Locations, Networks and Cycles:

Studying the Everyday Life of Richard Stonley (1520-1600)

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This project explores everyday life in the early modern period and utilises an extended case study examining the diaries of Richard Stonley, in order to develop new methodological strategies for the analysis and interpretation of archival sources. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the thesis draws on theoretical frameworks from fields including anthropology and material culture studies, and combines qualitative and quantitative modes of analysis. The conclusions of this study draw out effective methods with which to approach highly personal and idiosyncratic, or seemingly mundane archival sources. These methods enable a nuanced understanding of early modern individuals who may fall between established categories, such as 'elite' and 'middling' or 'urban' and 'rural'.

The three surviving volumes of Richard Stonley's unpublished diary, dating from 1581 to 1597, contain large amounts of information about daily life at his homes in London and Essex, and in the Fleet prison where he resided in the final years of his life following a serious debt problem. As a Teller of the Exchequer, Richard Stonley also spent much of his time working at the Receipt at Westminster. These four locations would have been inhabited by Stonley on a regular or daily basis, and they were the sites for numerous routine activities recorded in the diary entries and in other archival sources, including inventories and accounts. Social interactions were also recorded in the diary, allowing for an analysis of his quotidian social network, alongside behaviours connected to both routine activities and special occasions.

This thesis demonstrates that rather than viewing everyday life merely as a category of activities or objects centered around a domestic setting, this theme can be utilised as a lens through which to examine challenging or dense historical sources. This methodological approach includes exploring a wide range of archival evidence in detail, generating a deeper understanding of the working practices and daily tasks undertaken by historic individuals in the navigation of their quotidian lives and the creation of their social and cultural identities.

Prefatory Notes

This project makes use of unpublished manuscript sources, some of which I have transcribed in full or in part and any errors are my own. When transcribing documents I have endeavoured to maintain original spelling and, where relevant, original line spacing. In order to aid comprehension I have changed Roman numerals into Arabic numerals and sums of money have been shown in the '£sd' style. To clarify meaning, some abbreviated words have been expanded using square brackets. When referencing documents which are specifically dated between 1 January and 25 March (including the diary entries) I have used a forward slash (for example 1 February 1593/4), in order to indicate both the old style and new style date and provide consistency between the manuscript documents and my discussion. I have used the spelling 'Stonley' throughout this thesis, although some archival and secondary sources use the spelling 'Stoneley' and some instances survive of the variant name 'Stondley' being used.

Acknowledgements

Frequently Used Abbreviations

Folger:	The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.
TNA:	The National Archives, Kew, London
BL:	The British Library, London
Essex:	Essex County Archives, Chelmsford
LMA:	London Metropolitan Archives
ODNB:	The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (on-line resource)
HoP:	The History of Parliament (on-line resource)

References to the diary manuscripts (V.a.459, 460 and 461) have been abbreviated using the volume and leaf number with a recto or verso clarification (for example Vol 2: 4r).

Introduction

On Tuesday 12 June 1593, a Londoner named Richard Stonley recorded in his diary the purchases he had made that day in the city: Ten shillings spent on food, three shillings spent on buttons and fabric for making clothing, and twelve pence for two books; "the Survey of France with the Venus & Adhonay[*s*] p[*er*] Shakespere".[1] This small, inconsequential note makes Richard Stonley the earliest documented purchaser (and presumably reader) of a work by William Shakespeare. Just a few years later Stonley would be imprisoned in the Fleet for debt, a period of time recorded in one of the volumes of his diary. It is these two events for which the diarist is perhaps now most well-known. I would argue, however, that the three surviving volumes of the diary are in fact rich sources of evidence for a broad spectrum of everyday activities undertaken by ordinary individuals in the late sixteenth century. The first surviving volume was written between June 1581 and December 1582, the second volume between May 1593 and May 1594, and the final volume between March 1597 and May 1598. The diary entries include Stonley's personal expenditure, accounts of his daily activities and biblical and philosophical quotations; both as material objects and as holders of textual content, the manuscripts allow a fascinating glimpse into the thoughts of the diarist and reveal elements of his communities and society more broadly.

The three surviving volumes were once part of a longer series, which sadly do not appear to have survived, and it is not clear how they became separated. After passing through private collections in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the three volumes came to be part of the collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C. in 1973.[2] The survival of the diaries themselves is clearly an unusual and exciting occurrence for scholars of the sixteenth century. What makes Stonley's case even more interesting is that due to his position in society, his legal difficulties and his professional work, a number of other supporting documents also survive, allowing for the creation of a substantial web of evidence.

