols 551-52.
[284] GHA, MS C II.2, fol. 27ʳ.
[285] Ibid., fol. 28ᵛ.
[286] Shapin, 'The House of Experiment', pp. 373-74.

or consider all craft skills to be 'working by the same Rules, though not with equal exactness', in the words of Joseph Moxon.[287] The natural philosophers might have encouraged the notion of the 'transferring of the observations of one Arte, to the use of another' and the homogenisation of language in the pursuit of natural causes, but this transference and borrowing was antithetical to the knowledge culture of the guilds. Craft 'secrecy' concerning technical practices, and strict regulation of the jurisdictions of craft production and markets, were necessary defences in competitive commercial environments; but one senses that proprietorial attitudes were also a matter of professional pride. The wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company were genuinely horrified that their members were using the 'helpe of sondry inferior handy crafts as pewters founders and turners'. Such workshop collaboration was seen to damage the reputation of the *entire* guild. In their negotiations with the Goldsmiths' Company, the Jermans specifically requested that their work should be valued by other master carpenters; the Goldsmiths had been mistaken in thinking that assessment by any master craftsmen, with building expertise, would be sufficient. In the final section of this thesis we will see that for guild members, boundaries between the wood-working crafts and trades were matters of the utmost importance. Fourth, though compared to their European counterparts, English artisans were not verbally articulate, we should not take this to mean that they lacked a distinct sense of craft identity. The spatial and material means through which artisanal cultures were established and upheld is the focus for the next section of this work.

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[287] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1677), I, sig. A4[r-v].

Figure 1.1. Nicholas Stone, *Monument to Sir Augustine Nicholls*, c. 1616, black marble and alabaster, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.9-1965.

Figure 1.2. W. B., *A Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares* (London, 1677).

J. Dee.

Here haue you (according to my promiſſe) the Groundplat of
my MATHEMATICALL Præface : annexed to *Euclide* (now firſt)
publiſhed in our Engliſhe tounge. An. 1570. Febr. 3.

		Arithmetike.	**Simple,** which dealeth with Numbers onely : and demonſtrateth all their properties and appertenances : where, an Vnit, is Indiuiſible.		**The vſe whereof, is either,**	*In thinges Supernaturall, æternall, & Diuine: By Application, Aſcending.*
	Principall, which are two, onely,		**Mixt,** which with aide of Geometrie principall, demonſtrateth ſome Arithmeticall Concluſion, or Purpoſe.			*The like Vſe and Applications are, (though in a degree lower) in the Artes Mathematicall Deriuatiue.*
		Geometrie.	**Simple,** which dealeth with Magnitudes, onely : and demonſtrateth all their properties, paſſions, and appertenances : whoſe Point, is Indiuiſible.			*In thinges Mathematicall : without farther Application.*
			Mixt, which with aide of Arithmetike principall, demonſtrateth ſome Geometricall purpoſe : as EVCLIDES ELEMENTES.			*In thinges Naturall: both Subſtantiall, & Accidentall, Viſible, & Inuiſible. &c. By Application : Deſcending.*

...ces,
...Artes
...he-
...all,
...re, either,

	The names of the Principalls : as,	**Arithmetike, vulgar : which conſidereth**	Arithmetike of moſt vſuall whole Numbers: And of Fractions to them appertaining.	
			Arithmetike of Proportions.	
			Arithmetike Circular.	
			Arithmetike of Radicall Nũbers: Simple, Compound, Mixt : And of their Fractions.	
			Arithmetike of Coſſike Nũbers: with their Fractions: And the great Arte of Algiebar.	

At hand	All Lengthes.	Mecometrie.
	All Plaines: As, Land, Borde, Glaſſe, &c.	Embadometrie.
	All Solids: As, Timber, Stone, Veſſels, &c.	Stereometrie.

Geometrie, vulgar: which teacheth Meaſuring

With diſtãce from the thing Meaſured, as,	**How farre,** from the Meaſurer, any thing is: of him ſent, on Land or Water: called **Apomecometrie.**	**Of which are growen the Feates & Artes of**	**Geodeſie :** more cunningly to Meaſure and Suruey Landes, Woods, Waters, &c.
	How high or deepe, from the leuell of the Meaſurers ſtanding, any thing is: Scene of hym. on Land or Water : called **Hypſometrie.**		**Geographie.**
	How broad, a thing is, which is in the Meaſurers vew : ſo it be ſituated on Land or Water : called **Platometrie.**		**Chorographie.**
			Hydrographie.
			Stratarithmetrie.

Deriuatiue frõ the Principalls: of which, ſome haue

Perſpectiue,	Which demonſtrateth the maners and properties of all Radiations: Directe, Broken, and Reflected.
Aſtronomie,	Which demonſtrateth the Diſtances, Magnitudes, and all Naturall motions, Apparences, and Paſſions, proper to the Planets and fixed Starres: for any time, paſt, preſent, and to come : in reſpecte of a certaine Horizon, or without reſpecte of any Horizon.
Muſike,	Which demonſtrateth by reaſon, and teacheth by ſenſe, perfectly to iudge and order the diuerſitie of Soundes, hie or low.
Coſmographie,	Which, wholy and perfectly maketh deſcription of the Heauenly, and alſo Elementall part of the World : and of theſe partes, maketh homologall application, and mutuall collation neceſſary.
Aſtrologie,	Which reaſonably demonſtrateth the operations and effectes of the naturall beames of light, and ſecrete Influence of the Planets, and fixed Starres, in euery Element and Elementall body : at all times, in any Horizon aſſigned.
Statike,	Which demonſtrateth the cauſes of heauines, and lightnes of all thinges : and of the motions and properties, to heauines and lightnes belonging.

Figure 1.3. Detail from: John Dee, 'The Mathematical Preface', in *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philospher Euclide of Megara*, trans. by Henry Billingsley (London, 1570), *'The Groundplat of my Mathematicall Preface'* .

A BOKE NAMED

TECTONICON *LE. 6. 83*

briefely shewynge the exacte measurynge, and speady recke-
nynge all maner Lande, squared Tymber, Stone, Steaples, Pyl-
lers, Globes. &c. Further, declaringe the perfecte makinge and
large vse of the Carpenters Ruler, contcyninge a Quadrant Geo-
metricall: comprehendinge also the rare vse of the Squire. And in
thende a lyttle treatise adioyned, openinge the composicion and
appliancie of an Instrument called the profitable Staffe.
With other thinges pleasaunt and necessary, moſt
conducible for Surueyers, Landemeaters,
Joyners, Carpenters, and
Masons.
Published by Leonarde Digges Gentleman,
in the yere of our Lorde.
1556.

.13 Paces. 32 ½ is the lenge of a, d.
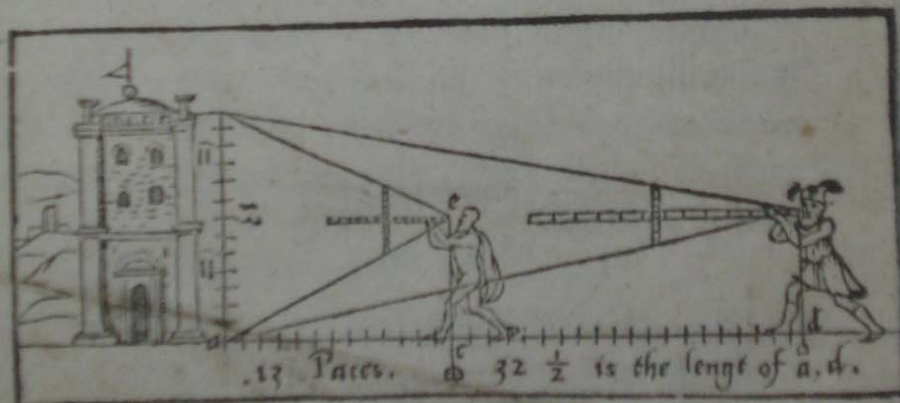
Imprynted at London by Thomas Gemini,
dwellyage within the Blacke Friers: who
is there ready exactly to make all the
Instrumentes apperteynyage
to this Booke.

ANNO. 1562.

Figure 1.4. Leonarde Digges, *A Boke Named Tectonicon* (London, 1562), Cambridge
University Library, Rare Books Room, LE.6.83.

THE CARPENTERS RVLE,

Or,

A BOOKE SHEWING MANY

plaine waies, truly to meafure ordinarie Timber, and other extraordinarie follids, or Timber:

WITH A DETECTION OF SVNDRIE

great errors, generally committed by Carpenters and others in meafuring of Timber; tending much to the buyers great lofle.

PVBLISHED ESPECIALLY FOR THE GOOD

of the Companie of Carpenters in London, and others alfo; and is very necefarie for Mafons, Shipwrights, Ioyners, and others, vfing to meafure Timber and Boord, and other fuperficies and follids.

By RICHARD MORE Carpenter.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON. 1602.

Figure 1.5. Richard More, *The Carpenters Rule* (London, 1602), Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Room, Syn.7.60.216.

THE
Carpenters Rule made easie
OR THE
Art of Measuring *Superficies* and *Solids*
As Timber, Stone, Boards, Glass, and the like.
ALSO AN
ADDITION or SECOND WAY
Being the Ground Work of Measuring
Timber, Stone, Boards, and Glass.
With the Table of *Multiplication* or *Accounts*
much enlarged, Performing *Multiplication*
Division, in *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*, by Inspect
into the *Golden Rule*, and *Rule Reverse*.
It being of excellent use for
CARPENTERS, } { GLASIERS,
JOYNERS, } { PAINTERS,
MASONS, } { SAWYERS,
OR
Any others that have occasion to Buy or
or make use of any such kind of Measure
for themselves or others.
Perform'd by certain TABLES *Collected for that p*...
With an *Appendix* for Gauging and making of C...

The fourth Edition, wherein the Tables are
Calculated, and the Errors in the form...
Editions amended.

LONDON,
Printed by F. Playford, for Tho. Sawbridge, at the...

Figure 1.6. John Darling, *The Carpenters Rule Made Easie, or, The Art of Measuring* (London, 1684), Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Room, White.d.36. This text is heavily annotated by multiple readers throughout.

the Wall.

I might here inftance in divers other the like Conclufions, but they require more Arithmetical skill, than is ufual among Artificers. Wherefore I will referve them, and divers others to be refolved by the following Table, which performeth them with great eafe and exactnefs
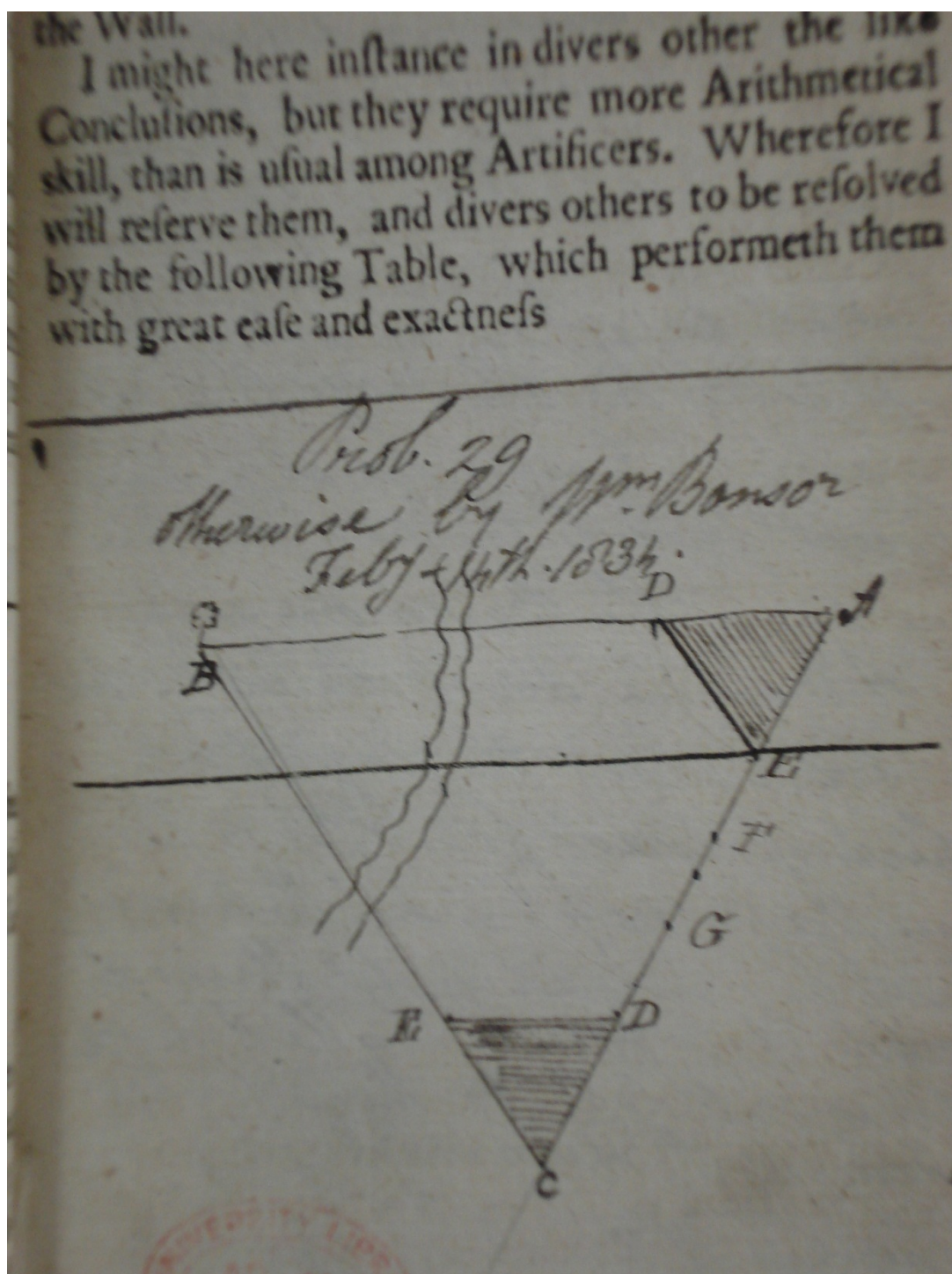
Figure 1.7. Detail from: William Leybourne, *The Art of Measuring, or, The Carpenters New Rule Described and Explained* (London, 1669), Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Room, Kkk.663.

Numb. IV.

MECHANICK EXERCIS[ES]
OR,
The Doctrine of Handy-wo[rks].

The Art of *Joynery*.

Definition.

*J*Oynery is an Art Manual whereby several
Wood are so fitted and joyned together by
Lines, Squares, Miters, or any Bevel,
shall seem one intire Piece.

Explanation.

By *straight Lines* I mean that which
Language is called a *Joynt*, That is, Two
Wood are *Shot* (that is Plained,) or else
Pared, that is, the irregularities that hinde
sing of the two Pieces are cut off with a P
sel. They are *Shot* or *Pared* (as I said)
ly straight, that when they are set upon
ther light shall not be discerned betwi
This they call *Shooting of a Joynt*, or P
Joynt, because these two Pieces are with
monly joyned together, either to mak
broad enough for their purpose, or to (*)
piece of wood to the end of another piec
to keep it from *casting* or *warping*.

By *Squares* I mean the making of Fra
for *Door-cases*, or such like, which is the
L

Figure 1.8. Joseph Moxon, *The Mechanick Exercises, or, The Doctrine of Handy-works*, IV, *The Art of Joynery* (London, 1677), fols 158-59, Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Room, Syn.7.68.122.
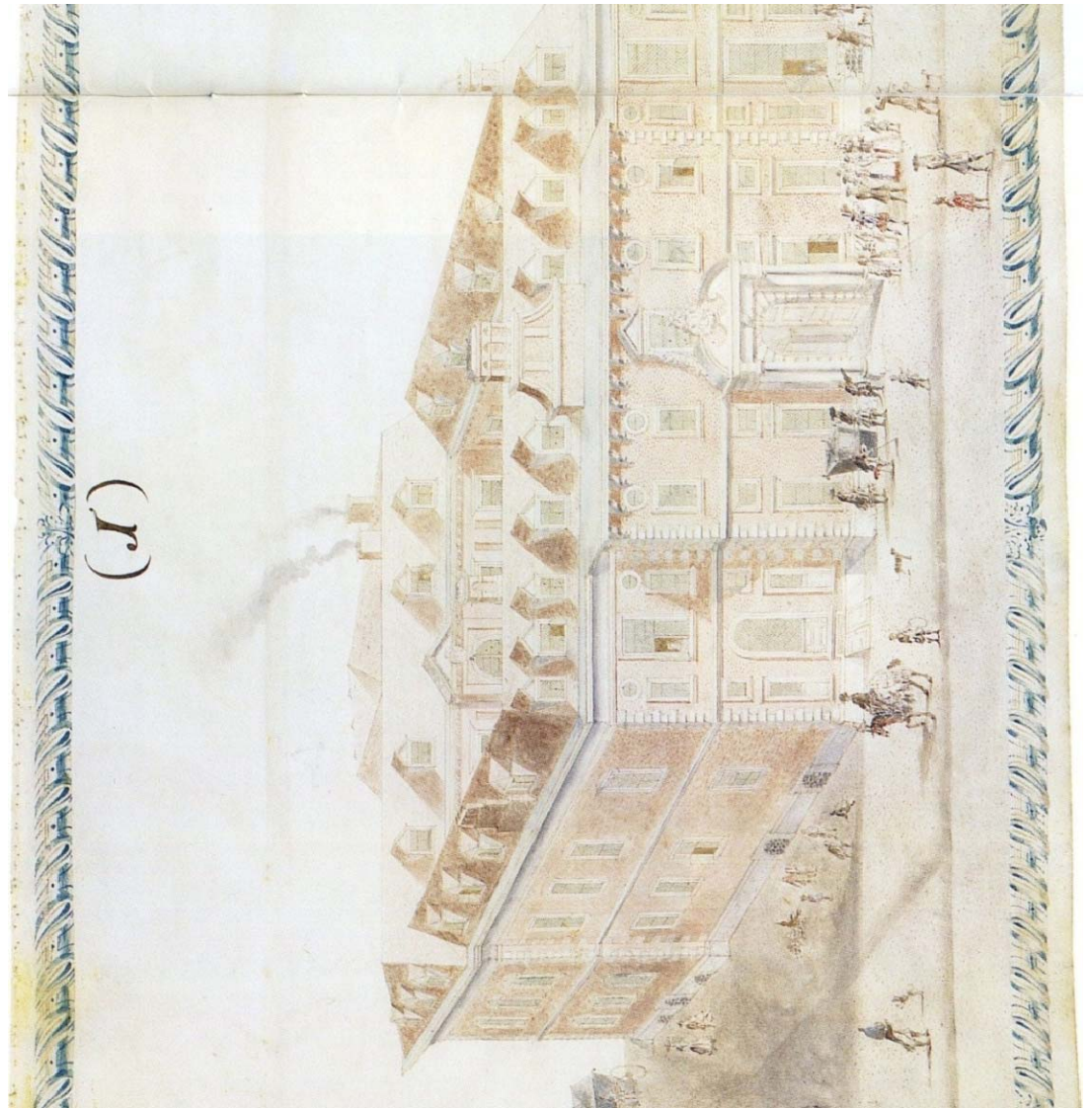
Figure 1.9. John Ward, *Perspective of Goldsmiths' Hall*, c. 1691, water-colour, Goldsmiths' Company, London [From: Hare, *Goldsmiths' Hall*, pp. 8-9].

Section Two: Rebuilding Livery Halls: The Material, Spatial and Social Construction of London Companies, c. 1560-1640

Chapter One: Methodologies, Sources and Guild Spaces

In this section of the thesis, the collective cultural, social and material construction of the early modern artisanal guild is explored through an examination of company halls, institutional buildings which were crucial to the self-representation and functional operation of the London guilds, which have hitherto been overlooked by historians. A 'spatial' approach to the early modern guild is shown to be a particularly apposite methodology, primarily because the institutional homes of the London companies - their materiality, design and spatial organisation - articulated and fundamentally shaped the experience and nature of the guild 'community'. Across the city, guildsmen invested significant amounts of time, money, materials and artisanal ingenuity into the design and physical fabric of their guild halls, because their internal spatial organisation, decoration and exterior walls or boundaries were seen to be of fundamental importance. Particularly from the mid-sixteenth century, a man's access to particular spaces within his livery hall and his material patronage of these same places came to define him as a guildsman; or rather his symbolic place within the company hierarchy.[1] Those who sat at particular chairs or benches at the feasting table - often the same guildsmen who had donated the self-same fixtures to the company - or who had access to newly constructed galleries and gardens, established civic authority through their very personal and material presence in these spaces.[2] It is no coincidence that a heightened sensitivity to the connections between

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[1] Martha C. Howell, 'The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity', in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven: Garant, 2000), pp. 3-23 (p. 9), 'A merchant or an artisan was not just someone who performed certain functions; he (or she) was someone who had rights to certain spaces, spaces in which certain activities were privileged and protected.'

[2] Miles Crang, 'Spaces in Theory, Spaces in History and Spatial Historiographies', in *Political Space in Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. by Beat Kümin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 249-66 (p. 249); Robert

space and identity occurred during the same decades that many of the guild halls of London were undergoing significant structural modifications. There are dozens of examples, discussed in depth in the following chapters, of internal halls enlarged, parlour and court rooms relocated, embellished and extended, and recreational spaces expanded and developed. The decades from 1560 to 1640 were a time of particularly intense remodelling and reorganisation of London guild halls and constitute the primary chronological focus of this study.

An examination of guild communities, with the changing built environments of company halls as its primary analytical focus, reveals several significant features about the nature of corporate identities and the strategies and aspirations of their members. First, spatial and material hierarchies embedded within institutional buildings reflected and perpetuated heterogeneous communities in which the demonstration of social and political rank, artisanal expertise and mercantile prosperity, were becoming increasingly significant facets of identity. In part this was a reflection of changing corporate demographics. From the mid-to-late-sixteenth-century the membership of all London guilds grew considerably in size, the most prestigious great twelve companies numbering in the late hundreds or even thousands of members.[3] The sheer number of guildsmen put pressure on the resources of communal buildings and created anxieties regarding material hierarchies and spatial privileges. Concerns about one's own status compared to other brothers within the guild were also intensified by the growing exclusivity of the company elites. Though numbers of freemen admitted into companies increased, mobility into the livery was highly restricted, especially in the largest guilds.[4] The rebuilding of livery halls across the city, specifically the creation of exclusive spaces for governance, craft regulation, sociability and

Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 112-15.
[3] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 118-19.
[4] Ibid., pp. 114-16.

ceremonials, were certainly spatial and material manifestations of a desire, on the part of the liverymen, to maintain their political and socioeconomic privileges and control or structure broadening memberships.

Second, while guildsmen were evidently keen to promote their personal reputations, and those of their families, workshops and businesses through material and spatial markers, the collaborative nature of livery hall modifications, refurbishments and rebuildings, demonstrate that the communal, fraternal ethos of guilds was also materialized through their institutional homes. Across the city, from the relatively humble Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies, to illustrious members of the great twelve, the design, construction, maintenance and embellishment of corporate structures were collaborative efforts. Clearly a collaborative model has its limits, and some guildsmen were both permitted and able to make more prominent contributions than others, but for many freemen their guild hall was a structure in which they had a genuine material stake. If livery halls are considered as active environments which affected company lives and identities, rather than as inert sites which simply contained social and political practices, then a more nuanced picture of the guild community emerges, with commensality existing in tension with entrenched hierarchies.[5]

Third, a consideration of early modern company buildings reveals that guildsmen were increasingly conscious, from the latter decades of the sixteenth century, of their self-representation in the wider civic environment. Whereas the interior spatial and material organisation of livery halls demonstrated the complexity of communal relations, exterior frontages were expected to communicate order and harmony. The restructuring and rebuilding of livery halls was not a singular trend, but part of a wider cultural movement to improve the material face of the City of London and its surrounding environs. It is

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[5] Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West, pp. 87-88.

suggested that in the case of the Goldsmiths' Company, concerns about internal structure and material façade were directly related to the guildsmen's broader concerns about the spatial organisation and distribution of workshops and retail outlets within the metropolis and their collective authority to enforce material quality and trade regulation. Guildsmen did not conceive of the spatial and material organisation of their company buildings in isolation from broader questions of artisanal value and identities. In the final section of this thesis it is argued that the site of the livery hall was a primary location both for the memorialisation of eminent members and the demonstration and display of artisanal skills and craft networks.

Guild Spaces and Historiography

Early modern London livery companies have been closely examined as institutions of fundamental political, economic and social importance to their growing memberships and wider civic populations, but their institutional halls have received surprisingly little scholarly attention, especially from historians.[6] John Schofield's examination of the topography of the medieval City of London and the spatial and structural features of many of its most significant houses and buildings, based upon material evidence from excavations of the city, along with documentary and visual sources, provides an essential framework for this discussion of livery halls, particularly arguments made about fifteenth-and early sixteenth-century buildings.[7] As an archaeologist, with a focus on the medieval era, Schofield's scholarly objectives differ considerably though from the approach taken in this examination of early modern built environments. Livery halls are presented by Schofield as one among many different variations of domestic architecture - a viewpoint which is carefully scrutinised and partially deconstructed here - and his priority has been to establish the

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[6] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*; Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*; Epstein and Prak, eds, *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*.
[7] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses.*

fundamental material and structural features of London residences, not the manifold cultural, socioeconomic or political meanings of such architectures to contemporaries. In an article-length study, Paul Griffiths examines 'the meaning of 'public' and 'private'' within the corridors of power in parish and guild institutions.[8] Griffiths' argument that within London companies, authority 'was sealed and exhibited by closing doors and chests', is certainly reinforced by evidence of growing spatial and material hierarchies in this examination of guild communities. But in contrast to Griffiths, greater attention is paid here to the social, material and epistemological construction of corporate identities; space is not reduced solely to a setting for political activity. A focus upon civic authority and governance reveals only part of a more complex institutional culture.

Beyond London, the space of the late medieval and early modern civic hall has attracted further scholarly attention. In *Architecture and Power*, Robert Tittler demonstrates the centrality of hall structures, as 'the architectural representation of a more mature stage of civic development, a widely understood symbol of civic authority, power, and legitimacy'.[9] Tittler has uncovered hundreds of examples of town halls which were constructed, renovated or converted between 1500 and 1640 in provincial towns across England.[10] Crucially, he suggests that the decision to restructure or adapt these buildings came not from 'any particular desire for ostentation' during a time of prosperity, or a change in styles or techniques of vernacular construction, but rather a political need, 'to symbolize the attainment of civic authority from seigneurial hands and the exercise of that authority over the community'.[11] In terms of connections between spatial organisation and socio-political relations within these buildings, Tittler finds that there was a marked trend for increasing specialisation of rooms and that small groups of civic officials tightly

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[8] Paul Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority in Late Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century London', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 925-51 (p. 927).
[9] Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 97.
[10] Ibid., p. 22.
[11] Ibid., p. 93.

regulated access between and within these spaces.[12] The parlour in particular is identified as a crucial space within which the mayor could comfortably retire and privately confer with other civic worthies away from 'the glare of the council chamber or the court room'.[13] Tittler's observations regarding spatial specialisation and the establishment and embellishment of particular sites of authority are useful regional comparisons for this examination of London guild halls, in which similar patterns are observed over a comparable chronology. By contrast to Tittler's approach in *Architecture and Power* though, this study is sensitive to the meanings and significances of building design, construction and materials, as well as interior furnishings and moveable objects. It is notable that Tittler pays very little attention to the material or structural features of the buildings which are his primary analytical focus, essentially because they do not conform to a 'classical' ideal. He writes that the halls 'exhibit an emphasis on utility rather than on aesthetic considerations, they reflect practical rather than theoretical training on the part of their designers'; further, that there 'is nothing in the civic building of this period even remotely resembling the eccentric and clever 'delights' or 'devices' which one commonly finds in private aristocratic houses'.[14] It has already been noted that a distinction between tacit and propositional learning is a specious distinction in this era, at least from the perspective of artisan designers and builders. In what follows it is also suggested that a 'vernacular' style, at variance with Palladian ideals, does not render buildings and their materials mute or insignificant; particularly when their patrons and consumers were highly conversant with workshop techniques, skills and materials.[15]

Finally, in relation to religious fraternities and mercantile companies in late-medieval and sixteenth-century York, the scholarship of Kate Giles has shown that guild

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[12] Ibid., pp. 104-06.
[13] Ibid., p. 112.
[14] Ibid., pp. 42, 45.
[15] For an explanation of 'vernacular architecture' see: Matthew Johnson, *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow: Longman, 2010), pp. 1-19.

buildings structured 'social identity and relations through the organisation of the built environment and the use of material culture'.[16] In contrast to the aforementioned historiographical focus upon civic politics, and based upon a very close archaeological reading of materials and architecture, Giles asserts that the design, construction and internal spatial organisation of corporate buildings were 'intimately related to their social meaning'.[17] Giles proposes that decisions to build or restructure a guild hall were 'highly charged' acts, linked to the re-fashioning of collective religious, political and social identities.[18] She also suggests that interior furnishings and structural features - such as timber crown posts and wall surfaces - were subject to adaptation and changes in meaning, as function and users of buildings changed over the centuries under consideration.[19]

Beyond a direct focus upon 'guild halls' as a specific building type, there is evidently a wider scholarship concerning changing built environments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which is of importance to this present examination of London livery halls. The work of Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, amongst others, has revealed that the notion of established boundaries between 'domestic' and 'institutional' environments in early modern societies is deeply problematic. Not only did many people live within 'institutional' buildings in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, such as palaces, university colleges, convents and almshouses, but the spatial organisation and material decoration and furnishing of these buildings was altered by, and in turn influenced, such arrangements in domestic homes.[20] In the case of London livery halls, aside from evidence of domestic residences within company buildings, there is also the conceptual matter of

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[16] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, pp. 136-37.

[17] Ibid., p. 125.

[18] Ibid., p. 119.

[19] Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West pp. 90-92.

[20] Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, 'Introduction', in *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 1-23.

how the reorganisation of these interior spaces might have mirrored and perhaps influenced changes within contemporaneous English households. Throughout this section it is shown that from c. 1560 to c. 1640, London guild halls underwent considerable material and spatial change. Structures were enlarged and ornamented; parlours, galleries and dining chambers rebuilt or newly established and routes between high-status spaces remodelled and decorated. A well-established architectural and social historical literature has demonstrated that comparable modifications were also occurring within the domestic residences of 'middling', gentle and aristocratic Englishmen and women.

Profound changes are said to have occurred to the country houses and urban residences of the better-sorts and aristocracy in England from the late fifteenth century: a cultural shift from the hierarchically-organised domestic residence of the 1500s to the 'double pile' deep compact plan of the seventeenth-century.[21] This dramatic shift in spatial arrangements is understood to be an architectural reification of the householder's desire for privacy, exclusivity, 'civility' and heightened material comforts. Spatial and material distinctions between 'private' and 'public' areas of a house were made explicit as the most important householders withdrew to the 'deepest' spaces within the building.[22] The proliferation of specialised chambers reflected the desire to separate the routine household activities of the servants, from the cloistered business, consumption and sociability of the middling, gentle or aristocratic family.[23] In gentry houses the installation of elaborate staircases created direct access to the most exclusive first-floor rooms, such as

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[21] Nicholas Cooper, 'Ranks, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1750', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), 291-310 (p. 300), 'The most significant model for the new, compact house was […] in the polite houses of London, the acknowledged centre of fashion and civility.'

[22] Julienne Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 158-59.

[23] John Bold, 'Privacy and the Plan', in *English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes*, ed. by John Bold and Edward Chaney (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 107-19.

parlour, great chamber and gallery.[24] Whereas late-medieval houses had been 'accretive' in character, meaning that the building 'expressed externally the relative importance of each of its parts', by the later sixteenth century the most innovative homes - the 'prodigy houses' of Elizabethan courtiers, such as Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, built between 1590 and 1597 by Robert Smythson - were entirely symmetrical, and their 'internal arrangements undetectable by the outside viewer'.[25]

It is argued here that though there were undoubtedly architectural and material parallels between changing 'domestic' and 'institutional' environments, such as the location of high-status rooms, like galleries, great chambers and parlours, on the first or second stories of domestic buildings, there were also important distinctions between these different types of building.[26] Large private houses were usually inhabited by a single family and their significant body of retainers and servants and such built fabrics were primarily material symbols of dynastic greatness, affluence, social capital or gentility, and on occasion the patron's intellectual or architectural ingenuity.[27] Narratives of changing domestic architecture have primarily focussed upon the growing spatial divisions between family members and their employees. By contrast, company halls did not belong to a single familial dynasty, they were by their very nature communal property. Livery halls, like university colleges and the Inns of Court, were institutional homes to diverse, expanding communities. Guilds were heterogeneous bodies, in terms of political influence, affluence,

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[24] Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 273-315; Frank E. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28 (1986), 558-90 (pp. 587-88).

[25] Cooper, 'Ranks, Manners and Display', p. 296.

[26] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 113. Orlin has suggested that 'Company halls were distinguished from private residences mainly by the addition of Company insignia and business implements such as beams (to weigh merchandise).' It is argued here that the social function and cultural meaning of these institutional buildings were in certain respects quite distinct from private homes.

[27] Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1995), pp. 3-22; Cooper, 'Rank, Manners and Display', p. 291, 'The house was not only the scene where ideals of gentility and manners could be realised: it provided an essential display of gentility in itself.'

craft skills and social capital, encompassing some of the foremost mercantile and civic

elites of London, retailers, highly skilled artisans with well-established workshops and a

broad base of craft labourers. Accordingly, guild halls were highly complex, multifunctional

buildings, in which governance, court deliberations, material testing and production,

convivial recreations, civic ceremony, charitable dispensation and 'household' activities

took place. The cultural meaning of these spaces could be as broad and dynamic as the

guild fellowship itself. It is telling that though the most fashionable London houses were

becoming increasingly 'compact' by the opening decades of the seventeenth century, the

courtyard plan of the guild hall, associated with medieval notions of socio-political

household hierarchies, persisted.[28] Further, the continued significance of the communal

hall (as distinct from the 'Hall', a term used to refer to the entire institutional complex), is

shown to be a key site for demonstrating how spatial, social and political practices varied

between guild and residential contexts.

Towards a 'Spatial' Methodology

In 1679, the Armourers' Company commissioned professional surveys of their Hall on

Coleman Street and guild property on Thames Street, Bishopsgate Street and several other

passageways within the City of London (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2).[29] The apparent intention

was to accurately plot the buildings and land owned by the company within the newly

constructed urban environment. These surveys were part of a larger technical, intellectual

and political movement, on the part of civic elites, to record and survey the topography of

the post-Fire city.[30] This was a process of (re)describing and memorialisation which lies

beyond the chronological and conceptual parameters of this particular study; though since

[28] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 128, 141-42; Matthew Johnson, 'Meanings of Polite Architecture in Sixteenth-Century England', *Historical Archaeology*, 26 (1992), 45-56 (pp. 48-49).
[29] GL, MS 12104.
[30] For post-Fire surveying see: Thomas F. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (London: Arnold, 1951), chapters 4 and 6; Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapter 3.

the Armourers' Hall emerged unscathed from the traumatic conflagration, the plan of 1679

is an unusual, valuable visual source for our understanding of the spatial and material

organisation of seventeenth-century livery halls.[31] The plan is also, methodologically

speaking, an appropriate starting-point for thinking through some of the advantages and

challenges associated with a spatial approach to early modern urban histories.

In this representation of their institutional home, each particular interior chamber

within the Armourers' Hall is designated by a letter - so 'C' for instance is the space of the

courtyard and 'K' is the Beadle's study - and the relationship between each lettered space

or room is explicated in an adjoining textual description or key (see Figure 2.3).

Significantly, the textual account of the plan assumes a particular route within the building:

one starts at 'A' - 'the front of Armorars-hall and the Beadles house And a Tenement

situate in Coleman street' - and then moves through to 'B' - 'the passage into the Court

yard' - and so on, through the remaining letters of the alphabet and associated rooms of

the Hall. [32] Through the Armourers' plan of their communal buildings, we are presented

with a very explicit 'politically instrumental', Lefebvrian 'representation of space'.[33] The

viewer of the plot is not simply shown the spatial layout of the building, but is effectively

guided through the structure according to an ideal route, moving sequentially from one

lettered space to another. This was an era in which one's status and identity as a guildsman

was ever more closely defined and constituted according to access, or restriction, to routes

and sites of relative privilege and authority. It was also a time in which understanding of

'public' and 'private' spaces, were matters of intense deliberation.

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[31] GL, MS 12104, fol. 3.
[32] Ibid., fol. 2.
[33] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 41, 'I would argue, for example, that representations of space are shot through with a knowledge (*savoir*) - i.e. a mixture of understanding (*connaissance*) and ideology - which is always relative and in the process of change.'

This plan of the Armourers' institutional buildings is suggestive of the most significant chambers within an early modern London livery hall, in addition to their basic dimensions or proportions and their internal spatial organisation, themes which are discussed in depth in subsequent chapters of this section (see Figure 2.4). The Armourers' visual plot represents only the ground floor of the building - as was typical of seventeenth-century English plans - consisting of courtyard, 'great hall', kitchen, food preparation and storage rooms, the Beadle's study and the 'House of Easement'.[34] But the accompanying textual account describes a multifunctional building of three storeys (see Figure 2.5). There are dedicated, specialised spaces for governance, display, sociability, consumption, storage and entertainment. On the second storey (the first floor), 'over the Pantry and ffront part of the Kitchin, and over the Lumber roome, And over the Culloms on the Eastside of the Court yard, Is the Court Roome wainscoted round, and one Chymney with a Chymney piece'; next to the Court Room, 'at the Northside of the Court yard' is a 'withdrawing-room' and 'at the Landing of the Staires leading from the Hall to the Court roome, is the Armory'. On this second storey a gallery 'wainscotted that standeth upon the Culloms', also spanned the south side of the building, and at the north end of this elaborate corridor was an exclusive route to the third storey: out 'riseth a paire of Staires that leadeth to a plat fforme of lead that covereth all over the Gallery [...] on which platt fforme Standeth Railes and Banistors fronting the Court yard on the South west and Northsides thereof'.[35] From this impressive vantage point a guildsman could observe proceedings in the courtyard below and the neighbouring tenement yards, some of which belonged to the company. The letter 'M' on the plot represents a 'Tenement three Storeys high and Garrett [...] the first

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[34] *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by John Schofield (London: London Topographical Society, 1987), p. 11.
[35] GL, MS 12104, fol. 2.

Storey is a Shope, the Second Storey is divided into two rooms'; 'N' is the 'Beadles house being three storeys high'.[36]

This representation of an ostensibly 'institutional' space indicates the multifunctional nature or heterogeneity of the livery hall and adjacent buildings. Governance, trade, artisanal and domestic labour, sociability and conviviality, all took place within the same structure(s).[37] Furthermore, distinctions between 'private' guild space or residential areas and 'public' streets are noticeably ambiguous in the Armourers' plan and textual key. We are explicitly told in the textual account of the plot, for instance, with regard to the shop/domestic dwelling labelled 'M', that 'The house after the first Storey extending Southward all over the passage into the Court yard and joyneth to the Beadles house'.[38] Despite the fact that one of the purposes of this plan must have been the creation of clear boundaries demarcating company space, distinctions between private/public and domestic/institutional spaces remain unclear.[39] John Stow reports that the goldsmith Drugo Barentine, Lord Mayor in 1398, 'gave fayre landes to the Goldsmithes: hee dwelled right against the Goldsmithes Hall. Between the which hall and his dwelling house, hee builded a Galory thwarting the streete, whereby he might go from the one to the other'.[40] This

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, pp. 33-42; Christopher R. Friedrichs, 'The European City Hall as Political and Cultural Space, 1500-1750', in *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*, ed. by Philip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 234-58 (pp. 239-41).

[38] GL, MS 12104, fol. 2.

[39] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', pp. 1-4; Vanessa Harding, 'Real Estate: Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 549-69 (p. 558), 'What was private in that era has to be understood as more conditional and less exclusive and individualistic than it is now. Contemporaries recognized the simultaneous existence of a plurality of interests in one space- some of them deferred, some contingent, and some barely enforceable.'

[40] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 305.

ambiguity of structural boundaries was thus not a new development in the case of London guild halls, but it was certainly intensifying in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[41]

As the Armourers' descriptions of their court room and gallery specify, the textual account of the surveyed plot also reveals a sense of the materiality of the different spaces within the seventeenth-century Hall: 'the passage, the Court yard, the Kitchin, and Pantry, and beer Cellar, are all paved with Purbeck Stone'; whereas the great hall is 'ffloored with boards, and Wain=Scotted round'. The material aspects of built environments are often neglected by social and cultural historians in their elucidation of social practices or relations within a given place, a serious oversight when we consider the significance and value of materials, surfaces and craft techniques to early modern artisanal and mercantile communities in particular.[42] It is a fundamental aim of this thesis to consider the spatial environments of the guild halls not as passive backdrops to social and political production, but as material realities which critically informed and shaped the meaning of any given 'space'.[43] In what follows it is demonstrated that guildsmen of early modern London were highly concerned with the physicality and design of their company halls. A significant, though hitherto unacknowledged, facet of an individual's identity and status as a guildsman was the contribution or sponsorship of material, structural features to communal built environments.

One building inevitably invites multiple interpretations or responses and the 'representation of space' commissioned by the ruling body of the Armourers' Company is evidently just one way in which a historic built environment was interpreted and negotiated. Cultural theorists and (more recently) early modernists, have repeatedly demonstrated how different social, economic and gendered groups might have developed

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[41] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London', in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. by Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 344-76.
[42] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', p. 3.
[43] Arnade, Howell and Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space', p. 541.

different understandings and ways of utilising the same space.[44] Various peoples thus had diverse methods both of conceptualising space and of physically negotiating urban environments. As Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen have argued, 'all members of the urban community played a role in constructing both the material and imagined street, as well as the ways of living in the real one'.[45] The Armourers' textual description, accompanying the visual plot, of a seamless route from the main entrance gate, through empty rooms, of low and high status, shows only one such 'official' understanding of a company hall, and obscures more complicated, material and social realities, of deeply hierarchical and heterogeneous communities. Relatively few individuals, or even guildsmen, for instance, would have been invested with sufficient civic or social prestige, to walk - as the textual account suggests - from the entrance on Coleman Street - 'A' - to the exclusive spaces of Gallery and Court Room, situated a storey above rooms 'D', 'E', 'F' and 'G'.[46] In other words, few would have been able to pass through the Armourers' Company Hall following the suggested route of the liverymen and their surveyor.[47] Points of access and spatial routes through the building depended upon complex social and political processes or customs which operated within the 'body' of the guild and the city beyond, dense webs of meaning which cannot be ascertained from a visual plan alone.[48] Furthermore, contemporary company inventories reveal that those few who were permitted to take the 'official' route through the building would have experienced material encounters - such as rows of 'compleats foot armours' in the 'Gallery over the Hall' - and complex 'sensory environments', which would have influenced their understanding and way of moving

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[44] See note 85 of the introduction.

[45] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', p. 6.

[46] Maurice Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses, 1480-1640', Architectural History, 41 (1998), 14-29 (pp. 20-21).

[47] GL, MS 12,104, [Title page]: 'Measured and Drawne in the same year at the Companye's Charge, by Joseph Fitcombea Member of the same Compa[ny] and One of the ffoure sworne Viewers of this City and approved off to be well done by the three other Viewers of the said Citty.'

[48] Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House', p. 558.

through that space.[49] Aside from the basic descriptions of the materials which constituted and covered floors and walls, the built environment depicted in the Armourers' visual plan and textual description is devoid of the bodies and material and visual culture through which 'space' as a meaningful conceptual notion was fashioned by the guildsmen and domestic staff who lived, worked and governed within the same building.

Building upon recent scholarly examinations of early modern urban environments, it is proposed that livery halls were complex, multifunctional spaces which were produced or fashioned through various means: built fabric, material culture and human agents.[50] The structural features of the buildings - including walls, roofs and floors - the material decoration or ornamentation of the guild halls and the guildsmen themselves, all gave meaning to these company spaces.[51] Furthermore, in the production of these 'representational' or 'lived' spaces, the interactions between structural features of the buildings, material and visual cultures, and company men, were multidirectional.[52] Guildsmen belonging to various artisanal companies fashioned the design and erected the physical structures of the guild halls; but these buildings, through their materiality and spatial organisation, also effected social and political relations within the body of the guild. Key rituals of the guild, such as feasting and testing the material quality of artisanal goods,

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[49] Katherine Giles, 'Seeing and Believing: Visuality and Space in Pre-Modern England', *World Archaeology*, 39 (2007), 105-21; C. Pamela Graves, 'Sensing and Believing: Exploring Worlds of Difference in Pre-Modern England: A Contribution to the Debate Opened by Kate Giles', *World Archaeology*, 39 (2007), pp. 515-31.

[50] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', p. 9, 'Living in the street entails several kinds of materiality: that of the street itself, that of the inanimate objects, stationary or mobile, that filled it, and that of the living bodies, animal and human, that moved across its surface'. See also: Beat Kümin, 'Introduction', in *Political Space in Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. by id. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 5-15 (p. 14), 'the extent to which political spaces acquired meaning through processes of relational constitution. These involved agents […] places […] objects […] and atmospheric elements.'

[51] Tim Unwin, 'A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 25 (2000), 11-29 (p. 23), critiquing the lack of 'human agency' articulated within Lefebvre's writings, Unwin argues that 'these very people seem to be subsumed within a dehumanized conception of space'.

[52] Kümin, 'Introduction', in *Political Space*, p. 8, 'emphasis on the 'relational' constitution of space'.

acquired significance 'precisely through occupying particular spaces'.[53] Fundamentally, company halls were not inert, empty containers, which existed, in the words of Lefebvre, 'prior to whatever ends up filling it'; but were spaces which both contained and generated meaning.[54]

Sources for Guild Spaces

For the cultural, design or architectural historian, a range of archival, visual and material sources might be employed for the examination of early modern built environments. The buildings themselves, or any surviving archaeological evidence would be a significant starting-point; cartographic evidence; illustrations or photographs; as well as documentary archival evidence (such as building accounts) and contemporary descriptions might also be consulted.[55] For this spatial and material analysis of guild halls, inventories, company court minutes and accounts, in addition to the, limited, number of drawn or painted plans, surveys and perspectives of company buildings, are the key archival sources. The only visual representations of buildings used for this study, such as the Armourers' survey of 1679 and the Goldsmiths' representations of c. 1691, are those which depict guild halls which emerged from the Great Fire of 1666 almost entirely unscathed, and thus give a useful indication of spatial and material organisation in the preceding decades.[56]

Though all the guilds featured in this thesis, except the Pewterers, still have institutional homes on the same physical sites as in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, the early modern structures themselves are no longer extant. While elements of decorative schemes and examples of material culture survive, it is not possible to consider the built

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[53] Gervase Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 430-46; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 110.
[54] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Arnade, Howell and Simons, 'Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space', p. 518.
[55] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 1.
[56] Newman, 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall', p. 34.

fabric of London guild halls in their entirety; as has been feasible for example, in the case of early modern York.[57] Thus although the focus of this section is upon the built environment of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century livery halls, we are, necessarily - from our twenty-first century perspective - dealing with 'discursive' spaces. The majority of early modern London livery halls - an estimated forty-four out of approximately sixty institutional buildings - were destroyed by the Great Fire.[58] Those few that survived the conflagration, including the institutional homes of the Carpenters' and Armourers' Companies, were demolished and replaced with new structures in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, or destroyed during the intensive bombing raids on London in 1940-41.[59] The company halls which stand today are in most instances the third or even fourth corporate buildings on the same late-medieval or early modern sites.[60] Our sense of the physicality and materiality of these structures thus has to be reconstructed from rare material survivals and existing archival accounts of the guilds: we are effectively assembling our own 'representations of space' on the basis, primarily, of textual and visual evidence. Clearly such an approach has its limitations, but the absence of the buildings themselves does not undermine the immense social, political and material significances of these former built environments for their early modern users and inhabitants. The great attention paid to material and structural adaptations and improvements to company buildings in all guild archives of this period is clear evidence of the importance of these halls to contemporaries.

Surviving guild inventories of communal possessions provide us with the most vivid sense of adaptations to livery halls and of changing conceptions - and uses - of these buildings, from the late fifteenth to mid seventeenth centuries. Though the inventory as a

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[57] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, pp. 113-58.
[58] Reddaway, *The Building of London after the Great Fire*, p. 26.
[59] 31 out of 34 guild halls were severely damaged during the Blitz.
[60] The current Goldsmiths' Hall (built in 1835) is the third on the same site; as is the extant Carpenters' Hall (built 1956-60). The present Pewterers' Company is also in its third company Hall, though on a different site; now on Oat Lane, in the City of London.

specific category of archival record has for several decades been lauded as the primary

resource for investigating historic material and spatial environments, no scholarly study has

comprehensively considered the inventory record left by the London guild.[61] This oversight

is in part a reflection of the scanty and disparate nature of the archival material itself; but

the lack of engagement with extant inventories is also a reflection of the lacuna in the

existing guild scholarship, concerning the spatial and material features of corporate life.

Single-company histories (largely antiquarian rather than academic in approach), which

make use of inventory sources, have usually done so without a consistent attempt to

consider questions of changing spatial, material or social organisation; or without making

contextual comparisons between different companies and their built environments.[62]

Inventories were not made by all early modern London guilds, and those that did

so usually compiled such lists at irregular intervals.[63] Most guilds did not begin to

systematically itemise their possessions until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.[64]

Before the 1700s, some companies made occasional lists of corporate possessions in court

books, so inventories appear (unpredictably) in the archival record amongst a whole host of

other, unrelated court business: such as an inventory taken of the Armourers' Company

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[61] Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses'; Eric Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses: A Study of Traditional Farmhouses and Cottages* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1975); James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977); Carole Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *Journal of Social History*, 14 (1980), 3-24.

[62] For example: Charles Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers' of the City of London: Based upon their own Records*, 2 vols (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1902); Charles M. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1875).

[63] A similar observation has been made in relation to the craft guilds of the early modern Low Countries, see: Johan Dambruyne, 'Corporate Capital and Social Representation in the Southern and Northern Netherlands, 1500-1800', in *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries: Work, Power and Representation*, ed. by Maarten Prak, Catherina Lis, Jan Lucassen, and Hugo Soly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 194-223 (pp. 194-95).

[64] The Barber Surgeons' Company from 1711 (GL, MS 1109); Brewers' Company from c. 1650 (GL, MS 5458); Butchers' from 1849 (GL, MS 8530); Cooks' Company 1752-68 (GL, MS 9999); Cordwainers' Company from 1847 (GL, MS 24966); Fishmongers' Company (sporadically) from 1640 (GL, MS 5580); Grocers' Company from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries (GL, MS 11652/1-2); Painter Stainers' (inventory of Company plate) in 1797 (GL, MS 30640); Plaisterers' Company in 1860 (GL, MS 3555/4).

Hall in 1585.[65] Unlike probate inventories of contemporary domestic interiors, which were taken at the end of a person's life - and indeed that of the household - and thus might give a somewhat limited, static account of the social and political relations within buildings, the inventories of the guild were representations of a living, dynamic community. The taking of an inventory did not signal the demise of the institution, but rather a particular temporal moment in the life of a corporation which was intended to exist in perpetuity.[66] Furthermore, unlike probate inventories, the decision to construct a guild inventory is rarely transparent.

In general terms, inventories were clearly compiled in order to account for growing quantities of material goods. In particular, lists of plate and utensils were made in order to keep track of valuable items: a note in the Cutlers' inventory of July 1640 for example, remarks that there is 'one pye plate' and 'two trencher plat[e]s wanting'.[67] All inventories, from across the city guilds have items which have been crossed out or annotated by a later clerk's hand, demonstrating that they were documents referred to when items were mislaid or disposed of by the corporate body. Inventories of plate, such as those drawn up by the Goldsmiths' Company in the 1630s and 1660s, were also made at the moment that their precious metal collection was about to be dispersed, for reasons of political and financial necessity; but the motivation for full inventories of institutional interiors, in particular years, is harder to ascertain.[68] The Pewterers' Company was unusual in keeping a dedicated document listing communal possessions over a very long chronological period (from 1490 until 1838).[69] The Cutlers' Company kept inventories from 1586 to 1664, and

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[65] GL, MS 12071/2, fols 475 v-r.
[66] Giorgio Riello, 'Things See and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and Their Representation of Domestic Interiors', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. by Paula Findlen (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2013), pp. 125-50; Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses', pp. 16-18.
[67] GL, MS 7164, fol. 75.
[68] GHA, T, fols 30 r-v.
[69] GL, MS 7110.

then again from 1764 to 1808.[70] From 1663, the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company retrospectively made a list of moveable guild property, from the acquisition of their Hall in 1428.[71] It is likely that this backdated book of material culture donated by benefactors was compiled using lists of company property which were subsequently destroyed. Certainly, it is feasible that many early modern guilds kept inventories of communal possessions separate from court minute and account books, which were discarded, lost or damaged in later centuries.

Thinking 'Spatially'

The changing organisation of the Pewterers' Company inventories over the course of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggest that the guild's understanding of their corporate home shifted over time. It is significant that when the Pewterers first compiled inventories of their communal possessions in the early years of the 1490s, objects were not specifically itemised by room. Unlike sixteenth-century inventories, there is no clear sense that those constructing the account - clerk and wardens - were moving sequentially through the various rooms of the medieval guild hall. Rather than ordering their possessions according to the space in which they might be found, the fifteenth-century Pewterers' guild listed their communal goods according to the materials out of which they had been crafted. Wax seals and vellum or paper charters, patents and deeds - including those concerning the purchase 'of the hall and tenement of the said bretherhode and crafte set in Lyme strete of London' - were listed first, followed by textiles - including banners and table cloths - and then objects or structural fittings made from silver, pewter, brick, glass and timber.[72] The institutional records made from substances of relatively low material value, but of utmost civic importance, as evidence of the guild as a legally

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[70] GL, MS 7163-5.
[71] GL, MS 12105.
[72] GL, MS 7100, fols 1^r-11^v.

acknowledged, incorporated company and property owner, were thus given precedence over textiles and silver. Such an ordering according to the different material typologies of object - and associated values - was, according to Giorgio Riello, a practice of inventory production more typical of Germany, Finland and Westphalia than late-medieval or early modern England.[73] It suggests that the Company elite were not accustomed to thinking of their possessions in explicitly spatial terms, or, perhaps, were not used to interpreting their Hall as a conceptual whole.[74] By the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, guildsmen were rather more conscious of the relationships between material culture, structural fittings and built environments.

From the inventory of 1542, the material goods of the Pewterers' Company were listed according to the room in which they were physically located: 'Comptyng howse'; 'hawlle'; 'buttre'; 'pantre'; 'kechen'; 'larderhouse'; 'p[ar]lor over the hawlle'; 'garret on the parloure' and 'Inn yarde'.[75] There is a clear sense that the clerk and wardens were moving sequentially through the building and courtyard as they made their inventory; from the storage and food preparation rooms on the ground floor, to the garret on the third storey. From the mid-sixteenth century, the Pewterers were clearly interpreting and representing their communal property in explicitly spatial terms and the physical built environment structured their experience of constructing an inventory.[76] By contrast to the previous century, the governors of the guild were evidently more mindful of the spatial organisation and coherence of their institutional home: perhaps as a result of the significant rebuilding

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[73] Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories*, ed. by Findlen, p. 37.

[74] Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses', p. 22.

[75] GL, MS 7110, fols 12ʳ-17ᵛ.

[76] Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories*, ed. by Findlen, p. 26, 'the way in which inventories represent - rather than embody - the domestic interior […] They are the result of strategies of representation that are influenced by multiple layers of social, cultural and material circumstances.'

project of the late 1490s, which adapted the former domestic residence into a more suitable structure for a complex, heterogeneous guild community.[77]

The ordering of an inventory according to particular spaces within the company hall was the organising method employed by all guilds who compiled such documents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the Armourers made an 'Inventory of the house' in 1585, the account was ordered according to specific chambers within the building: the hall; buttery; kitchen; harness gallery; parlour and counting house.[78] These were the key rooms and spaces common to late sixteenth-century livery halls. Likewise the inventories taken by the Ironmongers' guild from the second half of the sixteenth century were structured according to particular spaces within the Hall. An account made in 1557 ordered the moveable property of the guild in relation to location in the 'compting [counting] house'; court chamber; 'litell spence behind the court chambre' [a term synonymous with larder and pantry]; 'inwarde' garret, 'great' garret; parlour 'joyned rounde about' [wainscoted]; buttery and hall.[79] As the century progressed, the Ironmongers became even more specific about the spatial location of objects within particular rooms of their institutional home. In 1574, for instance, the guild accounted for 'plate in the iron chest' standing in the counting house, and the Pewterers' inventory of 1559 referred to napery 'in the Black Chest bound with Iron', 'under the stayres'.[80] Evidently, as within contemporaneous domestic contexts, London companies were acquiring increasing quantities of material goods that needed to be safely stored and organised, and they were also becoming increasingly mindful of the significance of the

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[77] The Ironmongers' Company also extended their Hall in 1493, 'by the purchase of an adjoining tenement' [GL, MS 17155, fols 3-4].
[78] GL, MS 12071/2, fols 475 [v-r].
[79] GL, MS 16988/2, fols 90[r]-91[r].
[80] Ibid., fol. 131[v]; GL, MS 7110, fol. 33[v].

spatial specificity of their belongings.[81] Considerable prestige was associated with access to particular 'secret' or secure spaces; as indicated by the numerous disputes between guildsmen in the last few decades of the sixteenth-century, concerning ownership of keys to storerooms and treasuries.[82] Senior guildsmen also gave chests and keys to their companies, a gesture which was laden with symbolic significance regarding restricted access rights to company valuables. In 1591 for instance, the Master of the Armourers' Company, John Pasfeild, gave to his guild 'one faire large chest bound with Iron. A lock in the midst and fower hanging locks to it the chest being of oken plancks'.[83] The four Company wardens would have each been in possession of a key to open the chest. Such an awareness of the growing complexity of relations between material possessions, built environments and a guildsman's symbolic 'place' within the company, was certainly also a reflection of structural modifications to buildings and changing associations between the principal rooms of the hall. The Pewterers' inventory of 1559 started not with the counting house, as had been the case in 1542 and 1556, but with the objects located within 'the new Parlo[u]r'.[84] By 1632, the route of the inventory takers included an armoury, gallery and court chamber.[85]

Early modern guilds clearly conceptualised their spatial environments according to material furnishings, structural fittings and associated functions, but such spatial environments were subject to change. Linguistic shifts within inventories are suggestive of changing relationships between rooms and their inhabitants. In the Ironmongers' inventory of 1587, what had formerly been termed a 'little' parlour (in 1574), was now a 'great' room; the 'great' garret which had been a storage space for body armour and steel weaponry in

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[81] Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p. 103, 'As goods multiplied […] storage units grew more diversified and more stationary.'
[82] GHA, L2, fol. 234; Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority', pp. 934-36.
[83] GL, MS 12105, fol. 13. The Ironmongers' Company acquired an iron chest with four keys in 1517 [GL, MS 16960, fol. 15[r]]
[84] GL, MS 7110, fol. 30[r].
[85] GL, MS 7110.

the 1550s was now officially named the 'armorye'.[86] From the 1580s, all guilds with

property were obliged by the crown to keep an armoury stocked with suits and weapons.[87]

In an inventory taken by the Carpenters' Company in the 1640s, what had been known as

the 'high parlour', a decade before, was now renamed the 'Dineing Room'.[88] Evidence from

court minutes, accounts and inventories suggest that the relative hierarchy of interior

spaces within livery halls was shifting from c. 1560. Existing rooms were adapted, enlarged,

divided or embellished and entirely new spaces built into, adjoining or above the late-

medieval complex of buildings.[89]

Structure of this Spatial and Material Analysis

This second section of the thesis thus examines how early modern craft guilds

altered, conceptualised and represented their institutional homes and the ways in which

they operated within these complex multifunctional environments. The buildings under

consideration are revealed as physical sites and 'constitutive locale[s]' for many different

types of 'space': political, social, aesthetic, artisanal and epistemological.[90] Chapter two

first considers the most significant spatial and material features and social practices

associated with late-medieval livery halls, structural and cultural legacies inherited by early

modern companies. Through a particular focus upon the changing built environments of

the Pewterers' and Carpenters' Companies from c. 1560, it is then shown how alterations

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[86] GL, MS 16988/2, fols 262[v-r]. In 1835 - what had been generic food preparation and storage rooms in the seventeenth-century Armourers' Hall - were now named the 'Wine Closet' and the 'China Closet' [GL, MS 12104]

[87] William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols (London: W. Herbert, 1837), I, 89, 'in Elizabeth and the Stuarts' reigns, every hall was obliged also to have a granary and an armoury'.

[88] GL, MS 4329A.

[89] Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West, pp. 95-98; Friedrichs, 'The European City Hall', in *Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Benedict and Gutmann, pp. 241-42, 'Space in city halls was constantly being reallocated and reassigned. Occasionally old sections of the city hall fell into disrepair and ceased to be used. More often new wing were added or, in some places, entirely new city halls were constructed.'

[90] C. W. J. Withers, 'Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and History', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 70 (2009), 637-58 (p. 653, 657).

to institutional buildings both reflected changes to the socioeconomic and political composition of the companies and simultaneously shaped guild communities. Having established the key spatial and material changes to London livery halls, chapters three and four constitute an extended case study, focusing upon the extensive rebuilding project of the Goldsmiths' Company Hall during the 1630s.

The third chapter reflects upon the relationships between the internal spatial organisation of livery halls and the exterior walls or boundaries of these structures. It is suggested that guildsmen, 'architects' and craftsmen conceptualised the requirements and audiences of interior space and outer façades, rather differently. The material 'face' of the exterior walls was expected to be in aesthetic and intellectual dialogue with Classically-inspired buildings within the developing city, articulating a visual language of 'uniformity', in contrast to the late-medieval spatial layout within. Moreover, despite contemporary visual representations of clear material boundaries between interior space and the city streets beyond, it is argued that walls were not as solid or permanent as architectural theorists or guild authorities maintained. Within an expanding metropolis which was itself bursting beyond its ancient boundaries, distinctions between the 'insides' and 'outsides' of institutional buildings might be better understood as relative grades of exclusivity and exclusion. Building upon this ambiguity of spatial borders, this chapter finally considers the highly charged material, spatial and political relationships between livery halls and the artisanal workshops and retail spaces of guildsmen. Using the well-documented example of the campaign to return all 'remote' goldsmiths to Cheapside, it is shown that, as within the company Hall, issues of accessibility and 'private' or 'public' spaces, came to define a guildsman's place within, or even exclusion from, the body of the guild.

The fourth and final chapter of this second section examines the interior spatial and material organisation of the new Goldsmiths' Hall, rebuilt in its entirety during the

1630s. It is revealed that through the installation of material features such as wainscoting and stone floors and chimney pieces, the addition of new staircases and the relocation of significant rooms, the Goldsmiths created a built environment in which sociopolitical hierarchies were clearly embedded. The location of the new gallery along the front of the building and the newly established ceremonial routes did however ensure that the Goldsmiths' 'inward-looking' concerns were balanced with an engagement with the wider civic polity.[91] Moreover, comparisons with the spatial arrangement of contemporary city mansions, owned and modelled by London citizens, demonstrate that though changes to livery halls had parallels within the domestic sphere, the institutional headquarters of the guilds also retained distinctive features, reflecting the particular needs of their communities. The continued significance of the internal hall within livery company buildings is demonstrated through an analysis of the growing spatial and material tensions between company men during occasions of ritualised commensality.

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[91] The language of 'inward' spatial organisation and 'outward' walls was used by the guildsmen themselves, as is demonstrated in chapters three and four of this section.

Chapter Two: Late-Medieval and Early Modern Guild Halls, Inventories and Changing Spaces

By the third decade of the sixteenth century, forty-five craft and mercantile guilds (out of sixty companies represented at the Lord Mayor's feast of 1532), had established permanent institutional headquarters within the City walls.[92] By 1600 there were approximately sixty livery halls in the City of London.[93] A communal building had become an essential space for the regulation of the craft or trade, the effective governance of the company, the resolution of disputes, management of estates and charities, the socialisation of members and the convivial or ceremonial activities of the livery and yeomanry. In this chapter, it is argued that the spatial and material organisation of London guild halls underwent significant change in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Though each building was customised according to the needs of a particular company, there were several general trends which can be observed across the city. First, guild halls grew: additional rooms were built onto extant structures, chambers were lengthened, stories were added, and routes between these spaces were more clearly defined. Second, rooms became increasingly specialised in function and were defined by increasing quantities of material goods. Third, interior decorative schemes, including wainscoting and stone-work, were employed to articulate more explicitly than ever before, concepts of artisanal skill, corporate hierarchy and fraternity; and notions of belonging and exclusion. One example will serve for the time being. Whereas the communal hall appears to have served a number of purposes in the fifteenth century, including acting as a space for the arbitration of disputes between guildsmen, the testing of the material quality of workshop products, and the meetings of company elites, by the late sixteenth century there were typically distinct spaces within the livery hall complex for undertaking each of these varied guild activities.

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[92] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 47.

[93] Schofield, 'City of London Gardens, 1500 - c. 1620', *Garden History*, 27 (1999), 73-88 (p. 77).

Between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, additional parlours, assaying quarters, court and dining rooms, kitchens, galleries, domestic lodgings and dedicated spaces for the storage and safeguarding of material possessions, including armouries, were added to existing hall structures. This chapter first establishes the material legacy inherited by sixteenth-century companies: the key spaces, structural features and sociopolitical and cultural meanings of late-medieval London livery halls. Using the case studies of the Carpenters' and Pewterers' Company buildings, the second half of this chapter then considers the principal adaptations made to London livery halls during the early modern period.

The Late-Medieval Built Fabric

 The great majority of guild halls in early modern London were substantial late-medieval townhouses which had been acquired in the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and were subsequently adapted - and on occasion entirely rebuilt - to meet the needs of expanding, competitive, guild communities. Most guilds acquired suitable built environments very soon after, or even in anticipation of, the acquisition of a royal charter of incorporation, the legal requirement for owning communal property.[94] It is striking that the attainment and development of a company hall was a collaborative venture: normally a guildsman or group of senior craftsmen or merchants would bequeath properties to a cluster of trustees, who would subsequently carry out suitable structural adaptations.[95] In 1339, nineteen goldsmiths acting on behalf of their guild bought a timber property at the northern end of Foster Lane, in the parish of St John Zachary, the same site on which all

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[94] Harding, 'Real Estate', p. 557; Edward Basil Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London: Chiefly Compiled from Records in their Possession* (London: W. Pickering, 1848) p. 217; Reddaway and Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, pp. 71-72.

[95] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 44, 'Once in possession the company would generally adapt and expand the buildings, but not fundamentally alter their arrangement.'

subsequent incarnations of the Goldsmiths' Hall were later rebuilt (see Figure 2.6).[96] As is

entirely typical for this early date, no description or dimensions of this fourteenth-century

property were recorded. In 1428 the Armourers' guild acquired a site on Coleman Street,

'at the North end thereof', according to John Stow, which was comprised of a tavern - *the*

Dragon - and two shops (see Figure 2.1).[97] Less than a year later, in January 1429/30, two

carpenters gained the lease of five cottages and a waste piece of land from the Priory and

Convent of St. Mary's Hospital in Bishopsgate (between Bishopsgate and Moorgate), which

they regranted to twenty-nine fellow carpenters; the guild then replaced the cottages with

a suitable hall structure and four houses, which faced onto London Wall (see Figure 2.7).[98]

In 1475, the newly incorporated Pewterers' Company acquired a house on Lime Street via a

past master and generous benefactor, William Smallwood (see Figure 2.8).[99] The guild had

formerly hired the refectory of the Austin Friars for communal meetings of the craft.[100] As

in other English cities with a strong guild presence, such as York, London guild halls

established in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were usually physically situated

in the midst of their craft or trade cluster within the urban environment, increasingly dense

networks of workspaces, shops and domestic residences.[101] For guild authorities with the

privilege and responsibility to 'search' artisanal workshops and mercantile retail spaces,

such a spatial clustering was a hugely significant feature of guild control over material

standards and production; perhaps also an important factor in the development and

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[96] Reddaway and Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, pp. 29-30.

[97] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 284.

[98] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 199-200; Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, p.* 217.

[99] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers,* I, 59.

[100] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, pp. 113-14, 'It was common for fourteenth-century craft mysteries [in York] to use for business meetings the naves and aisles of parish churches in which their associate fraternities maintained altars, obits and lights.'

[101] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 44; Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, pp. 114-15.

dissemination of innovatory craft practices.[102] A consideration of the complex relationships between livery halls and the workplaces of guildsmen is reserved for the third chapter of this section.

As was suggested in the preceding discussion of source material, the Pewterers' Company was unusual in keeping a series of dedicated, thorough inventory books of communal possessions over a long chronological period: from 1490 until 1838 (though inventories were compiled at irregular intervals within this time-frame).[103] An inventory of 1490, 'apartenyng to the bretherhode of thassumption of our Blessid Lady of the Crafte of pewter of London' is perhaps the earliest document of its type for a London craft guild (see Figure 2.9). Though this particular inventory was not ordered according to spatial divisions inside the building, within the document references are made to an internal hall, a parlour, a counting house, a yard, a garden with a 'vyne', a 'bo[w]lyng al[l]ey' and a well.[104] These were the essential spaces of the late-medieval livery hall, which were inherited, adapted and renegotiated from the mid-sixteenth century. The material features, meanings and functions of the courtyard, hall, parlour, counting house and gardens are explored in the following discussion, using the evidence of extant guild inventories and selected court minutes and accounts from the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries.

The Courtyard

As the aforementioned survey of the Armourers' Hall demonstrates, livery halls in late medieval and early modern London were organised according to the courtyard plan, a

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[102] Epstein, 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy*, pp. 73-74.

[103] The Pewterers' Company inventories from 1490 to 1838: GL, MS 7110; MS 22180-1; MS 22187; MS 22235/1-2; MS 22250. The Cutlers' Company also made regular inventories of their possessions from 1586-1664: GL MS 7163-5.

[104] GL, MS 7110, fols 1^r-12^v.

typical arrangement for large domestic residences, Inns of Court and university colleges.[105]

In this spatial formation, a series of interconnected chambers of varying statuses were organised around a central courtyard, usually with a communal hall to the rear of the site. In the late-medieval household, the incorporation of courtyard and communal hall, with a raised dais end, as the central features of the building plan articulated the 'inward-looking' concerns of the particular community and the fundamental socio-political distinctions maintained within and through the structure.[106] It is a considerable frustration for the historian that though the courtyard space itself was absolutely central to the organisation and meaning of the whole building complex, the existing archival accounts reveal little of the human activities which took place there. Though it is effectively rendered silent by an absence of evidence, it seems probable that courtyards were much more than a space which guildsmen simply traversed to get to other company places.

The Hall

The Pewterers' Company internal hall was probably located on the ground or first floor, towards the back of the site, like most hall chambers in substantial medieval London houses.[107] The hall was the central site for hosting the many communal, convivial, activities of the fraternity, events which frequently established bonds of brotherhood and notions of institutional hierarchy, such as the annual election feast, attended, at this time, by all members of the guild.[108] In addition to feasting, it is very likely that court meetings, the adjudication of disputes between guildsmen, the inspection of material goods crafted by members of the guild and the assaying of pewter, would have all taken place within this

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[105] *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by Schofield, p. 15; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 34, 'This courtyard type has been called Type 4 in a London typology of house-plans shown in the Treswell surveys of 1607-14.'

[106] Johnson, 'Meanings of Polite Architecture', p. 49, 'The courtyard plan thus expressed the notion of community to the outside world - in its unity around a central point - while combining this idea with spatial and stylistic expression of social inequality within the household.'

[107] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 65.

[108] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, viii; Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West, p. 90.

chamber.[109] The hall was a space within which the authority of guild elites might be demonstrated or performed: the Goldsmiths' court minutes make references to apprentices being openly whipped in their communal hall as punishment for misdemeanours.[110] This was also the chamber in which guild ordinances and speeches concerning 'the longevity of the company, the liberality of its benefactors, and the importance of order and unity', were read to the entire guild membership on quarter days, the points in the company calendar when quarterage dues were collected.[111] The fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century court records of the Pewterers', Drapers', Blacksmiths', Cutlers', Brewers', Grocers', Carpenters' and Merchant Taylors' Companies all make references to the performance of 'plays' or 'players' within their halls, particularly as entertainments during election feasts.[112] As historian Anne Lancashire has argued, these terms are heterogeneous, 'covering a full range of entertainment activity from dicing games to theatrical performances, and including satirical sketches, juggling acrobatics, sports, and the like'.[113] In the 1400s, pageants were held in the Pewterers' Hall following the annual election feast and a 'sword-player' provided additional entertainment.[114] The Carpenters paid for singers to perform during feast-time masses, and for ballads to be sung in the hall throughout dinner.[115] In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the internal halls of the livery companies were not spaces usually associated with professional or semi-professional theatrical performances: *The Triumph of Peace* masque performed in Merchant Taylors' Hall on 13th February 1634 (ten days after it had been enacted at

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[109] GL, MS 7110, fols 1r-12v.

[110] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 78-79.

[111] Ian W. Archer, 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 202-26 (p. 205); id., *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 108.

[112] Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 73-117.

[113] Ibid., p. 71.

[114] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, viii.

[115] Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 90.

Whitehall), was an exceptional event.[116] This is in contrast to the halls of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Inns of Court, spaces which were associated with literary and theatrical endeavours and in some notable cases, designed and built with performance specifically in mind.[117]

Despite being the chamber within which all members might gather, the space of the late-medieval hall was a central site for the articulation of company hierarchies and, as within domestic contexts, the high and low ends of the hall in the guild setting were clearly distinguished through material and structural features. In her work on the built fabric of the religious fraternities and craft guilds of late-medieval York, Kate Giles has demonstrated how the timber framing within these guild halls 'created complex hierarchical spaces with close parallels to the open halls of domestic buildings and the aisled nave and chancel of the medieval parish church'.[118] Such structural features were also utilised in London livery halls. In 1460 for example the Carpenters' Company paid some of its members for 'werkmanship of the Celyng at the Highdeys of the Hall'. A decade later they also 'paid for the bordyng of the high Dese'.[119] Members of the Carpenters' Company would have been particularly well-equipped to interpret a 'grammar of carpentry', including 'rules about the conversion and use of timber' such as 'the placing of the fair face of timber towards the high-status end of the hall'.[120] Court minutes and accounts from the

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[116] A. H. Nelson, 'New Light on Drama, Music and Dancing at the Inns of Court to 1642', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne E. Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 302-14 (p. 303).

[117] Sarah Knight, 'Literature and Drama at the Early Modern Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Archer, Goldring and Knight, pp. 217-22; Christopher Brooke, 'The Buildings in Cambridge', in *A History of the University of Cambridge, 1546-1750*, ed. by Victor Morgan, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I, pp. 13-62 (pp. 37-40).

[118] Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West, p. 90.

[119] Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 220.

[120] Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West [referencing R. Harris, 'The grammar of carpentry', *Vernacular Architecture*, 20 (1989), 1-8].

Pewterers' guild demonstrate that when their Hall complex was rebuilt in the late 1490s,

guildsmen took great care over the choice of design for their new timber roof. The principal

craftsman employed for this remodelling project was the carpenter Simon Birlyngham and

significantly the guild accounts show that in addition to the ordinary payments for

construction, which amounted to forty pounds, not including the materials which were

purchased by the guild, the company also paid Birlyngham extra sums to 'vewe' with them

the Haberdashers' Hall, the Carpenters' Hall, 'pappey' (the hall of the fraternity of St

Charity and St John the Evangelist in the ward of Aldgate) and 'the Deans roof' at Hackney,

probably the residence of the Dean of St Paul's.[121] In the design and restructuring of their

new institutional home the Pewterers were thus clearly taking inspiration from a range of

existing roof structures within their surrounding built environment, particularly halls which

belonged to fellow companies. In 1497-8 sums were paid by the Pewterers for 'colours to

peynt the [new] halle Roof' and 'the principal posts in the halle'.[122] It is not clear which type

of roof structure the Pewterers decided upon - the 'crown-post' roof, 'up-right' roof and

'hammerbeam roof' were all possibilities - but they were certainly employing one of the

foremost carpenters of London, who had carried out a range of high status commissions.[123]

At his death Simon Birlyngham was owed money 'for 'diverse stuff boughte for the King', in

addition to significant outstanding sums from the Master of Lincoln's Inn, the Vintners and

Leathersellers Companies', and numerous city churches, including All Hallows the Great

and St Mary-le-Bow.[124]

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[121] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 82-83; John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550: Including Master Masons, Carpenters, Carvers, Building Contractors and others Responsible for Design* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), p. 26, 'An inventory of the goods of 'Symond Birlyngham', carpenter of London, was taken at Cambridge on 15 December 1499 and shows that he had houses in Wood Street, his chief residence; in Bishopsgate Street, and at Sheen.'
[122] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, pp. 86-87.
[123] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 95-96.
[124] Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 26.

The Pewterers' inventories show that in 1494 seventeen individual guildsmen paid for the glazing of window panels in the hall, including a bay window and 'the high window over the high dais' using 'flemysshe' and 'normandy' glass.[125] Company hierarchies were clearly established or confirmed through this process of material sponsorship, as the Master Lawrence Aslyn funded the most prestigious 'high' window, and the wardens and other senior, or ambitious, guildsmen were responsible for additional panes (or 'half' panels) throughout the hall.[126] There was perhaps an element of intra-guild competition articulated through this form of material patronage, a rivalry made rather more explicit in the case of coloured glass bearing benefactors' arms, as in the Merchant Taylors' and Carpenters' Companies' fifteenth-century Halls.[127] Heraldic ornament featured prominently within company buildings; as within contemporary English palaces and wealthy domestic interiors.[128] The armorial bearings of the monarch, company and families of prominent guildsmen and benefactors (living and dead) were displayed throughout guild halls, in various mediums. In addition to coloured glass, heraldic signs were emblazoned upon textiles - including banners, streamers and tablecloths - silver plate, wooden panels, chests and even garden sculpture.[129] A range of symbolic meanings and identities, including loyalty to the crown, institutional continuity and the promotion of particular families and artisanal or mercantile dynasties would have thus existed in juxtaposition throughout the livery halls.

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[125] GL, MS 7110, fol. 4^v; Richard Marks, 'Window Glass', in *English Medieval Industries*, ed. by Blair and Ramsey, pp. 265-94 (p. 267), 'Normandy glass was generally considered to be superior both to Rhenish and English glass and this is reflected in the price.'

[126] GL, MS 7110, fol. 4^v.

[127] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 106. It is debatable whether the fifteenth-century windows would have been glazed, or 'filled with oiled paper, linen or silk', see: Fredrick Morris Fry and Walter Lloyd Thomas, *The Windows of Merchant Taylors' Hall* (London: Burrup, Mathieson and Company, 1934), pp. 10-11.

[128] Maurice Howard and Tessa Murdoch, "Armes and Bestes': Tudor and Stuart Heraldry', in *Treasures of The Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars*, ed. by Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), pp. 56-67.

[129] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 65. In 1565, 'Robert, the lute player […] set in a fair book of parchment all the Arms now painted in the common garden of the Hall, he is to have 2 s. for every of the said Arms so to be set forth'.

The raised, dais end of the communal livery hall was ornamented with great care; existing guild accounts, court minutes and inventories reveal that guildsmen funded or undertook demonstrations of expert craftsmanship for this space in particular. In 1428 for instance, the year in which the Armourers' guild acquired their institutional home, senior guildsmen gave 'hallyngs to the high deyesse' and 'the crest of the high dais with three Angells'.[130] The former material gift was analogous to a cloth of state in a high status domestic context; the latter feature was probably a wooden or plaster structure which framed the high table below.[131] Indeed in 1514 the new Master William Clarke 'gave unto the said Hall two new formes to the hye deysse'.[132] The 'hallyngs' were painted textiles, which combined a visual representation of the company's patron saint, St George, with celebratory textual verses by the poet John Lydgate.[133] In 1527 it was decided by the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company not to order a new stained (painted) hanging for their hall, but to wainscot the chamber and they consulted a joiner, weaver and a painter for their advice on this matter.[134] Three years later the court commissioned tapestries from Flanders (the European centre of tapestry production), according to their own corporate design, which represented scenes from the life of their patron saint St Dunstan. It cost a staggering amount: over two hundred and fifty pounds.[135] By 1542 the Pewterers' communal hall was also decorated with 'iv hangyns', probably depicting the Virgin Mary, and in the reign of Mary I the guild acquired 'a pece of hanging of the xii apostles' for the hall.[136] Few hall chambers would have been as impressively furnished as the Merchant Taylors' hall, belonging to one of the largest and wealthiest companies in London; its

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[130] GL, MS 12105, fol. 2.

[131] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*: *A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 34.

[132] GL, MS 12105, fol. 9.

[133] Ibid., fol. 2; J. Floyd, 'St. George and the "Steyned Halle": Lydgate's verse for the London Armourers', in *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 139-64.

[134] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 44.

[135] Ibid., I, 45; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 129.

[136] GL, MS 7110, fol. 15^v.

members, according to Stow, 'had time out of minde beene great marchants, and had frequented all sortes of marchandises into most partes of the worlde'.[137] Inventories reveal that in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Merchant Taylor's internal hall was hung with nine 'clothes of arrays', worth one hundred and twenty-three pounds, representing the life of their patronal figure, St John, as well as a 'cloth of Saint John[...] sette upon blewe velvet [...] browdered with floure de luces of venyce gold'.[138] These magnificent textiles, paid for by several eminent liverymen, would have demonstrated both the great wealth and generosity of members of the fraternity of St John and the guildsmen's professional role as traders in cloth and textiles.

The Merchant Taylors' lists of furnishings give us an indication of the flexibility of the communal hall: using moveable fixtures the space could be adjusted in order to host a variety of events with a range of participants. Furniture such as 'the high table dormaunt with a particion slydyng in the myddell' was clearly a permanent feature of the space - the liverymen would always preside over ceremonial gatherings - whereas the '8 tables remevable', the boards and trestles for lesser members of the company, organised to the sides of the hall, were obviously dismountable.[139] The hall might also be relatively bare or ornamented, depending upon the solemnity or significance of the occasion. In the early sixteenth century, for instance, the Goldsmiths' court minutes make reference to targets, streamers and banners which were to be hung around the hall, in anticipation of a major guild event, the annual election of master and wardens.[140]

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[137] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 182.

[138] *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors,* pp. 84-85; Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (Leeds: Maney, 2004), p. 6, 'Guilds of tailors were frequently dedicated to St John the Baptist, almost certainly because of the references in Matthew 3:4 and Mark 1:6 to the clothing worn, and perhaps made, by the saint in the desert.'

[139] *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, pp. 84-85.

[140] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 50.

The Parlour and the Counting House

In 1494, the same year that glass panes were affixed to window frames in the Pewterers' communal hall, six prominent guildsmen also gave money 'towards the makyng of the ij long formes on the […] parlor' and the aforementioned Master, Lawrence Aslyn, likewise 'paid for the tymbre and workemanship of the wyndowe atte the stepe heed into the parlor and the crafte paid for the [joyners] werke and glasse of the same wyndowe'.[141] Compared to the 'shared' space of the internal hall, the parlour was a more exclusive chamber, located deep within the livery hall complex and reserved for the governing activities of the master and wardens.[142] During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, livery companies began to add a parlour room, usually located on the ground-floor at right angles to the dais end of the hall chamber, as an essential element of the institutional complex (the Goldsmiths in 1382; Drapers in 1425; Carpenters in 1442 and Cutlers in 1465).[143] Though the parlour was to become richly decorated in the later 1500s and a significant storage space for valuable documents, in the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth centuries, it was relatively bare. It was probably a room solely used for conversing, as the etymology of its name suggests. In 1542 the Pewterers' parlour contained only basic furniture - including the aforementioned forms - and 'iv long ban[n]er staves'.[144] By contrast, the counting house, decorated in 1497-8 with 'xxxiiii yerds of peyntid clothes', clearly functioned as the principal storeroom for precious objects, including seals, patents, charters and a significant collection of plate and textiles.[145] Multiple banners and streamers named in the inventory of 1490, and a fraternal 'blak cofyn with ii chaplet(s) of Red Saten with the ymage of our lady of assumpcion of sylver' were housed in relative security in this chamber and brought out into the communal hall and city

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[141] GL, MS 7110, fol. 4[v].
[142] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 67.
[143] Ibid., p. 66.
[144] GL, MS 7110, fol. 15[r].
[145] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 86-87.

streets during funerals, feast days and civic processions, such as the Midsummer Watch.[146] Use of the fraternal hearse-cloth at guild-sponsored funerals defined members of the craft community in death, as they had been in life.[147]

Gardens and Recreational Spaces

It was noted that the Pewterers' Hall had a garden with a 'vyne' and a bowling alley; these recreational spaces were also found to the rear of several other company halls within late-medieval and early sixteenth-century London. The Carpenters' Company court accounts feature hundreds of entries relating to the careful maintenance of their box hedging (planted in the forecourt of the Hall in 1490), and herbs set out in knots, turf, privet hedging and vines (for which a frame was made in 1491) in an adjacent garden plot.[148] In the 1540s the Carpenters also constructed a bowling alley.[149] The Ironmongers, whose Hall was located on Fenchurch Street, paid for 'cutting the vines and hedges [...] dressing the roses, and for the purchase of lavender to set the maze' in the early sixteenth century. They also recompensed a carpenter for 'ii dayes to repair the gre[a]t frame of tymber that beryth up the vynes in the garden'.[150] The plan of Clothworkers' Hall on Mincing Lane, surveyed by Ralph Treswell in 1612, shows that this Company had a well-established formal garden positioned at the rear of the site (see Figure 2.10). John Schofield has noted both that the garden was deep with the Hall complex, in terms of levels of access, and that it was overlooked by the parlour, located on the ground-floor; this was probably a typical feature of livery hall gardens.[151] Though we know little about their precise organisation and design, the relatively secluded and privileged setting of these city gardens, as well as the care lavished upon their upkeep, suggest that they were spaces associated with leisure and

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[146] GL, MS 7110, fols 1^r-2^r; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 50-52, 153-70.

[147] Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 198.

[148] Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 222.

[149] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 91.

[150] GL, MS 17155, fol. 6.

[151] Schofield, 'City of London Gardens', p. 81.

sociability for the most privileged members of the guilds. In 1494 two wardens of the Pewterers' Company 'paide for the stuff and makyng of the bench of bri[c]k under the vyne in the south ends of the gardyne', and it is probable that within other guilds senior members also sponsored material fixtures for their corporate gardens, as they did for interiors - such as sun-dials in the Ironmongers' Company garden.[152] It has been mentioned that the Pewterers', Carpenters' and Ironmongers' Companies nurtured vines; so too did the Cutlers', Clothworkers' and Grocers' Companies.[153] Though the climate of late-medieval and sixteenth-century England was not conducive to functional cultivation of the vine, it was probably valued for its biblical, communal associations.

Churches, Chapels and Almshouses

The essential religious activities of the craft fraternity, including the provision of lights for the masses, obits and dirges for the souls of deceased brothers - indicated in the Pewterers' inventories by multiple references to 'tapers of wax to set in [h]ono[ur] of our Blessid lady' - did not formally take place in the Pewterers' Hall itself, but were hosted in the Grey Friars and later the Church of All Hallows on Lombard Street (see Figure 2.11).[154] Medieval London guilds typically had strong links with a neighbourhood church, upheld by regular corporate use of the building, for worship and memorialisation and contributions to the material fabric of the ecclesiastical structures.[155] Unlike the collegiate buildings of Oxford and Cambridge, livery halls did not typically have a chapel as an integral part of the complex; this was a feature only of the most prestigious mercantile companies, the Mercers (by 1391), the Merchant Taylors (by 1403-4) and the Grocers (1411).[156] Several guilds also built almshouses adjacent to their halls, or on nearby plots, from the early

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[152] GL, MS 7110, fol. 3ʳ; GL, MS 17155, fol. 6.

[153] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 89; id., 'City of London Gardens', p. 79.

[154] GL, MS 7110, fol. 2ʳ; Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, iv; Harding, *The Dead and the Living,* pp. 194-95.

[155] This connection is discussed in greater depth in the following section.

[156] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 69.

fifteenth century: the Merchant Taylors (in 1414), the Brewers (in 1423) and the Carpenters.[157]

By the 1530s, the forty or so companies with halls within the City of London had several key chambers, with a variety of purposes. All were organised according to a courtyard plan with an internal hall to the rear of the site, and perhaps with a small garden plot beyond. On the ground floor, at right angles to the hall, most guilds had a parlour room which was reserved for the deliberations of the company elite; a counting house often adjoined this chamber. By the opening of the sixteenth century some livery buildings also had basic food preparation and storage rooms. Their establishment was a further opportunity for material patronage, as is demonstrated by the donation of 'the foundation of the chymney in the kitchin two loads of stone' by William Sympson, armourer, in 1522.[158] Between 1501 and 1505 a new kitchen, buttery, cellar, larder and pastry house were added to the Guildhall, as a result of the initiative of the Mayor, John Shaa, a goldsmith. These additions meant that the mayor's inaugural feast could be hosted in this centre of City government, rather than in the Merchant Taylors' and Grocers' Halls as had been the former custom.[159] Fifty-nine companies contributed a total of over three hundred pounds for the completion of the works.[160] The Pewterers were not unusual among the London companies in hiring our their Hall to members for special occasions such as wedding celebrations; or to other guilds such as the Coopers and the Glovers - who were yet to establish their own institutional headquarters.[161] Pewterers' Hall was also frequently

[157] Ibid., p. 48.

[158] GL, MS 12105, fol. 10 [other armourers gave dressing knives and iron pans].

[159] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 272-73.

[160] Caroline Barron, *The Medieval Guildhall of London* (London: Corporation of London, 1974), p. 32.

[161] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 87; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 86, the Cutlers' Company rented out their Hall to the Blacksmiths' Company (for feasts) from 1442/3 to 1464/5.

host to 'a Spanyarde for kepyng Daunsyng'.[162] The Armourers' Hall was rented by the Founders' Company in the 1490s, as this guild had not yet acquired a communal building.[163]

Adapting the Late-Medieval Built Fabric: The Carpenters' and Pewterers' Companies Remodel their Livery Halls and Communal Craft Identities

From the acquisition of communal land between Bishopsgate and Moorgate in January 1429, and the construction of an institutional home on this site, organised according to a central courtyard plan, the Carpenters' Company took considerable care to maintain the built fabric of their corporate property. It is probable that the Carpenters' Hall lay behind four houses, built and then leased by the company, which faced onto London Wall.[164] The guild were quite precocious in their establishment of a communal building in the early fifteenth century and appropriately, as an organisation of carpenters, their Hall appears to have been an exemplary model; it has already been noted that their Hall roof, constructed by the master carpenter William Serle in 1429-31, was visited by the wardens of the Pewterers' Company when inspiration for their own structure was needed.[165] We might expect a body skilled in the assembly and regulation of timber structures to be particularly conscientious in the preservation of property; the Carpenters' accounts include numerous entries related to the repair or embellishment of their institutional home, guild properties and adjoining land. These repairs and adaptations were carried out by members of their own guild, as well as those skilled in other crafts, such as plasterwork, tiling and glazing. In 1440, for example, the guild paid 4s. 4d. for a wall to be constructed in the garden.[166] In 1456, communal funds were spent for the 'makinge more of the herthe in the halle', which was probably connected to a stone chimney and 'for the undir pynnynge of the hous[e] and

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[162] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 154.
[163] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 177.
[164] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 199.
[165] Ibid.; Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 272.
[166] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. by Bower Marsh and John Ainsworth, 7 vols (Oxford: Printed for the Company at the University Press, 1914-68), II, 96.

paving of the kechen'.[167] Thirty years later, in 1486, six pence was spent on the repair of the

gates and windows 'that the wynd blew done' and several years later for 'Repacions of the

Kechyn wyndows and the tenemetes and the gardyn at the hall'.[168] The Carpenters' late-

medieval inheritance was evidently a structurally impressive, multifunctional communal

building, but from the early 1570s until the mid-1590s, the guild reconceptualised the

spatial layout and material organisation of their Hall, through communal investments, thus

transforming the existing built fabric.

Before these significant changes are considered, it should be stressed that the

fundamental spatial organisation of the Carpenters' Hall remained the same. Such was the

cultural significance of the late-medieval courtyard arrangement that even guild halls

entirely rebuilt from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, such as those

belonging to the Clothworkers (1549), Cordwainers (1559-77), Ironmongers (1585) and

Goldsmiths (1630s), some of the most affluent and politically prestigious companies,

continued to model their institutional buildings on this basic plan.[169] After the Great Fire,

livery halls were also rebuilt according to a courtyard design; though brick structures with

stone facades replaced timber edifices.[170]

The first major early modern adaptation to the Carpenters' communal building was

the setting up of a wainscoted gallery and the wainscoting of their internal hall in 1572/3

(probably only at the dais end). These structural and material changes were accompanied

by the commissioning of a frieze of four narrative wall paintings over the 'high' end of their

communal hall, images which depicted the illustrious biblical history of the craft of

carpentry. A complex visual statement of communal artisanal skill, identity and

memorialisation, whose cultural significance is explored in the final section of this work

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[167] Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, pp. 218-19.
[168] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, II, 72, 89.
[169] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 49.
[170] Ibid., 44.