This project will bring a wide array of sources into dialogue with the diaries in order to develop and improve methodological approaches for studying personal, quotidian and idiosyncratic sources of evidence. Everyday life is a fruitful focus for this

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[1] Vol 2: 9r.
[2] Papers from the Folger's curatorial file for the diaries include clippings from The New York Times and The Washington Post dated Monday 23 April 1973, when the library made an announcement of having received the diaries as a gift. An event to mark the acquisition took place the following month, where the acquisition was described in a leaflet as "a gift from the Friends to the Folger Library".

work, due to its comprehensive and inclusive nature, avoiding the limitations of a concept such as 'domesticity'. Central to the concept of everyday life is 'lived experience', the details of daily life as seen through the eyes of the subjects of our study; this project explores the ways in which lived experience can be extrapolated from archival sources, such as diaries and account books. Alongside the material and environmental features of daily life, this project also explores the social, interactive and cyclical nature of quotidian experience. Whilst themes including social status, interpersonal relationships, trade and consumption are often the subject of historical research, this project will also consider how a focus on everyday life can add new or different perspectives to our understanding of the early modern period.[3]

The interdisciplinary theoretical framework that supports this project draws on the work of anthropologists and material culturists. The resulting methods encompass both quantitative and qualitative analysis and provide a practical approach to drawing out quotidian details from source material that can sometimes be dense and hard to navigate. The outcome is the development of a nuanced and accurate understanding of early modern individuals, their daily lives and the communities to which they belonged. As we will see in subsequent chapters, a focus on everyday life is particularly useful for examining evidence pertaining to individuals who appear difficult to categorise, or who inhabit liminal locations and positions within a society. By exploring the lived experiences of an individual or group, it is possible to deduce the ways in which they organised and navigated their lives, and constructed and expressed their identity. For scholars of the sixteenth century, determining how individuals and communities responded to the social, religious and political changes of this century allows for a broader understanding of key historical events such as the Reformation and the reigns of the Tudor monarchs.

This introductory chapter is formed of two parts; the first continues with an introduction to the subject of this extended case study, Richard Stonley, and a survey of the ways in which his diaries have been utilised by scholars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Following this, the chapter will explore the term 'everyday life' as a theoretical framework, before describing in more detail the methodological approaches undertaken for this project.

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[3] Sociologists David Newman and Jodi O'Brien suggest that the study of everyday life can contribute to an understanding of social status: "It is tempting to see class differences as simply the result of an economic stratification system...[but] it is often felt most forcefully and is reinforced most effectively in the chain of interactions that take place in our day-to-day lives." See: David M. Newman and Jodi O'Brien (eds.), *Sociology 9: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life: Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2013), p. 253.

PART ONE

Richard Stonley, 1520-1600

Richard Stonley has not been subjected to extensive academic scrutiny as yet and he was only added to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in 2016, in a detailed entry by Felicity Heal.[4] Prior to this the only biography for Stonley was an entry in The History of Parliament resource written by N. M. Fuidge, originally published in 1981.[5] Heal and Fuidge agree that Stonley was born around 1520 in Warwickshire and died in 1600, probably in the Fleet prison; both also concur on the fact that it has been difficult to ascertain many facts about his early life and career. Heal appears to have made the most progress, identifying Stonley's father William (who died in 1547), a tenant farmer in Bishop's Itchington in Warwickshire, and two of Stonley's brothers, Thomas and Edward. Heal in particular highlights the influence of Sir William Petre, a secretary of state, in the development of Stonley's career; by his early thirties, Stonley had begun working for Petre and this professional position seems to have led to Stonley's move to London and acquisition of the position of Teller of the Exchequer in 1554.

Around the same time that his new role in the Receipt began, Stonley married Anne Donne, the widow of Robert Donne, who died in the early part of 1553.[6] Anne was born into the Branche family, and was the sister of John Branche, a member of the Drapers Company, who served as Lord Mayor of London in 1581. Anne is known to have had three sons, Daniel, Samuel and William, although Stonley's diary identifies other people with the Donne name including Nicholas and Robert, who may be other stepsons or relatives. Anne and Richard set up home in Aldersgate Street, in a house which reflected their close connection to Richard's employer, since it was "very close to the London home of the Petres"[7]. Adding to their family, Richard and Anne had three daughters, Dorothy, Anne and Thomasine. The diaries only refer to Dorothy and Anne, so it seems that Thomasine died before June 1581.