(see Figure 2.12). In 1579, six years after the installation of wainscot, the Carpenters'

Company remodelled their existing parlour and built a new parlour chamber a storey

above: that 'thold parlor to be new mad[e] and one other parlor over that with the half […]

storie shall forthwithe be made'.[171] The new parlour was subsequently 'celed with

wainskote'. Some years later in 1592, orders were made for a counting house to be

constructed, from two thousand bricks and tiles, 'made out of the well yard to serve for the

parler next adjoyninge unto the hall'.[172] This chamber was the specialised space in which

company finance was organised and estate management undertaken.[173] Finally, in 1594, it

was decided to carry out the substantial 'thenlarginge of the Hall at the east ende'.[174]

Materialising Hierarchies and Craft Identities

The wainscoting of these adapted or new exclusive spaces of governance and

entertainment within the Carpenters' remodelled Hall would have marked them out as

being of particular status. Through the wainscoting of their walls, the sixteenth-century

Carpenters' Company were literally encasing themselves within a material demonstration

of wood-working craft skills. Wainscoting was generally the preserve of joiners, though as

the accounts of the Pewterers' Company reveal, the assembly and instalment of wainscot

panels could require the combined artisanal endeavours of members of both the Joiners'

and Carpenters' Companies.[175] Whilst there is evidence that other guilds painted their

wainscot panels - green was the preferred colour - the Carpenters left their boards

unadorned.[176] Bare wainscot would have drawn attention to the basic materiality of the

craft; an impression which would have been heightened by the frieze of wall paintings at

the dais end, which prominently displayed lengths of timber in varying stages of

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[171] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters,* VII, 104.
[172] Ibid., VI, 46.
[173] Ibid., VII, 20-21.
[174] GL, MS 4326/6, fol. 39[r].
[175] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 274.
[176] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 123.

preparation, assembly and construction.[177] The panels installed in the Carpenters' gallery, hall and 'new' parlour were clearly considered to be of substantial value to the Carpenters' guild for many generations beyond their initial installation, as they were preserved (along with Jacobean oak chimney pieces) and installed in the new Hall, when the Tudor building was entirely demolished in the later nineteenth century (1876-1880). Three of these original sixteenth-century carved panels survive, marked with the arms of the guild, tools of the craft, the date of their installation and the names and trade or craft marks of the Master and Wardens (see Figures 2.13 and 2.14), clear exemplars of how civic and craft identities were physically incorporated into new built fabrics.

From the mid-sixteenth century other London companies also wainscoted their halls and parlours. In 1561, the Armourers' Company decided to 'wayneskott the neither ende of their hall and to make iii dores half wayneskott […] that is to saye the hall dore the buttre dore and the officers parlor doore in the neither ende of the hawll'.[178] Routes of prestige through the building were highlighted through wooden panelling, and thus the use and meaning of the hall was articulated by clear material or 'visual cues'.[179] In 1572/3, the same year in which the Carpenters panelled their hall, the Pewterers' Company also spent considerable sums on the 'seallyng of the hall'.[180] As with the instalment of glass panels in the window frames of their hall in the 1490s, senior figures within the late sixteenth-century Pewterers' guild also sponsored the 'coste and charges' towards the fitting of these significant wooden fixtures. Appropriately, the Master, Thomas Curtys, 'made the sealing at the highe bourde of the hall', whereas the 'East syde of the hall was sealed at the coste and

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[177] See Figure 2.12.
[178] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 33.
[179] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, p. 126; Giles, 'The 'Familiar' Fraternity', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. by Tarlow and West, p. 92.
[180] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 274.

charge of the clothing' (the liverymen).[181] Heraldic symbols in the form of carved and painted wooden panels, displaying the company insignia and familial arms of prominent benefactors and guildsmen, were also set up, though not always by the same men who had paid for the general panelling, creating a complex material surface of patronage and status. Besides materially affirming socio-political guild hierarchies and alliances, particular familial dynasties of pewterers were represented and perpetuated through the wainscoting: 'the lower ende of the hall called the north side was sealed […] [at the expense of] Mr Edwarde Cacher […] the Armes that is set uppon the same seling was done at the coste and charge of John Cacher his sonne'.[182]

Adapted, Enlarged and New Spaces

It is no coincidence that the wardens of the Carpenters' Company asserted ownership over the parlour room in particular; nor were they unique in creating a new parlour, or embellishing an existing parlour space, in the second half of the sixteenth century.[183] In 1559 the Pewterers' Company added 'the new parlour' to their list of rooms on the communal inventory and its contents were listed first, followed by all the other specialised spaces within the Hall site.[184] Placed first on the inventory, the new chamber would have thus been the starting point for the appraisers of material goods. The Pewterers' inventory of 1559 shows that the new parlour was intended to be a room for upholding civic and craft identities, in addition to being a space in which governance, decision-making and authority might be closely guarded. It is significant that whereas in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the counting house was the chamber in which all precious items were

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[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.; John Newman, 'The Physical Setting: New Building and Adaptation', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by Trevor H. Aston, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984-), III (1986), 618, 'Both the New College [1533-5] and the Magdalene [1541] sets of panelling incorporate armorial shields of benefactors.'

[183] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, p. 119, 'In the mid-1570s the Drapers repaneled the parlor, an undertaking so costly that they scaled back their annual banquets for five years.'

[184] GL, MS 7110, fol. 30ʳ.

held - while the material culture of the parlour was relatively sparse, consisting of basic furniture and wall coverings - by the late 1590s, the importance of the parlour chamber was transformed. Within this room the Pewterers' Company stored all their seals, patents, wills and leases - within various chests, boxes and leather cases, such as 'a red chest wherein is a comon seale of the crafte of sylver with the armes graven therin' - the legal evidence of their legitimate existence as an incorporated body, as well as [written] 'Evydence of our hall and our Lands in Lymestreate'.[185] The duties, rights and responsibilities of the craft guild authorities - such as 'lycences granted to search' [inspection of workshops] and 'fylee[s] with Indenturys of prentycs' [indentures of apprentices] - were also preserved here, as were 'olde ordenances', 'boxes of statutes', 'deeds of the purchase of Obbyte' and records of accounts, some of which form the evidential basis of this thesis.[186] The guild even self-consciously listed 'this present Boke of Inventory'.[187] The physical apparatus for the adjudication of disputes between guildsmen was also kept in the parlour: 'iv hamers of Boxe [wood]' and 'iv Jury Bokes'.[188] Further material links to the regulation and identity of their craft were evidenced through a set of 'maarking Irons of the arms of the crafte' and 'a table of Pewter with the markes of all the whole crafte'.[189] The communal identity and shared responsibilities of the livery were materialised through a 'table with the names of the Clothing written [thereupon]' and suggestively the first items listed in the inventory were related to the annual ritual of the election of wardens, the most senior members of 'the Clothing'. The four 'sylver spones' and the four 'Red Garlands' itemised first were the crucial material apparatus needed for an efficacious ceremony of election. Significantly, the garlands were adorned with silver pendants of 'the Image of our Lady', the Pewterers' patron saint, and crests 'enameled with

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[185] GL, MS 7110, fol. 31ᵛ.
[186] Ibid., fol. 31ʳ.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

the armes of our Crafte', a blend of saintly devotion and craft identity that had been an entirely typical feature of the material trappings of the late-medieval artisanal guild.[190]

Although the parlour room had always had associations of relative privilege and exclusivity, there is considerable evidence, from across the London companies, that from c. 1560, guild governance, regulations and elections were becoming progressively concentrated within this space.[191] Paul Griffiths has noticed a similar trend within London vestries, and Robert Tittler has remarked upon an analogous tendency within the town halls of provincial government during this era.[192] It appears to be no coincidence that the Pewterers' court of assistants - consisting of all guildsmen who had formerly served as master and wardens - was formerly established in 1560, a year or two after their new parlour had been built and furnished.[193] The new space physically enabled exclusive political activities. In 1572 the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company decreed that all matters that were before discussed openly, and thus in the hall, must henceforth be passed secretly. This was a trend towards spatial exclusivity which did not go unnoticed, or unremarked upon, by those who lacked the social and professional privileges to partake in the processes of governance: complaints were received from the yeomanry of the Goldsmiths' Company that guild matters were being determined in the parlour in a 'hugger mugger' fashion.[194] Later in the same decade the wardens of the Armourers' Company set out very clearly their allegedly 'anncientt custom' for the election of the two younger wardens of the company each year: 'that is to say the ii wardines of the Lyvery and the officer did stande in the midst of the parlor at the deske and calle every name of the holle

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[190] Ibid., fol. 30ʳ.

[191] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, p. 114, 'The new concept of privacy that does emerge from the Company records is an instrument of oligarchy in the Tudor *public* sphere: the development, by the mid-sixteenth century, of the corporate parlor as an exclusionary space.'

[192] Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority', pp. 925-51; Tittler, *Architecture and Power*, p. 36, 'it is easy to understand how the demand for such a room would grow with the increasing authority of the mayor and the other senior officials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries […] Such additions not only meant an increase in dimensions, but also an upgrading of style and even of comfort.'

[193] Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers*, I, 213.

[194] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 75.

yvery being [there] present to them […] and did demande of hime […] who he would have to be younger wardine'.[195] Recording such detail about a ceremonial practice, suggests that rather than being a long-standing custom, this ritual was something of an invented tradition. The process which ensured the smooth continuation of guild governance was held, in relative privacy, in the parlour, with only the livery in attendance; though after the election itself the remainder of the company was expected to be present 'at the hall at iii of the clocke the same daye at the drinkinge'.[196] The confirmation of the livery's choice of new wardens, and their wider legitimation as new governors of the guild, clearly required a larger audience, of the 'generality' in the communal hall.

The last of the Carpenters' major sixteenth-century adaptations to their Hall took place in 1594, when it was decided to carry out the substantial 'thenlarginge of the Hall at the east ende'.[197] The company's account and court minute books show that the total cost of this project was over one hundred and twenty pounds, a considerable sum for a guild that was decidedly artisanal as opposed to mercantile in membership and character. Expenses included labour costs and materials for carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, 'plomers' and glaziers. The Carpenters were also responsible for the transport of bulky materials to the artisanal workshops in the city, paying four shillings just for 'the cariage of a load of tymber from Charing Crosse to John Awnsells yard'.[198] Significantly a large proportion of the costs for this project were met by a considerable group of liverymen and 'yomanrie'; one hundred and twenty-two individuals personally contributed various quantities of timber or cash, depending upon their symbolic place within the guild, for the reconstruction of their internal communal hall.[199] This number represented just over a third of all members of the guild and such donations would have been 'extraordinary expenses';

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[195] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 346.
[196] Ibid.
[197] GL, MS 4326/6, fol. 39[r].
[198] Ibid., fol. 42[r].
[199] Ibid., fol. 39[r].

that is, in addition to the regular quarterage fees which constituted an essential element of guild membership.

There might have been considerable internal pressure within the guild to make such a subscription, but nevertheless the sense of a communal responsibility for the extension of this particular structure - rather than any other - is significant. The rebuilding of the original parlour and the construction of the new chamber fifteen years earlier, in 1579, had been financed through 'suche money incident in the blak box to this misterie', that is to say, money left over from regular quarterage payments to the guild. The expenses for building the parlours were thus met through an incidental financial surplus; there was no special fund or subscription set up to ensure the completion of the work.[200] As we have seen, the internal guild hall was the chamber that best symbolised the communal ethos of a craft fraternity, traditionally the space within which the whole guild might gather, socialise, drink and feast together. It was highly appropriate that over a third of the freemen of the company, from across the guild hierarchy, materially contributed to the expansion of this communal space; especially since this extension took place at 'the east ende', the opposite end to the exclusive dais section.[201]

The last few decades of the sixteenth century was an era in which the Carpenters' Company was prospering, on account of the rapid expansion of the built environment of the City, liberties and suburbs beyond and the membership of the guild was growing; but involvement in the governing body of the guild remained tightly restricted. By the early seventeenth century there were approximately three hundred freemen in the Carpenters' guild - this did not include the apprentices indentured to carpenters, who were by definition not yet 'free' of the company - but only forty of these individuals were

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[200] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters,* VII, 104.
[201] GL, MS 4326/6, fol. 39[r].

liverymen.[202] In response to the expansion and refurbishment of exclusive chambers for the governing activities and socialisation of the company elite - and the growth in the number of freemen admitted to the guild in the latter decades of the sixteenth century - the extension of the east-end of the hall would have been a significant counterbalance on the side of shared values and a fraternal, communal ethos. The enlargement of the hall ensured that the yeomanry, a numerically significant, though largely politically disenfranchised group, could still physically meet together with the liverymen; company gatherings which had long since become a distant memory for most of the larger London companies.[203] Certainly the governors of the Goldsmiths' Company were beginning to express concern that their yeomanry could no longer fit into their communal hall: ordering eight new short forms (benches) to be made and the extension of the long tables in 1595, because the great increase in the size of this social group had exceeded existing seating provisions.[204]

These significant adaptations to the Carpenters' Company Hall reflected changes to the political and economic fortunes of the guild and its numerical growth, in addition to the inherent tension within guild organisations between hierarchy and fellowship. For the guildsmen concerned, those who lived, governed, worked and socialised within the buildings, the addition and embellishment of relatively exclusive spaces for governance, financial organisation and convivial interactions, must have reflected stratifications within the social 'body' of the guild itself: primarily the significant political distinction between liverymen and freemen. The construction of a gallery for recreation and a new parlour, in which governors were elected and made crucial decisions concerning the regulation of their craft, ensured that the built environment of the Carpenters' Hall both reflected and crucially, reinforced status differences between guildsmen.

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[202] Jasper Ridley, *A History of the Carpenters' Company*, (London: Carpenters' Hall, 1995), p. 51.
[203] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 118.
[204] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 89.

An established architectural scholarship has shown that within the London houses

of the mercantile city elite, the space of the open hall, from the mid-fifteenth century, 'was

no longer the centre of the house in the sense that it was the place for formal meals

bringing together the urban household on a regular basis'.[205] Likewise, with reference to

the grand country houses of the gentry and aristocracy, and palaces of the royal family, the

familiar narrative of the hall is of a chamber with gradually declining social and

architectural significance and prestige, from as early as the second half of the fourteenth

century.[206] Though the hall had once been the 'supreme expression of power, ritual, wealth

and hospitality', the importance of this communal space markedly declined as the

community responsibilities of landholders receded and senior members of the household,

and their large domestic staff, retreated to more specialised spaces of the house 'for

reasons of privacy, comfort, or state'.[207] The elaborate rituals of communal dining for the

whole household in the hall were allegedly transferred to the more intimate setting of the

'great chamber' on the first floor.[208] Simon Thurley has shown that with the retreat of the

monarch to the Privy Chamber and the installation of grand, processional staircase in

palatial residences, the communal hall was neglected and bypassed.[209] However, in the

case of guild institutions, the internal hall continued to have great symbolic and functional

importance as a site for communal gatherings of the company, and the regulation of the

craft, well beyond the late-medieval era.[210] The spatial language of sociopolitical

[205] Roger H. Leech, 'The Symbolic Hall: Historic Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City', *Vernacular Architecture*, 31 (2000), 1-10 (p. 6); Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House', 580-82.
[206] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, pp. 275-89; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 30-38; Simon Thurley, 'Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court: A Reconstruction of the Tudor Palace', *Architectural History*, 31 (1988), 1-57 (p.11).
[207] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 30.
[208] Ibid., pp. 38-40.
[209] Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993), pp. 113-20.
[210] An analogous argument has been made for the colleges of Oxford during this era and the halls of the Inns of Court, see: Louise During, 'The Oxford College as Household, 1580-1640', in *Domestic Institutional Interiors*, ed. by Cavallo and Evangelisti, pp. 83-101, (p. 88), 'Although in domestic households of the early modern period the hall was losing its role as the primary dining space for the

hierarchies and estates embedded and reinforced through the hall structure remained of great significance.

The changes made to the Carpenters' Hall on London Wall were representative of adaptations made to livery halls throughout early modern London. Communal halls were enlarged and materially embellished. Galleries were added to existing structures and served a variety of purposes: corridors linking high status rooms; viewing platforms above the internal hall; relatively secluded spaces for display, recreation and indoor exercise, as was the case with the prestigious 'long galleries' located in the Clothworkers' and Goldsmiths' Company Halls.[211] The Ironmongers had wooden galleries constructed around the interior courtyard of their Hall, as payments of 1629 make clear: 'for oyling and painting the cullumes, railes, and ballusters in the yard with the timber worke'.[212] An inventory taken by the Carpenters' Company in the 1630s lists a 'long gallery', a 'crosse gallery' and an 'upper gallery'.[213] The Armourers' Company had a 'harniss' gallery, specifically for displaying armour from the 1580s; by the mid-seventeenth century there was an 'Outer Gallery' and a 'Gallery over the hall'.[214] In the majority of livery halls, existing parlours were rebuilt and embellished and further parlour rooms constructed, creating additional stories in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In an inventory of 1604 the Bakers' Company referenced 'the newe parlour over the hall'; less than ten years later they had

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gentry and aristocratic family [...] in the institutional household this continued to be the principal public space.' See also Mark Girouard, 'The Halls of the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Archer, Goldring and Knight, pp. 138-56 (p. 142), 'the original halls of the Inns, which were variously rebuilt, enlarged, and embellished during the second half of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth - a period that witnessed a dramatic increase in the numbers of young men admitted to the Inns'.

[211] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 84-86; Rosalys Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), 43-71 (p. 51, 60-62).

[212] GL, MS 17155, fol. 8.

[213] GL, MS 4329A. Few furnishings are listed: this is entirely typical for the gallery space.

[214] GL MS 12071/2, fol. 475^r; GL MS 12107, fols 6^{v-r}. The 'Outer Gallery' might have been that which encircled the courtyard, and which is visible on their Hall plan of 1679.

also constructed a 'new parlor over the courte [room]'.[215] The Carpenters', Armourers' and

Pewterers' Companies all referred to 'old' and 'new' parlours, or the 'parlour belowe' and

'the high parlour' in inventories taken in the early decades of the seventeenth century. As

the Bakers' reference suggests, court and dining rooms were also a feature of many early

seventeenth-century livery halls: the Pewterers listed a 'Court Chamber' from 1623.[216]

Counting houses were absolutely essential spaces within the hall complex by the later

sixteenth century, a sure sign of the growing property portfolios and charitable activities of

London companies.[217] Essential too were specialised rooms for storage: cellars, armouries,

garrets and pantries proliferated, housing growing quantities and types of material goods.

Virtually all early modern livery halls also had a kitchen, buttery, and larder. Such spaces

are indicative of the growing significance of civic feasting and hospitality during the

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, activities which are considered in some detail at

the end of this section. Having established general spatial and material trends within early

modern London livery halls, in the following chapters we focus in detail upon the changing

built environment of the Goldsmiths' Company Hall.

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[215] GL, MS 5201 [not paginated].
[216] GL, MS 7110.
[217] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 15-28.

Chapter Three: 'Outwarde Walls', Spatial Authority and the 'remote' Goldsmiths

As the examples from the Carpenters', Pewterers' and Armourers' Companies have demonstrated, structural adaptations to existing halls within the city - particularly the addition or embellishment of parlours, galleries and court rooms, and the lengthening of halls - resulted in a significant reconceptualisation of space, materials and associated social practices. The remodelling of built environments reflected changes within the growing social and political 'body' of the guild itself and simultaneously structured relations between guildsmen.[218] Degrees of access or restriction to exclusive spaces within the livery hall and patronage of the material features of high status chambers became increasingly significant markers of a man's position in relation to other brothers of the company. Space and materials defined him as a guildsman.

Though these spatial and material trends might be observed through the accounts and court minutes of most London companies from c. 1560 to c. 1640, the Goldsmiths' archival record offers particularly rich material for analysis. The Goldsmiths' Company's complete destruction of their former built environment - a medieval townhouse on Foster Lane - and construction of an architecturally 'coherent' civic hall during the 1630s, allowed for a substantial redesign of their most significant communal space; and a reorganisation of the relationships and identities of guildsmen within (and without) the exterior walls of the new building. In the first section of this thesis, the building site of the new Goldsmiths' Hall was considered as a space within which professional artisanal identities and communities of knowledge might be asserted and contested. Building upon this discussion, the design of the 'outwarde' walls is considered in this chapter; the interior spatial and material organisation of the new Goldsmiths' Hall is the focus of chapter four.

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[218] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, p. 113; Johnson, *English Houses 1300-1800,* p. 16 'the house and social life acted recursively, back-and-forth on one another. At the same time, the house physically fixed and defined performance.'

'Outward lines' and 'inwarde worke'

During the winter months of 1634, at the same point at which Nicholas Stone was establishing his role as Surveyor for the Goldsmiths' (re)building project, debates amongst the wardens and assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company centred on the issue of 'outwarde Walls'.[219] It was decided very early in the rebuilding process, by ballot box in December 1634, that 'the Company should proceed according to the plot leading out of Ffoster Lane for the settinge out of the outward Walls', a plan that had received marginally more votes than that which 'had the hall gate leading out of Mayden Lane'. Two months later the Surveyor's 'seuerall draughts' for the new Hall were presented to the company, plans which showed 'the ffronte and sides to the streetside and the patterne of the great gate towards Ffoster lane ward'.[220] Such a choice concerning the positioning of the new building represented a clear statement of civic magnificence. If the entrance to the new structure had been on Maiden Lane, the building would have faced towards the city walls and away from the centre of London; whereas a façade onto Foster Lane ensured that the Goldsmiths' Hall was seen to be connected directly to Cheapside, the main artery of ceremony, luxury trade and commerce through the heart of the City (see Figure 2.15).[221]

These entries from the court minutes are thus significant for demonstrating that the Goldsmiths and their Surveyor were highly conscious of the external, material 'face' which they might present to the rest of the City, a highly discerning and increasingly 'architecturally' aware audience. Moreover, the remarks show that when the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company conceptualised and negotiated the rebuilding of their dilapidated late-medieval hall, into an impressive new structure that befitted their civic status, firm distinctions were repeatedly made between 'inward' and 'outward' works, between plans

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[219] GHA, S1, fol. 39[r].
[220] Ibid., fols 56[r]-57[v].
[221] Vanessa Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 77-96.

for the external walls and 'the settinge out of any inward worke either for hall parlor or great Chamber and for the [...] severall offices and habitacons for the severall officers of the hall'.[222] It is of consequence that whilst the designs for the 'outward lines' - those facing 'the streeteside' - were left largely to the discretion of the external project manager, an individual familiar with classical architectural language, crucial decisions about the internal spatial organisation of the new Goldsmiths' Hall were understood to be principally at the discretion of the guildsmen themselves. It is suggested in this chapter that whilst the internal material and spatial organisation of the guild community was becoming increasingly complex - a reflection of the expanding and diversifying body of guildsmen within - the exterior walls and facades of guild halls were expected to demonstrate order and harmonious proportion. Livery halls were highly conspicuous civic buildings, in dialogue with multiple political, social and aesthetic audiences, including their own guildsmen, but also artisans of diverse crafts, merchants, foreign dignitaries and members of the royal court.

Throughout early negotiations conducted between senior members of the Goldsmiths' Company and their Surveyor, Nicholas Stone, also master mason to the crown, distinctions were repeatedly made by the company between who was responsible for the designing and construction of the exterior walls, and who had authority over the internal spatial organisation of the new Hall. The sources give the impression that the Goldsmiths were prepared to give Stone a relatively free rein in terms of the architectural design of the façade - they must have recognised his relative levels of expertise in this matter - but they were keen to collaborate closely when it came to the spatial layout of the complex within. In December 1634, having agreed upon Nicholas Stone as Surveyor for the project, it was stated very plainly that 'This Plott is agreed upon by the Company of Gouldsmithes for the outward lines provided that the inward workes may be altered as wilbe most convenient

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[222] GHA, S1, fol. 40ᵛ.

for the Company within their owne grounde'.[223] Over a year later, in March 1635/6, as building proceeded apace, it was decided that a group of liverymen of the Goldsmiths' Company shall 'consider of the offices and buildinges now to bee erected for the better ordereinge contriveinge and fittinge thereof and of all or any of the officers houses and rooms thereto belongeinge and for the provideinge of materialls'.[224] Nicholas Stone was very closely involved in this process and was expected to provide thorough 'advice', but the emphasis - in terms of the spatial reorganisation of the building - was on the 'best convenience of the Company and Officers as so them shall seeme best'.[225]

The Goldsmiths regarded themselves as the final arbiters on the internal structure of their new building, in possession of the most valuable knowledge concerning the way in which material and social relations might be structured within their institutional home. Having some element of control over 'the better ordereinge contriveinge and fittinge' - the new spatial layout - was perhaps a matter of political principle. To devolve all responsibility for internal design to their Surveyor - himself the Master of the Masons' Company in 1633-34, another competitive city guild - might well have been seen to be damaging to company authority and reputation. It was expected to be the prerogative of each individual livery to organise and discipline their guild members appropriately. The substantial involvement of Goldsmiths in the redesigning of the internal structure of the new building might also have had a pragmatic element. As previous inhabitants and users of their former structure, members of the Goldsmiths' Company were uniquely aware of the limitations and inconveniences of the previous Hall, which the rebuilding project gave them opportunity to reassess and correct.

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[223] Ibid., fol. 42[v].
[224] GHA, S2, fols 182[r]-183[v].
[225] Ibid., fol. 176[r].

By comparison to the internal spatial organisation of Goldsmiths' Hall, which was structured according to the medieval courtyard plan, an architectural language of 'inward looking' community and socio-political hierarchy, external aesthetics were clearly expected to communicate a rather more contemporary visual message, to a much broader civic audience.[226] In February 1634/5, in a proposed petition to the King for a licence to build, the Goldsmiths' project was described as 'a publique worke for a never dyeing body'.[227] Crucially, this phrase was used in relation to the outward plans for the new Hall which Nicholas Stone had just completed with the 'advice' of Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the Royal Works from 1615, and which involved the acquisition of a tonne of Portland Stone 'out of his Mat[es]tyes Quarry'.[228] A month later the company's petition to the Crown - which had been endorsed by Thomas Howard, fourteenth earl of Arundel, a leading player in the Commission on New Buildings, and a friend and patron of Jones - included the request for stone from the King's quarry, 'for the better effectinge of soe publique a worke in continueinge the beauty thereof to posteritie for the service of the state and kingdome'.[229] The external stone façade of the new Goldsmiths' Hall was expected to enhance the glory of the City and, most significantly, the Crown; and enter into a complimentary aesthetic and design dialogue with recent architectural developments in the surrounding urban environment.[230] These projects included the construction of Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace (1619-22), the remodelling of St Paul's Cathedral (1631-42) two-hundred yards south-west of Goldsmiths Hall, and the development of Covent Garden by the Earl of

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[226] Johnson, 'Meanings of Polite Architecture', pp. 48-49.
[227] GHA, S1, fol. 57[v].
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid., fol. 72[r]. For a discussion of the close relationship between Thomas Howard and Inigo Jones, see: David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985).
[230] Maurice Howard, 'Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, pp. 29-49 (p. 33), 'Public buildings, unlike the country houses of this period which were increasingly isolated within great parks, enter into dialogue with the urban space around them.'

Bedford (1630s) (see Figure 2.16).[231] Inigo Jones was the 'architect' behind all three projects - and Nicholas Stone the master mason for Banqueting House - the projection of 'monumental classicism' an essential architectural embodiment of royal imperialist ambition.[232] Though the internal structure of the new Goldsmiths' Hall might have been subject to the 'private' interests of the guildsmen, their external walls were clearly regarded as a matter of 'publique' curiosity and concern.

The choice of language used by the Goldsmiths in their petition to the King, particularly references to 'publique' works and 'service of the state and kingdome', were clearly intended to chime positively with royal concern regarding the quality (and density) of housing within the city, a space which Charles I pointedly regarded as 'being the Kings Chamber, the Seat Imperiall of this Kingdom, and renowned over all parts of the Christian world'.[233] From the beginning of his reign (and like Elizabeth I before him), James I had attempted to control the energetic pace of new building in the city and the suburbs and improve the outward appearance of those structures already in existence, 'looking towards the Streets', with forefronts of brick and stone and of 'uniforme order and forme'.[234] The desire was for structures that 'shall both adorne and beautifie this said City', rather than a ramshackle collection of wooden structures that posed a serious fire and infection risk, as well as being aesthetically unappealing.[235] In a royal proclamation of 16 July 1615, James infamously claimed: 'that as it was said by the first Emperour of Rome, that he had found the City of Bricke, and left it of Marble, So that Wee [...] mought be able to say in some

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[231] Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, eds, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 171-90; John Newman, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture', in *Culture and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 231-45 (p. 246); R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Court and Its Neighbourhood: Royal Policy and Urban Growth in the Early Stuart West End', *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), 117-49 (p. 120).

[232] Newman, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture', in *Culture and Politics*, ed. by Sharpe and Lake.

[233] *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, ed. by James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973-), II, 21 [proclamation no. 9].

[234] Ibid., I, 112 [proclamation no. 51].

[235] Ibid., I, 172 [Proclamation no. 78].

proportion, That Wee had found Our Citie and Suburbs of London of stickes, and left them of Bricke'.[236] In the same proclamation James heartily praised 'all Edifices, Structures, and workes which tend to publique use and ornament […] as the paving of Smithfield, the planting of Moorefields […] the reedifying of Algate, Hicks Hall, and the like workes'.[237] Charles I echoed all his father's proclamations concerning new building and the essential 'uniformitie' of those that currently stood; adding that no persons should attempt to 'support or strengthen any Buildings so ruinous and olde, as are unfit to be continued.'[238]

The direct royal interest in the proper, ordered development of the city demonstrates very clearly that the Goldsmiths were operating within a particular political and aesthetic climate, one which encouraged institutions to outwardly display civic magnificence in a self-consciously Classical style. With Nicholas Stone, royal master mason as their Surveyor for the project - almost certainly at the suggestion of Inigo Jones - the Goldsmiths were clearly expected to construct a new institutional home which fulfilled the royal desire for external order, uniformity and beauty. The will of Charles I is unquestionably hard to disentangle from the motivations of the Goldsmiths' themselves, who also wished to present an impressive front to the rest of the City. The court minutes show that even before the approach of Inigo Jones, the Goldsmiths had accepted the possibility that a total rebuilding of their institutional home might be necessary.[239] The Goldsmiths were also not alone in the improvement of the external façade of their Hall in this particular decade, and guilds, particularly the great twelve livery companies, were notoriously competitive bodies, especially in relation to civic festivities, such as the annual inauguration of the mayor, for which their livery halls formed the principal architectural

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[236] Ibid., I, 346 [Proclamation no. 152]; Newman, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture', in *Culture and Politics*, ed. by Sharpe and Lake, p. 244, 'So by the middle of the second decade of the century aesthetics had become a significant concern'.
[237] *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, 346 [Proclamation no. 152].
[238] Ibid., II, 24-25 [Proclamation no. 9].
[239] GHA, R2, fol. 217ᵛ, 'for repayringe and amendinge the same from time to time or to newe build as occasion shall require'.

backdrop.[240] The Mercers' Company, first in order of precedence of all livery companies, whose members were among the most affluent and influential merchants in the capital, improved the external façade to their guild hall in 1632-3, just before the Goldsmiths' project commenced.[241] Since the second decade of the sixteenth century, the Mercers had inhabited a structure, rebuilt in the 1530s, whose impressive battlemented stone façade of five bays, over ninety-eight foot long, fronted on to the east-end of Cheapside (see Figure 2.17).[242] 'A most curious peece of worke' in the opinion of John Stow, the Mercers' Hall was located within an area of the city densely populated by mercers' shops and residences, standing as monument to their growing corporate affluence and civic authority.[243] The existence of a stone altarpiece within the Hall chapel, which was commissioned from a sculptor based in Antwerp, has led to some speculation that the entire external shell of the Mercers' new Hall might have been Flemish in design.[244] It is probable that improvements to this façade in the early 1630s were also linked to a royal political imperative for the material enhancement and uniformity of Cheapside.

The original design sketches of the new Goldsmiths' Hall, the 'severall draughts' produced by Nicholas Stone for 'the frronte and sides to the streetside and the patterne of the great gate towards Ffoster lane ward', have not survived.[245] It is likely that Stone never intended for these drawings to be preserved for posterity's sake. As discussed in the first section of this work, they were clearly not finalised blueprints, but designs in progress, sketches to be discussed with company men and building craftsmen on site. Though lacking the original 'draughts', we do however have the ground-plan (see Figure 2.15), perspective

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[240] David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 1558-1642, rev. edn (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona State University, 2003), pp. 126-27.

[241] Jean Imray; with an introduction by Derek Keene, *The Mercers' Hall* (London: The London Topographical Society and The Mercers' Company, 1991), p. 19.

[242] Ibid., p. 16; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 174.

[243] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 269.

[244] Imray and Keene, *The Mercers' Hall*, p. 15.

[245] GHA, S1, fols 56ʳ-57ᵛ.

(see Figure 2.18) and elevation of the Goldsmiths' Hall (see Figure 2.19), and the painting of the interior of their communal hall (see Figure 2.20) produced by John Ward, the company's surveyor between 1691 and 1693. Though composed over half a century after the rebuilding of the 1630s, the external shell of Goldsmiths' Hall survived the Fire of 1666, sustaining only minor damage, and the Hall was not substantially rebuilt again until 1829, so we can assume that drawn representations of the building from the 1690s, depict the structure as it stood after the major rebuilding project conducted by Nicholas Stone.[246] It is striking that despite the irregular shape of the internal building, organised around the central courtyard, the external façade of Goldsmiths' Hall was symmetrical and proportioned. When first conceptualising the external 'dress' of the Goldsmiths' new Hall, Stone was clearly confronted with a design problem; a desire to create a seemingly well-proportioned Classically-inspired building, in which 'the street front formed the main architectural expression externally', and yet he was working with a structure that was based upon a medieval plan, with domestic quarters and only the 'ends' of significant rooms fronting the 'new' proposed face of the structure.[247] John Newman has convincingly suggested that the basis for Stone's ingenious design was the Seventh Book of Sebastiano Serlio, particularly chapters which advised 'planning a building on an irregular site'.[248] A stone frontage of eleven bays, over one hundred feet long, with the central point of the 'face' of the new structure emphasised with a great gateway crafted from West Country marble, with an escutcheon of the Goldsmiths' arms carved over the doorway and Corinthian pilasters at either side, displayed a self-conscious Classicism (see Figure 2.19).

When the Goldsmiths' rebuilding project was finally completed in the early 1640s, their new institutional home attracted interest and comment among contemporary observers. The new street front of the Hall faced out onto Foster Lane, a conspicuous road

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[246] Newman, 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall', p. 30, 34.
[247] Ibid., p. 35.
[248] Ibid.; Sebastian Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice, 1575), VII, 143.

directly connected to Cheapside, the main commercial and processional hub of the city,

and the customary location of goldsmiths' workshops and retail spaces. Significantly, the

new Goldsmiths' Hall was no longer set back from the street but, like the Mercers' building

on Cheapside, bordered the Lane. Discerning viewers recognised the 'antique' language

articulated through the external walls of the new Hall, identifying the order and rule

inherent in the spatial relationships between gateway and windows, and their relative

degrees of ornamentation.[249] The French traveller and diarist Balthasar de Monconys

(1611-1665) noted in his *Journal des Voyages* that 'the house of the Goldsmiths […] is not

only the most beautiful in London for its architectural lines, but is second to none in

Italy'.[250] Further, 'its fenestrations, portals and cornices, which divided the two storeys, all

of cut stone of a beautiful and bold architectural style that is the same in the gates,

windows and porticos'.[251] Even those bystanders with little textual or architectural basis for

comparison would have noticed - in a city densely constructed from wood - that the

impressive new outer shell of the Goldsmiths' Hall, like the great new portico, of ten forty

feet high Corinthian columns, before the west front of St Paul's, was crafted from stone

(see Figure 2.21).[252] Though within the site of the Hall itself a variety of human activities

were underway at any single time, from the perspective of the external observer, the

outer, ordered 'dress' of the new building suggested a singularity of purpose. According to

Alberti, in the ideal city, particular structures would have specific functions, which were

indicated by their architectural form and ornamentation.[253] The classical allusions

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[249] Howard, 'Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, p. 31, 'For a start they would not have understood the term 'classical' as such but might have used the words 'antique' or 'Roman' according to the different literary or historical resonances buildings were thought to convey.'

[250] Balthasar de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, 2 vols (Lyon, 1665-66), I (1666), 75.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Newman, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture', in *Culture and Politics*, ed. by Sharpe and Lake, pp. 249-51.

[253] Howard, 'Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, p. 42.

embedded in the symmetrical stone-clad shell of the new Hall hid the multifunctional reality of the structure and projected a visual message of order, authority and control.

Walls, Gates and Boundaries

In his 1624 treatise on *The Elements of Architecture*, inspired by two decades in Venice as English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton declared that the walls of magnificent buildings should be 'either entire or continuall, or intermitted; and the Intermissions be either Pillars or Pylasters'.[254] Spatial or material discontinuity might thus only be countenanced if making way for appropriately proportioned classical ornament. Wotton did not dwell at length on the physical construction of these material boundaries, with 'bricke or squared stones', 'leaue[ing] such cares to the meaner Artificers'; but he did stress the importance of 'the Walles bee[ing] most exactly perpendicular to the Ground-worke: for the right Angle (thereon depending) is the true cause of all Stability; both in Artificiall and Naturall positions'.[255] The overall impression is one of material constancy and sturdiness, of clear built boundaries which suggested no ambiguity between exterior and interior space. Despite these Classically-inspired, theoretical ideals, in an expanding city of constantly shifting material and structural boundaries, walls were rather more permeable, and less permanent, than Wotton cared to admit.

We have seen that in the designing of the new Goldsmiths' Hall, the external stone frontage of the building was intended to be in dialogue with the surrounding built fabric of the city, but on a practical level, it also formed a solid boundary between the heaving material and social life of the city, and the comparatively ordered institutional home within. In the 'internal' space the authority of the wardens was seen to be absolute, while in the streets their privileges and powers were coming under increasing scrutiny. Compared

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[254] Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 27.
[255] Ibid., p. 28.

to the former dilapidated state of the old wooden Goldsmiths' Hall, solid walls and the material continuity they afforded might thus have been intended to protect or contain the interests, mysteries and disputes of the corporate community from the dense mass of people, trades and activities beyond. Solid walls suggested the permanence and immovability of the company in an urban environment that Henry Peacham referred to, in his 1624 guide to city life, as 'being like a vast Sea (full of gusts) fearfull and dangerous shelves and rocks, ready at every storme to sinke and cast away'.[256] In the Goldsmiths' visual representations of the elevation of the Foster Lane front and the perspective-view of the new building, it is striking that the only 'open' means of access to the interior, is represented as the Classically-inspired gateway in the centre of the front exterior wall. The social reality was rather different.

By deciding upon such an impressive stone gateway, marking the material and political threshold between the street and the Goldsmiths' institutional home within, the company clearly intended to establish themselves decisively within the civic consciousness. Other guilds were also improving their external walls, existing doorways and entrance points to their halls in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1579 the Armourers' guild paid 'for paving the streatt befor[e] the hall gate and a lode of sand and a lode of stone'.[257] In the early 1600s, the Ironmongers' Company paid for the 'outside of the Hall to the streete (to) be mended, plaistered, oyled, and collered'.[258] In 1607 the Carpenters undertook improvements to their gateway: a considerable structure which had its own roof and a 'tenemente scituate [situate] within'.[259] The Carpenters paid for 'plancks for the twoe seats at the Gate; for twoe men to hang the gates and make the seats […] For

[256] Henry Peacham, *The Art of Living in London* (London, 1642), sig. A1^v.
[257] GL, MS 12065/2, fol. 15^v.
[258] GL, MS 17155, fol. 7.
[259] *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, VI, 33.

a man to cutt the Inner gate and amend it and sett on bolts'.[260] Several years later, they

paid 'Wiltsheine the smyth by bill for an Iron barr, a lock and a key to the Gate next the

street', and another artisan for 'paintinge the Gate next the streete'.[261] Gateways, in

general, had taken on an increased aesthetic and political significance within the capital,

with the rebuilding of the City gates of Ludgate, Aldgate and Aldersgate in the Renaissance

style, between 1585 and 1617.[262] In addition, Inigo Jones was commissioned to design a

new Temple Bar - the threshold between the Cities of London and Westminster - in 1636.[263]

This project failed to reach fruition until the reign of Charles II, but it nevertheless

demonstrates the political value inherent in the particular architectural form of a gateway

or arch, structures which were also frequently sites for novel design experimentation.[264]

Through the enhancement of walls and the embellishment of gateways, guild

governors constructed a clear visual and material message about their authority to regulate

movement between 'private' and 'public' spaces. But in reality, the solidity of walls marking

absolute boundaries between particular jurisdictions or 'interior' and 'exterior' spaces was

a rather more subjective matter in seventeenth-century London. By the 1630s, the walls of

the City itself, first established by the Romans in 200 AD, had long since failed to contain

the massive growth in people, goods and services, which pushed into the area 'without'

and the suburbs beyond.[265] By the opening of the seventeenth century there was almost

continuous urban development - or sprawl, depending upon one's viewpoint - from the

West End, clustered around the Strand, Westminster and Southwark, centres of the luxury

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[260] Ibid., VII, 300.

[261] Ibid., VII, 486.

[262] John Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London', in *Material London*, ed. by Orlin, pp. 296-321 (p. 300).

[263] Emily Mann, 'In Defence of the City: The Gates of London and Temple Bar in the Seventeenth Century', *Architectural History*, 49 (2006), 75-99 (p. 83), 'The gate played a pivotal role in movements and relations between the two reams'.

[264] Ibid., p. 89, 'In effect, through Temple Bar, Charles II bound the City into building a monument acknowledging royal power'; Christine Stevenson, 'Occasional Architecture in Seventeenth-Century London', *Architectural History*, 49 (2006), 35-74.

[265] Ibid., p. 75.

trades and the Court, to the industrial and mercantile area of the East End, on the opposite side of the ancient City boundaries.[266] Royal concern about untrammelled 'new' building and 'the dividing of Houses into severall Tenements and habitations' reflects the fact that as structures were lengthened, subdivided and even hollowed out at the bases to make more room for all sorts of people, crafts, trades and amenities, material and legal boundaries between tenements, shops, warehouses, yards, ecclesiastical and institutional buildings were becoming ever harder to define.[267]

Within such an area of intense urban development it is hard to imagine that livery halls existed as hermetically-sealed entities and most must have struggled to maintain their outward boundaries. The surveys produced in 1612 by the painter-stainer and surveyor Ralph Treswell for the Clothworkers' Company vividly show how deeply embedded the Clothworkers' and Ironmongers' Company Halls were in the urban environment of the city.[268] On the west side of the Clothworkers' Hall (see Figure 2.10) was a densely packed area of shops, houses, yards and gardens which led out onto Fenchurch Street, the road adjacent to Mincing Lane, the route by which one might approach the 'official' front entrance to the Clothworkers' Hall. Those company men with access to the dais end of the internal hall and the corporate garden must have been acutely aware of the concentration of human activity, mere meters away from their highly privileged company spaces. Though Treswell has emphasised the solidity of the partition wall between the Clothworkers' Hall and the land and buildings on the other side, the noises and odours of workshops, kitchens and recreational spaces must have permeated through materially authorised boundaries. Likewise, the survey of the Clothworkers' property, which surrounded the Ironmongers'

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[266] Smuts, 'The Court and Its Neighbourhood', pp. 118-19; Chris R. Kyle, 'Afterword: Remapping London', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 243-54 (pp. 247-48); J. F. Merritt, 'Introduction. Perceptions and Portrayals of London 1598-1720', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by id. (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 1-24 (p. 15).
[267] *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, 174 [Proclamation 78]; Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, pp. 156-77.
[268] *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by Schofield, plates 4 and 6.

Hall (see Figure 2.22) demonstrates how tightly woven this latter building was in the wider built fabric of the city. The Ironmongers' institutional home was bounded on three sides with shops, kitchens, gardens, yards and domestic residences. Intriguingly it is not made precisely clear, particularly at the southern end of the Hall, where the Ironmongers' building ends and the surrounding city begins.

Goldsmiths' Row: 'Search' and the Nature of 'Publique and Open' Spaces

> **ye peticoners doe justly find themselues agreed at […] many others (Goldsmiths) who have dispersed themselves into sundry places aswell without as within this Cittye farre remote from Cheapside Lomberdstreete and other places thereunto adiacent, the anntient and most proper inletts for our trade.[269]**

A consideration of the ground-plan of Goldsmiths' Hall (c. 1691) suggests that boundaries between interior space and the city streets were more fluid than the impression of material solidity and tightly regulated access portrayed by the elevation and perspective representations. The 'east-side' of the building, distinguished by the guildsmen themselves as 'that side of the hall', was much more densely integrated than the 'west-side', associated with governance and elite sociability (see Figure 2.23).[270] A full discussion of the spatial and material organisation of the interior of Goldsmiths' Hall is reserved for the following chapter, but for the time being it is worth noting that the side of the building in which food preparation and administrative duties took place, and the homes of the clerk (and probably assayer) were located, was integrated and 'shallow', with multiple, direct routes to the external world, through a warren of houses and workshops (the numbered spaces), which fronted onto Carey Lane.[271] The perspective image of Goldsmiths' Hall presents the building in splendid isolation, but in reality the structure was firmly embedded within networks of domestic, artisanal and commercial production. It has already been noted that a workhouse was constructed *within* Goldsmiths' Hall at the opening of the seventeenth century (precise location unknown), in order to re-establish the masterpiece

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[269] GHA, S1, fol. 34[r]. In the company court minutes fifty-five of the 'remote' goldsmiths are said to be living in the West End.

[270] GHA, T, fol. 10[v].

[271] Terminology is borrowed from Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 147. See also Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses*, p. 181, 'Active functions which entail movement such as those are related to the processing of foodstuffs and the workings of the household economy tend to be directly linked to the passage which enhances their propensity to integration.'

as a test of artisanal abilities.[272] In 1619, the wardens of the Armourers' Company declared that from henceforth working armourers should desist from using the precincts of their Hall as a workshop, suggesting that artisanal labour on-site was a customary practice. Furthermore, following the Great Fire, which left the Armourers' Hall fortuitously unscathed, the practising armourers whose workshops had been destroyed by the conflagration were recompensed with the privilege of working within the Hall, so long as they did not use fire and forge.[273]

One entrance/exit point to the Goldsmiths' Hall and the wider urban environment is particularly significant: that which connects a triangular shaped room at the rear of the complex of buildings to Gutter Lane. This space was - in all likelihood - the Goldsmiths' assay house, the site in which the quality of materials used by all who worked with silver and gold was scrutinised and tested. This was a complex process which, as we saw in the first section of this thesis, was impossible to articulate through the written word alone. If a piece of precious metal was found to be of the appropriate material quality, the silver ware would be 'touched' ('hall marked') and permitted to be sold on the open market. If sub-standard, the object would be broken-up by the wardens and the associated guildsman punished.[274] An order of the Goldsmiths' court of assistants in 1631 established that all deceitfully made plate was to be broken in the parlour, before the wardens; not in the assay house, as had been the former custom.[275] This was evidently intended to bolster the authority of the governing body of the company, within the space conventionally associated with corporate power. It was not in the interests of company elites to be overly zealous in the disciplining of their subordinates, but particularly recalcitrant offenders were sometimes placed in stocks within the livery hall - on occasion with the offending item

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[272] GHA, O, fols 551-52.
[273] Ffoulkes, *Some Account of the Company of Armourers and Brasiers*, p. 3.
[274] Berlin, "Broken all in Pieces", in *The Artisan and the Early Modern Town*, ed. by Crossick.
[275] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 152.

around the wrongdoer's neck - and persistent offenders might be temporarily imprisoned until fines were paid.[276]

The specialised space of the assay house in the Goldsmiths' Hall had been in existence since the late 1470s, a decade in which the company established the full-time, salaried position of the assayer, whose responsibility it was to make assays of all the gold and silver wares conveyed to him, 'without favour, affection, hate or evil will […] to any party'.[277] This assayer was based at the Hall, replacing an earlier system in which wardens carried out the process of material examination in the city workshops and premises of the goldsmiths' themselves. The location of the assay house within the wider built fabric of Goldsmiths' Hall ensured that senior members of the guild could closely monitor the practices of their social subordinates, and indeed each other, collectively moderating the material quality, standards and reputation of their craft and trade. All silver and gold wares which were to be sold on the open market would have to first pass through the assay house at Goldsmiths' Hall.

In addition to testing the material quality of all craft products produced by goldsmiths, the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company were endowed with the right and responsibility to search the workshops of all goldsmiths and retailers of gold and silver goods, powers of search that were principally established and upheld through royal charters.[278] The Goldsmiths' court minutes are replete with instances of 'bad workeinge' and 'deceitful' practices: goldsmiths who for example, 'clogginge[d] their worke with

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[276] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 127; Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 86-87, 'Companies' actions are best understood as attempts to reform present and future behaviour and to reintegrate offenders, all of which relied on a broad range of interventions and sanctions; final judgements and heavy punishments were pursued only when the dialogue between offender and court broke down.'
[277] Reddaway and Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, p. 164.
[278] John Forbes, 'Search, Immigration and the Goldsmiths' Company: A Study in the Decline of its Powers', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 115-25 (pp. 115-16).

unnecessary sauder' or put 'new ffeete to the bodyes of old boules'.[279] The governing elite

of most livery companies were endowed with equivalent rights of search, an essential

aspect of controlling craft production and quality. It was an activity, which, as Joseph Ward

has demonstrated, was undertaken in the suburbs and liberties; not just within the City

walls.[280] But the Goldsmiths were unusual in having the right to inspect wares not simply

two miles beyond the City walls, but also in many towns across the country.[281] In August

1635 for example, the Goldsmiths' court minutes reveal that the wardens searched

premises in Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Lincoln, Lyme Regis, Norwich, Ipswich, Colchester

and Chelmsford.[282] The regulation of goldsmiths, in particular, had always been a priority of

the crown, because of the close connection between plate and coinage.[283]

The company hall of the associated guild was the place from which the

perambulation of guild officials, dressed in their liveries, would start and finish; sometimes

these representatives would be accompanied by additional expert craftsmen, essential for

assessing the quality of artisanal products.[284] A feast for the upper echelons of the

company was usually held on the night of the final day of searches, to mark the successful

exertion of guild authorities.[285] The ritual of 'searching' workshops and retail spaces, at

[279] GHA, V, fols 54[v-r].

[280] Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, pp. 27-44; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 113. Rights of search could cause controversy between London livery companies : 'In 1585 the Armourers and Brasiers' and Cutlers' Companies battled over who had the right to search the wares of metal craftsmen at St Bartholomew's Fair.'

[281] Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, 'Reaching beyond the City Wall: London Guilds and National Regulation, 1500-1700', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy,* ed. by Epstein and Prak, pp. 288-315.

[282] GHA, S2, fols 125[r]-139[r].

[283] Forbes, 'Immigration, Search and the Goldsmiths' Company', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, p. 115.

[284] Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, p. 88; Janelle Day Jenstad, 'Public Glory, Private Gilt: The Goldsmiths' Company and the Spectacle of Punishment', in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, ed. by Anne Goldgar and Robert Frost (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 191-217 (p. 210), 'To some extent, the spectacular nature of the procession was counterproductive in that if forewarned potential offenders that the search was taking place.'

[285] Michael Berlin, 'Reordering Rituals: Ceremony and the Parish, 1520-1640', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 47-66, (p. 57), after the annual perambulation of parish boundaries it was

regular intervals in the ceremonial calendar of the guild, was thus one of the principal means through which the geography or spatial bounds of guild authority were established and asserted within the urban environment.[286] Though since search records rarely note the location of the workshop where the offender was located, it is frustratingly hard to plot the routes of the company searchers.[287] As with the rites of 'beating the bounds' of the parish on Rogation Days by parish authorities (men who were often also involved in guild governance), the routes of the company searchers symbolically bound the wider community of guildsmen into a fraternal whole; the premises of every freeman were linked, through the circuits of company officials, to his livery hall.[288] As Michael Berlin has argued, search was a 'means of collectively protecting the exercise of skilled labour', and it is thus appropriate that the ritual of inspection was bookended by officials processing out of, and entering back into, the associated guild hall.[289] This is not to say that the authority of the guild elite, and their legal rights to enter private premises, always went unchallenged. From the early seventeenth century, cases in which company searchers were denied access to workshops and retailing spaces appear to have increased. Court minutes from across the companies reveal that these representatives of the guild might be subject to verbal, even physical abuses, by freemen who refused to recognise the authority of guild officials. A goldsmith named Thomas Duffield, for example, threatened the company's assayer 'that he would let his guts above his heels'.[290] Some guildsmen even threatened - or attempted - to take legal action against searchers who appeared to lack legitimacy, had

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'an opportunity for yet more commensality among office holders, who would round off the occasion by retiring to the nearest tavern'.

[286] Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, p. 88, 'It is still difficult however, to assess the regularity and efficiency with which search was carried out, as company minutes often only record information about particularly recalcitrant offenders.'

[287] Ward has also acknowledged this 'geographical' absence in the guild records: *Metropolitan Communities*, p.28.

[288] Berlin, 'Reordering Rituals', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, p. 55, 57.

[289] Berlin, ' "Broken all in pieces", in *The Artisan and the European Town*, ed. by Crossick, p. 79.

[290] GHA, S1, fols 108-9.

violated their sense of good government, or who seemed incapable of making accurate or honest judgements about the quality of their craft products.[291]

The Goldsmiths' principal route of search was the street front of luxury shops and workspaces known as Goldsmiths' Row, situated at the west end of Cheapside, the principal ceremonial and commercial street in the City of London. Cheapside was by far the widest and most prestigious thoroughfare within the walls (see Figure 2.24).[292] It was framed by high-status retail spaces and domestic residences on both sides, and it was, accordingly, the site for the most significant public ceremonies of and City and Crown. From the early seventeenth century, the most remarkable of these public spectacles was the Lord Mayor's Show - 'the high point of the civic calendar' - an annual occasion of pageantry, which included a procession and a dramatic performance, marking the inauguration of the new mayor.[293] Each show was sponsored by the livery company to which the new mayor belonged, thus the great twelve became increasingly competitive as to which guild might sponsor the most spectacular event; written or scripted by some of the foremost playwrights in Jacobean England, including Middleton, Dekker and Heywood.[294] Aside from civic ceremonials, Cheapside was also the space in which a large, permanent market of perishable goods was held, and the site of exemplary punishment, particularly of those who deceitfully contravened the ethics of the 'public' market.[295] As

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[291] Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation', in *Guilds, Society, Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 90-91.

[292] Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', p. 78, 'some four hundred yards long and fifty to sixty feet broad before the Great Fire of 1666. Some of the streets leading off it were only five or six feet wide at the junction.'

[293] Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook*, 13 (1986), 15-27, (p. 18), '(celebrated on the day after the feast of SS Simon and Jude, 29 October), which from the 1530s onwards came to replace the annual midsummer pageant as the high point of the civic calendar'.

[294] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, pp. 139.

[295] Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', pp. 86-90; James Masschaele, 'The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 383-421 (p. 405), 'The crimes or misdemeanours that merited public punishment in a marketplace were typically committed in the marketplace: they were, in other words, acts usually committed *in* public.' For a European perspective, see: Marc Boone and Heleni Porfyriou, 'Markets, Squares, Streets: Urban Space, A Tool

shown in the illustration of Edward VI's coronation procession of 1547, during ceremonial rituals, the built environment of Cheapside was itself a stage of civic magnificence, as well as a viewing platform for members of the City elite.[296] The domestic residences and shop fronts of Cheapside were a veritable showcase of the crafts and trades; the representation of Edward VI's procession features gold and silver wares, painted textiles, highly skilled plasterwork, joinery and carpentry.

For all its apparent magnificence and splendour, one section of Cheapside attracted particular acclaim: residents and foreign visitors and dignitaries alike were united in their praise for Goldsmiths' Row. John Stow claims that the Row is:

> the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or else where in England […] It contayneth in number tenne fayre dwelling houses, and foureteene shoppes, all in one frame, uniformly builded foure stories high, bewtified towardes the streete with the Goldsmithes armes and the likenes[s] of woodmen in memory of his name [Thomas Wood, goldsmith and fifteenth century founder], riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly painted over and gilt, these he gave to the Goldsmithes with stockes of money to be lent to yong men, having those shops, &c.[297]

The Goldsmiths' Company was the freeholder of the great majority of properties along the Row (and the west end of Cheapside - sixty-three tenancies in total), and their ordinances

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for Cultural Exchange', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-2007), II, pp. 227-53 (p.250), 'Whether in Rome, Venice, Verona or Carpi, market-places (despite their very different volumes of traffic in persons and goods) always had the same function: besides being trading places, they also became settings for great popular gatherings, where civic pride and political power could be displayed.'
[296] Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', p. 85.
[297] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 345-46.

stated that tenants had to be both members of the company and practising goldsmiths.[298]

Plainly the objective was to keep this quarter of the city a site specifically for working

goldsmiths. Some of these tenancies consisted of shops or stalls on the ground floor, with

domestic residences in the stories above; others were simply retail spaces.[299] Artisanal

labour undoubtedly took place on site, as there are repeated references in company court

minutes to gilding or melting houses and furnaces on Cheapside.[300] In an analysis of three

lists of the occupiers of the houses and shops on the Row, complied between 1558 and

1569, by the then clerk of the guild, Thomas Reddaway showed that there was a very close

connection between seniority within the company and occupancy on the Rows: 'the great

majority of those who gained firm footing there also attained the carefully limited haven of

the livery'.[301] Richard Rogers, liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company, assayer to the guild

and the Mint, also ran two businesses in the Rows in the latter decades of the sixteenth

century; Sir Richard Martin, liveryman of the Goldsmiths' guild, Master of the Mint from

1582, and Prime Warden of the company in 1592-3, resided in a house on the Rows during

his mayoralty in 1593-4.[302] Having a presence on the Rows was highly desirable: in the

sixteenth century the company kept what was effectively a 'waiting list' of applicants,

should any space on this prestigious street fall vacant.[303] If the site on Foster Lane was the

social and ceremonial heart of the body of the guild, and through assaying and marking

activities, the centre of craft regulation, then the workshops and residences upon

Cheapside and Lombard Street were its gilded veins.

Stow's effusive praise for the Goldsmiths' Rows was written in the last years of the

sixteenth century, when the street fronts had been recently refurbished - under the

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[298] Thomas F. Reddaway, 'Elizabethan London - Goldsmith's Row in Cheapside, 1558-1645', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2(1963), 181-206 (p. 182).
[299] Ibid., p. 183.
[300] Ibid., p. 184.
[301] Ibid., p. 189.
[302] Ibid., p. 184, 189.
[303] Ibid., p. 184.

direction of the aforementioned Richard Martin - and were still the subject of much admiration; but in the following decades this language of praise was to turn into an alarmist commentary of ruin and decay.[304] From the second decade of the seventeenth century, City authorities, the King and foreign visitors began to remark upon the poor material appearance of the Rows, and the distasteful mixing of trades. The once uniform display of goldsmiths' wares had been disrupted by the arrival of 'mean' trades, including mercers, haberdashers and perfumers. These flourishing businesses were undoubtedly a reflection of the thriving London market in luxury goods.[305] The New Exchange, established in 1609 on the Strand - and modelled on Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange (see Figure 2.25), which had opened in 1570 on Threadneedle Street - acted as a key site of luxury retail shopping and had many leases taken up by high-end drapers, milliners, haberdashers and perfumers.[306] Critics of the disorderly appearance of Cheapside were quick to link the declining material and commercial value of the Goldsmiths' Rows to the movement of prominent goldsmiths to workspaces and shops west of the City walls. By the 1630s approximately seventy-five goldsmiths had set up businesses in Holborn or on Fleet Street and the Strand, the flourishing extra-mural areas which were attracting some of the wealthiest residents and clientele in the growing metropolis, as well as the most luxurious trades.[307] During the same decade that the Goldsmiths rebuilt their Company Hall, its members were thus also engaged in a fierce struggle concerning the issue of spatial conformity within and outside the walls. These two issues dominated discussions within

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[304] Paul Griffiths, 'Politics made Visible: Order, Residence, and Uniformity in Cheapside: 1558-1645', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 176-96.

[305] For a detailed study of luxury London shopping, see: Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), pp. 33-72.

[306] Ibid., pp. 43-44; Donatella Calabi and Derek Keene, 'Exchanges and Cultural Transfer in European Cities, c. 1500-1700, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Calabi and Christensen, pp. 286-314, (p. 307).

[307] Smuts, 'The Court and Its Neighbourhood'; Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, pp. 46-47, 'To showcase luxury goods and global commodities Salisbury commissioned the New Exchange for the Strand in the heart of the new aristocratic West End [...] Not surprisingly [...] viewed with apprehension by City merchants.'

the court of assistants for the whole of the 1630s. From the perspective of many senior

goldsmiths, the rebuilding of the Hall and the attempt to reform the Rows and force the

return of 'remote' goldsmiths to Cheapside and Lombard Street, were part of the same

drive to improve the reputation and built fabric of the company and reclaim authority over

contested spaces.

Undoubtedly, the issue of the spatial distribution of the goldsmiths' trade and the

associated visual splendour and uniformity of the Rows were matters which deeply

concerned the City authorities in general, and the Crown: this was not just an anxiety for

the Goldsmiths' Company. Cheapside was the backdrop for all civic ceremony and royal

processions through the city, thus, as Paul Griffiths has argued, 'the rotting Row was very

visible'.[308] As the Privy Council phrased it, in a letter to the Goldsmiths' court of assistants,

in November 1634:

> in Goldsmithes Rowe in Cheapside and LumbardStreete, divers shopps are held and
>
> occupied by persons of other trades, whereby that uniforme shew and seemelynes
>
> which was before an ornament to those places, and a luster to the Cittye, when all
>
> the shopps were used with Goldsmiths without the mixture of any other, is now
>
> greatly blemished; Of which incongruous change his Majesty takinge notice, is
>
> therewith much offended.[309]

The disorderly appearance of the Rows was evidently an affront to the aesthetic

sensibilities of Charles I and his father before him; no trivial matter when we consider the

connections made between political authority and 'uniform' architecture, and the

associated royal drive to create a truly imperial capital city.[310] Moreover, the 'blemished'

face of Cheapside demonstrated the blatant absence of goldsmiths, who, 'not regarding

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[308] Griffiths, 'Politics Made Visible', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, p. 177.
[309] GHA, S1, fol. 29[r].
[310] Griffiths, 'Politics Made Visible', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 182-85; Newman, 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture', in *Culture and Politics*, ed. by Sharpe and Lake.

those places which are most proper for them, have seated themselves scateredly in sondrye streets, and some of them in obscure places'.[311] The 'absenteeism' of these guildsmen and their continued refusal to return to Cheapside was interpreted as flagrant insubordination by citizens who should defer in all matters to the authority of the King: 'preferringe their owne humo[u]rs and ends before the respect and obedience which they owe to order and Gouverment'.[312] As Paul Griffiths has argued, Cheapside 'became yet another point of tension in a long process of distancing between the Crown and the City, a minor mirror of larger political developments'.[313]

For the purposes of this investigation into the material and spatial aspects of artisanal identities and guild communities, our principal interest lies not with the growing tensions between City and Crown, but rather with the internal-company tensions which this dispute over the Rows revealed and intensified. For though the Crown appears to have spearheaded the campaign for the return of 'remote' goldsmiths in the mid-1630s, the growing geographical disunity of the craft and trade, and the challenge to company authority that such a spread represented, was a matter of considerable concern for the guildsmen themselves, particularly those with the responsibility to search and regulate the craft or trade. The wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company had initiated the drive for the improvement of the Rows and the spatial unity of the trade in a petition to the Crown in 1619; the campaign of the 1630s was, therefore, but the latest exchange between City and Crown, in an on-going deliberation.[314] Company court minutes reveal that by the 1630s, the spatial location of a goldsmith's workshop and trading premises had come to define his political position within (or even outside) the company. It should be stressed that this issue of the spatial organisation of the guild within the expanding built environment of the city

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[311] GHA S1, fol. 29^r.
[312] Ibid., fol. 30^v.
[313] Griffiths, 'Politics Made Visible', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, p. 191.
[314] Ibid.

and suburbs was not necessarily a matter which pitched 'governors' against 'governed', the livery against the yeomanry; dividing lines were much more nuanced than this. The governing body of the company itself was genuinely conflicted, and senior guildsmen were certainly not in agreement as to whether the clustering of workspaces and shops in the 'anntient' quarter of the city, was a desirable objective.

In a 'humble peticon' to the court of assistants in December 1634, 'the Goldsmithes Inhabitants in Cheapside' set out their arguments for the importance of the spatial clustering of the craft and trade in 'Cheapside Lomberdstreete and other places thereunto adiacent, the anntient and most proper inletts for our trade'.[315] Primarily, the dispersal of workshops 'farre remote' from the customary city location for goldsmiths had resulted in a growth of unregulated activity, undertaken both by members of the Goldsmiths' guild and 'divers that are not bred up in the Misterye of Gouldsmithes', having not 'served seaven yeares as Apprentises thereunto'. Of chief concern was the allegation that the spatial splintering of the craft had resulted in a situation in which 'much stollen goods are consealed to the prejudice of the owners, which would bee discovered if it were brought into the open m[ar]ket'.[316] Moreover, the movement away from Goldsmiths' Row, a set of premises with leases which were collectively controlled by the guildsmen themselves, had allegedly resulted in unchecked ambition: that 'certaine others of the same trade in this Cittye whoe by inlargeinge their shopps have ingrossed amongst them almost the whole trade […] to the great prejudice of the Major parte of our Company'.[317] The goldsmiths of Cheapside claimed that these damaging trends might be reversed, 'the inlett wilbee still forestalled', if 'they bee all brought generally within the walles of the Citty'.[318] The wardens

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[315] GHA, S1, fol. 34ʳ.

[316] Ibid., fol. 35ᵛ; Dave A. Postles, 'The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England, *Social History*, 29 (2004), 41-58 (p.42), 'the market place was recognizably a public and open space, open in the sense that many (but certainly not all) social interactions were visible'.

[317] GHA, S1, fol. 34ʳ.

[318] Ibid., fol. 35ᵛ.

of the Goldsmiths' Company responded to this petition by undertaking a special search of various premises in 'the royall Exchange', one of the areas identified by the petitioners as a hotbed of unregulated activity.[319] Less than a week later, one of the searchers, Mr Warden Mannynge, was verbally abused by another goldsmith at the very site of contention; he complained to the court of assistants of 'some ill speeches in some passages of a conference had between them in the rowe in Cheapside'. Mannynge claimed that 'every member of this Company according to the rule of good goverment ought to give that due respect to the p[er]son of a Wardein which the place requireth'; disputes over the spatial organisation of the company were clearly undermining customary notions of authority and deference.

When challenged by their fellow guildsmen and requested to take up premises upon the Rows, the 'remote Goldsmithes in Ffleetstreete the Strand and other places' presented a number of their own objections in June 1635. The principal petitioners - including Michael Barkstead, William Wheeler, John Prince and Francis Allen - were themselves liverymen of the Goldsmiths' Company.[320] These men alleged that a wholesale relocation to the Rows was simply not logistically possible, that 'the number of shopps either empty or [...] to bee disposed of are not above xxxiiii and the Gouldsmithes who are enjoyned to conforme to the said orders are one hundred familyes and upwards'.[321] Moreover, these premises on Cheapside were not affordable; that though the properties were meant to be leased and 'enjoyed by young men of the said mistery at easie and indifferent rents', as had been intended by 'Charitable benefactors', in reality, 'unreasonable ffines and excessive rents' were applied.[322] Most significantly, the 'remote' goldsmiths stressed that their workshops and retail spaces were located upon 'Publique

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[319] Ibid., fol. 36ᵛ.
[320] Note that a number of these 'remote' goldsmiths, including Francis Allen and Michael Barkstead were later listed as exceptions in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion of 1660.
[321] GHA, S1, fol. 98ʳ.
[322] Ibid.

and open streets', they were not liminal spaces, thus, they should be permitted to 'still exercise their trades in the places where they now dwell […] and where the peticoners have expended the greatest p[ar]te of their estates to settle themselves for the Comodious exercising of the trades in which they have bin trayned up'.[323] The demand that they might remain apart from the customary district of Cheapside was thus allied to an assertion of their artisanal (guild-sponsored) training and the 'openness' of their workspaces, and by implication their trading practices. These goldsmiths were explicitly refuting the charge of their peers that they were residing in 'obscure spaces'.[324]

The divisive issue of the disorderly Rows and absent goldsmiths was never resolved. It proved impossible to force a return to an era in which the topography of the trade was tightly organised, with all goldsmiths' workshops and retail spaces within the same city neighbourhood. The growing fractures within the company elite - six prominent 'remote' goldsmiths were suspended from the livery in June 1635 - and the rumblings of discontent from the generality - concerning their lack of participation in governance and the smashing of their plate - were alarming, and liverymen were generally keen to heal such ruptures by the end of the decade.[325] It is striking that in their opposing petitions, 'the Goldsmithes Inhabitants in Cheapside', and the 'remote Goldsmithes in Ffleetstreete the Strand and other places', both engaged with the concept of 'publique' space. The arguments for being 'brought […] within the walles' were clearly linked to the notion that customary marketplaces and open streets ensured public scrutiny of artisanal and trade practices and were primary sites for company searches and the enforcement of guild authority.[326] The principal 'remote' goldsmiths asserted not that they had rights to private spaces, per se, but that developing sites of luxury trade, in extra-mural areas, should also

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[323] Ibid.
[324] GHA, S1, fol. 29[r].
[325] Ibid., fol. 105[r]; Griffiths, 'Politics made Visible', in *Londinopolis*, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 188-89.
[326] GHA, S1, fols. 34[r]-35[r].

be considered to be 'Publique and open streets'.[327] The inability, and in certain cases unwillingness of the Goldsmiths' Company to collectively bring all workers of gold and silver within the City walls, was in part a result of an ambiguity as to the very nature of 'publique' space.[328] As a communal body, the Goldsmiths' had diverging conceptions as to the limits and ambitions of corporate - and certainly royal - authority. Significantly this debate was raging as the Goldsmiths undertook a reordering of the internal spatial and material organisation of Goldsmiths' Hall, which resulted in the reconceptualisation of private and public spaces within their institutional home and among their heterogeneous membership. It is to this interior reorganisation that we now turn.

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[327] Ibid., fol. 98^r-99^v.

[328] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets', p. 4, 'It has been argued that in early modern culture public and private space did not exist; spaces were both at one once, or sometimes something in between.'

Chapter Four: The Goldsmiths' Hall: Internal Hierarchies, Spatial Reorganisation and the Rebuilding of 'a more decent and comodious form'

The Remodelling of Goldsmiths' Hall

At the most fundamental level, the ground-plan for the new Goldsmiths' Hall was on a substantially enlarged site. A complex of ten houses and workshops that surrounded the former medieval building were demolished alongside the old Hall in the very early stages of the rebuilding project. The court minutes of August 1634 state that 'there is a necessitie to alter the whole frame of the old buildinge into a more decent and comodious forme by some enlargement upon their owne grounde'.[329] This archival material also shows the complex negotiations which took place between the wardens and the tenants of these surrounding buildings, as this expansion took place.[330] Such neighbourhood tensions over a major building development which was to last for almost a decade and which would inevitably have been noisy and disruptive - for those requiring access to Foster, Maiden, Gutter and Carey Lanes - are a valuable reminder of how deeply embedded the guild halls were in the broader social and material networks of the city.

All the original walls and floors of the late-medieval Goldsmiths' Hall, which were apparently in varying stages of dilapidation or decay, were entirely removed to make way for the new. The demolition of their medieval home was carried out in phases; the need for total levelling seems to have become more apparent, a 'necessitye', as designs for the new Hall gradually developed. By January 1635/36, it was decided by the Goldsmiths' court - after 'conference had with Mr Stone' - that 'the rest of the hall vizt the parlor the beadles house and the other houses which are now standinge and must of necessitye bee pulled

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[329] GHA, S1, fol. 12[r].

[330] GHA, S1, fol. 118[r]: 'At this Courte it is agreed and soe ordered that the Wardeins from time to time shall send for such tennants as dwell neere the hall whose houses or any parte thereof must of necessitie bee vsed in the new building the hall and to treate with them for the sevvall termes and departures and reporte to a Courte of Assistants conceringe the same soe that they may haue time to p[ro]vide against the time of pulling them downe.' See also Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, pp. 120-21.

downe'.[331] The administrative and legal records of the company and their not inconsiderable collection of moveable goods, 'the Companyes plate writings and other their necessaries there yet remayneinge wherein', in addition to valuable interior decorative features such as wainscot panels, were removed from the old building and placed in 'Mr Wardeins Care' before demolition work began.[332]

Significantly, though the former Hall was destroyed in its entirety, the basic courtyard plan of the old building was retained for the new structure. The particular layout of corporate buildings, including common hall, around a courtyard, was regarded as an indispensable signifier of the fraternal roots of the early modern Goldsmiths' Company. A continuation in the use of a basic courtyard plan might have been a means both of memorialising past communities of guildsmen and locating oneself within the contemporary guild hierarchy. Lacking sixteenth-century plans or inventories, we cannot determine the precise spatial arrangements of the old Goldsmiths' Hall around the central courtyard, though the position of the internal communal hall, towards the rear of the site - as we saw in chapter two, the usual location for the late-medieval hall - almost certainly remained constant.[333] The location of the assay house at the back of the Hall, and food preparation and storage rooms behind the screens passage, were probably also based on previous practices. However, the debates recorded in the company court minutes over the positioning of the treasury and the construction of a terrace and gallery within the fabric of the new building, as well as the addition of two new staircases, certainly suggest that the organisation of rooms and structuring of the guild community shifted considerably in the 1630s.

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[331] GHA, S2, fols 166^r^- 167^v^.

[332] Ibid., 167^v^.

[333] *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by Schofield, p. 15.

Using the plan of the ground storey of Goldsmiths' Hall (see Figure 2.26) and the painting of the interior of the communal hall (see Figure 2.20), both completed in c. 1691, in addition to the court minutes which detail the complex rebuilding process of the 1630s, it is possible to reconstruct the internal spatial organisation of the new institutional complex of buildings and the material hierarchies embedded within the structure.[334] The location of the internal hall - tripartite in organisation - at the north-west of the ground plan, towards the rear of the site, is unmistakable. Its physical and symbolic significance is emphasised by the checked pattern representing the new black and white Purbeck marble floor, a material feature which is also clearly illustrated in the painting of the interior.[335] Purbeck marble was a highly valued material in medieval and early modern England: sourced from only one location (Corfe on the Isle of Purbeck) and a particularly dense limestone, requiring skilled hands to work it effectively.[336] It may be significant that the open courtyard floor of the Royal Exchange (built between 1566 and 1569) and the arcade floor of the New Exchange (built in 1609) were both also paved with black and white marble.[337] The use of this floor design and high-status material for the Goldsmiths' hall might thus, in part, have been an attempt to associate this institutional space with notions of mercantile sociability and exchange and commercial accomplishment. In terms of improved material features of livery halls in this era, it is telling that a century before, in 1540, the floor of the Ironmongers' Hall was simply covered with rushes and sand on prominent feast days.[338]

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[334] It is striking that the internal representation of the Goldsmiths' communal hall is from the perspective of the dais end: the livery looking out towards the screen.

[335] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, p. 127.

[336] John Blair, 'Purbeck Marble', in *English Medieval Industries*, ed. by Blair and Ramsey, pp. 41-56.

[337] Calabi and Keene, 'Exchanges and Cultural Transfer', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Calabi and Christensen, p. 302; Claire Walsh, 'Social Meaning and Social Space in the Shopping Galleries of Early Modern London', in *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing*, ed. by John Benson and Laura Ugolini (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 52-79 (p. 58).

[338] GL, MS 17155, fol. 8.

The dais end of the Goldsmiths' hall - where the high table for the wardens and assistants was located - is marked out as a distinct space on the ground plan, neatly encapsulating the growing gulf between the livery and the rest, or 'generality', with limited political influence. The newly constructed screen - which was 'close[d] in the middle thereof' - is also plainly visible at the opposite end of the hall, in both the plan and interior painting, behind which lie the 'screens passage' and the food preparation and service rooms, the kitchen, butteries and larder.[339] It was essential to have the required facilities for entertaining and consuming on a grand scale. The rooms at right-angles to the food provision and storage areas, located within the east wing of the building, were the domestic residences of the clerk and assayer: they faced towards Flower de Luce Court, known as 'Flower de Luce Alley' in the 1630s, which was paved with Portland Stone.[340]

A wooden screen, usually two stories in height, was the traditional means, from the fourteenth century in the domestic context, of providing a formal entrance to the hall and enhancing the spectacle of the space from the perspective of the high table; in addition, it separated and concealed food preparation areas from the main body of the hall.[341] In analogous collegiate contexts, such as the Inns of Court, the structure of the elaborately carved screens, particularly those of the Middle Temple Hall and that at Lincoln's Inn, were highly innovative (see Figure 2.27). Screens constructed for the Inns from the 1570s to 1620s showcased the artisanal talents of the joiners, who combined decorative, Flemish-inspired strapwork with Classical orders and motifs.[342] No such material examples survive from contemporaneous livery halls, but extant court minutes do give some details of the new screen designed, carved and assembled in the 1630s for the Goldsmiths' Company.

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[339] GHA, S2, fol. 236ᵛ.

[340] GHA, T, fol. 10ᵛ.

[341] Giles, 'Medieval Guildhalls as Habitus', in *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, ed. by Hedges, p. 127; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* p. 275.

[342] Girouard, 'The Halls of the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World*, ed. by Archer, Goldring and Knight, pp. 147-49.

Significantly, the wainscoting of the communal hall and the screen were conceptualised and undertaken as a stylistic and material whole within the new building: in January 1636/37, it was decided at a committee meeting for the rebuilding project, the 'manner of the skreene and wainscottinge of the hall according to the draught'.[343] The joiner, Jeremy Kellett, was commissioned to set up the screen and wainscot in the communal hall and wooden panelling in the great chamber and new gallery. The ornamentation of the new hall screen was carried out by 'Mr Taylor the carver'.[344] This structure was decorated by Taylor with the five 'effigures [figures] of ffayth hope charitie St Peter and St Dunstane […] sett up on the 5 pedastalls over the screene'.[345]

A sculptural scheme which incorporated godly values and saintly representations was a particularly apposite visual and material motif for an early seventeenth-century guild, combining references to fraternal origins and contemporary benevolence. At a time when the London livery companies were expending unprecedented amounts of corporate funds and energy upon charitable endeavours - for the benefit of their own members and the wider population of the city - it is telling that the figure of 'charity' inhabited the same highly visible and elevated space as the key characters of late-medieval devotional piety.[346] St Dunstan - said to be a skilled tenth-century Glastonbury metalworker - was the Goldsmiths' patron saint. Before the injunctions of 1547 regarding superstitious practices, the Goldsmiths' most prized communal possession had been a gold statue of this saint, set up on the hall screen and adorned with jewels, which had been bequeathed by devoted guildsmen.[347] In the early seventeenth century, pictures of SS. Peter and Dunstan were set

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[343] GHA, S2, fol. 236[v].
[344] GHA, T, fol. 96[v].
[345] Ibid.
[346] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, pp. 15-28.
[347] R. Dales, 'Saint Dunstan, Patron Saint of Goldsmiths', in *Treasures of the English Church: A Thousand Years of Sacred Gold and Silver*, ed. by Timothy Schroder (London: Goldsmiths' Company in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2008), pp. 11-15.

up on either side of the great window of the communal hall (behind the high table) during

the wardens' feast.[348] It is argued in the final section of this thesis that craft-related patron

saints continued to feature in livery company interior decoration, across the city, well

beyond the 1540s.

At the 'high' end of the internal hall lay the passageway which led into the treasury.

On the basis of surviving inventory evidence from other city companies, it is evident that

the Goldsmiths were unusual in their establishment of this space within their livery hall.

Only the wealthiest companies had what the Merchant Taylors referred to in their

inventory of 1512, as a 'Jowell House'.[349] Outside the great twelve livery companies, most

guilds did not have a specific 'safe room' but stored particularly valuable objects in the

counting room, parlour or court room in locked chests and boxes. 'In the Roome behind the

old Parlor' the Armourers' Company stored 'two presses with lockes and keyes, one for the

Company leases and other writings, the other for the Company Gownes Banners and

Streamers'.[350] The wealthiest guilds, with a high proportion of mercantile members, had

the most impressive collections of silver, so treasuries would have been something of a

necessity. It is also feasible that as an organisation of working goldsmiths, and traders in

gold and silver, the Goldsmiths had particularly strong views on the requirement of safe

storage of corporate goods. It had been decided, by a large majority of guildsmen at the

ballot box, at a court meeting of the Goldsmiths' Company in March 1635/6, that the

treasury was to be placed 'betweene the hall and parlor and the dore to open into the

parlor', namely the more exclusive and inaccessible of the two spaces.[351] The ground plan

clearly shows that only those with the appropriate social and political capital to circulate

within the high or dais end of the hall would have thus had access to the route which led

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[348] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 137.
[349] *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, I, 84-92.
[350] GL, MS 12107, fol. 11^{v}.
[351] GHA, S2, fol. 182^{r}.

directly into the treasury and parlour. In the image of the interior of the communal hall, painted from the perspective of the dais end looking out towards the screen, the doorway to the treasury and parlour, complete with elaborate cornice, is prominently featured on the right-hand side of the high table. As the treasury would have contained the Goldsmiths' collection of gold and silver plate - and in all likelihood housed other items such as company seals and records, imbued with a value that went well beyond their material substance - access was clearly restricted to those privileged few with keys to the parlour room. On account of its precious contents, the treasury was, in the language of space syntax, a 'terminal space', connected to the rest of the Hall complex by only one entrance.[352] The physical proximity of treasures to the governing body of the guild must have been a necessity - for reasons of security and ease of access for service at the high table in the internal hall - but such closeness might also be construed as a symbolic statement of value and familiarity. The governing body of the Goldsmiths' Company and their plate and treasures effectively shared one wing of the new Hall and their proximity would have mutually reinforced the significance of the other.

The plan of c. 1691 is only of the ground floor of the Hall, but from the Goldsmiths' court minutes, some significant elements of other levels might also be reconstructed (see Figure 2.28). The Company's 'Dyninge Room' was situated on the first floor, directly above the kitchens, storage facilities [and hall?] - a convenient position for the service of freshly prepared food - and the 'Armorye' was located in 'the uppermost roome', above this dining chamber.[353] A dining room, the specialised space for the consumption of food and alcohol by the wardens and assistants, might have existed before the Hall was newly constructed in the 1630s. However, the route to this exclusive dining chamber was substantially improved when it was decided in November 1637 to demolish the old 'pairs of stairs leadinge up

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[352] Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses*, p. 173.
[353] GHA, T, fol. 10$^{\text{v}}$.

into the dyneinge Roome […] [and] a new paire of staires erected in their sted which

shalbee more large and Convenient for the Companyes use'.[354] The creation of more

grandiose and direct access routes to the first floor of the new building was a coherent

strategy throughout the structure: the decision to construct the staircase, from the ground

floor to the dining room, was made at the same court meeting in November 1637, when it

was also agreed to build another grand stairway from the courtyard to the great

chamber.[355] Though we have no surviving material evidence relating to the newly

constructed staircases in the seventeenth-century Goldsmiths' Hall, the many extant

examples from contemporaneous country houses - such as that at Knole House -

demonstrate that this was an era in which the staircase emerged as an elaborate showcase

for the artisanal skills of joiners and carvers (see Figure 2.29).[356] As on their screen in the

communal hall, it is probable that the newels, turned balusters and finials of the

Goldsmiths' staircases were ornamented with heraldic symbolism and sculpted figures.[357]

The installation of new staircases must have been motivated by the desire for clear

processional routes to privileged first-floor spaces of governance, conviviality and

recreation. Simon Thurley has demonstrated the importance of the processional stair to

the architectural plan of the English royal palace, from c. 1530.[358] The state staircase, as at

Hampton Court, led important visitors and courtiers directly to royal lodgings, and thus the

presence of the monarch, on upper floors.[359] In the case of the Goldsmiths' Hall, the

creation of such direct routes, lavishly decorated, which circumvented any ground-floor

rooms associated with food preparation or domestic labour, were particularly apposite at a

time when civic ceremony, specifically the Lord Mayor's Show, was becoming an

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[354] Ibid., fol. 31^r.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Walter Hindes Godfrey, *The English Staircase, an Historical Account […] to the End of the XVIIIth Century* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1911), pp. 22-35.
[357] Ibid., pp. 25-27.
[358] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, pp. 53-54.
[359] Ibid., p. 58.

increasingly extravagant and competitive event, from the opening of the seventeenth century.[360] Clear routes through the Goldsmiths' Hall, repeatedly and ritualistically enacted through the movement of the company elite, clothed in their livery gowns, were perhaps also intended to firmly establish links with workshops and retail spaces in the broader metropolis: the liverymen would have travelled from the dining or court room, down the staircase, through the courtyard and gatehouse, into Foster Lane and neighbouring streets. A sense of continuous civic space and associated authority, and thus an ambiguity between 'private' and 'public' spaces could have thus, on select occasions, worked to the advantage of the company elites.

The room directly above the ground-floor parlour and treasury was the great chamber, the space in which the court of assistants convened on a regular basis to regulate the organisation of the craft and trade.[361] Court minutes show that the great chamber was ornamented in the 1630s with a chimney piece of Portland stone and marble and was specifically designed - like the parlour below it - with 'two windows to the streete'.[362] Considering the exclusive position of the great chamber, above parlour and treasury, and it being a space in which guild elites might convene and discuss company business away from the observation of the 'generality', access to this chamber was highly restricted and ultimately depended on an individual having right of entry to other high-status rooms within the 'west wing' of the Hall. The great chamber could be accessed through the dining room (to the north), the gallery (to the south) or from the ground floor via another 'great pairre of staires' which were newly constructed in the late 1630s. These stairs were personally designed by Nicholas Stone, who showed various draughts of his plans to the Goldsmiths' Company, after he had engaged in 'conference […] with very able artists in the

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[360] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, pp. 126-27, 139; Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony'.
[361] Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority', p. 929, 'The court of the aldermen met in an inner chamber in the guildhall ensuring that their deliberations remained for the most part secret.'
[362] GHA, T, fol. 31ʳ.

like affaires'.[363] Stone also directed the craftsman, Mr Taylor, according to his own designs, in 'the carveinge of the turned pillers and railes of the great staires leading up into the great chamber'.[364] Upon climbing the 'great staires' leading from the courtyard to the first floor, a guildsman would not directly access the chamber within, but was confronted with 'the dorecase at the great staires head leading into the greate chamber […] of portland stone and marble'.[365] As the newly installed wainscot panels must have articulated routes of relative privilege through the Armourers' and Carpenters' Halls in the late sixteenth century, the use of Portland stone and marble for significant features of the doorway, great chamber and gallery, within the new Goldsmiths' Hall, would have provided clear visual cues for how the guildsmen should proceed within these spaces; or indeed which guildsmen might pass through at all. As the same artisan, Mr Taylor, was employed both to carve the hall screen and the pillars and rails of the new great staircase, there would have been stylistic continuity throughout the processional spaces and routes of the whole building; and perhaps a similar language of symbolic imagery.

At the same court meeting of March 1635/6 during which it was decided where the new treasury would be located, it was also 'resolved by the Ballot box 14. against. 1. That both a Gallary and Tarras shalbee made'.[366] This gallery appears to have been situated on the first floor, along the 'front' of the new Hall, facing out onto Foster Lane. It has already been noted that Nicholas Stone faced a considerable design challenge for the outward walls and façade of the new building, as he undertook to create a symmetrical, architecturally impressive street-front entrance, which belied the irregular late-medieval organisation of space within the Hall.[367] Stone's design ideally required the location of high status rooms at the street front entrance and thus the placing of the new gallery along the

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[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., fol. 96ᵛ.
[365] Ibid., fol. 113ʳ.
[366] GHA, S2, fol. 182ʳ.
[367] Newman, 'Nicholas Stone's Goldsmiths' Hall', p. 35.

Foster Lane side of the Hall was highly appropriate. Since galleries in large late-medieval and early modern houses customarily lay deep within buildings, often alongside gardens, we might speculate that the new placement of the Goldsmiths' gallery along the street-front was intended to suggest, by contrast, a novel political and social dialogue with the broader built environment.[368] The 'outward looking' gallery space existed in tension with the 'inward looking' courtyard formation within the walls of the Goldsmiths' Hall.

The Goldsmiths' new gallery was directly accessible from the great chamber, on the first floor, flanking Maiden Lane, and the domestic residences of Clerk and Beadle, on the opposite side of the courtyard, alongside Flower de Luce Alley. Like the great chamber, the gallery was ornamented - and distinguished - with a chimney piece of Portland Stone and marble; it also had ten windows, facing the street side, making this the lightest space in the entire complex, ideal for enclosed perambulations and the viewing of corporate collections of visual and material culture.[369] From a court minute of 1622, which ordered that 'the leopards, unicorns and mermaids' - painted wooden heraldic sculptures for use in civic processions - should be removed from the gallery to make room for armour, it appears that a gallery space was in existence in the early seventeenth-century Goldsmiths' Hall.[370] However this might not have been any more than an inter-connecting corridor space and was certainly not located in the same position or decorated with such extravagance as the gallery from the 1630s.

The Goldsmiths' Hall as 'Institutional' and 'Domestic' Space?

A series of entries in the Goldsmiths' court minutes concerning petitions by the Company Clerk 'for a dore way or passage into the Gallerye at Gouldsmiths Hall out of the dwelling House which is appoynted for him there', provide telling insights into the contentious

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[368] Schofield, 'City of London Gardens', p. 81; Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, pp. 234-38.
[369] GHA, T, fol. 31ʳ ;Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery'', p. 64, 'The chimney-piece […] is usually a very important feature in a long gallery, a major focal point.'
[370] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 135.

issues of access rights within the new building and the ambiguous relationship between 'institutional' and 'domestic' interiors.[371] A clerk was a central figure within an early modern guild: he was expected to manage the company's administrative records, their growing collections of property leases and apprenticeship indentures, and draw up any necessary contracts between the guild and its members. The clerk also kept the minutes at the regular meetings of the courts of assistants, and compiled the company accounts. As historians, our understanding of guilds is to a large extent mediated through the writings of the company clerk. Such a figure evidently had to be fully literate and presumably something of a diplomat, in order to balance the competing demands of the governing body of the guild in question. One of the most capable of such officials employed by the Goldsmiths' Company was Ralph Robinson (1520-1577), a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and the author of the first English translation of Thomas More's *Utopia*, first published in 1551. Robinson was apprenticed to the goldsmith Sir Martin Bowes, and later employed as clerk at the Mint, and then in 1560, clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company.[372]

The Clerk's petition for an entrance to the exclusive gallery within the newly constructed Goldsmiths' Hall was first put forward in July 1637, but was at this stage rejected. The court minutes simply state that 'for some reasons to the contrary shewed It is not now thought fit to graunte his requeste'.[373] However, five years later, in May 1642, the Clerk made his appeal to the governors of the guild once again, with a positive outcome, and on this occasion, the broader spatial and political concerns are made rather more explicit. It is revealed that the wardens had initially been concerned that if too many members of the domestic staff had access to this exclusive area within the Hall, damage might be sustained and responsibility would be hard to acertain: 'that if the Companye

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[371] GHA, V, fols. 192[v-r].

[372] John Bennell, 'Robinson, Ralph (1520-1577)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/23863> [accessed 5 February 2013].