With professional advancement and a growing family, Richard and Anne Stonley acquired property in Doddinghurst, a small village in Essex close to Sir William Petre's manor house, Ingatestone Hall. Born into a cattle-farming family in 1506 in Devon, Sir William Petre was educated at Oxford before embarking on a political career.[8] He benefitted from the dissolution of the monasteries and was able to purchase land in Essex in the 1530s, where he built Ingatestone Hall. His son John Petre inherited Ingatestone when Sir William Petre died in 1572. The Petre family has attracted

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[4] ODNB: Stonley, Richard.
[5] HoP: Stoneley, Richard.
[6] ODNB: Dun [Donne], Sir Daniel.
[7] ODNB: Stonley, Richard.
[8] ODNB: Petre, Sir William.

attention from local historians in Essex, particularly F. G. Emmison, the county archivist, who published research on records held at the Essex Record Office.[9]

As can be seen from the family tree below, Dorothy and Anne both married and had children of their own; Dorothy married William Dawtrey, whose father (also called William Dawtrey) served as an MP for Sussex in 1563.[10] Dorothy and William Dawtrey had two children, Henry Dawtrey (referred to as Harry in the diaries) and then Anne Dawtrey. As Dorothy's husband pre-deceased his own father (in 1589), their son Henry inherited significant property from his Dawtrey grandfather. Anne Stonley married William Heigham, probably a relation of the two Heighams who served as MPs in the late sixteenth century.[11] Richard's stepsons remained close to the new Stonley family; Daniel Donne, is frequently listed in Stonley's diary; after studying at All Souls College, Oxford, he worked as a lawyer and then ecclesiastical judge.[12] William Donne, Daniel's younger brother, worked as a physician and was a member of the Royal College of Physicians, delivering the Lumleian Lectures in the early seventeenth century.[13]

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[9] See for instance, F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1961).
[10] HoP: DAWTREY, William (d.1591).
[11] HoP: HEIGHAM, Sir Clement (d.1634) and HoP: HEIGHAM, John (d.1626).
[12] ODNB: Dun [Donne], Sir Daniel.
[13] Margaret Pelling and Frances White, 'DUNN, William', in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database* (London, 2004), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/dunn-william>.

John Branche (senior) ⋯⋯ Joan Wilkinson

William Stonley (d.1547)

Sir John Branche (d.1588)

Edward Stonley (d.1605)

Robert Donne (died c.1552) ⋯⋯ Anne (Branche, Donne) Stonley (?1525-1612) ⋯⋯ **Richard Stonley (1520-1600)**

Daniel Donne (d.1617)

Samuel Donne

William Donne

William Dawtrey (1548-1589) ⋯⋯ Dorothy (Stonley) Dawtrey

Anne (Stonley) Heigham ⋯⋯ William Heigham (1547-1620)

Anne Donne ⋯⋯ Henry ('Harry') Dawtrey (1578-1631)

Anne Dawtrey

Richard Heigham (b.1581)
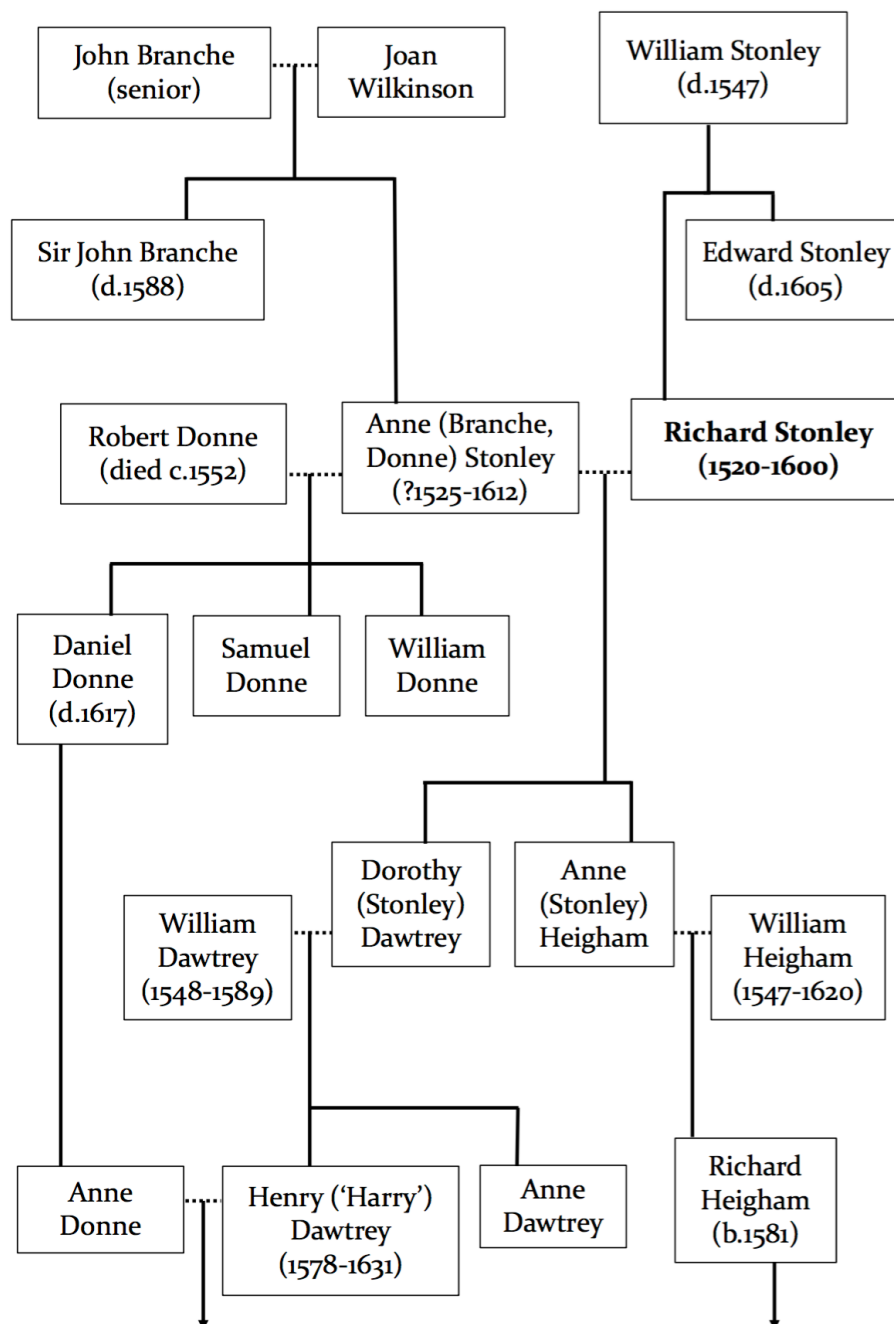
Diagram showing the Branche, Donne, Stonley, Dawtrey and Heigham families. Solid lines denote offspring, dotted lines denote marriage. Some relatives who are difficult to identify have been omitted, for instance, an individual referred to by Stonley as "my brother Uvedale", who could be his brother-in-law or the brother-in-law of his wife.