[373] GHA, T, fol. 7[r].

should beautifie the Gallery by painteinge itt or adorne[ing] itt with pictures that if itt were any waye spoyled or defaced the Company could not tell whome to charge therewith if hee had a dore into itt'.[374] That the company elite clearly had deeper political concerns, beyond the potential defacement of precious painted surfaces, is also revealed by the decision that a passageway between the Clerk's domestic quarters and the company's gallery was only agreed on the condition that 'the Companye will sett a lock and bolte upon the passage dore from his house into the Gallerye on the inside to debar him the entrance thereinto when they please'.[375] The essential 'privacy' of the gallery space was to be strictly maintained by the liverymen; their confidential recreations were clearly not to be disrupted at the whim of a member of the domestic staff or lesser members of the company.[376]

The contention concerning levels of access to particular spaces within the new Goldsmiths' Hall is significant for alerting us to the relative zones of exclusivity or openness within the building; but it is also a valuable reminder that London livery halls were 'domestic' as well as 'institutional' quarters. The Goldsmiths' Clerk referred to his 'dwelling House' within the new Goldsmiths' Hall when he made his appeal to the wardens in 1637 and 1642, and court records from the sixteenth century demonstrate that the provision of domestic quarters for the clerk, beadle and assayer were long-standing customs. In 1551, for instance, Roger Munday, the predecessor to Ralph Robinson, was admitted to the Company as Clerk; he was provided with a fee of ten shillings and a dwelling-house in Goldsmiths' Hall, 'as it hath been accustomed in times past.'[377] The aforementioned Ralph Robinson died within the clerk's house at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1577.[378] The existence of such a domestic residence within the broader built environment of the livery hall was an entirely

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[374] GHA, V, fols 192 [v-r].
[375] Ibid., fol. 192[r].
[376] Orlin has suggested that the gallery was an essential space for conducting private conversations: *Locating Privacy*, pp. 226-61.
[377] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 56.
[378] Bennell, 'Robinson, Ralph', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

typical feature of these buildings. The ground plan of the Armourers' Hall, for instance, also features two spaces named the 'Beadle's House' and the 'Beadle's Study'. Residency was one of the expected occupational perks for domestic staff employed by city companies.[379]

From the perspective of the guild, having a clerk or beadle permanently residing on site must have been essential for the security, smooth running and administrative ordering of such complex multifunctional spaces. All members of these domestic institutional households were of use to the company: wives of the clerk and the beadle, for example, were regularly assigned, and recompensed, for essential household tasks such as the laundering of linen tablecloths and napkins after feasting occasions, the sweeping of the central courtyard and basic gardening.[380] By comparison to the clerk, the beadle's responsibilities included the upkeep of the physical site of the hall, the preparation of rooms for special occasions such as feast days and the disciplining of youthful members of the company. In the lively discussions concerning access rights to the Goldsmiths' new gallery, it is revealed that the Beadle's home was directly connected to certain sites of governance and authority: 'The Beadle having a passage thereinto out of his house […] into the great chamber for keeping of them cleane and ready upon all occasions for the Companyes service'. Though with regard to the relative statuses between Clerk and Beadle it is telling that the arrangement over access to the gallery, brokered between the Clerk and the assistants, in the early 1640s, was only agreed on the condition that the Beadle was 'exclude[d] […] whereby the Clerke onely may stand blamable if the gallery or any thinge theren shalbee att any time injured wronged or defaced by him'.[381]

Aside from the existence of domestic residences within the walls of London livery halls, it is also evident that changes to the spatial and material organisation of these

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[379] GL, MS 12104, fols 2-3.
[380] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 113.
[381] GHA, V, fol. 192[r].

ostensibly institutional buildings paralleled alterations within the contemporary homes of the middling-sorts - including merchants and master craftsmen - gentry and aristocracy in England, in their city abodes, and their country residences. It has already been noted that the buildings acquired by groups of guildsmen from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries were usually large domestic dwellings, on a courtyard plan, which were subsequently adapted to meet the needs of growing guild communities.[382] In part, the changing built environments of London livery halls, from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, must be seen in the context of the social and architectural phenomenon of the 'Great Rebuilding(s)' - though, as will be suggested below, this explanation has its limits.[383] Certainly, many of the more established members of the London guilds were engaged with their own personal domestic reconstruction projects; those of their affluent clients, in their capacity as artisans or traders; and in the remodelling of their company halls.

Two inventories of city mansions belonging to prominent citizens clearly demonstrate similarities between early modern livery halls and domestic residences, both in terms of specialised spaces, and the social practices embedded within these architectures. In June 1590 an inventory was taken of the moveable goods of Sir Thomas Ramsey, located within 'my mansion house' on Lombard Street, in the ward of Langbourn.[384] This was an area of elite mercantile residency, 'of diuerse faire houses for marchants' in the words of John Stow, and for luxury trade, including goldsmiths. Stow claims that before the construction of the Royal Exchange in the 1560s, Lombard Street was the meeting place of 'Marchants and others'; indeed the area was 'so called of the

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[382] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 44.

[383] There is not space here to discuss in great detail the lengthy scholarly debates over the nature of the 'Great Rebuilding' of England. It is suffice to say that W. G. Hoskin's original hypothesis of the rebuilding of rural England - both the construction of new vernacular houses, and the improvement of existing structures - has been expanded in subsequent studies; in its geographical extent and its social and chronological range. Key works include: W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', *Past and Present*, 4 (1953), 44-59; R. Machin, 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment', *Past and Present*, 77 (1977), 33-56; Platt, *The Great Rebuildings.*

[384] F. W. Fairholt, 'On an Inventory of the Household Goods of Sir Thomas Ramsey, Lord Mayor of London 1577', *Archaeologia*, 40 (1866), 311-42.

Longobards, and other Marchants, strangers of diuerse nations assembling there twise euery day'.[385] Ramsey was a prominent member of the Grocers' Company, Sheriff of London in 1568 and Mayor in 1577. He was a major civic benefactor, leaving hundreds of pounds to young men of the Grocers' Company and the worthy poor of London at his death in 1590.[386] Ramsey's mansion house on Lombard Street, which had probably been in-situ since at least the fifteenth century, had dozens of specialised rooms and was organised according to a courtyard plan, with a prominent gateway entrance, and a garden and stables to the rear of the site. The high status rooms, on the first or second stories, are listed first in the inventory of his possessions: 'the new Parlour'; 'the garden Chamber'; 'the Great Chamber' and 'the Gallerie'.[387] On the ground floor, alongside 'the Hall' and the 'olde Parlour', were several rooms containing basic bedding and furniture for his household staff, and specialized spaces for food preparation and storage. In 'the Armourye House' he stored weaponry worth over thirty-three pounds.[388] In the courtyard was a 'Compting House' in which his accounts were made and goods weighed and evaluated. It is striking that on his own property his merchandise was also stored: towards the rear of the house, Ramsey had a 'Great Warehouse'; a 'Spice Howse' and a 'Fishe Howse'.[389]

Moving eastwards across the city, towards Aldgate, and in 1609 an inventory was taken of the vast house of Robert Lee on Leadenhall Street.[390] Member of the Merchant Taylors' Company (until his death in 1605), Lee had also served as Mayor of London in 1602. Having formerly been a chantry and passed into royal hands in 1548, Lee acquired the property at the turn of the seventeenth century and immediately rebuilt the house: a sixty-two room mansion with external yards, a garden, and two entrance gates (an outer

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[385] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 201.
[386] Fairholt, 'On an Inventory of the Household Goods', pp. 316-17.
[387] Ibid., pp. 323-24.
[388] Ibid., p. 331.
[389] Ibid., pp. 332-33.
[390] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, *Appendix*, pp. 233-35.

and inner gateway 'with a Portcullis of wood').[391] As in contemporary livery halls, upon traversing the courtyard, one would come to the screens passage of the hall, a carved screen 'with the late Queenes Armes uppon it', and the hall chamber, 'paved with square Marble stones white and blew', with 'the Great Parlour' adjacent.[392] The latter room was lavishly decorated, 'waynscotted rounde about […] with […] gilt knobbs and Carvyne and garnishinge of Imagerie all about the same'.[393] Most striking was the 'Carved Chymney piece with pillers of Jett garnished with Imagery wrought in Allabaster […] the late Queenes Armes and a George on Horsebacke Carved in the same […] and the pictures of Justice and Charitye'.[394] A magnificent staircase, probably located between hall and parlour, created a direct route to high-status first floor rooms, including 'the Great Dyning Chamber', the 'Great Beddchamber and withdrawing chamber', the 'paynted Chamber' and a gallery. As in Ramsey's property on Lombard Street there was a 'Compting house', a warehouse for storing goods and a stable.[395]

A consideration of these two great city mansion houses reveals that, as within contemporaneous livery halls, there were a growing number of rooms and increased specialisation in use and function. Prestigious new spaces, including parlours, great chambers and galleries were constructed and embellished on first and second stories.[396] Great staircases enabled access to these relatively exclusive spaces, for appropriate personages, and social elites could thus avoid direct contact with the rooms and staff associated with domestic labour. As in the case of the Goldsmiths' gallery and great chamber, Robert Lee's 'Great Parlour' and 'Great Dyning Chamber' were materially and

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[391] Ibid., pp. 194-95, 233, 'The East India Company leased the property in 1648, thus beginning their association with the site.'
[392] Ibid., p. 234.
[393] Ibid.
[394] Ibid.
[395] Ibid., p. 235.
[396] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery", p. 51, 'It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that what may be termed the 'explosion' in the introduction of long galleries into country houses took place. The long gallery then became an integral part of the established sequence of state rooms in an important house.'

stylistically distinguished from other spaces, through stone chimney pieces and intricately carved wainscoting.[397] Both houses on Leadenhall Street and Lombard Street had counting houses for keeping accounts and weighing merchandise; kitchens and food preparation rooms for entertainment and multiple storage spaces for a growing range of textiles, furniture, weaponry and goods for trade. There were however meanings and uses of space which differed between residential and guild contexts; the internal hall is the most significant of these distinctions.

The familiar narrative of the 'decline' of the internal hall in the 'domestic' context cannot be straightforwardly mapped onto the changing functions and meanings of the livery halls of London.[398] The late-medieval ethos of the guild as a brotherhood, a community of guildsmen, and simultaneously its sociopolitical reality as a highly structured, hierarchal society, meant that the communal space of the internal hall had an ambiguous but very real significance throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most significant events in the ritual calendars of the guilds - such as election feasts - continued to be celebrated in the company halls, although this certainly did not mean that the whole 'company' were necessarily included. Halls were enlarged in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and these spaces continued to be a central focus for material furnishing, adornment and patronage.[399] It is no coincidence that senior members of the Pewterers' Company competed to sponsor wooden panels of the hall in the 1570s, or that the expansion of the Carpenters' hall in the 1590s was the most expensive element

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[397] Even within relatively modest London houses, occupied by minor merchants and master craftsmen, the parlour was becoming the most significant and 'private' room within the domestic interior, see: Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House', pp. 587-88.

[398] Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses*, p. 186, 'the function of the [domestic] hall appears to have varied over time from that of drawing the members of the household together informally in an everyday living space to that of creating a more formal space for the reception and entertainment of guests, or even in providing an uninhabited buffer zone to separate people and activities from one another.'

[399] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 52-53, in the 'domestic' context, 'The hall tended to get smaller. This was only to be expected once the lord's removal had reduced both the numbers normally catered for in the hall and its ceremonial importance.'

of their rebuilding project. From the mid sixteenth-century, guild elites constructed and utilised specialised, 'private' spaces within their institutional buildings, such as parlours, galleries, court and dining rooms, but the communal hall remained *the* fundamental ceremonial site of the entire institutional complex. In contrast to the gentlemanly house, the halls of the guilds were never demoted to mere reception areas or spaces which were 'ceasing to be useful even as a symbol'.[400] The architectural and ritualised demonstration of hierarchy continued to be essential to the representation and structuring of a guild community. The practice of guild feasting and dining demonstrates the sustained significance of the hall space.[401]

The Goldsmiths' Company, Feasting and Contested Spaces

Across London, the spatial dynamics of authority and privilege within the halls of the livery companies were becoming increasingly contentious matters from the later decades of the sixteenth century. Tensions within the guild community, between men who were supposed to act 'as members of one societie', were often focussed upon the space of the communal hall; specifically, interruptions of the performance of 'companie' during elaborate feasting occasions, were repeatedly expressed through disputes over spatial hierarchies at the table.[402] A consideration of the guild ceremony of feasting, a key demonstration of commensality and one of the principal rites which took place within the institutional home of guild, shows that a man's symbolic place within the company hall had a significant bearing upon his political and social status within the guild.

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[400] Cooper, 'Rank, Manners and Display', p. 299.
[401] Much of the material in this discussion of feasting is derived from: Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, "Discords have arisen and brotherly love decreased': The Spatial and Material Contexts for the Guild Feast in Early Modern London', *Brewery History: Developments in the Brewing, Retail and Consumption of Alcohol in Early Modern England*, 150 (2013), 28-38.
[402] GHA, Q1, fol. 167ʳ; Phil Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 32 (2007), 291-307 (p. 300), 'institutional companies […] were themselves constituted by both regular and irregular instances of sociability: it was through company that companies, so to speak, perpetuated and regenerated themselves'.

On 5 February 1610, the wardens of the Armourers' Company expressed concern, shared among their City brethren, that as a result of the 'neglect' of quarterly dinners, 'discords have arisen and brotherly love decreased'.[403] For members of medieval craft fraternities, the yearly celebration of the patronal feast day had been an essential site for the forging and maintenance of social and political bonds between men of quite diverse material circumstances. As Gervase Rosser has demonstrated, feasts were 'commonly described as having been intended 'for the promotion of love and charity among the members".[404] This link between ritualised feasting and harmonious relations between guildsmen was likewise a commonplace association within early modern civic society; the material and rhetorical stress upon collective participation especially urgent during an era of unprecedented socioeconomic and political strain.[405] Contributions and attendance at the numerous guild dinners and feasts which punctuated the ritual calendar were understood to be an essential element of guild membership. Failure to participate in bouts of communal drinking seriously damaged one's reputation as a company man of worth or credit; at times it even jeopardised a man's membership of a guild and the civic rights and privileges that such an association entailed.[406] Though participation was essential, the consumption of alcohol and food was expected to occur within strictly prescribed material and spatial contexts; as we have seen, guilds were increasingly hierarchical bodies, and feasting rituals exactingly reflected status differences between men of the same brotherhood. Communal feasting was thus expected to be both an expression of, and inducement to, collective harmony and, simultaneously, an articulation of company hierarchy. From the later sixteenth century, these objectives were increasingly hard to reconcile and feasts frequently became sites of contention, not demonstrations of loving

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[403] GL, MS 12071/2.

[404] Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast', p. 431.

[405] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 9-14.

[406] Warden Robert Jenner (goldsmith) was imprisoned in Newgate in March 1629 as a result of his continued refusal to provide for one half of the Goldsmiths' Company's wardens' dinner [GHA, Q1, fol. 168ᵛ].

fellowship. Political or social tensions between men of the same guild were repeatedly expressed and shaped through disputes over material contributions to feasts, spatial hierarchies at the hall table and privileged access to the company plate and treasures.

Early modern archival records reveal that guild feasts or dinners were held at significant points throughout the ritual calendar: usually on the patronal feast day; the first court day; at the election of new wardens and on the eve of the official search of artisanal workshops in the city.[407] A list of annual expenses compiled by the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company in February 1609 included ceremonial events such as 'a breakfast and dynner in October on my Lo[rd] Maiors Day' and 'A dynner in March at the Hall [on] the view day'; the wardens also itemised relatively informal occasions hosted in inns and taverns, after guild business, such as the search of workshops had been undertaken - for example, 'A supper in September at the Kinges Head […] at our Lady faire'.[408] During the meal, which was hosted within the communal hall, the parlour or dining room - location depended upon the importance of the occasion - the most senior guildsmen expected to be served by 'comely young men' of their own company, spatial choreography that clearly ensured that every man was constantly reminded of his relative sociopolitical position. Responsibility for financing formal feasts and dinners held within the livery hall customarily lay with the senior guildsmen themselves. A man's obligation to contribute depended upon the event itself, so, for example, the incoming master was usually expected to pay for his own election 'breakfast', whereas select members of the livery were typically requested by the wardens to finance meals hosted on the Lord Mayor's Day.[409] The 'drinkings' held on quarter days - Michaelmas, Christmas, Lady Day and Midsummer - were effectively funded, and sometimes attended, by all guildsmen.

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[407] Dinners were probably held at midday, whereas feasts were evening occasions.
[408] GHA, O3, fols 636^r-637^v.
[409] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 117.

Feasts held within company halls were often very lavish; a wide range of meat, poultry and fish were frequently prepared for a single meal, of multiple courses.[410] At their annual 'Feast Dynner' in 1566, the Drapers' Company spent over one hundred and twelve pounds on a menu which included swan; venison and 'red deer' pasties; quails; 'jelly dishes' and 'marzepaynes'.[411] Though a relatively humble guild compared to the great twelve, on a typical election day feast, members of the Carpenters' Company consumed four sirloins of beef; 'a she[e]p and a half'; two 'keges of sturgeon' and dozens of capons, chickens and geese.[412] Alcohol also flowed very freely: the guildsmen drank beer; ale; a gallon of white wine; eighteen gallons 'and a potle of claret wine' and six gallons and 'a pottle and a quarte of sake'.[413] Quantities were also designed to impress: at the Drapers' 'Feast Dynner' in 1566, four gallons of wine was ordered simply for infusion into the 'Jelly'.[414] A published seventeenth-century description of the Printers' election feast plausibly claimed that guildsmen were served: 'Beer, Ale, and Wine, of all sorts, to accommodate each Guest according to his desire. And to make their Cheer go cheerfuller down, are entertained with Musick and Songs all Dinner time'.[415] The Printers were certainly not unusual in providing musical entertainments as accompaniments to gastronomic delights, at the feast held in St Dunstan's honour by the wardens of the Goldsmiths' guild in 1568, the Queen's trumpeters played while the courses were being served.[416] Eight years earlier, at the same commemorative occasion: 'all ye dynner tyme ye syngynge children of paules [the choirboys of St Paul's Cathedral] played upon their vialles and songe verye pleasaunt

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[410] Ken Albala, *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp. 1-26.

[411] DHA, 'Dinner Book' [only paginated up to fol. 30]; Illana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*: *Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 207, 'the gift of venison that signified their revered place in the hierarchal order'.

[412] GL, MS 4326/6, fol. 43ᵛ.

[413] Ibid.

[414] DHA, 'Dinner Book'.

[415] Moxon, *The Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1683), vol. II, no. XXXIII pp. 364-65.

[416] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 69.

songes to ye great delectacion and rejoysynge of ye whole companie'.[417] The term 'whole companie' is rather disingenuous, as the most lavish, formal feasts did not, by the later decades of the sixteenth century, include the whole body of the guild, a trend towards exclusivity which has been observed across Europe.[418] Often only the wardens and liverymen - on occasion accompanied by their wives - would be invited to such extravagant occasions of collective consumption. Some more modest convivial events were conversely hosted specifically for members of the yeomanry.[419]

The proceedings from the Goldsmiths' court of assistants indicate that from the early seventeenth century, the wardens were attempting to regulate table service - thus movement through space and access to company silver - more tightly than ever before, and in the process distinctions between men from the same guild were intensified. Contrary to tradition, that as 'of ancient tyme it hath bene accustomed that a certain nomber of the Yeomanrie should wayte in their gownes at the Renters feast', in December 1611 it was ordered that this year 'there shalle 20 of the riche batchelers appointed to carry the service unto the highe Table and other tables in the hall in their gownes […] and satten hoodes […] [but] there shalbe none of the Yeomanrie imployed in that service'.[420] This decision to promote the wealthiest group of freemen was probably related to the fact that a Goldsmith, Sir James Pemberton, was Lord Mayor of London that year, but the total exclusion of the rest of the yeomanry from service at the feast might also have related to an internal political controversy; earlier that same month the wardens had received an unsigned, and thus libellous petition, 'devised by some of the yeomanry of the Companie

[417] GHA, K1, fol. 125; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 79, 'In 1557 they [the Drapers' Company] paid the fashionable Children of Paul's […] to perform an interlude at a company dinner for the Russian ambassador.'
[418] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* pp. 118-19; H. Deceulaer and F. Verleysen, 'Excessive Eating or Political Display? Guild Meals in the Southern Netherlands, late 16th- late 18th centuries', *Food and History*, 4 (2006), 165-85.
[419] See the accounts for the quarter day suppers for the yeomanry of the Armourers' Company: GL, MS 12079/2.
[420] GHA, P1, fol. 28ʳ.

for reformation of dyuers abuses and inconveniences crept into the gouernment of this Society'.[421] To forbid the yeomanry from serving senior guildsmen was essentially punitive, a demotion of status; service within high status spaces was necessary for eventual promotion within the institution.[422]

The guild elite were not just concerned about the spatial privileges accorded to the yeomanry within the context of feasting practices. In 1622 it was decreed that 'it is for manye respects thought verie unfitting and unseemely that the companie should be attended at their dynners and meetings here by the almes men'.[423] It was therefore decided that 'those sixe [chosen by the wardens] onely being decentlie apparrelled shall accordinglie attend and none other of the Almes men […] and that any of them shall misbehave themselves in that service being drunke or other uncivill carriage […] to be instantlie dismissed'. It was also ordered that the practice of giving the almsmen 'releife from the tables here in the hall and parlor' was categorically forbidden and that 'none of the almes men presume to come to the Taverene at suche tyme as anie of the Wardeins or assistants dyne or sup there'.[424] Unkempt or drunken almsmen evidently reflected badly on the status of the Goldsmiths' Company; their casual access to the high table in hall or parlour - or even semi-public tavern - undermined guild hierarchies.[425] Spatial distinctions and privileges which had formerly operated as tacit customs were being newly codified through formal, written regulations.

Tensions between guildsmen at the feast were not simply related to who was permitted to serve one's seniors; challenges to guild authorities or disputes between guildsmen of similar status were frequently articulated through physical absence at the

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[421] Ibid., fol. 28ᵛ; Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry,* p. 148.
[422] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 117.
[423] GHA, P2, fol. 311ʳ.
[424] Ibid., fol. 312ᵛ.
[425] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 175, 'customs of delivering food scraps and leftover pasties to the company's poor, who were allowed access to the gate, further accentuated the paternalism and rank of those attending the feast inside'.

high table and thus non-participation in rituals of communal consumption. At the Goldsmiths' warden's dinner in June 1575, for example, hosted in the hall, 'Mr Gardiner and Mr Brandy with a fowe other their associates of the assisents and lyu[er]y dyd absent themselfe […] a rec[en]te strif or contencon by them rayled in the companie, and as yet not decided'. To make their displeasure with their fellows all the more explicit and as a statement of their continued authority, these wardens refused to return their key to the treasury - the storeroom in which the communal silver plate and jewels were housed.[426] Though Gardiner and Brandy were physically absent, they were unwilling to relinquish their - symbolic and practical - access rights to a highly privileged space within the Goldsmiths' Hall. In other instances men evidently felt that it was preferable to be absent from the feasting table than to accept a place which insulted their estate. In October 1612, following a court meeting attended by all the wardens and assistants, the guildsmen were about to 'repaire into the hall for dynner' when a 'question was moved betweene Sir William Herrick [the King's jeweller and a major lender to the crown] and Mr Alderman Smithe for their placing at the table'. Both men presented their respective cases to the assembled company, but the matter still being unresolved, 'the Remembrancer of the Citie was sent for to deliuer his knowledge'. When this figure, William Dyos, decreed that 'the Alderman of this Citie should in all places within the Citie have precedence before the knights Commoners […] Sir William departed and would not be intreated to staye dynner, leaving Mr Sheriffe present and his other guests the Assistants in the hall'.[427] The disruption that this sudden absence caused to the guild community is palpable within the written record; it also reveals how wider disputes between City elites and the Crown might overflow into the halls of companies, demonstrated - and exacerbated - as a disagreement over relative spatial privileges at the high table.

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[426] GHA, L2, fol. 234.

[427] GHA, P1, fols 49^{r}-50^{v}; *Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia: Preserved Among the Archives in the City of London, A.D. 1579-1664*, ed. by William H. Overall and Henry C. Overall (London: E. J. Francis & co., 1878), xi.

The Goldsmiths were not unusual in their expression of concern over the spatial and material organisation of rites of consumption. Entries from the court minutes of the Ironmongers' and Armourers' Companies indicate that the relative spatial location of members, in the hall and at the table were becoming a particularly sensitive issue from the later decades of the sixteenth century. During the 1560s it was decided by the court of the Armourers' Company that 'where as afore tyme there was no place apoynted for the old wardens' it was now agreed that former wardens would sit with the current authorities at the 'feast dener' and that they might all 'ryse jointly together and goe with their garlands'.[428] In 1595, by a command of the court of the Ironmongers' Company, the precise seating arrangements and the order of service for the 'Highe Table', the 'Seconde Table' and the 'Thirde Table' were clearly outlined. The desire for written codification of hierarchies within both companies is certainly suggestive of a growing political and social imperative to mark out one's spatial territory in relation to other company men.[429] Heightened tensions regarding the spatial organisation of guild rituals demonstrate how significant a man's physical position within the company hall, in relation to material things and other men, had become in establishing and upholding his guild identity and status. These disputes also reveal that within the guild context, the space of the hall was far from redundant or unimportant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; perhaps even more significant in an era of intensified competition.

Conclusion

By the mid-seventeenth century, the sixty (or so) livery halls within the City walls constituted highly complex built environments, with numerous specialised spaces, and clearly delineated, materialised, routes of status and authority. The perpetuation of the courtyard plan and the continued use and significance of the stratified communal hall, beyond their suitability and fashionability within domestic contexts, explicitly affirmed

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[428] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 33.
[429] GL, MS 16960, fol. 65^v.

sociopolitical hierarchies and the 'inward looking' concerns of guild institutions. An irregular interior organisation of rooms around a central courtyard frequently existed in tension with uniform exterior walls and Classically-inspired features, such as enhanced gateways. This contrast reflected the complexity of guild communities: the importance of the fraternal origins of the London companies, the heterogeneity of their memberships, and the significance of real and symbolic connections between livery halls, sites of production, shops, and sociopolitical institutions, such as the court and rival City companies.

By the early 1600s, a guildsman's access rights to particular benches at the feasting table or rooms within his livery hall; the spatial location of his workshop and retail spaces within the growing metropolis and his material contribution to the construction, improvement and maintenance of communal structures, were becoming increasingly significant features of his identity and status. Building upon this examination of built environments and collective identities, the following section of the thesis considers the sociocultural practices of gifting moveable objects and internal fixtures to the livery halls of London, and the associated importance of guild buildings as sites of craft display and memorisation.

Figure 2.1. Detail from: Ralph Agas, *Civitas Londinium*, c. 1570-1605. The location of Armourers' Hall is encircled.

Section Three: Gifting, Material Culture and Memorialisation within the Early Modern Craft Guild

Chapter One: Material Gifts and Practices of Memorialisation

When Roger Tyndall composed his last will and testament in the parish of St Boltolph without Bishopsgate, first in July 1581 and then again in August 1587, the year of his death, he carefully constructed a charitable and material legacy which reflected his status and active involvement within the Armourers' Company. Tyndall had served as Master of the guild on three separate occasions: in 1559-60, 1567-68 and 1577-78; and at the royal court he had also held the prestigious position of gentleman at arms for Elizabeth I. In his will, Roger bequeathed 'all my said messuages, lands, ten[emen]ts gardens and hereditaments from and immediately after the decease of […] Agnes my wife unto the Master and Wardens and Brothers and Sisters of the Fraternity of Guild of St. George of the Men of the Mystery of armorers of the City of London and to their successors'.[1] The significant property bequests were tenements in Bishopsgate, which were to be granted to the Armourers' Company on the condition that on the 'forenoon' of 'the feast day of St. George the Martyr' - the Armourers' election day for master and wardens - a 'godly sermon' was to be held 'in the parish church of St. Dionis Backchurch'.[2] This sermon was to be delivered 'by a godly learned preacher of the Kings College in Cambridge or some other learned man' and all the senior guildsmen were to attend 'in their Liveries'.[3] The company were also to pay £6 13s. 4d. for the election dinner, which followed the sermon, and Tyndall specifically requested that 'such as the same yeomanry as goeth to church' and thus heard the sermon

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[1] GL, MS 12106, fols 35-37.
[2] Until the opening of the seventeenth century, the master and wardens of the Armourers' Company would serve for two consecutive years; considering 'their great trouble and charges and […] the keeping back of others very sytt and able for the same', this term of office was decreased to a year from January 1602/3 [GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 652].
[3] GL, MS 12106, fol. 39.

in his honour, 'should dine and make merry together with the same [liverymen]'.[4] The poor of the parish of St Dionis were also to be given fuel annually to the value of 50 s. (to be distributed between the feasts of Christmas and Lady Day). In addition to these significant perpetual gifts, funds were also left for a sermon and feast in Tyndall's honour in the Armourers' Hall on the day of his funeral.[5]

After setting out these charitable bequests, Roger Tyndall also mentioned two material gifts, which were to be displayed in the Armourers' communal buildings on Coleman Lane: first, 'I will that my Counterfet [portrait] be had to the Hall and there for ever to remain and by my Brethren to be maintained in some decent place for my memorial' (see Figure 3.1). Second: 'I give unto them a parcel gilt pot being the Gift of Thomas Tyndall my late son deceased and by him given to the Hall I will shall so remain to their uses forever'.[6] Mid-nineteenth century annotations in the Armourers' 'Will and Gift Books' reveal that Tyndall's 'desire has been duly regarded as respects both the placing and preservation of his Portrait' and the pot 'has been preserved'.[7] Inventories of corporate goods show that in 1585 the portrait was displayed in the communal hall; by the mid seventeenth century it had been moved to the gallery.[8] The portrait is currently in the Court Room of the present Armourers' Hall.[9] We have already seen that English craftsmen rarely articulated their sense of self through the medium of the manuscript or printed text; it is argued here that they did communicate complex statements of identity, status and memorialisation through material objects.

Through these testamentary bequests and instructions, which established the Armourers' Company as the charitable trustee of his estate, the citizen and armourer Roger

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[4] Ibid., fol. 43.
[5] Ibid., fols 37, 48.
[6] Ibid., fol. 53; GL, MS 12105, fol. 12.
[7] GL, MS 12106, fol. 53.
[8] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 475^v; GL, MS 12107, fol. 6^r.
[9] Elizabeth Glover, *Men of Metal: History of the Armourers and Brasiers of the City of London* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills for The Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers, 2008), p. 228.

Tyndall presented himself as a godly, benevolent, civic philanthropist; a patron of the worthy poor and of his own corporate community.[10] Tyndall also constructed a memorial culture, based upon rituals and material objects, which would be perpetuated by his fellow guildsmen long after his demise. The anticipation or hope was that he would be repeatedly remembered as a virtuous figure within the space of the Armourers' Hall. Indeed court minutes show that decades after his death, money was 'payde to the yeomanrye on St Georges day beinge the gift of Mr Tindall', and the preacher was recompensed 'for his sermon on St Georges day'.[11] Tyndall's portrait, commissioned when he was aged seventy-five, was evidently intended to act both as a personal 'memorial' (his own words), within the institutional home of his 'Brethren', and as a more general reminder to the guildsmen of the inevitability of death and, thus, the importance of crafting one's post-mortem reputation and legacy.[12] In the portrait Tyndall's left hand rests upon a human skull, a typical *memento mori* symbol, and below this, upon the table ledge is a textual inscription: 'Whatever thou dost mark thy end'.[13] Four lines of rhyming text, a witty mnemonic to the right of Tyndall's head, read: 'Tyme glydes away One God obey. Let truth bear sway So Tindal did say'. Conspicuously, under his livery robes, a sword is depicted; a visual reference both to his role as gentleman at arms, and his professional identity as a working armourer.

In this careful construction of identity, reputation and legacy, Roger Tyndall is a good exemplar of a wider civic culture in which wealthy artisans and mercantile elites established perpetual gifts and charitable trusts, administered on their behalf by the guild, for the benefit of the deserving urban poor (particularly widows and orphans), their county

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[10] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, pp. 227-41.

[11] GL, MS 12065/2, fol. 106[r].

[12] GL, MS 12106, fol. 53.

[13] For a discussion of *memento mori* symbols in early modern English portraiture, see: Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elites of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 200-03; Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraits and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 123-27.

of origin, scholars at the universities and their own impoverished, or 'decayed', company members. At his death in 1566, for example, Sir Martin Bowes, a hugely significant figure in life who had repeatedly served as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company and once as Lord Mayor of London, in 1545-6, left funds to his guild for an annual sermon and distribution of alms to the poor at St Mary Woolnoth, to be followed by a memorial feast in the Goldsmiths' Hall (see Figure 3.2).[14] From the second half of the sixteenth century, the London companies became increasingly significant agents for the alleviation of urban poverty, as their property portfolios were enhanced and their reputations as charitable trustees were heightened.[15] Ian Archer has convincingly suggested that the 'arts and acts of memorialisation' within guild and parish communities were focused upon the recollection of charitable activities and accomplishments of the civic elite: 'a spur to further charitable endeavour' and an affirmation or legitimation of 'a set of unequal power relations'.[16] Within their company halls, guildsmen were repeatedly reminded of the benevolence and generosity of politically prestigious, dead brothers: their wills were recited on quarter days; their gifts were inscribed upon wooden tables, mounted upon company walls; their donations were recollected at feasts and at sermons.[17] Within the company archives generosity and virtuosity were also recorded through textual accounts of guild patrons, such as the retrospective book of 'Benefactors' complied by the Armourers' Company from the early 1660s, which lists 'plate, goods and money' donated to the corporate body from

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[14] Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, pp. 101-02; Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, their Shop Signs and Trade-Cards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 112. Sir Martin Bowes had premises at the White Lion on Lombard Street.

[15] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', in *Guilds, Society and Economy*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis, p. 15; id., *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 120-23; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 195-201; Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, pp. 95-104.

[16] Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, 90; Robert Tittler, 'Portrait, Precedence and Politics amongst the London Liveries c. 1540-1640', *Urban History*, 35 (2008), 349-62 (p. 356).

[17] Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, pp. 95-102.

the acquisition of their Hall in 1428.[18] Thus in the existing historiography, the company cultures of gifting and memorialisation are shown to be closely bound within a broader culture of civic philanthropy.

In this section it is suggested that there is a further thread to the practices of gifting and commemoration within the early modern craft guild, one which reveals the significance of representation and remembrance not just as a charitable donor, but also as a master of one's artisanal craft. A consideration of this facet of guild identity and memorialisation requires us to combine the textual evidence of wills, books of benefactors, inventories, court minutes and accounts, with the physical remnants of company gifting cultures. It has already been noted that Roger Tyndall left two material objects connected to his own life's work and that of his son, both expected to remain in the Armourers' sights and 'uses forever'.[19] Bequests of material gifts for display in one's livery hall or on the bodies of fellow guildsmen were far from atypical. In his last will and testament, drawn up in 1565, in addition to various perpetual gifts, for the benefit of his company and the wider civic community, the goldsmith Sir Martin Bowes also decreed that over thirty close family members and guild associates were to each be given a gold mortality ring. Pointedly, these objects were based upon his own workshop's design, 'with two bowes bent and a deaths hedd graven between them […] with the inscripture about it "Remember the end"'.[20] Attention to these material traces of benevolence and commemoration shows that within organisations whose primary purpose was the regulation of the craft or trade, and whose memberships were largely composed of working artisans, identity and memorialisation were associated with one's virtuosity in life as a master craftsman. Further, this culture of honour and commemoration, embodied in material things, and displayed within

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[18] GL, MS 12105-6.
[19] GL, MS 12106, fol. 53.
[20] TNA, PROB 11/49.

institutional interiors, remained significant across the Reformation divide.[21] The giving of

material gifts was commonplace within middling, mercantile and gentry households; in

institutions such as the universities and the Inns of Court and at the royal court.[22] Across

early modern English society, gift exchanges were essential means of demonstrating

affection, patronage, loyalty, honour, deference and obligation. But within organisations

composed of artisans and merchants, both producers and consumers of material goods,

gifts must have really 'mattered', to borrow vocabulary from anthropologist Daniel Miller.[23]

In the context of the guild, the materials and artisanal skills employed in the creation of

gifts, frequently from within the donor's own workshop, carried additional social weight

and there was perhaps a shared 'cultural framework for classifying objects'.[24]

Consideration of the design, materials and craftsmanship of gifts reveals that guild

benefactors wished to present themselves as masters of their respective crafts, guardians

of illustrious histories, generous civic philanthropists and perpetual participants in convivial

rites. There is a story to tell which takes us beyond established narratives of charitable

benefactors, one that locates identities firmly within active organisations of producers and

consumers. Further, a consideration of the 'trajectory' or 'life-history' of material case

studies allows us to observe the wider guild culture, of craft regulation, civic politics,

memorialisation and sociability, of which they, and their makers and donors, were a part.[25]

The bestowal, display, adaptation and consumption of material things consequently reveal

broad socioeconomic, political and religious trends, beyond the particular object under

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[21] See note 28 of this section.

[22] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*.

[23] Daniel Miller, ed., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (London: UCL Press, 1997), pp. 3-21.

[24] Gadi Algazi, 'Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts', in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. by Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 9-27 (p. 27).

[25] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai.

analysis.[26] Thus in contrast to the existing historiography of civic institutions, which has proposed a decisive shattering of time-honoured cultures of collective memory in the wake of the Reformation, and their replacement with new 'civic' mnemonics, including regalia, portraiture and secular mythologies, it is argued here that within the early modern artisanal guild, collective identities and associated memory cultures displayed aspects of continuity, as well as change. Consideration of material evidence suggests that the notion of a decisive shift from 'religious' to 'secular' forms of memorialisation and identity in the guild organisation by the later 1500s is an overly simplistic representation of an ambiguous cultural process of adaptation and modification.[27] Crucially, the communal identity of a craft guild as an association of skilled makers of physical things had a bearing on processes and meanings of memorialisation and history. Particular materials and visual representations of accomplished artisanal labour were significant foundations in the construction of the shared or collective memory of the political and social body that constituted a London company.

Structure of this Material Analysis

In the final section of this examination of the material and spatial construction of artisanal identities and craft guild communities, our focus thus turns to material gifts, a hitherto unexplored facet of the cultural lives of early modern companies. Having considered the structural features and spatial organisation of livery halls, the principal emphasis here is upon the rich landscape of interior furnishings: dynamic assemblages of objects, which

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[26] Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by id., p. 5, 'from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social contexts'.

[27] Robert Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns', *Urban History*, 24 (1997), 283-300; id., *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political culture, c. 1540-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); id., *The Face of the City*; Victor Morgan, 'The Construction of Civic Memory in Early Modern Norwich', in *Material Memories*, ed. by Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Ansley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 183-97. The one clear exception; which suggests that there might have been some form of continuity across the Reformation 'divide': Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt.

communicated complex languages of civic prestige, masterly craftsmanship, corporate history and personal memory. Guildsmen donated a range of material culture to their halls, including textiles, plate, furniture, paintings, armour, sculpture, maps and texts, for a variety of reasons, not all of which are necessarily observable in the written archive alone. This analysis of the connections between gifting, material culture and memorialisation within the livery hall, is organised into four chapters. The first outlines the significance of gifting practices within the London companies: the motivations to make a material offering and the anticipated 'returns' on such a donation. It also considers the ways in which such generosity was recorded and remembered, and addresses the issues of sources and physical survivals. Following this thematic discussion, which introduces the principal routes and subjects of enquiry, the remainder of this section is structured according to a focus upon three material case studies, from several City companies. This organisation is intended to foreground the methodological importance of starting with the object, before locating it within relevant social and cultural contexts.[28] It is anticipated that an object-focused structure will reveal how material things were not simply a part of culture, but active agents in the construction of meaningful guild communities.[29]

The second chapter examines the life of a miniature, polychromed oak sculpture of St George, given in July 1528 by William Vynyard, former master and major benefactor of the Armourers' guild of London (see Figure 3.3). Standing at just under a metre high and clad in miniature iron armour that had been crafted in the workshop of the donor, the sculpture was set before the high table in the Armourers' communal hall, the highlight of a broader visual and material culture of devotion and memorialisation. Though seemingly a

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[28] Note how *Everyday Objects*, ed. by Hamling and Richardson, is structured according to two Tables of Contents: one thematic, the other object centred (pp. 8-9).

[29] Cochran and Beaudry, 'Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, ed. by Hicks and Beaudry, p. 196, 'anthropological material culture studies have considered [that] material culture has the potential to act as a 'quasi-agent' in everyday social life'.

religious sculpture, a representational form which suffered acutely throughout the English Reformation(s), the Armourers' St. George, a virtuoso piece of craftsmanship, was retained by the guild throughout the early modern era. One of their most prized company possessions, the sculpture played an active role in the rich ceremonial life of the guildsmen and became the founding piece in a much larger collection of miniaturised and full-sized suits, all displayed in various significant spaces within the Armourers' Hall. The third chapter of this second section considers a frieze of wall paintings commissioned in the early 1570s by several senior members of the Carpenters' Company for the decoration of the high-end of their communal hall (see Figure 3.4). Depicting the instrumental role of the artisanal skill of carpentry throughout Old and New Testament history, these narrative paintings are a celebration of biblical ancestry, collective participation and the basic materiality and skills of carpentry over the course of human history. They are also a statement civic authority: of the Carpenters' Company's prerogative to effectively regulate the wood-working crafts and trades of London. Crucially, these murals force us to reconsider the established scholarly idea that English guilds moved seamlessly from their existence as 'religious' institutions in the late-medieval era, to 'civic' institutions in the later sixteenth century. The fourth and final chapter of this 'material' section focuses upon an architecturally-inspired silver-gilt and rock crystal standing salt, given to the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company at the dinner in celebration of the end of the 'search' by Simon Gibbon, a liveryman and active goldsmith, with a workshop on Cheapside (see Figure 3.5). Unlike the vast majority of silver and gold plate given to the guild by its members, this object was retained by the Goldsmiths' Company throughout the political and financial upheavals of the seventeenth century. It is suggested that this treasured silver Salt had multiple layers of value: it represented the technical and material ingenuity of the goldsmith; the late-medieval fraternal roots of the company; and, as a piece of

microarchitecture, within the newly rebuilt Hall, their contemporary seventeenth-century preoccupations with the built environment and architectural design.

The material case-studies chosen as the focus for this section are all unusual in that they were retained by their respective companies throughout the early modern era and beyond. Gifts were vulnerable to disposal, destruction and exchange, despite the hopes of their donors that they might remain, 'forever', as permanent material reminders of achievements, qualities and skills. The 'after-lives' of objects thus often occurred outside of the guild context.[30] Particularly with regard to the Armourers' St George and the Goldsmiths' Salt, their retention and survival is largely attributable to the demonstration of extraordinary artisanal skills and techniques: qualities which were arguably of heightened significance within the institutional homes of men who were either practising artisans, craftsmen in training, or those responsible for the regulation and standards of workshop production. In socio-historical discussions of gifts and early modern gifting cultures, the design and material qualities of objects of cultural exchange are largely, if not entirely overlooked.[31] The gifts themselves are often reduced to no more than signs or symbols in complex semiotic systems of exchange.[32] It is proposed here that unless we consider the design of gifts, the materials employed, the artisanal techniques applied and, once in situ - and of greatest challenge to the historian - the dynamic 'lives' or 'trajectories' of the objects concerned, including 'meaningful relationships' with a wider material collection and the guildsmen themselves, we are telling a rather impoverished history.[33] A 'material'

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[30] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai.
[31] Miller, *Why Some Things Matter*, p. 19, 'do not reduce their materiality to overly abstract theoretical models such as formalism or a structuralism derived from linguistic analogy, which treat objects as signs but do not account for the degree to which they matter to people'.
[32] Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', p. 591, 'In the giddy world of symbolic interpretation, goods have no practical use and the consumption function has no basis in reality.'
[33] Ibid., p. 593.

approach reveals new evidence for the consideration of artisanal and guild identities and it also suggests new arguments.[34]

Gifting and the London Guilds

In *The Gift*, a seminal work on the systems of exchange and obligation, intrinsic to all 'pre-modern' societies, the anthropologist and sociologist Marcel Mauss established a theory of gifting cultures that has profoundly influenced all social scientific and historical writings on this theme. Mauss's principal observation is that the presentation of a gift is never a wholly selfless act, free from expectation on the part of the donor or recipient, but rather an action that inherently entails an exchange.[35] Gift giving creates a social bond between giver and beneficiary, and both are thus locked into an endless cycle of obligation and reciprocation.[36] Though later scholarship has critiqued aspects of Mauss's theory, particularly his broad scope, 'ranging from rigorously enforced obligations to customary favours and more altruistic acts, as well as evil, negotiated and subversive gestures', his fundamental insight - that the gift is never truly free - has remained compelling.[37] Natalie Zemon Davis's examination of the significance of gifting throughout sixteenth-century French society, in an era of burgeoning markets, religious change and the printed word, is the most influential study of early modern gifting practices so far produced.[38] A select scholarship, including works by Felicity Heal, Linda Levy Peck and Illana Krausman Ben-Amos, have also considered the importance of monetary and material exchanges in

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[34] Lubar and Kingery, *History from Things*, p. ix; Giorgio Riello, 'The Material Culture of Walking', in *Everyday Objects*, ed. by Hamling and Richardson, pp. 41-55 (p. 54), 'the ability of artefacts and object-based research to challenge dominant narratives'.

[35] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 3, 'exchanges and contracts take place in the form of presents; in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily'.

[36] Ibid., p. 17, 'In all this there is a succession of rights and duties to consume and reciprocate, corresponding to rights and duties to offer and accept'.

[37] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 6. For a concise discussion of the various criticisms levelled at Mauss's reciprocal exchange theory see: pp. 6-9.

[38] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

sixteenth-and seventeenth-century English society, particularly within the context of middling and gentry households and the royal court.[39]

Appropriate reciprocity of goods, skills, services and values was central to the ethos of the late medieval and early modern craft guild. At the most basic level, the guild was able to undertake its numerous economic, political and social roles because each member paid his quarterage dues, thus contributing to the collective treasury.[40] Guildsmen gave a wide variety of material objects to their companies, ranging from the relatively mundane and commonplace, such as cooking utensils, to the extraordinary and highly ritualised, such as election cups and crowns. Through material gifts, guildsmen competed for status, demonstrated loyalty, commemorated their service or consolidated political authority. Objects donated for display within company interiors revealed workshop, mercantile or even royal connections; demonstrated knowledge and erudition; publicised highly accomplished artisanal skills and innovatory workshop practices and designs. Things might also be intended to act as prompts for personal remembrance, or make claims concerning the antiquity and historical authenticity of the guild.[41] In other words, material gifts might be donated or bequeathed under a variety of circumstances, ranging from the obligatory to the allegedly 'freely' given, and with a range of anticipated 'return' objectives in mind. And once part of a wider material display or collection, their meanings were also subject to modification, negotiation and change.[42] The obligation to reciprocate fell not to a particular individual; rather the communal body of the guild was responsible for collectively

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[39] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*; Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Peck, *Consuming Splendor*; Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving.*

[40] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 108-09.

[41] Zemon Davis, *The* Gift, p. 35, 'Gifts were to express sentiments of affection, compassion and/or gratefulness, but they were simultaneously sources of support, interest, and advancement.'

[42] Maurice Howard, 'Afterword Art Re-Formed: Spiritual Revolution, Spatial Re-Location', in *Art Re-Formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 267-71.

honouring the exchange.[43] We have seen that William Tyndall's request was that the livery, as a collective ruling group, and as many of the yeomanry as were willing, should attend the anniversary services in his honour, in return for his testamentary bequests. Likewise, the anticipation was that the silver-gilt pot donated by his son, Thomas Tyndall, would be utilised by the society of guildsmen.

Late-Medieval Guild Gifting Cultures

As institutions that nourished the spiritual, as well as social and economic needs of their members, the culture of gifting within the late-medieval craft guild was deeply connected to the Catholic notion that donations would bring spiritual returns. Or to put it another way, once a material gift from an individual guildsman had been received by the corporate body, the 'burden' of obligation (for making returns on that gift) lay with the living community of recipients. Craft fraternities were deeply involved in the 'cult' of the dead, the rich culture of memorialisation, centred on a belief in Purgatory, which bound living and dead communities together through perpetual cycles of masses, indulgences and fasts.[44] A collective memory culture in which visual and material representations, signs or embodiments of the Holy Family and 'heavenly society' of saints were essential, if not entirely uncontroversial, intercessory tools.[45] Crucially, in addition to hosting feasts for the advancement of commensality and charity amongst the living brethren, events which were based upon material, or rather perishable contributions from a range of members, the late-medieval craft fraternities provided lights in honour of their patron saint, and the memory

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[43] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 6, 'First, it is not individuals but collectives that impose obligations of exchange and contract upon each other.'

[44] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 301-03.

[45] For a recent analysis of the ambivalent (or 'paradoxical') relationship between materiality and devotional objects in a pre-Reformation context, see: Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

of departed brothers and they organised alms, prayers and funerals for their members.[46]

The London Armourers' guild acquired the advowson of a chantry dedicated to St George, in the Chapel of St Thomas in St Paul's Cathedral in the first half of the fifteenth century and were not unusual - among craft institutions - in maintaining such perpetual supplications to their patron saint.[47] The mercantile guilds with the wealthiest members and largest endowments supported multiple intercessory services at any one time; the Guild of the Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St John the Baptist funded nine chantry priests and an additional fourteen obits.[48]

Court minutes and inventories compiled by late-medieval craft guilds show that members demonstrated their commitment to the fraternal ideal and established their identities or reputations in life, and memory after death, through the donation of material goods and furnishings for their institutional homes and neighbouring churches. The inventory taken in 1490 by the 'bretherhode of the assumpcion of our Blessid Lady of the Crafte of pewter of London', records 'The giftys of such goodmen that be alyve and they that be paste oute of this world'.[49] The lack of distinction in the following list as to which brothers were living or dead certainly tells us something significant about the late-medieval fraternal conception of 'community'. Silver and pewter plate (apostle spoons, cups and bowls), textiles (napkins, table and banner cloths), and wooden benches and boards, were given to the craft for the performance of the feasts and civic processions which punctuated the ritual calendar of the guild, most important of which was the election of the new master and wardens, usually held on the patronal feast day. Guildsmen also sponsored windows within the new Pewterers' Hall and members took care to ensure that their

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[46] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 142-44; B. Hanawalt, "Keepers of the Light': Late Medieval English Parish Gilds', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14 (1984), 26-37; Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Livery Companies*, I, 70-73.
[47] Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 284.
[48] *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors,* I, 84-92.
[49] GL, MS 7110, fol. 2[v].

heraldry was displayed in the most prominent spaces, thus their memory, and that of their ancestors, would be associated with political prestige within the guild.[50] The retrospective book of 'Benefactors' compiled by the livery of the Armourers' Company in the early 1660s shows similar types of gifts of 'plate, goods and money' donated by fifteenth-century armourers to their corporate body. In 1428, the year in which the 'Armorers Hall was hired' or 'really bought' (as a later hand interjected in the institutional record), guildsmen gave a range of material goods to their institutional home. Thomas Rabeland 'gave a brasse pott'; Thomas Kiddisbery a 'bourd cloath […] two glase window[s] and a shippe chest'; John Leyland donated 'a table clothe high deysse' and Emett Justice 'five dozen of trenchers'.[51] Through material gifts associated with significant rites of commensality and spaces of prestige, such as the high dais, guildsmen showed dedication and loyalty to the fraternal ethos of the late-medieval craft guild. Gifts were often timed to coincide with significant dates in the institutional calendar, which was itself synchronised with the liturgical year, thus enhancing the status of the offering.[52] As in the cases of the Pewterers' and Armourers' Companies, a cluster of donations of material furnishings at the point at which a guild hall was purchased, or significantly remodelled, was also typical across the City companies.[53] Clearly such circumstances offered opportunities for materially demonstrating or asserting one's prominence within significant communal spaces, a valuable reminder that internal competition existed alongside or in tension with the fraternal ideal.

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[50] GL, MS 7110, fol. 4[v].

[51] GL, MS 12105, fols 1-4.

[52] Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast', 430-46; Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 42.

[53] The court of assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company declared in May 1635 that it should be 'remembred that the said Mr Willaims [recently deceased] is the ffirst Benefactor towards the new building or beautifyeinge of the hall and therefore it is ordered that in asmuch as his guifte is towards the glazinge of the hall that his name and Armes shalbee sett vp in the glasse windows when the same shalbee glased' [GHA, S1, fol. 89[r]].

It was noted in the second section of this work that craft fraternities usually had close associations with churches in the same streets and parishes as their guild halls. It was in these spaces that members' funerals were held, and prominent brothers buried and memorialised. In Stow's *Survey of London*, significant connections between medieval craft fraternities, gifting cultures and memorialisation of members are revealed. In the ward of Aldersgate, the site of the Goldsmiths' Company Hall, lay the church of St John Zachary, which many brothers of the fraternity had sponsored and were subsequently remembered within. The building was a 'fayre church, with the monuments wel[l] preserved, of Thomas Lichfield who founded a chauntrie there […] Nicholas Twiford, Goldsmith, mayor 1388 […] of whose goods the church was made and new builded, with a Tomb for them and others of their race […]', and so the list continues, naming nearly a dozen significant goldsmiths.[54] In the parish church of St Leonard, located on the same lane as the Goldsmiths' Hall, there was a monument to Robert Trappis, a goldsmith, who died in 1526, with an epitaph which deliberately played with notions of memorialisation or remembrance: 'When the bel[l]s be merily roong, And the masse devoutly sung, And the meat merily eaten, Then shall Robert Traps his wives And children be forgotten'.[55] The goldsmith Henry Coote, who passed away in 1513, left seventy pounds to St Dunstan's chapel in the church of St Vedast, for the rebuilding of the chapel and a glass window 'to be made according to a pattern I have caused to be made containing the life of St Dunstan and the figures of me and my two wives'.[56]

The inventory taken in 1490 by the Pewterers' guild, listing the gifts donated and bequeathed to the fraternity by its members, recorded textiles, silver plate and torches or lights, items that were linked specifically to the performance of Eucharistic worship, 'a

54 Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 305.
55 Ibid.
56 Reddaway and Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, p. 293.

much favoured way of securing remembrance'.[57] The guildsman William Smalw[o]rd for instance 'gave a branche of laton for v tapers of wax to sete in honour of our Blessid lady'.[58] As within parish communities, silver bestowed by brothers of the craft fraternity might have been specifically linked to the rite of the mass, with a name of the donor on the lip or foot of a cup, so that the benefactor's name would be repeatedly raised to God at the sacring.[59] Across London guildsmen also gave the essential material apparatus for carrying out the funerals of brothers of the fraternity, such as 'a bla[c]k cofyn with iii chapelet[s] of Red Saten with the ymage of our lady assumpcion of sylver'.[60] In the late-medieval context, the giving of material objects within the guild was thus inextricably linked to the expectation that the living community of guildsmen had significant obligations to their dead brothers, and that material things, as prompts to memorialisation, had a substantial role in this intercessory process. The Pewterers' list of 'giftys of such goodmen that be alyve and they that be paste oute of this world', and other early guild inventories, were perhaps thus variants of the parochial bede-roll, a 'social map of the community', permanently linking an individual's memory with a familiar object within the company hall or neighbouring church.[61]

Post-Reformation Guild Gifting Practices

This culture of gifting and collective memorialisation within the London guild was undoubtedly disrupted by the Reformation, specifically by the injunctions of the 1540s, which outlawed fraternities, chantries, the provision and performance of obits and the burning of lights.[62] Fundamentally, craft guilds were no longer permitted to perform

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[57] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 331.
[58] GL, MS 7110, fol. 2[r].
[59] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 320.
[60] GL, MS 7110, fol. 2[v].
[61] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 334-37.
[62] Ibid., pp. 451-55; Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, I, 113-15.

intercessory acts on behalf of dead members of the brotherhood.[63] Though the traditional 'cult of the dead' was undermined, craft guilds and their company halls continued to be important arenas for materially establishing political prestige and upholding post-mortem reputations and social memory, and guildsmen continued to give physical gifts, including plate, textiles and furniture, as a focus or prompt for remembrance. As in the pre-Reformation era, objects were given for the performance of specific rituals; masses had been abolished, but guildsmen still donated objects for use at funerals, feasts and civic processions. In 1605 for instance, the armourer Richard Lockson and Isabell Lockson his wife 'gave a velvett cloth imbroidered to bee used att ye Buriall of any of ye Assistants or Livery of ye Company'.[64] Court minutes and accounts from across the London companies show that the funeral and burial of a guildsman continued to be a communal responsibility. A guildsman's coffin would be draped with the company hearse cloth, some of which were even adapted late-medieval survivals, and, as in the case of armourer Roger Tyndall, or goldsmith Sir Martin Bowes, members were urged to witness the burial, attend the sermon or hear the preacher, and subsequently participate in the memorial drinks or dinner in the livery hall, in his honour.[65] Upon his death in July 1559, the armourer John Ritchmonde - Master of the Armourers' Company in 1547-48 - 'was buried over against his pew, in St. Peter's Church, Cornhill, being bourne thither by four Liverymen of the Company, followed by the Master and Wardens, as Mourners'.[66] He also left thirty shillings for the livery to have 'at their Common Hall one good and honest Breakfast' on St George's Day.[67] An

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[63] Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 'Introduction: Placing the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-16.

[64] GL, MS 12105, fol. 17.

[65] Guildsmen were also required to attend these commemorative events in the appropriate apparel. In 1567 for example, the carpenter Thomas Harper was fined 12 d for 'comyng in a wronge lyverie gowne at the buryall of Mr Trull' [Jupp, An *Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 141].

[66] GL, MS 12106, fol. 14.

[67] Ibid., fol. 19.

altered theology did not undermine the continued social and political need for a collective, institutionalised response to the passing of individual members.[68]

The family or executors of the early modern guildsman often played a role in the perpetuation of an individual's memory through ensuring that material donations were presented to the relevant company. In 1631, for instance, the children and executors of Thomas Sympson, former upper warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, presented to the livery his 'free gift' of a 'little cup and cover of Italian work, garnished with gold and enclosed in a red leathern case'.[69] In the same year the son of the recently deceased Richard Cheney donated to the Goldsmiths 'his father's bequest of a large voiding basin of silver, weighing 81 oz. 10dwts., which is thankfully received. After this the Fishmongers, and other invited guests, dine with the Wardens in the great Hall'.[70] The wives of guildsmen frequently ensured that the appropriate material gifts were bestowed upon the guild authorities. In 1563 for instance, Mrs Trapps gave to the Goldsmiths, in remembrance of her husband and herself, a silver gilt standing cup, amounting to £34 4s in value.[71] Wives also ensured that memorial dinners for their spouses were undertaken using the appropriate material apparatus, as for example when George Smithes' widow was given licence for the use of the Goldsmiths' Hall, linen and plate for her husband's funeral dinner; the plate and textiles were received with a full inventory, and the instruction that she was to return the full list the day after Smithes' funeral.[72]

It was demonstrated in the previous section that rooms and routes associated with guild governance and regulation were materially distinguished from other company spaces

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[68] Vanessa Harding, 'Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation', in *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 386-98 (p. 387, 394), 'notions of a timeless continuity of the social order, through the historic institutional identities represented'.
[69] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 153.
[70] Ibid., 155.
[71] Ibid., 64.
[72] Ibid., 125.

from the second half of the sixteenth century, at the same time that liverymen were refining and codifying their election ceremonies. The Armourers' 'Benefactors' book shows that material gifts given by early modern guildsmen were frequently objects associated with the ruling activities and responsibilities of the companies, specifically voting and election ceremonies and ritual practices.[73] The liveryman John Pasfield gave the aforementioned 'fair large chest bound with Iron' in the last decade of the sixteenth century for the storage of valuable documents, with only four keys made for the four wardens; he also gave 'a wainscott box made to serve for the choise or like of suertyes or fines leases tenants rents or any other thing that shall be put in election', and 'did make and give to this Company a table faire written in meeter of the Antiquity of this Co[mpany] which hangeth in the parlor and also a brazen became with fower brased candlesticks hanging in the same parlor'.[74] A board crafted within Pasfield's own workshop demonstrating the 'Antiquity' of the guild appears to be an effort to associate himself with the honourable history of the company. Pasfield's choice of material furnishings for the parlour room was also an attempt to stake an enduring personal claim to this privileged space. In 1634, Lady Middleton, the widow of Sir Hugh Middleton, goldsmith, sent her husband's portrait to the Goldsmiths' court of assistants, with the express wish, or rather instruction, that it would hang in their parlour.[75] Later in the seventeenth century members of the Armourers' Company gave material furnishings for the ornamentation of the hearth: a 'greate iron backe in the parlour Chimney' and 'great iron dogges'. During the year in which he served as Master, George Sills gave 'a staff with the picture of St. George cast in silver upon the head of itt for the Beadle to carry before ye Co[mpany] upon all

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[73] There is a commonality here with civic governance in general: see Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns*, pp. 272-75.

[74] GL, MS 12105, fol. 13. John Pasfield served as Master of the Armourers' Company for six years between 1583 and 1597.

[75] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 159, 'The gift is kindly received', and 'it shall be placed according to her desire'.

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Early modern guildsmen were also acutely aware of the ceremonial value of the very act of gifting, 'the politics of representation' as Gadi Algazi has phrased it.[82] Though benefaction books and inventories rarely give much contextual detail concerning the circumstances in which a material gift was bestowed, occasional entries in court minutes relating to particularly grand donations, demonstrate that guildsmen timed their performances of generosity with care. Ideally a large number of his fellow brothers of the guild, particularly those belonging to the political elite, would witness the act of gifting, and preferably they might be assembled within the livery hall on a day of customary importance in the ritual calendar. Following a meeting of the court of assistants of the Armourers' Company in 1562, and just before their dinner began, armourer John Bell 'in the presence of all […] afore sayd gave unto this hawll one dosande of playn nappkyns markyd with a J and a B and he gave at the same tyme a tabull knife to take uppe ye tabull'.[83] Offering a material gift at a significant company feast was highly desirable, from the perspective of the donor, for a number of reasons. First, a large and politically significant audience was guaranteed for the demonstration of generosity. Second, a guildsman's material gift, presented at a moment when the hall was prepared for celebration - hung with banners and streamers, silver plate displayed upon the buffet and the furniture arranged to reflect internal hierarchies - would have magnified the splendour of the gift offering.[84] Whether or not it was intended as a material accoutrement for the future celebration of that particular company rite, such as Bell's personalised napkins, the gifted object, throughout its 'social life', would forever be associated with that significant company event. Third, the gift might have gained a sense of gravitas or heightened significance through its entering the institutional home of the company on a day in the

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[82] Algazi, 'Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts', in *Negotiating the Gift*, ed. by Algazi, Groebner and Jussen, p. 18, 'controlling the relevant publics witnessing particular acts of gifting is crucial to the politics of exchange'.
[83] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 87.
[84] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 214, 'These spatial and temporal dimensions of the event subtly impressed on and magnified the honour of the giver.'

ritual calendar customarily associated with commensality and the celebration of brotherhood. Or, as the Goldsmiths phrased it, when they reflected upon their performance of their election feast in 1569: 'all things were observed and performed according to the ancient order and custom in that behalf long time used and accustomed'.[85]

When the goldsmith Sir Martin Bowes presented four 'fair garlands of crimson velvet, garnished with silver and gold, and set with pearls and stones', in 1561, in addition to 'a fair gilt Standying Cuppe, weighing 80 ounces […] with a manikin on the cover holding a skutchyn whereon his arms be graved in an annealed plate of gold', he did so at the master and warden's election feast, held on St Dunstan's feast day (see Figure 3.6).[86] This was a particularly apposite moment for Bowes' donation, with maximum audience numbers and theatricality, as the gifts were designated specifically for use on all future election days. We have already seen that Bowes even framed the circumstances in which his material generosity would be bestowed, and remembered after death, stipulating that the annual distribution of alms to the poor at St Mary Woolnoth should be accompanied with a sermon, and followed by a memorial feast in the Goldsmiths' Hall.[87] When the accomplished armourer John Kelte was at the peak of his professional career, in 1567, having been made a liveryman of the Armourers' Company and achieving the honour of being appointed Master Workman at the royal armour workshops at Greenwich, he presented his gift to the company, a harness styled in the latest Greenwich style, at the Master's election feast. At this occasion, Kelte placed his gift on a platter, and processed it,

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[85] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 70.
[86] Ibid., 63. This object is still retained in the Goldsmiths' Company's silver and gold plate collection.
[87] Ibid., 71; Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, pp. 101-02; Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 184, 'For all their efficacy in enhancing bonds of reciprocity within parishes and guilds, gifts given in perpetuity implied a great desire to exercise control over the beneficiaries.'

before the multiple serving dishes of food, to the high table.[88] In 1632 when the goldsmith Simon Gibbon presented his fellow liverymen of the Goldsmiths' Company with an impressive material offering of a silver-gilt and rock crystal salt, of architectural design - and the focus of this fourth and final chapter of this section - he did so at the feast in celebration of the end of the 'search' of gold and silversmiths' workshops (including his own premises).[89]

The presentation of a gift, particularly at a well-attended ceremonial occasion, clearly carried certain risks for the donor. Guild authorities did not welcome all material objects with the same enthusiasm: gifts might only be accepted upon certain conditions, they could even be rejected, with severe implications for the benefactor's honour and status.[90] The archival material employed for this deconstruction of the cultural and social practices of guild gifting - inventories, benefactors' books and court minutes - only present us with post-facto accounts; they reveal very little about the complex processes through which material gifts eventually ended up in the company's possession. As Algazi has argued, with reference to the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, 'it is only in retrospect that gifts seem to follow […] their prescribed paths, to have uniform and foreseeable effects and to conform to the rules laid out by indigenous informers or scholarly observers'.[91] There are occasional hints in the archival record that the anticipated gifting process could be disrupted, and that the material donation could even generate controversy: as for example, when George Smithes, as mentioned above, bequeathed a cup to the Goldsmiths' Company and the assistants expressed 'dislike of some of the verses graven on the cup,

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[88] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 39.
[89] GHA, R2, fol. 243.
[90] Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 15, 'Sixteenth-century people were evaluating gifts all the time, their own gifts and those of others, deciding what was at stake, and judging whether it was a good gift or a bad gift or even a gift at all.'
[91] Algazi, 'Doing Things with Gifts', in *Negotiating the Gift*, ed. by Algazi, Groebner and Jussen, p. 17.

which they desire to be altered'.[92] It is also highly probable that many guildsmen, below the ranking of the liverymen, made small material donations in life or bequests at death, which have largely gone unrecorded in the official company record. In inventories and court minutes there are occasional mentions of gifts given by the wardens of the yeomanry: 'a playn table clothe' from this estate of the Pewterers' Company in 1550; in 1559, a 'ffolding table with ii leavis of the gifte of the yeomandry'.[93] The clerk accounted for benefactions that the guild elite themselves deemed to be significant and which required a 'return', in the form of ceremonial memorialisation, in speeches, on hall walls and in company archives.[94]

The archival record also falls short in one other significant aspect: we are rarely given detailed descriptions of the objects donated to the livery halls; inscriptions upon plate were usually recorded, and weights of silver and gold objects noted because of their exchange potential, but decorative schemes might simply be described as a 'picture' or a 'board'. The design and scale of material gifts can also be hard to ascertain; details were sometimes noted when the object was recognised as being particularly innovative or extraordinary, as in the case of the silver-gilt and rock crystal Salt given by the goldsmith Simon Gibbon, but typically the written record is frustratingly opaque. These are ambiguities which are certainly not unique to the written record of the livery companies, but rather a feature of early modern English inventory practices in general.[95] In order to appreciate the design, artisanal techniques and material values of physical gifts donated by guildsmen to their companies, it is necessary to consider material survivals within contemporary guild collections.

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[92] *Memorials* of the Goldsmiths' Company, I, 125.

[93] GL, MS 7110, fol. 12ᵛ, fol. 34ᵛ.

[94] Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, pp. 95-102.

[95] Susan Foister, 'Paintings and other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123 (1981), 273-82 (pp. 274-75); Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', p. 589.

Material Survivals

Though early modern London livery halls were well-furnished and richly decorated with material gifts from loyal members, there are relatively few surviving examples of the objects that adorned these sixteenth-and seventeenth-century interiors. The low rate of material survivals is in part attributable to the Great Fire of 1666, which destroyed the vast majority of livery halls, and fire and flood damage in subsequent centuries.[96] A note made by the Basketmakers' Company in January 1666/7 that the 'dreadfull and lamentable fire' had decimated 'most of the late flourishing Citty of London within the walls and most parte westward without the walls', including 'their chest with carpet cushions, silver spoones, books writinges and other things', was not an unusual experience for a London guild.[97] For those few companies whose institutional homes escaped significant damage, including the halls of the Armourers' and Carpenters' Companies, there is some evidence that material gifts might have been taken down from display and sold or destroyed when they were no longer fashionable, in a state of 'decay', or proved to be controversial at times of political and religious change or volatility. In October 1547, for example, following the royal orders concerning religious images, the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company 'desired to knowe the pleasure of the assystents for the Image of Seynt Dunston, bycause of the Iniunctyons'. This golden sculptural representation of their patron saint, placed upon the screen in the communal hall and adorned with precious stones, which had been bequeathed by devoted goldsmiths, was taken down from its central position and collectively broken up in the hall by the assistants, 'to turne it to the moste profett of the house. Also that the gre[a]t standyng cup, with Saynt Dunston on the toppe, shoulde be lykewyse by theym broken and turned into other plate'.[98] The reformation process through which 'corporately venerated

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[96] Reddaway, *The Building of London after the Great Fire*, p. 26.
[97] GL, MS 2874/1.
[98] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 54.Philippa Glanville, 'The Company's Plate Circa 1520', *Goldsmiths' Review* (1984-5), 19-22 (p. 20).

objects were corporately eliminated' was given heightened meaning in the case of the Goldsmiths' Company, whose wardens customarily broke up false plate.[99] At the same court meeting at which had been decided to break up their St Dunstan figure, the Goldsmiths reached a bargain with the 'broderer', who receieved 30 s for amending their communal hearse-cloth; the purpose was in all likelihood the removal of all 'superstitious' imagery.[100] Similar motivations may account for the fact that the majority of the fifteenth-century gifts mentioned in the Armourers' 'Benefactors' Book', such as 'the crest of the high deysse with three Angells', given by armourers Thomas Parker and John Herbyshame, were apparently no longer in existence when the Armourers made their first full inventory of communal possessions in August 1585.[101] As the Goldsmiths' comment regarding 'superstitious' items 'turned into other plate' makes clear, gold and silver objects might be remodelled, melted down or exchanged for cash when circumstances dictated. More than any other type of gift, silver and gold plate moved 'both into and out of the commodity state' with relative ease.[102] As is discussed in the final chapter of this section, only the gold and silver cups associated with election ceremonies and the largesse and memory of a particularly prominent benefactor, such as the aforementioned Bowes' Cup, were safe from routine dispersal or destruction.

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[99] For the problematic relationship between gold and images see: Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 219-29. See also: p. 262, 'Iconoclasm was a social process, designed to give group solidarity to the inauguration of doctrinal change.'

[100] Herbert, *History of the Livery Companies*, I, 142-43.

[101] GL, MS 12105, fol. 2; GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 475ᵛ.

[102] Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by id., p. 17

Chapter Two: Armour, St George and Artisanal Virtuosity in the Armourers' Company Hall

In July 1528, William Vynyard, former master and major benefactor of the Armourers' guild of London donated to his fellow guildsmen a polychromed oak sculpture of St George, patron saint of the company (see Figure 3.3). Standing at just under a metre high (84.5cm) and clad in miniature iron armour that had been crafted in the workshop of Vynyard himself, the sculpture was set before the high table in the Armourers' communal hall, the highlight of a broader visual and material culture of devotion and memorialisation.[103] Though ostensibly a religious sculpture, a form of material culture that suffered acutely throughout the English Reformation(s), the Armourers' St George was retained by the guild throughout the early modern era, and is still in situ in the Armourers' Hall.[104] A prized corporate possession throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Vynyard's sculpture played an active role in the rich ceremonial life of the guildsmen - within and outside their institutional home - and became the founding piece in a much larger collection of miniaturised and full-sized suits, which were connected to the workshops and memory of significant makers and guildsmen.

In the following chapter it is suggested that the Armourers' sculpture of St George had multiple social roles and meanings, both for the maker and donor, and for the larger guild community of which it was a part. Its suitability as a gift, and its retention, display and use in the Armourers' Hall and in wider demonstrations of civic celebration and pageantry, highlight facets of guild culture that could not be deduced from the written archive alone. At the point of donation, and in subsequent decades, this multimedia sculpture acted as a material masterpiece at the heart of the Armourers' Hall, a representation of artisanal skill and political achievement, of Vynyard's combined accomplishments in the guild hall and

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[103] William Vynyard was master of the Armourers' Company on three separate occasions: 1503-4, 1513-14 and 1531-2.
[104] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 229.

the workshop. Initially, the model might also have had devotional associations, connected to the role of St George as the Armourers' patron saint. After Vynyard's death, this object remained as a material memorial of its maker, his workshop talents and the late-medieval fraternal guild culture of which it was a rare physical survival.

Armour, Skill and Memory

Across late medieval and early modern Europe, armour, in general, was understood to be a hugely important statement of a man's taste, affluence and identity in life - as exemplified by the numerous portraits of kings and aristocrats posturing in their made to measure suits - as well as a particularly suitable artefact for ensuring that one endured as a figure of historic significance after death; a lasting shell which physically embodied personhood, perhaps even spirit. At the funeral of the Prince of Wales, heir to the English throne, in 1502, a knight clad in Arthur's own armour led the funeral procession; over a century later, Christian II, Elector of Saxony (1591-1611) had a loyal squire wear his bespoke armour at his own funeral, 'in effigie'.[105] In both cases, the desired effect must have been for the customised armour - in motion - to suggest the continued presence of the 'political body' of the deceased. In his castle at Ambras, Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor (1619-1637) had a specially constructed *Rustkammer*, a collection of arms and armour that had formerly been owned - and worn - by famous men.

The Armourers' 'Benefactors' Book', constructed in the early 1660s as a retrospective account of material gifts to the guild, demonstrates that the sculptural offering of William Vynyard, in 1528, was clearly intended to be part of the company's larger visual and material culture of religious devotion, civic honour and personal commemoration, housed within the Armourers' Hall on Coleman Street in the City of

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[105] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 95; Heinz-Werner Lewerken, 'The Dresden Armory in the New Stable', in *Princely Splendor: The Dresden Court, 1580-1620,* ed. by Dirk Syndram and Antje Scherner (Milan: Electa; Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2004), pp. 70-79 (p. 79).

London, a 'theatre' or 'site of memory'.[106] All the gifted items and furnishings for the Hall, crafted by a range of artisans within London, were no doubt expected to act as lasting embodiments of the donors' generosity, political authority and devotional piety; but the saintly sculpture given by Vynyard had a more nuanced symbolic value, for it represented the Armourers' patronal saint in the material and form in which the guildsmen themselves were familiar and skilled.[107] As one of the most revered warrior saints throughout Christendom, allegedly an army officer who was martyred in the late third or early fourth centuries, the chivalric, crusading St George was naturally a favourite among armourers' guilds across Europe, and the London Armourers were no exception.[108] In 1428, John Amflesh, who had been Master of the guild in the previous year, presented to his guildsmen 'the hallyngs to the high deysse' [dais], an impressive set of 'steyned' or painted textiles, hung at the high end of the communal hall, which combined a visual representation of St George with celebratory textual verses by the poet John Lydgate.[109] In the same year, two senior guildsmen 'gave the crest of the high deyesse with three Angells': a wooden carving which framed the impressive textile, and the high table, below.[110] Nearly a century later, in 1522, with 'the hallyngs' still prominently displayed, Master of the Armourers' Company John Alleyn gave 'a Table of Joyners worke with the picture of St. George upon it in vellom'.[111] Significantly, when William Vynyard presented his St George sculpture to the company, in that same decade, he also fashioned the broader built environment in which the figure was displayed, including all 'the lattice

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[106] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*', *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-25; Archer, 'The arts and acts of memorialisation', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. by Merritt, p. 90.

[107] The gifts are recorded from the later 1420s; from the acquisition of their communal hall at the northern end of Coleman Lane, in the City of London.

[108] Jonathan Bengtson, 'Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27 (1997), 317-40; Muriel C. McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast: Saint George's Day Celebrations and Religious Change in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999), 1-27.

[109] GL, MS 12105, fol. 2; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 123-24.

[110] GL, MS 12105, fol. 2.

[111] Ibid., fol. 9.

[work] that be about the galleryes into the [hall] Chamber and making the white seates in the parlor and the laying of them'.[112] In the previous decade, during the years of his service as Master, Vynyard had also 'made all the new lattice work about the Gallery at his owne proper costs and charges'.[113] For the first few decades of the sixteenth century - corresponding to his political ascendancy - this armourer was evidently a major material benefactor to his company.

It is intriguing that the oak and steel model of the Armourers' patron saint was given by William Vynyard with 'a Lattin Candlestick that is before it' and 'a long streamer of Sir Reynolds Brayes arms'.[114] The candlestick suggests that at the point of its donation, the sculpture might have had devotional associations; an idea supported by evidence that another model of the Saint was kept in the Armourers' chantry in St Paul's.[115] Sir Reynold Bray (c. 1440-1503) had acted as a senior councillor to Margaret Beaufort and Henry VII, and was even named executor for the King in 1491 and 1496. Bray was elected as a Knight of the Garter in 1501, a highly prestigious order whose patron saint was St George, and at Windsor, Bray financed the south aisle and other material works at St George's Chapel, and was eventually buried in this same space.[116] The donation of a ceremonial banner displaying Bray's arms thus linked Vynyard and his sculpture to the illustrious career and memory of this knight and the chivalrous order to which he belonged. Vynyard was also perhaps affirming his status as benefactor of the Armourers' Company through association with a man who had patronised St George's royal chapel, a site in which the annual

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[112] Ibid., fol. 10.
[113] Ibid., fol. 9.
[114] Ibid., fol. 10.
[115] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 26.
[116] M. M. Condon, 'Bray, Sir Reynold (c. 1440-1503)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3295> [accessed 2 March 2013]

procession and banquet hosted by the Knights of the Garter was held on the saintly feast day.[117]

William Vynyard's figure of St George, his horse and their reptilian adversary were carved from a single piece of oak. Dendrochronological analysis undertaken in the 1970s established that the figure was almost certainly made from an English tree, probably from the Home Counties, felled between 1515 and 1530.[118] Dragon and visible elements of the Saint and his steed were polychromed, an entirely typical decorative feature of contemporary devotional sculpture.[119] A sense of material veracity was achieved through the incorporation of genuine hair for the horse's tail, textiles for the saddle, studded leather for the reins and, most strikingly of all, the perfectly proportioned full plate iron armour for man and horse. That the style of armour was intended to be that commissioned and worn for a joust or tournament is suggested by the broken lance on the base of the statue and gripped in the dragon's claws, as well as the reinforced left pauldron or shoulder-plate. Significantly, the suit was crafted by William Vynyard according to contemporary continental fashions for armour: the waistline is pinched, as stressed by a copper belt; there is an emphasis upon the commanding upper body, achieved through vertical ridges running down the breastplate; and the figure's sabatons, or, shoes, are squared-toed, a clear contrast to the long tapering footwear which had been fashionable in the previous century.[120] These traces of stylistic and technical engagement with Italian fashions, the centre of quality armour production in late-medieval Europe, would undoubtedly have been interpreted by an organisation of skilled metalworkers as an

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[117] McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast', p. 10, 'There were processions, a banquet to which the queen and other noblewomen were invited, and religious services.'

[118] K. Watts, 'The Arts of Combat', in *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, ed. by Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), p. 199.

[119] Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 48.

[120] Angus Patterson, *Fashion and Armour in Renaissance Europe: Proud Lookes and Brave Attire* (London, V&A Publications, 2009), pp. 33-35.

unambiguous statement of Vynyard's personal artisanal virtuosity, an impression that would have been heightened by the scale of the suit, differing from full-sized armour simply in having its articulated parts made solid.[121]

Miniaturised armour, as distinct from that made for young boys or adolescents, was a very rare spectacle in early modern Europe.[122] There appear to be only two other extant examples of such scaled-down suits: a pair of almost identical armours, half a metre in height, crafted in Italy in the 1620s and now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see Figure 3.7). Though the precise circumstances of their making and subsequent display are unknown, both are 'structurally accurate to the smallest detail' and it is probable that they were thus intended to act as masterpieces, or material demonstrations of the splendour of the armourer's craft.[123] In an age in which mechanical crafts on a miniature scale were greatly valued, the technical skills required for such intricate assemblages of metalwork would have no doubt evoked curiosity or wonder.[124] In this respect it is pertinent that Vynyard made such a material testimonial of his personal masterly skills in precisely the same era as the creation of the royal armour workshops at Greenwich, a centre established by Henry VIII for the production of impressive, bespoke tournament suits by highly skilled Italian, Flemish and 'Almain' armourers (see Figure 3.8).[125] The presentation of miniature armour by the master of the indigenous guild would have, thus, been a substantial symbolic statement regarding the ability of *English* armourers to create customised suits themselves. Since showpiece armours were typically mounted and displayed upon horses of wood, as for example at the 'Green Gallery' at

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[121] Watts, 'The Arts of Combat', p. 198.

[122] I am grateful to Angus Patterson, Senior Curator at the V&A, for confirming the rarity of miniature armour within European collections of arms.

[123] R. Bullock, 'Two Suits of Miniature Armour', *The Burlington Magazine*, 108 (1966), pp. 86-89.

[124] Alexander Marr, '*Gentille curiosité*: Wonder-Working and the Culture of Automata in the late Renaissance', in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. by R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 149-70.

[125] Thom Richardson, 'The Royal Armour Workshops at Greenwich', in *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man, 1509-2009*, ed. by Graeme Rimer, Thom Richardson and J. P. D. Cooper (Leeds: Royal Armouries; Historic Royal Palaces, 2009), pp. 148-54.

Greenwich, there might have been a degree of ambiguity, depending upon the observer, as to which element of Vynyard's gift - steel armour or wooden saint - was the true sculptural centrepiece.[126]

A Rare Sculptural Survival

The intriguing material authenticity of the armour encasing Vynyard's figurative sculpture of St George, displayed within the hall of its associated craft guild, might account for its unique survival; for whilst hundreds, perhaps even thousands of devotional sculptures of this patron saint were once in existence across England and Europe, the Armourers' Company model is the only English wooden sculpture in the round to have survived the bursts of state-sponsored and spontaneous iconoclasm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[127] A late fifteenth-century two-dimensional polychromed oak sculpture of St George (h. 72.5) which once stood within Gosford Gate Chapel, upon the City walls of Coventry, and now housed within The Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry, is the only other surviving late medieval or early modern wooden sculptural depiction of St George from England (see Figure 3.9). The dramatic compositional structure, with sword raised above the Saint's head, ready to provide the final lethal stroke to the injured dragon below, and the motif of the broken lance, 'which demonstrates the power of the monster that the heroic saint has overcome', are analogous to the Armourers' Company model.[128] The red crosses clearly displayed upon the body of St George's horse (in the case of the Coventry sculpture), also make a direct visual reference to the Saint as crusader: it was from the time of the Crusades that St George's popularity in England began to gather real momentum.[129] The feast of St George on 23rd April, the date of the Saint's supposed

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[126] Ibid., p. 150.
[127] Richard Deacon and Philip Lindley, *Image and Idol: Medieval Sculpture* (London: Tate, 2001); Aston, *Faith and Fire,* pp. 219-313.
[128] Marks and Williams, *Gothic Art for England*, p. 397.
[129] McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast', p. 6.

martyrdom, was 'one of the national festivals of early sixteenth-century England'.[130]

George was one of the most popular saints in fraternities and parishes across the country

and a figure revered by the aristocracy and royalty from his adoption as the patron saint of

the Order of the Garter and of England in the fourteenth century.[131] On the feast of St

George many late-medieval parishes and towns across the country, including Leicester and

York, celebrated with the parading or 'ridings' of processional figures of the popular saint:

in no less than seventy-six churches across Kent alone, there were devotional images of this

chivalric hero.[132] In Canterbury, the patronal image of St George would be temporarily

removed from its home on the north side of the high altar in St George's church, for use in

processions on the patronal feast day.[133] In Norwich, home to a powerful civic guild

dedicated to St George, the corporation had a specially-made ceremonial statue of the

saint, which would be paraded through the streets of the town, along with guildsmen

dressed as St George, complete with armour, St Margaret and the dragon. The customary

culmination of the civic festivities was a dramatization of the battle between the Saint and

his monstrous foe.[134]

The London Armourers' annual commemoration of St George's Day, a great

convivial event celebrated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, started

with a mass, or a sermon from the 1570s, and climaxed with an extravagant feast, hosted in

the Armourers' Hall. This would have been the moment when Vynyard's sculpture and

other material representations of the Armourers' saintly patron performed to best

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[130] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700*, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 26-27; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England,* 2nd edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), pp. 20-21.
[131] Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p. 114, 'References to the acquisition of St George images occur more frequently in wills and churchwardens' accounts from the late fifteenth century onwards than for any other saint'.
[132] McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast', p. 11; Marks, *Image and* Devotion, p. 114.
[133] Ibid, p. 118.
[134] McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast', p. 12, 'By the sixteenth century, the civic elite of Norwich - the mayor, aldermen, and some members of the Common Council - formed the core of the guild's membership, although it included local gentry and aristocratic and ecclesiastical notables as well.'

effect.[135] We have already seen, in the case of Roger Tyndall, that the election ceremony of master and wardens was hosted upon St George's Day, and that prominent guildsmen typically left bequests for consumable gifts to be distributed amongst their peers and the yeomanry.[136] Vynyard's representation of St George also had a social or ritual life when the guildsmen presented their craft outside the Hall in a wider civic context, as for example when the company travelled by boat to Greenwich in 1540, to celebrate the marriage of Henry VIII to Anne of Cleves, with 'banners, targets and our George standing over the rails'.[137] During the annual civic processions and theatrical performances of the Midsummer Watch and Lord Mayor's Show, the Armourers' sculpture of their patron saint might have also have taken a prominent place in the company's pageantry display.[138]

It is probable that many other companies within the City of London had processional sculptures of patron saints, with imagery and props relating to their particular craft of trade, in the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth centuries, but none of these models, or the aforementioned, pre-Reformation sculptural examples of St George from Canterbury or Norwich, have survived. For though recent historiography has substantially revised the notion of the wholesale destruction of late-medieval visual and material culture in the century following the Reformation - that which Patrick Collinson referred to as total 'iconophobia' - sculpture, in particular, suffered acutely through governmental injunctions and at the hands of independent reformers.[139] Whereas visual mediums depicting religious imagery, such as wall paintings, might have been ostensibly narrative or 'historic', three-dimensional carved sculpture could not easily escape charges

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[135] GL, MS 12065/2, fols 5[v-r].

[136] McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast', 'It was probably during the early seventeenth century that the celebration [of Saint George's Day] became completely fused with the installation of the city's mayor'.

[137] Glover, *Men of metal*, pp. 43-44.

[138] Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', 15-27; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 153-84.

[139] Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*, The Stenton Lecture, 19 (Reading, 1985).

of idolatry, particularly those figures which were jointed and thus mobile, or those, such as the aforementioned St Dunstan model, belonging to the Goldsmiths' Company, which incorporated precious materials.[140] A wooden sculpture of St George made in the late fifteenth century for the church of St Botolph Billingsgate in the City of London, for example, a 'rydyng George' with internal mechanical elements meaning that it could physically enact the slaying of the dragon and the rescue of the princess (with the help of a series of ropes and pulleys), was ceremonially broken up in the 1530s as part of a wider official governmental campaign of 'ritual disproofs'.[141]

Artisanal Virtuosity in Miniature

But in the 1580s, an inventory of the communal goods belonging to the Armourers' guild demonstrates that their patronal figure was still prominently displayed in the Company's internal hall: 'A Georg[e] of Complet Armor over the skrein' [screen].[142] The 'paynttyd clothe of the store[y] of Syntt George' had been sold off, twenty-five years before, in 1561.[143] But Vynyard's sculpture was now joined by 'A tabill with the picture of Roger Tindall' (see Figure 3.1); 'a new streamer with a banner of our Armes and another with the Red Crosse' [of St George]; 'A Tabill of Armes of our Company [and] another of the Queenes Armes'; 'A Complett Armor' in the hall - also the 'gift' of a prominent guildsman - and a selection of weapons and suits in the 'harniss gallery', which surrounded the internal hall, a storey above the ground floor.[144] It is possible that the new location of Vynyard's saintly sculpture - it had been moved from its original location, before the high table, to the top of the internal hall screen - defused its devotional associations. Maurice Howard has suggested that in the decades following the Reformation, old images might have survived

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[140] Aston, *Faith and Fire*, pp. 266-71.

[141] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 115; Aston, *Faith and Fire*, pp. 267-68.

[142] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 475^v.

[143] Ibid., fol. 59, 'iiii persons followynge shall have all the paynttyd clothe of the storie of Syntt George to be deliyvyd amonge them for iii d. a yarde'.

[144] Ibid., fol. 475^r; MS 12065/2, fol. 8^v, 'The charge of the making of our new banners' (at the same time as expenses were listed for the St George's Day feast of 1577).

through the accumulation of new meanings when the material artefact was 'moved to a different space where its message could be re-interpreted and its original devotional significance diminished, or neutralised'.[145] The surrounding material culture of the Armourers' internal hall was also quite different from a century before, stripped of its overtly devotional features, such as the wooden carving of angels above the dais.[146] The painted panels and textiles displaying the arms of the guild and of the monarchy, the portrait of Tyndall, a great benefactor, and the surrounding rows of armours, would have located the sculpture of St George within a culture of civic honour and artisanal expertise.[147]

In 1567, forty years after Vynyard had given his sculptural gift, the armourer John Kelte was at the peak of his professional career: he had been invited to become a liveryman of his guild and he had achieved the honour of being appointed Master Workman at the royal armour workshops at Greenwich, the first English armourer to have been selected for this role since the royal workshops had been established by Henry VIII over fifty years before.[148] At the election dinner of Roger Tyndall in that same year, Kelte presented his fellow guildsmen with a gift, carried on a platter to the high table before the multiple dishes of food: a model pattern harness in the latest Greenwich armoury style. The court minutes describe this suit as a 'mannakyne', and it was kept in a specially made cupboard and dressed in satin and blue silk on special occasions, such as feast days.[149] Unlike Vynyard's gift, Kelte's suit has not survived, but even without the evidence of the material object it is clear that the armour 'mannakyne' was a physical demonstration of personal

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[145] Howard, 'Afterword Art Re-Formed', in *Art Reformed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation*, p. 268.

[146] GL, MS 12105, fol. 2.

[147] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 156, in other livery halls, such as those belonging to the Painter-Stainers' and the Barber-Surgeons' Companies, there were 'tables' of individual portraits of members: 'The creation of these 'tables' of portraits, or even of written documentation of benefactions and their donors, became increasingly common practice by the late Elizabethan era'.

[148] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 39.

[149] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 475ᵛ, 'A cobbard ouer the stairs'; Ffoulkes, *Some Account of the Company of Armourers and Brasiers*, p. 7.

artisanal skill. Specifically, it represented the deepening professional connections between the Armourers' Company and the English centre of armour innovation at Greenwich. In 1561, at a dinner at Armourers' Hall orchestrated by John Kelte, and to which eight armourers (some of them 'aliens', including Jacob Halder), were invited, it was decided that henceforth the Greenwich Armourers should become members of the City Company.[150] A list complied in c. 1630 'of all the Armo[u]rers nowe in paye at Greenwich', listed eighteen company members.[151] Furthermore, inventories made by the Armourers' guild in the mid seventeenth century reveal that Vynyard's 'George of compleat Armor on horseback' had been joined in the communal hall with a 'George of compleat Armor on foote' and a 'George of wood on foote'.[152] Unlike Vynyard's gift, neither of these later miniature examples have survived, but their brief descriptions do suggest that the early sixteenth-century figure represented the start of a material tradition of linking workshop products of the guild with notions of faith and patriotism. Moreover, 'in the Gallery over the Hall', where Roger Tyndall's portrait now hung, there was a much larger collection of full-sized suits than had existed in the sixteenth century, including 'Twelve Compleats foot Armors', all of which had been made in the workshops of guild members, both in the City and Greenwich.[153] The suits were maintained by an officer paid 'for dressinge the Armor'.[154] Though all City companies were required by law to store arms within their halls from the 1560s, inventories show that no other livery company 'publicly' displayed their collections of armour on galleries surrounding the internal hall chamber.[155] Whereas guilds usually stored suits out of sight, in second or third floor armouries, there is a clear sense that the

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[150] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 65.
[151] GL, MS 12157.
[152] GL, MS 12107, fol. 2[r].
[153] Ibid., fol. 6[r].
[154] GL, MS 12065/2, fol. 14[v].
[155] Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, I, 89.

Armourers' presentation of their collection of armour was intended to be a visible showcase.[156]

The St George sculpture was thus the founding piece in a much larger collection of miniaturised and regular suits: a microcosm in dialogue with a broad material demonstration of the collective artisanal epistemologies and technical skills of company men. Decades after they had been crafted and donated (and their makers had passed into the illustrious community of deceased benefactors), Vynyard and Kelte's model armours embodied both the presence of patron saint within the institutional home of his guildsmen and the skilled identity of the masterly armourers themselves. Within a space dedicated to the operation of the craft, this collection of suits represented the close connections between memorialisation of prominent members and the highly skilled practices of the associated artisanal practitioners.

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[156] The Ironmongers' and Goldsmiths' Companies armouries were located in the second or third storey of their halls.

Chapter Three: Biblical Histories and Craft Identities in the Carpenters' Company Hall

In c. 1571, several senior members of the Carpenters' Company commissioned a series of four wall paintings for the decoration of the dais end of their communal hall (see Figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13).[157] The paintings - three of which are still extant - approximately three foot high and twenty-three foot in length, were organised as a coloured narrative frieze, with each image framed and separated from the others by a classically-inspired architectonic border.[158] The images were directly applied upon a surface of brown earth and clay, spread with a thin layer of lime plaster.[159] A sketch made of the original sixteenth-century location of the paintings at the west end of the hall - upon their rediscovery under painted canvas in the mid-1840s - gives a clear sense of their centrality and associated visibility at the high-end of the chamber (see Figure 3.4). The paintings depict the crucial role of carpentry throughout Old and New Testament biblical history: Noah receiving the command of God for the construction of the ark, and his three sons at work (Genesis 6.9-22); King Josiah ordering the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Kings 22.1-7); Jesus (and Mary) loyally aiding Joseph in his carpentry workshop (Luke 2.41-52); and Jesus, 'the carpenter's son', teaching in the synagogue (Matthew 13.53-58).[160] Each image is accompanied by the associated biblical verse in a black letter inscription; the clear emphasis on the 'process of a story', perhaps a self-conscious attempt to avoid allegations of idolatry.[161] In the following chapter, it is proposed that these wall paintings were a visual and material statement of artisanal skill and authority, and an assertion of biblical ancestry

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[157] The exact date of their commissioning and completion is hard to ascertain precisely, see: Jupp, *Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of* Carpenters, p. 239.

[158] Francis W. Reader, 'Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings', *The Archaeological Journal*, 92 (1935), 243-86 (p. 248), 'pictorial panels were often enclosed in an architectural framework of painted columns, arches, etc.'

[159] Jupp, *Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 236.

[160] All references from *The Bible* (Geneva, 1560).

[161] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 209, 'The custom of reinforcing the story in a text may have arisen partly from the need to establish good Protestant credentials: the Elizabethan homily distinguishes an idol from 'a process of a story, painted with the gestures and actions of many persons, and commonly the sum of the story written withal."

and historical authenticity. They marked the commencement of the substantial rebuilding of Carpenters' Hall, a lengthy, communal endeavour, and they upheld the personal reputation and memory of the commissioners. Further, their religious subject matter encourages us to rethink the existing historiography of civic institutions, which has generally proposed a decisive shattering of time-honoured cultures of collective memory in the wake of the Reformation, and their replacement with new 'civic' mnemonics, including regalia, portraiture and mythologies.[162] The notion of a definitive cultural shift, from 'religious' to 'secular' forms of memorialisation and identity by the latter half of the sixteenth century is shown to be overly schematic and anachronistic.

Typically for English painted surfaces of this period, the Carpenters' archive of court minutes and accounts gives no detail of the commissioning process. We do not know the artisan(s) who were employed to carry out the work, their design sources, or the extent to which they were directed in their labour, although the craftsmen were probably members of the Painter-Stainers' Company.[163] In three of the frames, full-bearded senior male figures are featured wearing contemporary livery dress of the 1560-70s, with distinctive black caps and fur-trimmed gowns, alongside those dressed in 'traditional' biblical costume (see Figure 3.14).[164] As a material signifier of civic prestige and accomplishment, gowns were highly valued possessions, and sometimes named in mercantile and artisanal testamentary bequests as movables, which were to be bestowed on particular family members or kin.[165] It is probable that the liverymen within the Carpenters' tableau were likenesses of the commissioners of the paintings, and thus the

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[162] See note 28 of this third section.

[163] Foister, 'Paintings and other Works of Art', p. 273, 'it is notable that information on the authorship of paintings is never given, though a brief indication of a foreign artistic origin sometimes occurs'. See also: Tittler, *The Face of the City* (pp. 12-14) with regard to the frequent difficulty of establishing artisans, dates of completion and provenance for paintings belonging to civic institutions.

[164] Reader, 'Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings', p. 275.

[165] *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D 1258- A.D. 1688*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London: John C. Francis, 1889-90), II, 668-82. A 'girdler' Laurence Robiout (d. 1558), distributed his gowns to brothers, kin and a trusted apprentice.

guildsmen in question were immortalised in these historic narratives alongside senior biblical figures. In the third painting in particular, a liveryman directly intervenes in the visual narrative, directing our attention to the large horizontal plane of wood that Joseph works. Half a century before the Carpenters' Company acquired their first 'civic portrait' of master carpenter William Portington in the 1620s (see Figure 3.15), this personal inclusion might have been an enterprising means of establishing individual authority and memory within a broader visual statement about communal craft identity.[166] Such a personal rendering within a wider pictorial narrative would also have alluded to the fraternal tradition, throughout late-medieval Europe, of patronal representation within ecclesiastical fixtures such as stained glass and altarpieces, with examples including the representation of 'the life of St Dunstan and the figures of me and my two wives' designed and commissioned for a window of St Dunstan's chapel in the church of St Vedast by the goldsmith Henry Coote in 1513, as discussed above.[167]

Craft Antiquity and Company Authority

Viewed by a range of artisans, merchants and civic elites - as for example at the Carpenters' election feast, to which the royal master carpenter and surveyor were routinely invited - these paintings were a clear visual attempt to establish communal histories and the associated material and spiritual legitimacy of the carpenter's craft.[168] Myths of origin were now ordered 'chronologically', structured according to the historic narrative of the Bible itself.[169] In an age in which ambitious families were establishing their genealogical pasts

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[166] Tittler has suggested that 'civic portraits' were distinct from 'personal portraiture': the former were often directly commissioned by a civic institution; 'civic' paintings were displayed within institutional interiors; the figures demonstrated civic rather than personal virtues (*The Face of the City*, pp. 4-6).

[167] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 163; Reddaway and Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company,* p. 293.

[168] Jupp, *Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of* Carpenters, p. 205.

[169] Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern Europe*: *The Creighton Trust Lecture* (London, 1983), p. 6, 'it was only the literary influence of the Bible, the chronicles and the almanacs which gradually helped to inculcate a more linear mode of thought'. See also: Peter Burke, 'History

and provincial urban political elites evoking localised mythology, members of the Carpenters' guild were similarly keen to demonstrate their historic pedigree.[170] Perhaps such an affirmation of antiquity was all the more important for a relatively humble guild like the Carpenters, which unlike the great twelve livery companies, did not produce or attract the hugely wealthy members who also constituted the aldermanic elite.[171] The Old Testament scenes chosen for the Carpenters' wall paintings were those that demonstrated the intimate connection between the skills and materials of carpentry and the survival and salvation of mankind: Noah constructing the 'pine' ark of 'length […] three hundredth cubits, the breadth of it fiftie cubities, and the height of it thirtie cubities' and thus ensuring the existence of God's creation; the central role of 'the artificers and carpenters and masons' in the rebuilding of Josiah's Temple, artisans who were said, significantly, to 'deal' and 'work' 'faithfully'.[172] The New Testament depictions of Christ and the Holy Family make Jesus's ancestral relationship to the craft of carpentry absolutely explicit. In the third painting we see him observing and aiding his earthly father within Joseph's carpentry workshop or yard; in the final image we witness the disbelief of the crowds in the synagogue, 'Is not this the Carpenter's Son?'[173] The trees depicted in the first and third paintings of the frieze - those concerning Noah and the Holy Family - were perhaps also an allusion to the Tree of Jesse, the ubiquitous late-medieval symbol for the genealogy of Christ (the carpenter). Clearly the absent image of ultimate salvation is that of Christ on the wooden cross. A visual representation of the Passion would have been wholly unsuitable in

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as Social Memory', in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. by Thomas Butler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 97-113 (p. 103).

[170] Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England*, pp. 275-79; Peter Sherlock, 'The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp. 30-40 (p. 37).

[171] I am grateful to Bernard Capp for suggesting that an emphasis upon antiquity might have been particularly significant among the minor craft guilds.

[172] Genesis 6.14-15; 2 Kings 22.7.

[173] Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, 'Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 463-94 (p. 474), 'Joseph was the ideal male artisan, offering his productive labor as evidence of his virtue and devotion.'

the post-Reformation context, though it is possible that the horizontal plane of wood, which dominates our field of vision in the depiction of Joseph's workshop, was intended to act as a figurative reference to the Crucifixion.

As Keith Thomas has argued in relation to the representation of history in early modern Europe, 'the most common reason for invoking the past was to legitimate the prevailing distribution of power'.[174] The Carpenters' wall paintings might have served a legitimating or political purpose at a time at which total membership of the company was growing, but entry to the coveted elite of the livery remained tightly restricted.[175] In each image of the Carpenters' frieze, a senior, respected, male figure of authority is depicted in the act of instruction: God commanding Noah; Josiah ordering the rebuilding of the Temple; the figure of the liveryman directing Joseph's labour; Christ preaching in the synagogue.[176] Thus the hierarchies embedded within the all-male institution of the guild - political relations that intensified as the century progressed - were shown to have scriptural or historic precedents. Wall paintings, or 'hallings' (painted textiles), with the 'histories' or 'stories' of Old Testament biblical figures like Adam, or mythical heroes, such as 'the nine worthies', depicted upon them, were abundant in the homes and drinking establishments of the middling and better sorts from the second half of the sixteenth century, spaces within which guildsmen routinely worked and socialised.[177] It has been suggested by Tara Hamling that such religious imagery might have had a useful didactic function within the post-Reformation domestic context: Old Testament biblical narratives such as the Judgement of Solomon bolstered the spiritual authority of the godly patriarch within the

[174] Thomas, *The Perception of the Past,* p. 2.
[175] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 345-54, 348, 'opportunities for social mobility diminished as a man passed through the grades of his company's estate hierarchy. Barring death or departure from London, approximately three-quarters of the city's men became householders but no more than two-fifths of those men crossed the second major division of the estate hierarchy of the livery company and thus gained entry into the elite.'
[176] It is notable that the 'micro-architecture' of authority - Josiah's throne and Christ's pulpit - were evidently crafted from wood.
[177] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 194-98.

Protestant household.[178] Situated in the most 'public' space of the Carpenters' institutional home and positioned at the dais end of the internal hall, directly above the high table - thus visible to all freemen looking towards the privileged west end of the room - the Carpenters' wall paintings might have been interpreted as a didactic statement about the ideal nature of social and political relations within a guild community.[179]

Furthermore, for all observers, the murals spoke of the historic authority of the wardens of the Carpenters' Company to supervise and regulate woodworking crafts and trades. Jurisdiction over the various specialisations of the woodworking crafts was an issue of mounting significance from the latter decades of the sixteenth century, as tension grew - particularly between the Carpenters' and Joiners' guilds - over respective privileges to produce wooden structures, movable objects and interior decorative architecture, and their associated 'search' rights within the expanding metropolis.[180] The Carpenters' revision of their ordinances in 1607 was a 'belated attempt to codify a set of enforceable regulations for their craft'.[181] The new charter was an effort to clearly demarcate the boundaries of skill and jurisdiction and to control the practices of other craftsmen carrying out woodwork: 'forasmuch as by daily experience it is found out that divers Masons, bricklayers, and tylers, plasterers and others not having any skyll or understanding in worke-manshippe of ye art trade or mistery of Carpentry, nor of other craftes, artes, or misteryes besides their owne'.[182] Competition between the Carpenters and Joiners peaked in the later 1620s: rivalry and hostilities were such that the aldermanic authorities intervened and established an arbitration committee 'to heare the differences […] and

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[178] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven; London, 2010).

[179] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 151, 'some of the intent was no doubt to impress, on a daily basis, the rank and file of these civic bodies with the heritage of the institution, the eminence of its foundations and traditions, and the model of civic benefaction represented by its founders and patrons'.

[180] Hentie J. Louw, 'Demarcation Disputes between the English Carpenters and Joiners from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', *Construction History*, 5 (1989), 3-20.

[181] Ibid., p. 8.

[182] Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 148.

allegacons on either side'.[183] A report of September 1632 decreed that the Joiners should

have jurisdiction over movable furniture, such as bedsteads, chairs, stools, chests, cabinets

or cupboards, and decorative work, including ornamental wood panelling: 'all sorts of

wainscot and seeling of houses and settling made by the use of two ga[u]ges'.[184] They also

had authority over 'all sortes of shopp windowes that are made for ornam[ent] or beauty

which cannot be made without glew'.[185] By contrast, 'all Drapers tables, all tables for

taverns victuallers Chandlers Compting houses […] made of teale ealme oake beech or

other wood nailed together without glue', 'doe properly belong to the Carpenters'.[186] The

Carpenters were also responsible for erecting the wooden frames of structures, 'the laying

of all floores of elme or oake […] the deviding of warehouses and chambers and other

rooms unwainscotted and unpannelled'.[187] In the event, despite the best efforts of the

arbitration committee, the Carpenters' Company continued to dispute the terms of the

1632 report for the rest of the century, remaining fiercely territorial over perceived

encroachments by rival companies upon their traditional realm of corporate craft control;

continually asserting 'the all-encompassing nature of the carpenters' trade'.[188] Though

hostilities between the Carpenters and Joiners did not peak until the 1620s, resentments

had been simmering for many decades before, and the Carpenters' Company might have

viewed the amalgamation of the crafts of Joiners, Ceilers and Carvers into a single guild in

1571, as a particular threat to their traditional authority.[189] The commission of wall

paintings asserting the biblical ancestry of the Carpenters' guild in the early 1570s must

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[183] GL, MS 4329A, fol. 13^v.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid., fol. 13^r.
[187] Ibid.; Louw, 'Demarcation Disputes', pp. 9-10, tensions often 'stemmed from competition over new categories of work and the use of novel techniques or tools'.
[188] Ibid., p. 15.
[189] Ibid., p. 4.

surely be interpreted against this backdrop of disputed legitimacy and corporate jurisdiction.[190]

In addition to acting as a powerful visual statement of the antiquity of the Carpenters' Company and their customary authority over the wood-working crafts and trades, these wall paintings also marked a significant event in the communal life of the guild: they were undertaken at the start of the rebuilding of Carpenters' Hall. As was outlined in the previous section, the murals were (in all likelihood) commissioned at the same time as the dais end of the internal hall was wainscoted (the early 1570s); and a wood panelled gallery was also established. Within the next twenty years a new parlour had been built, a counting house was constructed and the internal hall was substantially enlarged 'at the east ende'.[191] The paintings were thus not simply an isolated visual statement about the genealogy of the craft but were themselves an integral element of the new built environment. Visual representations of reconstruction or rebuilding were highly apposite at a time of structural remodelling, and must have drawn attention to the surrounding materiality of the new Carpenters' Hall: in particular, the oak panelling. In a cultural context within which painting was not understood 'as an autonomous art object' and boundaries between 'wall' and 'painting' were yet to be precisely defined, a narrative history of the craft of carpentry was embedded in the built fabric of the Carpenters' Hall, and memorialisation of eminent guildsmen inseparable from collective physical structures.[192]

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[190] Jurisdictional antagonisms between wood-working crafts were not just a feature of the English guild system; from the fifteenth century trade disputes raged between the carpenters and cabinetmakers of Antwerp, see: De Munck, 'Construction and Reproduction', in *Learning on the Shop Floor*, ed. by De Munck, Kaplan and Soly, pp. 87-88.

[191] GL, MS 4326/6, fol. 42[r].

[192] Lucy Gent, "The Rash Gazer': Economies of Vision in Britain, 1550-1660', in *Albion's Classicism,* ed. by Gent, pp. 377-93 (p. 282); Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion, 2001), p. 32, 'Where paintings are more readily painted on than hung on walls […] questions as to what is meant by a 'surface' - admit no easy answer.'

An inventory of the communal possessions of the Carpenters' Company, from the early 1630s, provides us with evidence of the 'afterlife' of the mural, or rather the wider visual and material environment in which the wall paintings operated, over half a century after they had been commissioned. In addition to furniture necessary for feasting occasions in their internal hall - '3 long tables and 5 long formes 8 joyned stooles for the high table […] [and] a round table to carve on' - the Carpenters possessed 'a deske and bible chaned to it' (almost certainly the new King James Bible).[193] The 'round table' is probably a piece of oak furniture which still exists in the Carpenters' Company's present Hall: an octagonal table inscribed with the date of 1606 and the letters 'RW' 'GI' 'IR' and 'WW': the initials of the master and wardens.[194] The object was perhaps made to commemorate the new company charter, which was ratified in the following year. Aside from furniture, the guild owned a number of paintings on wooden panels or boards: 'a table of the kings armes, a table of the kinges picture a table of prince henryes picture and 3 curteins of silke […] for them'.[195] The Carpenters also displayed within their communal hall, 'One Table of Mr Portingtons Armes 1 table of the 10 commandments given by Richard Thomkinson Carpenter the Hall graven picture, Mr Portingtons picture'.[196] The display of royal portraits and arms was undoubtedly a demonstration of loyalty to the crown; throughout London, early seventeenth-century livery halls were decorated with portraits of the royal family, and processional banners and streamers upon which royal insignia were emblazoned.[197] As Robert Tittler has argued, symbols of the crown in institutional spaces 'celebrated the particular king or queen who chartered the institution and conferred its authority. It

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[193] GL, MS 4329A.
[194] Jupp, *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 215.
[195] GL, MS 4329A. The wardens' accounts reveal that 'iron work vizt. For the three pictures and the two tables that hange in the Hall' and the acquisition of curtains, took place in October 1614 [GL, MS 4326/6, fols 406^{v-r}].
[196] GL, MS 4329A.
[197] On special occasions in the seventeenth century, the Armourers' Hall was decorated with 'A banner with our Company armes the Kings Armes and the Kingdomes Armes, and another little streamer and a paine of glasse with the kings Armes upon it' [GL, MS 12107, fol. 4^{v}].

visually connected the governing authority of the institution with that of the crown'.[198] 'Mr Portingtons picture' is still displayed in the Carpenters' Company's present Hall, an artefact which demonstrates the significance of artisanal identity, material culture, workshop dynasties and the crafting of a post-mortem reputation.

The posthumous portrait of the master carpenter William Portington - former Master of the Carpenters' guild and royal master carpenter for half a century, from 1579 to 1629 - presented this hugely accomplished artisan with the tools of his craft, dividers and ruler, in his hands.[199] Based upon an original painting of 1626, commissioned by Portington himself, the corporate version of Portington's likeness, undertaken in 1637, was - according to a textual inscription at the base of the portrait - commissioned for display in the Carpenters' Hall, by another carpenter, Matthew Bankes, 'who served him 14 years' (see Figure 3.15).[200] The representation of this great guildsman with his workshop tools, was a clear visual memorial of Portington's artisanal skills and achievements in life and his continued connection to the living artisanal community, including the commissioner, Bankes, who had trained within Portington's workshop and later went on to become Master of the Company himself. Significantly, the representation of a master craftsman with his workshop tools was a familiar motif in early modern English portraiture. A painting of Ralph Simons, architect of Sidney Sussex College, Emmanuel College, and elements of Trinity College, Cambridge, composed in c. 1590, shows this artisan professional with a pair of dividers in his hands (see Figure 3.16).[201] Another portrait of Scottish architect and merchant David Anderson (dated 1627), shows this individual clasping a ruler and a pair of dividers (see Figure 3.17). As Tarnya Cooper has observed, 'The same tools are formally

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[198] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 160.

[199] Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule,* p. 63.

[200] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait,* p. 197.

[201] Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, p. 61, concerning Simon's will and his self-fashioning: 'Carefully enumerated and described, these bequests [including 'Geometricall instrument(s)'] went to those in closest relationship to him, including both his relatives and his colleagues in the Office of Works.'

arranged at the upper left part of the portrait - almost in the place of a coat of arms - making a clear statement about ingenuity over the precedence of gentle birth'.[202]

'Religious' or 'Civic' Imagery?

Existing scholarship, primarily that of Robert Tittler, has considered the visual culture of English institutional buildings, including London livery halls, and has traced a distinct cultural shift from 'religious' to 'civic' preoccupations over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Reformation is said to have 'left an enormous and critical cultural void' and 'an incalculable loss of institutional memory'.[203] The historiographical debate has focussed upon the means through which civic communities constructed 'a civic and secular ceremonial in place of the traditional, doctrinally associated ritual [and culture] of the pre-Reformation era'.[204] However the Carpenters' impressive painted tableau tells a rather more nuanced story about the establishment of memory and history within an organisation of artisans. 'Civic' identities are certainly represented - the contemporary guildsman in his livery robes effectively guides us through the visual narrative - but this figure exists alongside a whole host of historic Old and New Testament characters. Far from secular, certain images, particularly that of the Holy Family, which was originally partially gilded, must have been fairly close to the boundary of acceptable post-Reformation religious art.[205] The multiplicity of characters featured in the frieze, not just the individual representation of a governor, typical of the 'civic portrait' genre, are moreover a clear reminder that this painted memorial is a communal celebration, intended to be viewed and appreciated by the whole social and political body of the guild, and external visitors. Undoubtedly the break with Rome and the associated discrediting of ideas about Purgatory

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[202] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 197.
[203] Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory', p. 287; Tittler, 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics', p. 351.
[204] Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns*, p. 253.
[205] Jupp, An Historical *Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, p. 239.

and intercession for the dead fundamentally altered collective cultures of memorialisation, but this does not mean that the artisanal guild enacted total 'social' amnesia regarding the fraternal origins of their craft.[206]

It has been noted in previous chapters that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, companies routinely decorated their walls with painted textiles and tapestries that depicted the lives of their patron saints, usually figures with a direct connection to the particular craft or trade.[207] We might see the Carpenters' mural, a biblical narrative of the illustrious history of the craft, as a continuation of this iconographical tradition across the putative Reformation divide. In terms of artisanal practice and material surface, members of the Painter-Stainers' Company routinely undertook commissions for both the painting of textiles and the decoration of walls.[208] In some highly sophisticated English interior decorative schemes of the late sixteenth century, such as that commissioned in the 1560s by Sir Thomas Smith for Hill Hall near Epping - which adapted, in close to life-size scale, engravings of the *The Story of Cupid and Psyche* by Augustino Veneziano and the Old Testament tale of King Hezekiah (Chronicles II; Kings II) from Flemish woodcuts - the murals are intentionally crafted to resemble contemporary Brussels tapestries.[209] There is a deliberate play upon the nature and status of surfaces and materials.

Among the London companies, the Carpenters were not unique in their use of pertinent biblical scenes for the decoration of their walls. Though they unfortunately do not survive, the walls of the early seventeenth-century Vintners' Hall were decorated with a visual depiction of Christ turning water into wine at the marriage feast at Cana (according

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[206] Burke, 'History as Social Memory', p. 106.
[207] Reader, 'Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings', p. 245, 'Owing to the perishable nature of the painted cloths, no examples have survived.'
[208] Ibid., p. 250.
[209] Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837*, 2 vols (London: Country Life, 1962), I, 28.

to the Gospel of John).[210] Associating the guild with a principal miracle of Christ, specifically that related to their trade, was presumably a means to augment the company's honour. Inventories from the 1580s reveal that the 'yemondrie hall' of the Cutlers' Company was 'hanged with stayned clothes of the storie of' Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego: three young Jews from the Book of Daniel (Chapters 1-3) who were sent to die in a blazing furnace because of their refusal to worship a golden idol of King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon due to their exclusive loyalty to God (they were subsequently delivered from harm through divine intervention).[211] The depiction of devoted young men was particularly appropriate for a space dedicated to the convivial recreations and governance of the relatively youthful yeomanry group within the Cutlers' guild, and their aversion to idol-worship a fitting biblical lesson in a post-Reformation context. From 1619, the Turners' Hall was hung with five pieces of tapestry, which displayed the life of St Joseph; the Merchant Taylors' Hall was decorated with scenes from the life of St John.[212]

Early modern guildsmen were concerned with concepts of civic reputation and 'fame', but this ostensibly 'secular' culture existed alongside a culture of memorialisation and a construction of a collective history that was deeply rooted in biblical narratives and saintly mythologies. Crucially, in remembering and invoking the past and thus articulating their connection to generations of skilled artisans who had come before them, spiritual and saintly ancestries of the guild were understood to be closely entangled with material manifestations of artisanal knowledge, craft techniques and collective identities.

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[210] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p. 207.
[211] GL, MS 7164, fol. 8^r.
[212] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p. 207; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 211, 'the Turners' Company paid £28 for five pieces of tapestry with the story of Joseph for the hall'.

Chapter Four: Micro-Architecture and Memorialisation in the Goldsmiths' Company Hall

It was an established practice within the Goldsmiths' Company that the end of the trade search for base metals on Bartholomew's Eve and Day was marked by a rite of commensality amongst the livery.[213] Friday 18 August 1632, was no exception: the court minutes report that 'according to Ancient custome [having] made search through the ffaire of all Gouldsmithes wares [...] they [the Company wardens] repayred to the hall where there was prepared a small banquett of ffruite and plomes'.[214] However, the otherwise routine practices of search and communal dining were marked this year by an unusual donation: on 'Bartholmew Eve', following a search in 'Ffanchurch Streete Lumber Streete Cheapside and Foster Lane', the wardens of the company were given a unique gift, distinctive enough to merit a short description in the court minutes. Simon Gibbon presented his guild, 'as a free guifte of his love', with a silver-gilt and rock-crystal standing salt, thirty-five centimetres high and weighing fifty-seven ounces (see Figure 3.5). The court records describe this object as 'a faire gilt salte [...] with four pillors and a figure of a man in the midle of the salte inclosed with crisstall curiously cut'.[215] Around the underside of the base is inscribed 'The guift of Simon Gibbon Goldsmith 1632' '57-oz'.[216] The Salt is also stamped with a craftsman's mark of three trefoils within a larger trefoil, and a hallmark that indicates that the object was made in a London workshop in 1576.

The donation of silver plate by a guildsman to his company was far from unusual, but unlike the vast majority of silver gifts and bequests, this object was retained by the Goldsmiths' Company throughout the political and financial upheavals of the 1600s, and beyond. It is still stored in Goldsmiths' Hall as one of the highlights of the company's

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[213] GHA, O3, fols 636r-637v.
[214] GHA, R2, fol. 243.
[215] Ibid.
[216] The inscription on the base of the object was a security precaution; as well as a means of permanently associating Simon Gibbon with the Salt.

precious metal collection. In the following chapter it is proposed that the survival of the Gibbon Salt, and the associated esteem in which it was held by the Goldsmiths' Company, was a result of its highly unusual architectural design. Its longevity within the treasury of Goldsmiths' Hall suggests that a silver object styled upon the Vitruvian orders had particular cultural prestige within a goldsmiths' guild, especially during a decade in which its members were actively engaging with architectural designs for their new institutional home. In the newly rebuilt Goldsmiths' Hall of the 1630s, Gibbon's gift was a micro-architectural sculpture that echoed the splendour of the monumental corporate structure.

'The Guift of Simon Gibbon Goldsmith 1632'

Simon Gibbon was a goldsmith with an active workshop on Cheapside.[217] In his capacity as a master craftsman he had (at least) eight apprentices indentured to his workshop from the mid-1590s until his death in 1644/5.[218] Gibbon also played an active political role within the Goldsmiths' Company: having been admitted to the livery in 1604, he was made an assistant fifteen years later in 1619.[219] Unfortunately no sources relating to the commission or design of the Gibbon Salt have survived and the master craftsman and London-based workshop in which this impressive object was made in the 1570s - the maker's mark, of three trefoils within a larger trefoil - cannot be identified. Nor, frustratingly, do we know anything about the early life of this object - the sixty years prior to it entering the Goldsmiths' collection of silver - or how it came into Simon Gibbon's possession before entering the company's treasury. Since goldsmiths played a central role in the valuation and re-circulation of silver goods within society, it is possible that the Salt had originally been commissioned as a gift or a luxury showpiece for an eminent citizen or gentleman,

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[217] Heal, *The London Goldsmiths*, p. 159.

[218] TNA, PROB/11/192. See also: Records of London's Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freemen 1400-1900 (ROLLCO) <http://www.londonroll.org> [accessed 5 January 2013].

[219] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 351, 'In early modern London the roughly twenty liverymen who served on a company's court of assistants belonged to its most privileged estate. Becoming an assistant, then, was the ultimate goal of a man's career within his company.'

and that it was subsequently sold to Gibbon for a cash return.[220] Alternatively, Gibbon might have purposefully sourced the object from within his artisanal and mercantile networks in order to make a particularly memorable presentation to his company.

At the centre of the Gibbon Salt is a miniature sculpture of Neptune, surrounded by a rock crystal cylinder. The cylinder rests on a foot, from which four ionic columns support a square upper canopy. At the centre of this canopy is a dome which supports an urn-shaped finial. The upper canopy is effectively the object's cover and can be removed, revealing a small basin, probably used to store salt. At the corners of the basin are engravings of sea-monsters, turtles and foliage. The finial can also be unscrewed from the cover, and, with holes at the pinnacle, might have been used as a separate pepper or spice shaker. The base and dome of the upper canopy are extensively ornamented with the faces of semi-grotesque figures, interspersed with depictions of fruit, flowers and vines. These pieces of the object are identical in shape, and were almost certainly cast from the same mould and then individually embossed. The design inspiration for this ornamentation might have come from the metalwork or design prints of Nuremburg or Augsburg, or the Parisian workshops of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.[221]

From the late-medieval era, the English standing salt was one of the key decorative centrepieces at the high table, showcasing the creative and technical ingenuity of the goldsmith. Combining novel designs, complex techniques, 'great elaboration of detail' and precious materials, these objects were customarily placed at the right-hand side of the host, in front of the most eminent guest at the feast.[222] As well as physically signalling

[220] Mitchell, 'Innovation and the Transfer of Skill', in *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers*, ed. by id., 5-22.

[221] I am very grateful to Tessa Murdoch, Deputy Keeper at the V&A, for viewing this object with me at Goldsmiths' Hall and offering her thoughts about its construction.

[222] Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England* (New York: Holmes and Meier; London: Unwin Hyman, 1987), p. 42; Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith, 1430-1830* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1977), p. 167; Marian Campbell, 'The Table and Feasting', in *Gothic: Art for England*, ed. by Marks and Williamson, pp. 309-11 (p. 311).

political and social prestige during dining rituals, standing salts were ceremonially used as repositories for their precious mineral namesake.[223] Surviving household and institutional inventories indicate that salts usually had covers, came in a range of sizes and weights, and were often elaborately ornamented with heraldic symbolism.[224] Salts were often presented as New Year's Day gifts at court - a clear indication of their high status - and they were also understood to be particularly apposite gifts from a godparent to an infant, almost certainly because of the fundamental role that the mineral played in the pre-Reformation sacrament of baptism.[225] Inventories show that by the second half of the sixteenth century even the minor craft guilds had acquired collections of salts for use at the feasting table: in 1559 the Pewterers' Company owned 'iv salt cellars without covers', 'iv salt cellars withone cover' and 'iv round newe fashion salts with a cov[er]', all made from pewter.[226] In March 1602, the wardens of the Armourers' Company decided 'to change awaye so manie of […] silver spoones belonging to this companie as should amount unto the value of three salts by them to be provided and chosen for the use of this companie'.[227] Accordingly, 'the said Mr. and wardeins did bring into this hall the said three salts which were sent up in the counting house amongst the other plate belonging to this companie'.[228]

Gifting Silver and Memorialising Guildsmen

Though the Gibbon Salt is an extraordinary object, the practice of gifting silver in early modern England was not. Throughout middling and elite social and professional networks, silver was the standard currency of obligation, credit, patronage and honour: 'part and

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[223] Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith*, p. 168, 'Originally these great ceremonial standing-salts were used in such a way that the host and his guests dipped their food directly in the salt; but this practice fell out of fashion.'
[224] Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*: *A Social History of the National Collection, 1480-1660* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum), p. 281, 'The distinction between great salts of state and those intended for everyday use, or for the tables of household inferiors, was carried through in their ornament, in their size, in their weight, and in the finish of metal.'
[225] Ibid.
[226] GL, MS 7110, fol. 33r
[227] GL, MS 12071/2, fol. 663.
[228] Ibid.

parcel of a culture of diplomacy'.[229] Within artisanal and mercantile groups, silver objects were often bequeathed in wills to family members, kin and close friends and associates.[230] In 1566 for example, a member of the Skinners' Company, Thomas Lawrence, specifically requested that his daughter Jacomine, be left his 'nutt with a greate lydde and boude aboute with sylver'.[231] Silver plate with an association to an individual's service in civic government or even state office - as in the case of seal cups - was a particularly valuable gift and form of commemoration.[232] Spoons and later memorial rings, such as those bequeathed to his kin and guildsmen 'with two bowes bent and a deaths hedd graven between them', by Sir Martin Bowes at his death in 1566, were also customary memorial gifts among the middling and 'better sorts' of people.[233] Silver was the ideal gift from courtier to monarch, and from sovereign to subject, particularly at the annual exchange of New Year's Day gifts at court.[234] Such objects were frequently sold, refashioned or given away during a subsequent gift exchange, meaning that a single piece of silver might be re-circulated within society multiple times.[235] During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the civic authorities of towns included in the itinerary of the royal progress were expected to present a silver gilt cup to the monarch.[236] At the Restoration of the monarchy, individual civic polities also made presentations of extravagant silverwork to Charles II.[237]

In the University cities of Oxford and Cambridge, a silver spoon or double-handed pot was the standard 'gift' - really a fine - for entrance to the college, either as an

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[229] Helen Clifford, *A Treasured Inheritance* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2004), p. 22.
[230] Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 155, 'silver spoons, cups, pewter and other precious goods that signalled sentiment and personal bonds'.
[231] *Calendar of Wills,* II, 668-82.
[232] Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 321.
[233] TNA, PROB 11/49; Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, pp. 155-56; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in The English Death Ritual c.1500 – c.1800* (London: Reaktion in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991), pp. 95-96.
[234] Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp. 324-47.
[235] Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 26, 38.
[236] Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp. 302-03.
[237] Ibid., pp. 316-18.

undergraduate or as a fellow.[238] From 1608, all new commoners at St John's College, Oxford were, for example, required to provide a spoon, of bullion value ten shillings, engraved with the donor's name. Collectively all these gifts of plate constituted the common stock of silverware, utilised during dinners in the college hall. As Louise During has suggested, the donation of a piece of plate 'was not only a material transaction, it was also a way of understanding a relationship [...] materializing obligations and expectations between giver and receiver'. Through the donation of silver, marking the 'ritual crossing of status boundaries', a commoner or fellow honourably established a place within the collegiate community; the recipient college extending hospitality.[239]

Gifts of plate, particularly silver gilt drinking vessels with lids, or silver spoons, were the customary donations made by an individual to the corporate body upon admission to a guild, acceptance into the livery, as a fine for unacceptable behaviour or compensation for declining office.[240] Appropriately, members of the Pewterers' Company frequently gave pewter plate from their workshops, including 'pottell potts', spoons and dishes.[241] Members of the Cutlers' Company sometimes gave table and carving knives.[242] In an inventory taken by the wardens of the Bakers' Company in 1613, within a list entitled 'Plate given to the Company since the last Inventory', there are numerous entries itemising silver objects 'geven [...] upon his admittance a freeman by Redempcion'.[243] Considering the timing of his gift presentation, it is possible that Simon Gibbon donated the spectacular Salt to his fellow governors of the Goldsmiths' Company in compensation for a trade offence that had been discovered on the searching of workshops on Cheapside that very day.[244]

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[238] Clifford, *A Treasured Inheritance*, pp. 30-31; During, 'The Oxford College as Household', in *Domestic Institutional Interiors*, ed. by Cavallo and Evangelisti, pp. 88-91.
[239] Ibid., p. 90.
[240] Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 308.
[241] GL, MS 7110, fol. 33[v-r.]
[242] GL, MS 7164, fol. 6[v].
[243] GL, MS 5201 [not foliated].
[244] GHA, R2, fol. 243.

More than any other type of physical gift - and as a consequence of its inherent material value - the giving of silver plate frequently appears to have been more of a compulsory obligation than a 'freely given' donation within a livery company. But as in the collegiate society of the universities, the transaction element of the contribution did not negate the symbolic significance of gifts of plate, which marked an individual's progression through the company hierarchy. Silver objects were often personalised, displaying heraldry that located the donor within honourable familial dynasties and institutional networks. A 'faire standing cupp of silver all guilt', given by armourer Edmond Chapman in 1581, had 'the Armorers Armes the Joyners Armes and his owne Armes graven on it and also a faire case to keep it in'.[245] In c. 1604 another benefactor of the Armourers' Company gave 'three wine cups guilt and marked with [his initials] IF in an escuchion'.[246] Collections of guild silver were displayed upon buffets in company halls, material spectacles of splendour, affluence and skilled craftsmanship, and they were also utilised during significant feasting occasions.[247] To mark events of particular civic importance a company's stock of silver plate might be lent to a prominent member and transported out of the livery hall; as for example when two members of the Goldsmiths' Company, Sir James Pemberton and Alderman Smithes, were elected Lord Mayor and Sheriff of London respectively.[248] A large quantity of silver, including standing cups and covers, basins and ewers and three great gilt salts, was lent to these guildsmen for their election feast at the Guildhall.[249]

As in life, senior guildsmen also frequently made bequests of silver plate to be used by their companies after death. In the introduction of this section it was noted that the

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[245] GL, MS 12105, fol. 12.

[246] Ibid., fol. 14. As the donation of wine cups indicates, silver gifts reflected changing patterns of consumption within civic societies.

[247] In the mid seventeenth century, the Armourers' Company had a 'cupboard with a deske to set plat on' [GL, MS 12107, fol. 2^r].

[248] John Bodman Carrington and George Ravensworth Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 8; *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 116.

[249] Carrington and Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*, p. 8.

armourer and great benefactor Roger Tyndall re-gifted 'a parcel gilt pot being the Gift of Thomas Tyndall my late son deceased' in his own last will and testament of 1587: his hope was that it 'shall so remain in the Hall to their uses forever'.[250] In 1605 the widow of an armourer, Jane Doxey, gave the company over six pounds 'towards the buying of a piece of plate to remain for ever unto the said Company as the Gift of me', in addition to charity for 'four poor aged women'.[251] The expectation was that the material memorial would be a constant reminder of her broader civic philanthropy.[252] Nearly a century before Doxey's death, a carpenter, Thomas Smart, had bequeathed 'unto the said Maister Wardens and to the successors [...] A Cupp of Silver and Clene guilt with my name and my Timber marke in it weighing 27oz'.[253] Guildsmen also frequently made bequests of silver with engraved armorials and inscriptions that spoke of fraternal love and memorialisation. A cup presented by Alderman Smithes to the Goldsmiths' Company in 1615 was inscribed with the following mnemonic: 'George Smithes gon, this guifte remaynes behinde, Noe brother to his Companye more kinde'.[254] In 1630 Mr Warden Leadam presented to the Goldsmiths' court a great standing cup and cover, with his own arms and that of the Company engraved upon and the inscription that: 'This guifte I leave amongst my friends, Of that which God did give, That when I dye this guifte of myne Amongst my friends may live'.[255] Two years later Mr Avenon also donated a silver cup and cover, with an inscription that clearly anticipated the convivial context in which the gift would operate: 'When at your Hall doth shine with plate, And all your dishes served in state, When mirth abound, and wine is free, Then (freely drinking) think on me'.[256] Through the use and display of such objects at guild

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[250] GL, MS 12106, fol. 53.
[251] Ibid., fols 61-63.
[252] A nineteenth-century annotation in the Armourers' will and gift book demonstrates that this request was upheld: 'The Company possess a handsome Cup and Cover, silver gilt, inscribed with as the Gift of the Testatrix'. [GL, MS 12106, fol. 64].
[253] GL, MS 4332, fol. 2.
[254] Carrington and Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*, p. 9.
[255] *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 50.
[256] Ibid., pp. 156-57.

feasts and dinners, 'amongst my friends', there must have been a very real sense that the memory of the deceased was revived, and that the community of guildsmen thus extended beyond the living, present company.[257] Gifts of plate formed essential reserves of silver, but they also perpetuated the 'social memory' of former societies of goldsmiths in the minds of the living.[258]

The particular significance of silver and gold plate lay in its inherent material value and potential for mutability. Displayed upon the buffet, silver objects demonstrated the social and political prestige of their owners, along with other luxury interior furnishings, such as linen, pictures and hangings, but collections of silver also formed an essential reserve of ready cash. In times of political and financial pressure, or extraordinary expenditure, guilds frequently sold or melted down their collections of plate, which had largely been accumulated through individual donations. Between 1544 and 1548 for example, the Vintners' Company sold all of its silver, except thirteen ale cups, in order to raise the funds for a large property investment.[259] 'Antique' plate was also routinely melted down and modified to ensure that collections exemplified contemporary techniques and stylistic trends.[260] It was this 'relentless enthusiasm for refashioning' that explains why the Corporation of London have just one piece of plate which pre-dates the Fire of 1666.[261] In 1627, as a result of a forced loan of £120,000 extracted from the London livery companies by Charles I, the Goldsmiths' Company was obliged to sell corporate plate to the value of £407 to the refiners.[262] A decade later, in November 1637, partially to cover the costs for their new Company Hall, the Goldsmiths had 'view of all the Plate belongeing unto this

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[257] Shelia Sweetinburgh, 'Remembering the Dead at Dinner-Time', *Everyday Objects,* ed. by Hamling and Richardson, pp. 257-66; Clifford, *A Treasured Inheritance*, pp. 16-35.

[258] Sweetinburgh, 'Remembering the Dead at Dinner-Time', p. 264.

[259] Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 312.

[260] Helen Clifford, 'Of Consuming Cares: Attitudes to Silver in the Eighteenth Century', *The Silver Society* Journal, 12 (2000), 53-58.

[261] Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 314.

[262] Carrington and Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*, p. 9.

Company', and decided upon a selection of silver objects, including many individual gifts and bequests, which 'may well bee spared and sold for the Companyes best advantage for the present supplye of soe much money as the same will amount to'.[263] Cups, basons and ewers, standing salts - including an intriguingly named 'Salt of St Dunstanes' - and beer bowls, were thus sold to Mr William Gibbs the 'ffiner' (refiner), who 'offred a greater price [in total over £ 664] upon any offer that had seene the same to buy namely Mr Aston Mr Vyner and Mr Smithes' (all members of the Goldsmiths' Company).[264] Over thirty years later, in July 1667, the Goldsmiths' collection of plate was again decimated, 'consideracon being taken of ye many urgent and pressing needs of ye Company […] more especially for that of repayreinge ye Hall', which had been damaged in the Great Fire of the previous year.[265] Twenty-six large pieces of gilt and white plate were thus sold to Sir Robert Vyner in that same month, with another eighteen sold to goldsmith John Hinde in December 1667.[266]

Though the Goldsmiths disposed of dozens of gifts of silver plate, the generosity and material commemoration of benefactors were not forgotten.[267] In the same court meeting of November 1637, at which it had been decided to sell a large proportion of the existing plate collection, it was also ordered that:

the particuler waight and Armes and other remakeable expressions of the donors are to bee noted remembred and entred into the Companyes Courte booke That when the Companye shalbee of abilitie then they may supplye and restore the said

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[263] GHA, T, fol. 30[v].
[264] Ibid., fols 30[r]-32[r].
[265] GHA, [Court Book 5?], fol. 118[r].
[266] Ibid., fols 120[v]-125[v].
[267] The Drapers also recorded benefactors' details and inscriptions on silver before disposal of plate in the 1640s.

guifts of the Donors and new make such guifts as are now thought fitt to bee sold.
[268]

Accordingly the donations of twenty prominent goldsmiths - primarily cups with covers - were recorded in the court book: the weight of the silver object and the associated inscription.[269] Tracings and drawings were also made of the engraved armorials on each piece (see Figure 3.18).[270] Later marginalia on the court records for November 1637 show that the Goldsmiths honoured their promise to 'restore the said guifts': nine of the twenty benefactors listed, had their plate 'new made' in the mid-1660s, although two years later, many of these pieces once more had to be 'sold to the best advantage of the Company'.[271] No drawings were made of the original design of the pieces in the 1630s, suggesting that plate that was newly made in the 1660s was crafted according to contemporary fashions, and engravings duly inscribed upon these new-fashioned pieces.

Across the City companies, there was usually only one piece of plate which escaped destruction: the election cup.[272] In all cases, these precious silver objects had been given by a particularly eminent guildsman, specifically for use at the election ceremony of the master and wardens. The cup given by William Lambarde to the Drapers' Company in 1578 - their only item of silver plate by the end of the Civil Wars - was gifted with a roundlet of hippocras, a rich mixture of wine, sugar and spices, and the request that 'the last draught of the election of new master and wardens might be owt of that cupp'.[273] Similarly, at the end of the Civil Wars, the Carpenters' Company sold nearly all their plate, except the four election (steeple) cups, made between 1609 and 1624. In general, silver-gilt cups were the highest status item on the buffet display and listed first in inventories: the weightiest and

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[268] GHA, T, fols 30^v-r.
[269] Ibid., 32^r-34^v.
[270] Ibid., 34^r.
[271] GHA, [Court Book 5?], fol. 118^r.
[272] Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, p. 235.
[273] M. A. Greenwood, *The Ancient Plate of the Drapers' Company* (London, 1930), p. 16.

most elaborately decorated pieces.[274] Election cups were particularly impressive. The Goldsmiths' Bowes Cup, of silver-gilt and rock crystal - a full contemporary description of which was given in the first chapter of this section - is over nineteen inches high and weighs nearly 100 oz (see Figure 3.6). Its ornamentation, of strapwork and fruit motifs was clearly inspired by decorative arts from Antwerp.[275] Considering the large number of goldsmiths from Antwerp working in London in the sixteenth century, it is possible that there were 'alien' workers operating in the workshop in which the cup was crafted.[276] In giving this cup to his guild, for use at the annual election feast, Sir Martin Bowes' hope was that it would ensure 'reme[m]brance ever after'.[277] By the end of the seventeenth century, the Bowes Cup, the Rogers Salt (see Figure 3.19) and the Gibbon Salt were the only 'antique' pieces of silver in the Goldsmiths' Company's silver collection.[278]

Micro-Architecture in the Goldsmiths' Hall

Across the centuries the basic design of the great English standing salt changed significantly. From surviving objects and drawn designs, it appears that the predominant style of the fifteenth century was the hour-glass shape (see Figure 3.20); the bell salt and simple drum style prevailed in the sixteenth century (see Figure 3.21) and in the 1600s the pulley shape was 'the universal form' (see Figure 3.22).[279] The architectural salt, an unusual English variation of the standing salt, has been identified from the mid-sixteenth century and featured a canopy supported by four columns. Aside from the Gibbon Salt only a few examples of these architecturally-inspired salts have survived (see Figures 3.23 and 3.24). Like the Gibbon Salt, the 'Venus Salt', currently located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,

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[274] Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, pp. 243-44.
[275] Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London*, p. 223.
[276] Ibid., p. 227, 'alien goldsmiths may still have formed thirty-six per cent of English goldsmiths in London around the 1570s'.
[277] Carrington and Hughes, *The Plate of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths*, pp. 55-57.
[278] The Rogers Salt was probably admired for the impressive scroll of painted heraldry, displayed within the rock crystal cylinder.
[279] Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, p. 292.

features a miniature silver sculpture, within a rock crystal cylinder, as the object's centrepiece. Considering the paucity of 'secular' metalwork based upon architectural designs, it is feasible that the London workshops which created these pieces of ceremonial tableware were inspired by late-medieval micro-architectures, specifically items of liturgical metalwork. Chalices, croziers and censers, but particularly reliquaries and monstrances, were frequently designed to be in dialogue with their broader built environments (see Figures 3.25 and 3.26).[280] From the later decades of the thirteenth century, 'boundaries between metalwork, carpentry and construction were fluid' and design theories and styles were deliberately transferred between small-scale devotional objects and the architecture that housed them.[281]

According to Serlio - whose *Third Book of Architecture* described and depicted 'all kind of excellent Antiquities, of buildings of Houses, Temples, Amphitheaters, Palaces […] &c.' and whose *Fifth Book* 'set downe certayne formes of Temples, according to the Ancient manner; and also serving for Christians' - ionic columns were particularly suitable for the design of the temple (see Figure 3.27).[282] If the Gibbon Salt is thus a miniature temple with ionic pillars, modelled on designs from antiquity, the small silver figure of Neptune, Roman god of water and the sea, enclosed in a rock crystal cylinder, is a highly appropriate centrepiece; a knowing reference to this object's ceremonial function as a decorative receptacle for salt. As rock crystal was believed to be petrified water, this precious material was also a fitting choice.[283] In accordance with humanist cultural values,

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[280] Francois Bucher, 'Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style', *Gesta*, 15, 71-89 (p. 71), 'In tune with medieval intellectuals, architectural historians have largely neglected the "gross minds" and thus misjudged the importance of an array of small sacred objects, which the medieval observer perceived as major monuments.'
[281] Ibid.
[282] Serlio, *The Seven Books of Architecture*, trans. by Robert Peake, IIII, fol. 34 ʳ.
[283] Martina Bagnoli, 'The Stuff of Heaven: Materials and Craftsmanship in Medieval Reliquaries', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval England*, ed. by Martina Bagnoli, Holgar A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 137-147 (p. 141).

there is a conceptual coherence between all elements of the Salt and the outward design

and materiality closely correspond to function.[284]

Though our precise knowledge of the origins and acquisition of the Gibbon Salt is

opaque, it is evident that when designing this piece, the goldsmiths concerned were

inspired by contemporary architectural treatises; texts which espoused the increasingly

fashionable *all'antica* style in England from the mid-sixteenth century. John Shute's *First*

and Chief Groundes of Architecture (London, 1563) was the first English text to describe

Vitruvius's Orders, the 'five antique pillers of Columnes', in the vernacular. Through a

combination of Vitruvian and Serlian references to the 'body-column analogy' with

mythological and historic figures from England's past, such as a Romano-British king

exemplifying the Tuscan order, Shute created a morally appropriate, architectural

grammar, 'a 'temperate classicism" in a Protestant cultural environment.[285] The

aforementioned 'Mathematical Preface' to the 1570 translation of Euclid, authored by John

Dee, established the principles of Vitruvian architecture in the mathematical arts and

sciences.[286] Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* of 1624 explicated the orders using

the peculiarly English language of heraldry.[287] Further, Giovanni Lomazzo's treatise was

translated into English in 1598, Hans Blum in 1601 and Sebastian Serlio in 1611.[288]

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[284] Friedman, 'Did England Have a Renaissance? Classical and Anticlassical Themes in Elizabethan Culture', in *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, ed. by Susan J. Barnes ad Walter S. Melion (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), pp. 95-111 (p. 97).

[285] Vaughan Hart, 'From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books', in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, ed. by Vaughan Hart with Peter Hicks (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 297-318 (p. 317).

[286] Anderson, 'Learning to Read Architecture', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, p. 242; Anderson, *Inigo Jones and The Classical Tradition*, p. 60, 'In justifying architecture as a mathematical art, John Dee referred to Alberti as well as Vitruvius, and Dee himself owned three copies of *De re aedificatoria*.'

[287] Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, pp. 29-30.

[288] Hart, 'From Virgin to Courtesan', in *Paper Palaces*, ed. by id., p. 297; Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers* 1556-1785 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 23.

The cumulative effect of these English interpretations and adaptations was that within visual, material and textual cultures, architecture, as Christy Anderson has persuasively argued, gradually became understood as a language with a structured grammar and 'ancient precedent', a discipline which 'was thought to have an intellectual rigour comparable to other subjects based on humanist principles'.[289] Clearly artisans who appropriated visual designs of 'antique' orders might have simply mined architectural treatises for these images, utilising the texts like pattern books, with little understanding or interest in the intellectual rationale underlying the design principles.[290] But it is also possible that the artisan (or artisans) who designed and crafted the Gibbon Salt were self-consciously engaging in this learned culture of orders and hierarchies, demonstrating the abilities and dexterities of metalworkers to create material 'sites for [design] dialogue'.[291] Though the relationships between crafts and architectural practice have been 'almost written out of' Renaissance histories, contemporary artists and practitioners typically saw no clear boundaries, in terms of scale or material mediums, between creative expressions as goldsmiths, sculptors or architects.[292] Many famous 'sculptors' or 'architects', described by Vasari in his *Lives*, including Andrea Pisano and Filippo Brunelleschi, were allegedly trained as goldsmiths and subsequently moved onto architectural projects and building design.[293] Distinctions were characteristically not made between small-scale objects and monumental built projects, but rather the design influences were reciprocal and collaborative (see Figure 3.28). In the case of the Goldsmiths' Company, at a time of

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[289] Anderson, 'Learning to Read Architecture', in *Albion's Classicism*, ed. by Gent, pp. 241-42.
[290] Gerbino and Johnston, *Compass and Rule*, p. 79.
[291] Alina Payne, 'Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture', *Oxford Art Journal*, 32 (2009), 365-86; Bucher, 'Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic', p. 73, 'the nexus between architecture and goldsmithing which was to last beyond Gothic'.
[292] Payne, 'Materiality, Crafting and Scale', pp. 385-86, 'As far as architecture goes, the prevailing line of Renaissance scholarship has looked to an intellectualised world, one in which perspective and mathematics, proportional harmony and literary pursuits, humanistic exegesis, and theoretical concerns form the boundaries of its discourse, and, in doing so, keep it away from the crafts and the artisan's workshop.'
[293] Bucher, 'Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic', p. 74.

corporate redesign and building on a monumental scale, the material expression of the language and grammar of architectural ornament had particular value.

An object crafted from precious materials and styled upon the Vitruvian orders would have had cultural cachet in all early seventeenth-century domestic and institutional interiors, as a clear visual and material sign of the *ingegno* of the owner.[294] But within the Goldsmiths' Company Hall, Simon Gibbon's gift would have spoken of the skill, dexterity and intellectual capabilities of *their* collective membership. The master goldsmith Gibbon had presented an object so ingenious and unusual that it was permanently retained by the company. Unlike almost all other examples of corporate gold and silver from the early modern era, the Gibbon Salt's cultural value exceeded the worth of the precious metals from which it was made. The architectural theme of Gibbon's gift was also particularly timely, for six months after the Salt entered the Goldsmiths' institutional home, the company met to discuss 'the great decayes and wante of repayring this hall'.[295] And so followed a complex process of design and rebuilding which has been closely considered throughout this study, and with which Gibbon himself, as a member of the building committee, was actively involved. It is impossible to prove that through the giving of a piece of precious metalwork, crafted in an architectural style, Simon Gibbon was anticipating the interest in structural design which would dominate the discussions of his company for the rest of the decade. However it is indubitable that when displayed in the rebuilt corporate building, a structure whose outward façade was modelled on Serlian designs, the micro-architectural Salt was a constant reminder both of the virtuosity of the goldsmith and the splendour and magnificence of the built environment of the Goldsmiths' Hall. Considering the Goldsmiths' corporate concerns at the opening of the seventeenth

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[294] Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 86-87.
[295] GHA, R2, fol. 217^v.

century about the abilities of their members to 'finishe and perfecte A piece of plate singularly', and the reinstitution of the practice of masterpiece production, Gibbon's gift was an excellent exemplar of virtuoso workshop production.[296]

Conclusion

When the armourer William Vynyard died in 1535, he bequeathed to his guild both his workshop tools - his anvil and plate shears - and enough money for the wardens and yeomanry to host a substantial 'drinking' in his honour; a memorial which took place in their communal hall, in the presence of Vynyard's armoured sculpture of St George.[297] Among prominent master craftsmen, Vynyard was not unusual in bestowing his personal artisanal tools to his guild, objects which embodied a lifetime of accumulated artisanal knowledge, experience and skill, and which appear to have been displayed within company buildings. At his death, in the mid sixteenth century, the armourer William Seger gave 'to the clothing thirteen shillings fower pence to the yeomanry tenn shillings and to the Hall a great Biccorne [an anvil] and a paire of great sheires'.[298] Members of the Pewterers' Company frequently donated workshop moulds to their guild, objects of considerable value, which were subsequently stored in the guild counting house alongside charters, wills and pewter and silver plate, and lent out to promising young members of the guild.[299] Guildsmen belonging to the Cutlers' Company gave knives from their workshops for display specifically in the hall and parlour chamber.[300] Master masons, such as Nicholas Stone, designer of Goldsmiths' Hall, routinely bequeathed workshop tools or instruments, building

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[296] GHA, O, fols 551-52.
[297] Glover, *Men of Metal*, p. 45.
[298] GL, MS 12105, fol. 11.
[299] GL, MS 7110, fol. 13^v.
[300] GL, MS 7164, fols 5^r- 6^r.

'plots' or plans, designs and books: a 'cumulative resource' which represented erudition, artisanal knowledge and the sustained identity of the craft practitioner.[301]

Existing scholarship on early modern livery hall interiors has almost exclusively focused upon one 'type' of material decoration, the category of the 'civic portrait', taken to be a clear cultural sign of 'institutional benefaction and civic virtue'.[302] This analysis of a range of material gifts donated by guildsmen to their company halls suggests that alongside this familiar narrative of civic benevolence and authority, concepts of identity and status within craft guilds were rooted in the demonstration and display of workshop skills and professional artisanal accomplishments. A close analysis of material gifts reveals that master craftsmen wished to enhance their reputations and ensure memorialisation within the institutional homes of their companies, through the donation of objects which spoke of technical expertise and material values. Evidently the workshop products of the armourer, goldsmith or carpenter might be found in any number of livery halls and institutional and domestic interiors throughout the City of London; but it is suggested here that alongside a general appreciation for high-quality craftsmanship, specialised audiences of armourers, goldsmiths and carpenters were particularly attuned to the specific skills, techniques and materials of the gifts on display.

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[301] John Summerson, 'Three Elizabethan Architects', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 40 (1987), 202-28.

[302] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 160.

Figure 3.1. Unknown artist, *Roger Tyndall,* 1585, Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, London [From: Glover, *Men of Metal*].

Figure 3.2. William Faithorne, *Sir Martin Bowes,* **presented to the Goldsmiths' Company after the Great Fire (replacing a portrait which had previously hung in the parlour) [From: Hare,** *Goldsmiths' Hall***, p. 6].**

Figure 3.3. William Vynyard, *St George and the Dragon*, c. 1528, polychromed wood, iron, leather, textiles and horse hair; h. (excluding sword) 84.5 cm, Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, London [From: Marks and Williamson, *Gothic Art for England*, catalogue no. 58].
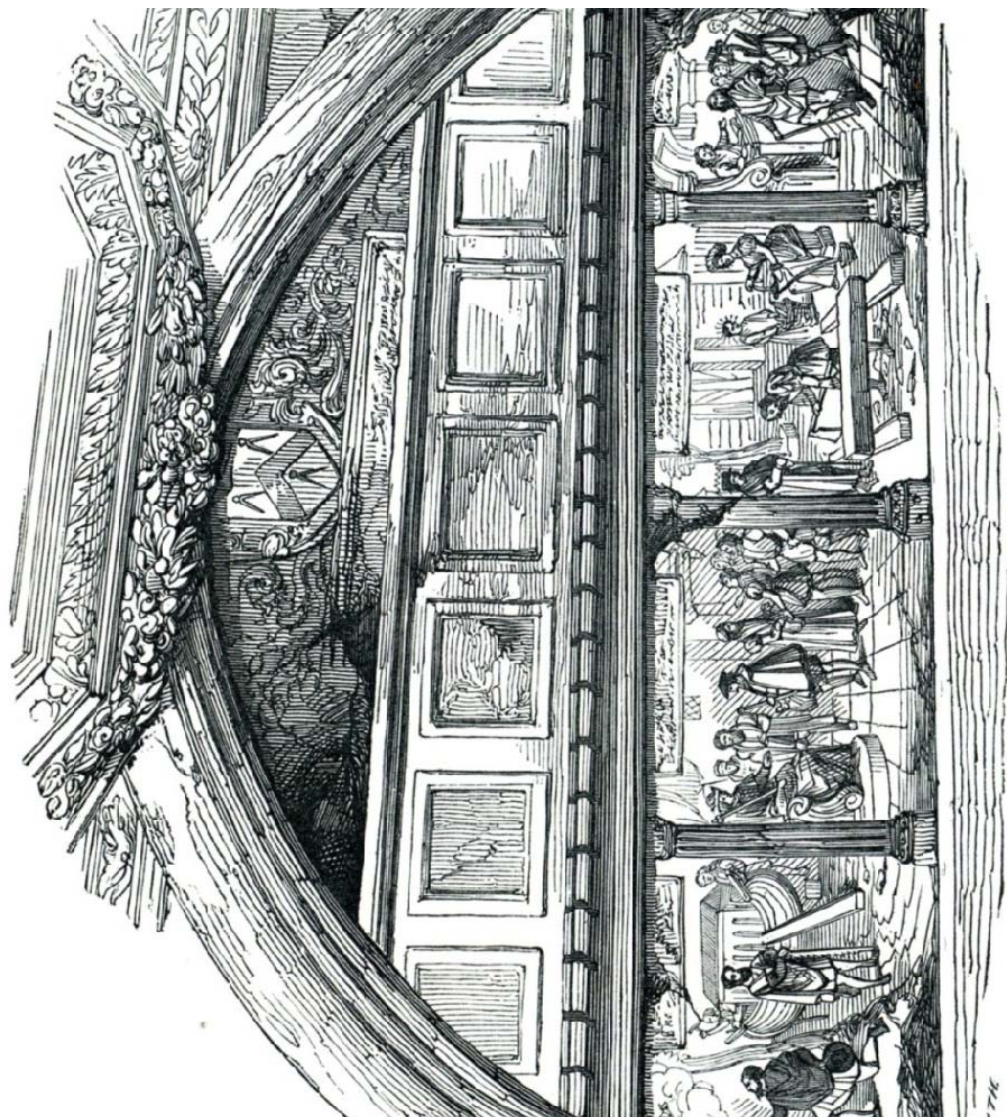
Figure 3.4. Carpenters' Company Hall, London Wall: west end of the internal hall, showing wall paintings, 1846 [From: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 123].

Figure 3.5. Unknown English goldsmith, *Gibbon Salt,* 1576-7, silver-gilt and rock crystal, h. 35 cm, Goldsmiths' Company, London.

Figure 3.6 *Bowes Cup*, 1554, silver-gilt and rock crystal, Goldsmiths' Company, London.
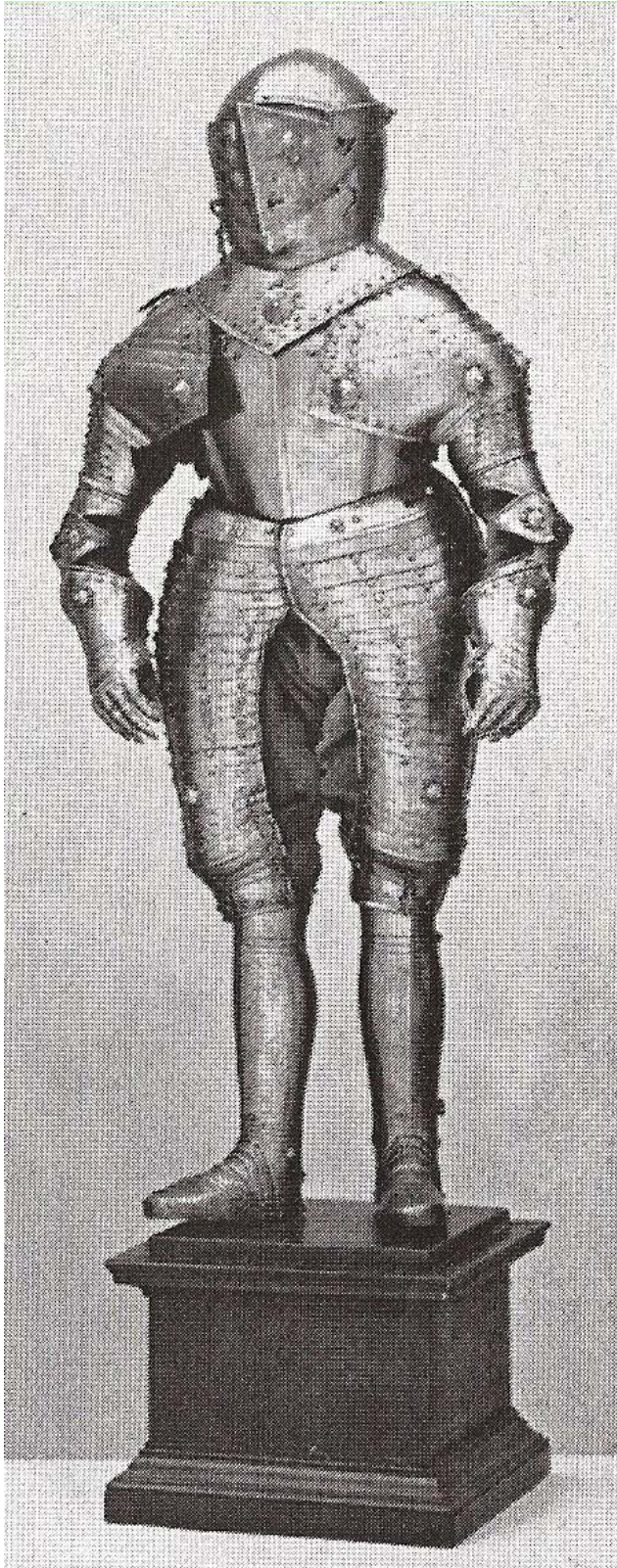
Figure 3.7. Unknown armourer, *Miniature Italian armour*, **ca. 1620, steel and brass, h. (without pedestal), 50.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 65.95.1 [From: Bullock, 'Two Suits of Miniature Armour', pp. 86-89].**
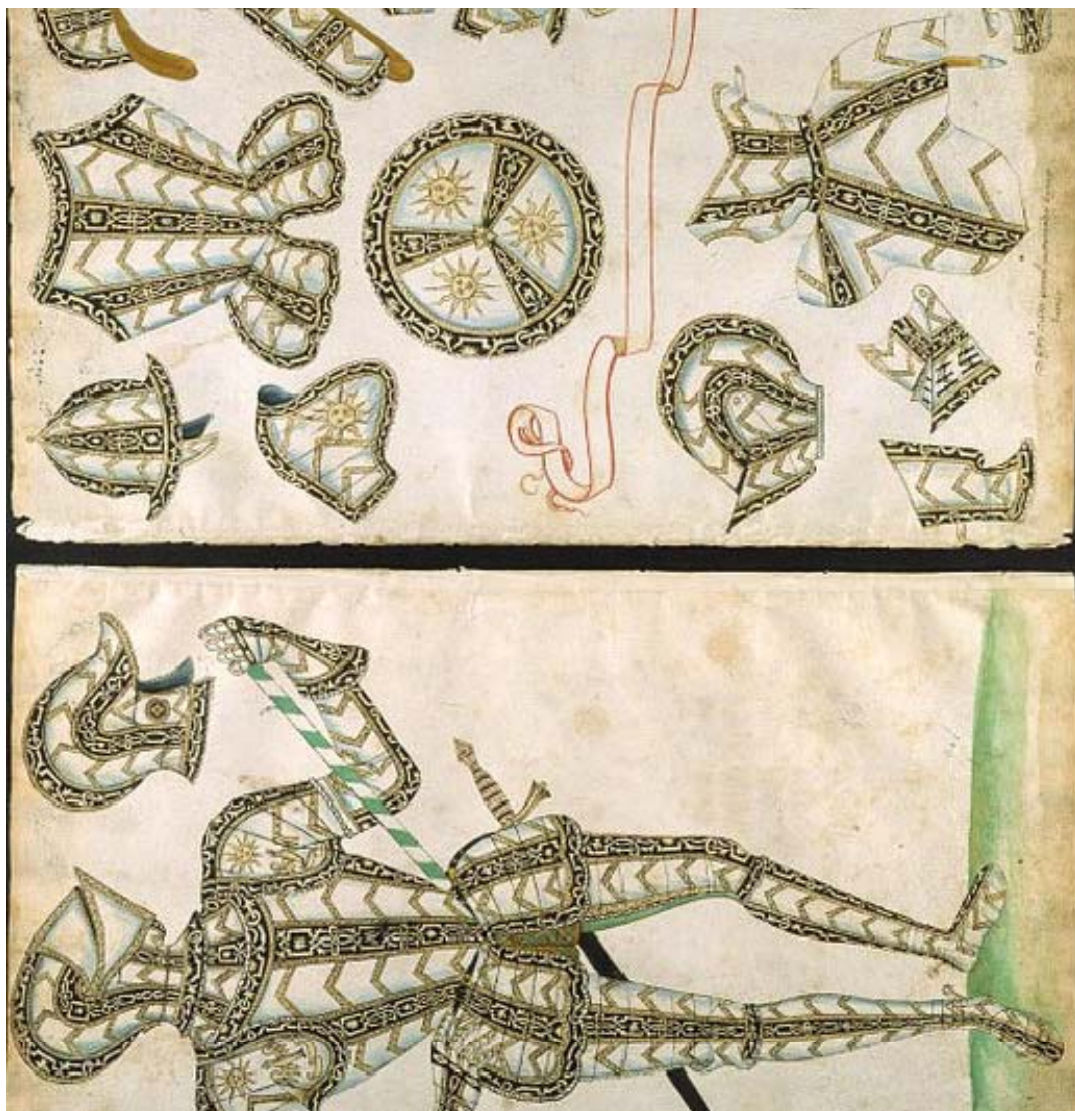
**Figure 3.8. Jacob Halder, *Designs for an armour for Sir Henry Lee*, Almain Armourers'
Album, 1586-80, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, D.599-1894.**

Figure 3.9. Artist unknown, *St. George and the Dragon***, mid-late fifteenth century, polychromed oak, h. 72.5 cm, The Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry [From: Marks and Williamson,** *Gothic Art for England***, catalogue no. 284].**

Figure 3.10. Genesis 6.9-22, Carpenters' Company wall painting; original fragment was lost in the nineteenth century [From: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 124].

Figure 3.11. 2 Kings 22.1-7, Carpenters' Company wall painting [From: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 124].
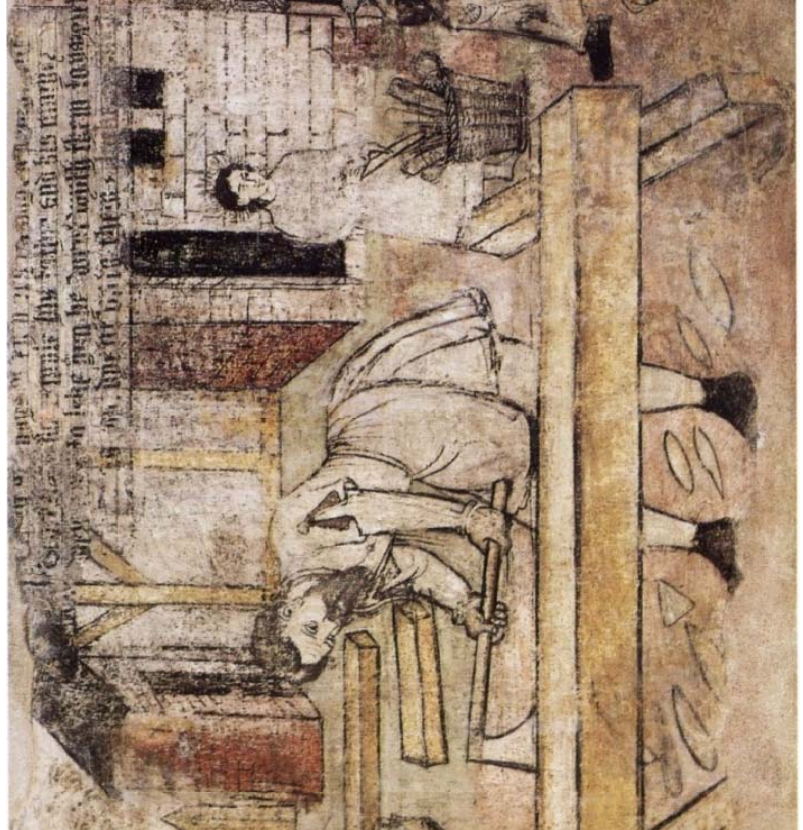
Figure 3.12. Luke 2.41-52, Carpenters' Company wall painting [From: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 125].

Figure 3.13. Matthew 13.53-58 Carpenters' Company wall painting [From: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 125].

Figure 3.14. Anonymous artist, *A Citizen*, dressed in his livery robe, c. 1600, paper engraving, London Metropolitan Archives.

Inside the painting, the inscription reads:

Willm Portington Esqr Mr Carpent^r in ye office of his Ma^{ts} buildings: who serued in ye place 40. yeeres & departed this life ye 28 of march 1628. being aged. 84. yeeres, who was a well wisher to this societie this being ye gift of mathew Bankes who serued him 14 yeeres & is at this present M^r of the said compny Anno 1637

Figure 3.15. Unknown English artist, *William Portington*, dated 1637 after a portrait of 1626, oil on panel, Carpenters' Company, London.

Figure 3.16. Unknown English artist, *Ralph Simons, Architect*, after 1630, copied from a portrait of c. 1590, oil on canvas, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Figure 3.17. Unknown artist, *David Anderson*, dated 1627, oil on canvas, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh [From: Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 196].
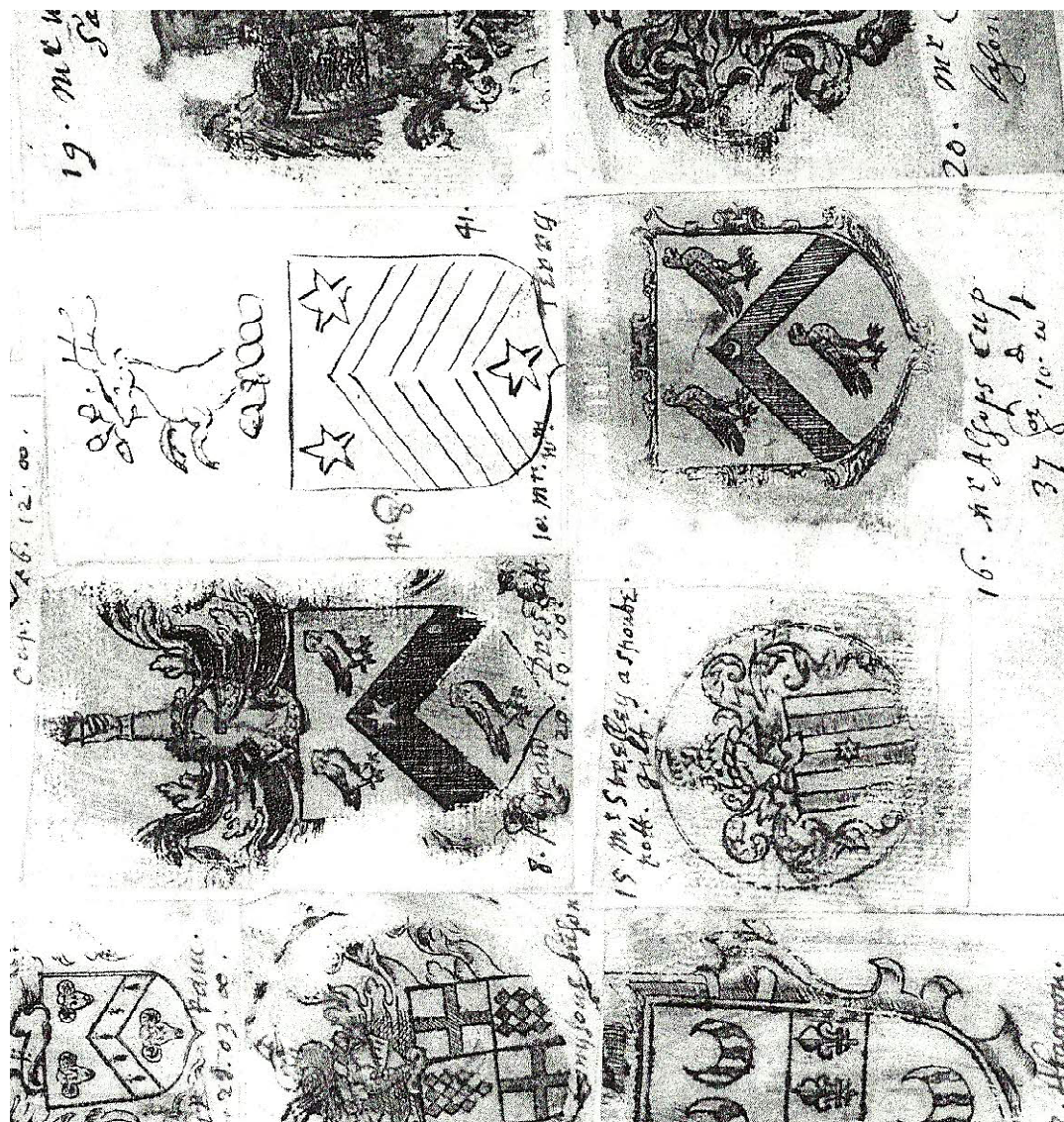
Figure 3.18. Etchings and drawings of 'the particuler waight and Armes and other remakable expressions of the donors', Goldsmiths' Hall Archive, T, fol. 34ʳ.

Figure 3.19. Rogers' Salt, 1601, silver-gilt and rock crystal, h. 23 cm, Goldsmiths' Company, London. This object was given to the company court by Richard Rogers, goldsmith and Comptroller of the Mint, in 1632. Engraved upon the rim is the following inscription: 'The Guift of Richard Rogers […] Desiring the same may bee vsed at their solemne meetinges and to bee remembred as a good benefactor Anno Dmi 1632'.

Figure 3.20. *Hour-Glass Salt*, c. 1490, silver-gilt and pearl, given by Bishop Foxe to Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Figure 3.21. Unknown maker, *The Stoke Prior Double Salt*, 1594-95, silver-gilt, chased and engraved, h. 24 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 283-1893.

Figure 3.22. Wolfgang Howzer, *The Moody Salt*, 1664-65, silver, with repoussé work and chasing, h. 18.8 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, M.347-1912.
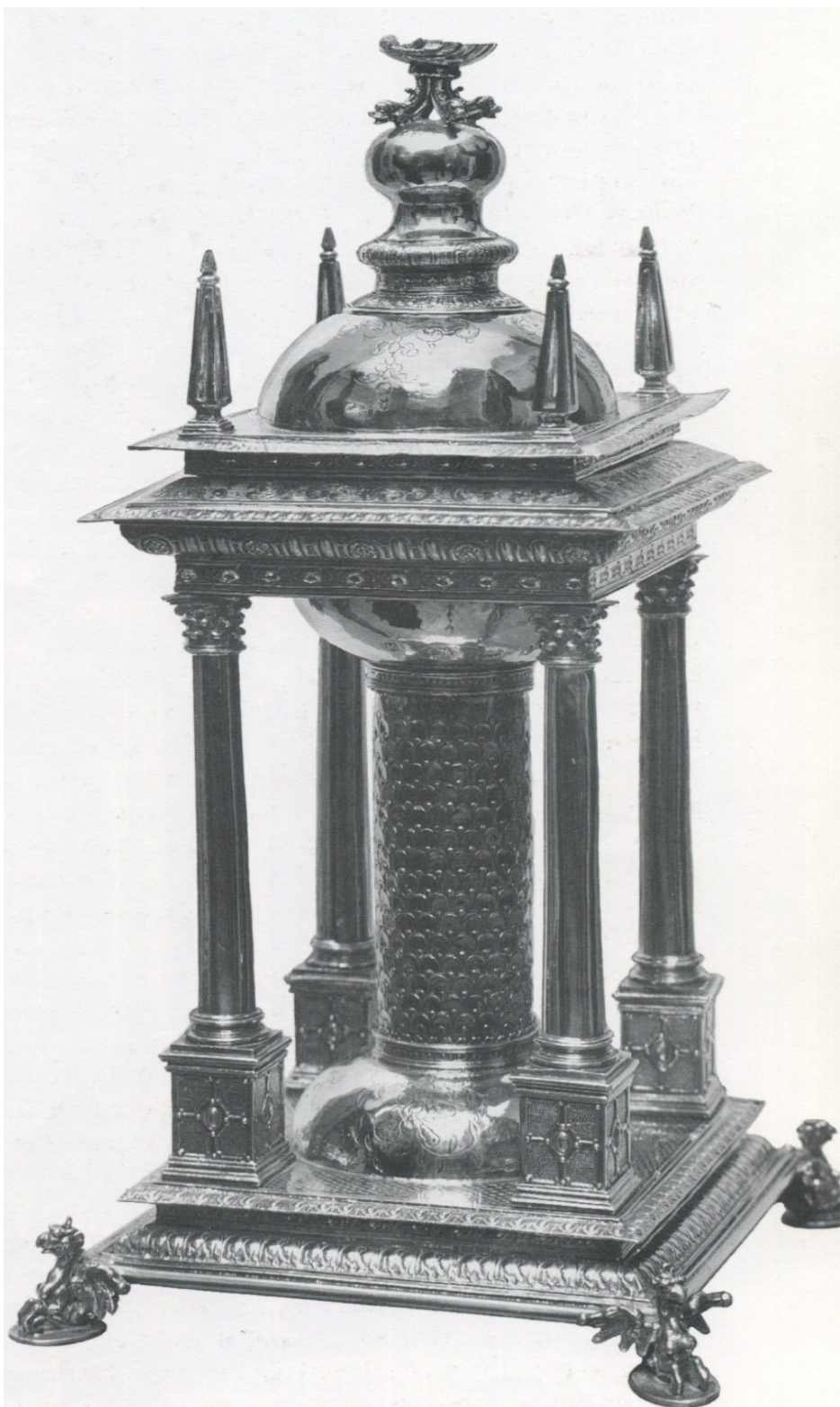
Figure 3.23. *The Butleigh Salt*, 1606-7, h. 31.7 cm, Barber Institute for Fine Arts, Birmingham.

Figure 3.24. *The Venus Salt*, 1577-8, silver-gilt and rock crystal, h. 18.4 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 3.25. Unknown maker, reliquary, commissioned by the Shoemakers' Guild of Reggio Emilia, ca. 1480-1500, copper-gilt set with plaques of nielloed silver, h. 53.4 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, M.514-1956.

Figure 3.26. Monstrance from Burgos, Spain, ca. 1525, silver-gilt, pierced, chased and embossed, h. 60. 1cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 142-1882.

Figure 3.27. Temple design from: Sebastian Serlio, *The First Booke of Architecture*, trans. by Robert Peake (London, 1611).

Figure 3.28. Antonio di Pietro del Vagliente , Saint Philip reliquary, ca. 1422-1525, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. S. Maria del Fiore, Florence, 1296-1436 [From: Cornelison, 'Art Imitates Architecture', pp.642-58].

Conclusion

At the inauguration of Sir James Pemberton as Lord Mayor of the City of London on 29
October 1611, his guild, the Goldsmiths' Company, financed and performed a great
pageant on the Thames and the city streets in his honour as was customary.[1] Produced and
written by the city poet, Anthony Munday, in collaboration with the Goldsmiths, *Chruso-
thriambos. The Triumphes of Golde* was a clear articulation of civic authority and value,
both of 'the high and eminent Office of Londons Maioralitie' and 'the Ancient, Worthy, and
Right Worshipfull Company of Gold-Smithes'.[2] Historian Curtis Perry has argued that this
production, printed in pamphlet form after its live performance, was a clear representation
of an 'emergent civic autonomy […] less bound up in the tropes of royalist panegyric' as
compared to its Elizabethan predecessors.[3] For our purposes, though, it is striking that the
Goldsmiths' articulation of civic authority and status was explicitly couched in a visual
language and material performance of craft identity, value and memorialisation.

The decorated barge that propels Pemberton towards Westminster for his
swearing-in, was said to be 'laden with Ingots of Gold and Sil-uer, and those Instruments
that delued them out of the earth' and he was accompanied by 'two Goldon Leopardes',
beasts that had featured on the Goldsmiths' Company's coat of arms since their
incorporation in the fourteenth century.[4] Arriving on land, Pemberton was 'saluted by
Leofstane a Gold-Smith, the first prouost that bare authority in London […] he conducteth
the Lord Maior and his worthy train on, till he comes to an ancient Toombe', akin to those
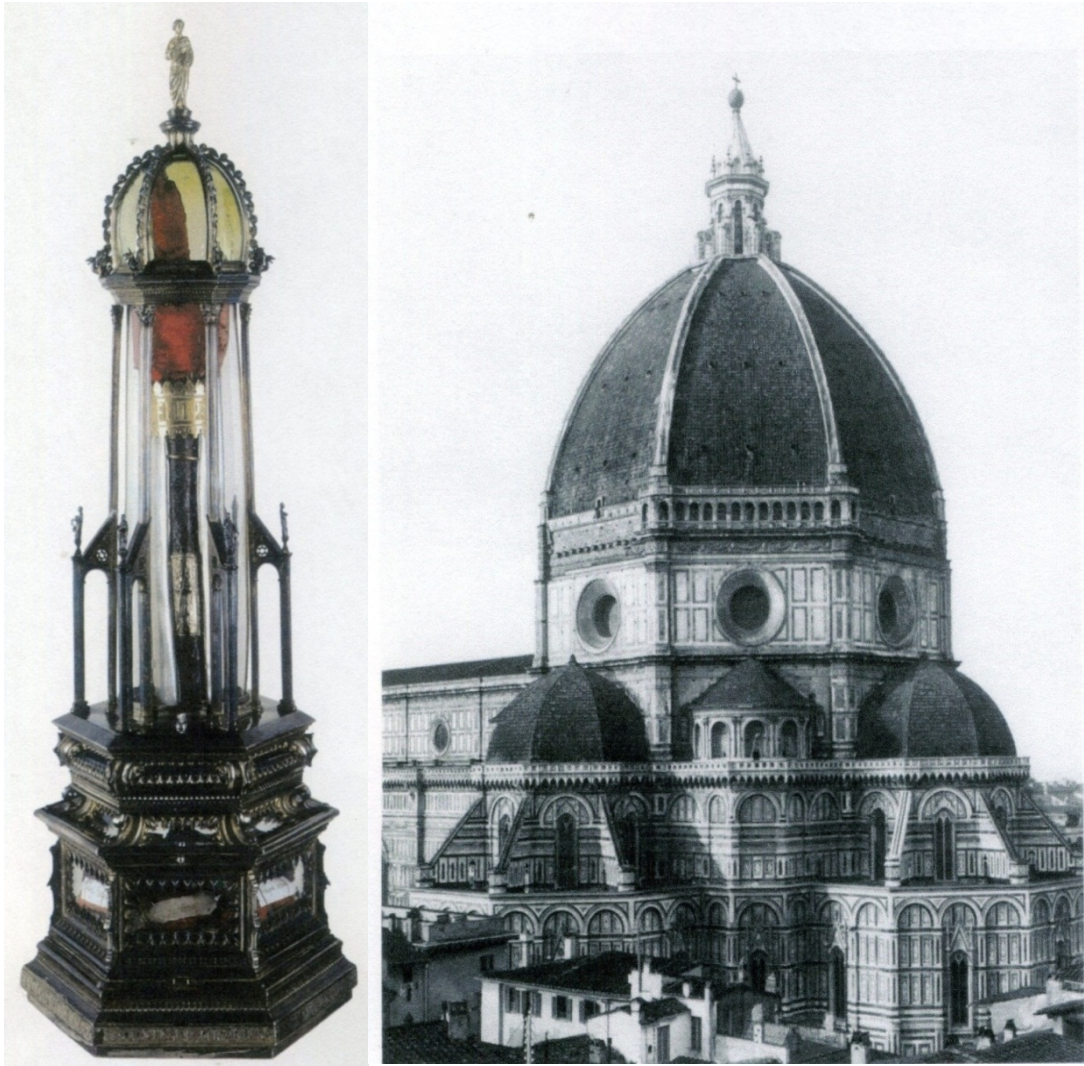
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[1] Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary
Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 199, 'The return by barge of the new
mayor from his swearing-in at Westminster was the occasion for pageantry on the water, and his
subsequent procession first to the Guildhall for a feast and subsequently back to St. Paul's provided
the occasion for a show of pageant devices.'
[2] Anthony Munday, *Chruso-thriambos. The Triumphs of Golde* (London, 1611), sig. A3ʳ.
[3] Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture*, p. 199.
[4] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*, sig. A3ᵛ; Ian W. Archer, 'The City of London and River Pageantry, 1400-
1856', in *Royal River: Power, Pageantry and the Thames*, ed. by Susan Doran, with Robert Blyth
(London: Scala, 2012), pp. 80-85 (pp. 82-83).

located in the churches of St Leonarde and St Vedast, within which worthy benefactors of the company were materially commemorated.[5] A series of speeches ensue, a dialogue between 'Time' and historic goldsmith mayors, including the first Lord Mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwine and Nicholas Faringdon, who 'ariseth' when 'Time striketh on the Tomb with his Siluer wand'.[6] Upon 'a Quadrangle frame', 'a Rocke or Mount of Golde' was erected, on which various representatives of the heterogeneous craft of the Goldsmiths' Company and those involved with its material production were 'seated, according to their seuerall Carracter and Office'.[7] These characters include the 'Pioners, Miners, and Deluers, doe first vse their endeuour and labour, to come by the Oare of gold and Siluer hidden in the Rock […] to the industrious Finer' and the various 'dexterious Artezans': 'the Mint-Maister, Coyners, Goldmithes, Jeweller, Lapidarie, Pearle-Driller, Plate-Seller, all liuely acting their sundry professions'. Upon this 'Mount of Golde' is also 'an ingenious Say-Maister, with his Furnaces, Glasses or parting each Metall from other, his Table, Balance, and Weightes, euen to the very smallest quantitie of true valuation'.[8] Finally, attending 'two beautifull Ladies […] Antiquity and Memory', was the ultimate representation of 'the Golde-Smiths auncient profession [….] the imaged Car-racter of learned Dunstane, who beeing Bishop of Worcester, London, and Arch-Bishoppe of Canter-Bury, had no little delight in the Art of Gold-Smithery, and shewes himself now (as then) acting that profession'.[9] Tellingly, in view of our understanding of the value of artisanal labour within the early modern London livery company, Dunstan was described as being 'very practique, & so well skild in Gold-smithery'.[10]

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[5] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*, sig. A3[v]; Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 305.
[6] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*, sig. B3[v].
[7] Ibid., sig. A4[r].
[8] Ibid., sig. A4[r-v].
[9] Ibid., sig. B1[v].
[10] Ibid., sig. C2[r].

This account of the spectacular inauguration of Pemberton as Lord Mayor, replete with visual and material references to the antiquity and skill of the craft of the Goldsmiths' Company, is an apposite conclusion to this study of identity, memory and epistemology within the early modern London craft guild. Throughout this thesis it has been demonstrated that craft guilds were not just political institutions, composed of men actively fashioning virtuous 'civic' identities, but heterogeneous communities of workshop practitioners and retailers: 'sundry professions', as represented in *Chruso-thriambos*. The construction of individual reputation and the collective cultural identity of the craft guild were intrinsically associated with the guildsman's experiences and tacit skills as a workshop practitioner. Within London companies, hierarchies of artisanal skill and status, various types of 'dexterious Artezans', existed alongside - sometimes even in tension with - the orders of sociopolitical estates.[11] As is argued in Gamon's *Goldsmiths' Storehouse* and in the first and second sections of this thesis, different guildsmen had varied understandings of what true 'knowledge' of the craft entailed and the 'private' or 'public' spaces where it might be appropriately demonstrated; although all were agreed that artisanal value could only be genuinely ascertained within collectives of guild-trained and authorised master craftsmen.

The methodology employed throughout this thesis has given voice to a hugely significant stratum of early modern London society, whom, in textual accounts alone, often appear to be disengaged, inarticulate or even mute. It has also fleshed out the identities and values, as far as is possible, of those below the level of assistants and liverymen, who did not play a role in authoring or editing the company archives, but did contribute to the

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[11] Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, 'Introduction: Communities in Early Modern England', in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by Shepard and Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 6, 'Community, as a state of interpersonal relations, did not preclude conflict. On the contrary, conflict was intrinsic to such relations, and the precepts and practices of community were invariably crystallised through attempts to resolve or contain it.'

material and social space of the guild hall. This study of guild spaces and 'things' has shown that the changing built environments of the London livery halls and their varied material fixtures and moveable furnishings were essential mediums through which guildsmen established and perpetuated claims to civic, social and artisanal status. A comparative approach, taking in the buildings and material cultures of a range of companies, demonstrates that we might speak both of a general, institutionalised, artisanal culture within early modern London, as well as discrete communities of skill and value. Common trends, such as the changing spatial organisation of London livery halls, can be observed across the companies, from c. 1560, but guildsmen were also conversant in specific skills and materials, and spoke particular languages of craft, which excluded those from outside their own artisanal mystery.

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12079/2	Yeomanry Quarterly Supper Expenses Accounts, 1604-16
12157	List of armourers working at Greenwich c. 1630
12105-6	Will and Gift Books, 1398-1877
12104	Plans and Surveys of Hall and Estates, 1679
12107	Inventories, 1663-1791

Bakers' Company

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Basketmakers' Company

2874/1	Note of Company movables destroyed in Great Fire, 1666

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Q1   Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, September 1629-January 1631

R2   Wardens Accounts and Court Minutes, January 1631/2- May 1634

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