In 1554 Stonley was made one of four Tellers of the Exchequer, an administrative role with responsibility for the receipt and payment of the government's money.[14] Heal suggests that he was "favoured as a reliable administrator by the lord treasurer, William Paulet, marquess of Winchester" although "[by] 1571, if not before, he was struggling with arrears which were charged to his accounts, having on his own admission borrowed part of the crown's revenue to purchase lands."[15] Throughout the 1570s and 1580s Stonley

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[14] See OED definitions for 'Teller of the Exchequer' and 'Exchequer'.
[15] ODNB: Stonley, Richard.

appears to have been struggling with impending investigations and he was imprisoned in the Fleet for debt in 1597. Heal and Fuidge differ slightly on Anne Stonley's widowhood, with Fuidge suggesting that she resided at Kensingtons in Doddinghurst and Heal suggesting that she was living in the Aldersgate Street house. It seems likely that Anne continued to maintain homes in both locations, for although she was buried in London early in 1612, her will includes references to both the London and Essex parishes.[16]

Richard and Anne were buried in their Aldersgate Street parish church. A transcription of their grave stone was included in an expanded edition of John Stow's survey of London, published by Robert Seymour in 1733;

> On a Grave-Stone in the North Isle:
> Here lyeth the Body of *Anne*, Daughter of *John Branche*, Citizen and Draper of LONDON, by *Joan*, his Wife, Daughter and Heire of *John Wilkinson*, some Time Alderman of this Citie. She was married first to *Robert Dunne*, and (after his Death) to *Richard Stoneley,* Esq; By Dunne, she had three Sonnes; *Sir Daniel Dunne*, Knt. and Doctor of Law, her eldest, *Samuel Dunne*, and *William Dunne*, the youngest, Doctor of Physicke. And by *Stonley* she had divers Children, whereof two lived to be married; *Dorothy* to *William Dantrey*, of *Sussex*; *Anne*, to *William Higham* of *Essex*, Esq; Her Life was vertuous and godly, and so dyed the 11th Day of January, *An. Dom*. 1611, being of the Age of fourscore and six Yeeres; having seen her Childrens Children, to the fourth Generation, and lyes here buried between her Husbands, and among some other of her Children, according to her Desire.[17]

Outliving both her husbands, Anne's grave stone describes her as a respected and influential figure, with parents, grandparents and husbands described in relation to her. The two families resulting from Anne's two marriages were further united when Harry Dawtrey later married his cousin, the daughter of Daniel Donne, emphasising Anne Stonley's central role in the family groups.

The question of Richard Stonley's social status is hard to ascertain; it seems likely that due to professional work, increased wealth and successful marriages, his family experienced elements of social mobility. N.M. Fuidge describes Richard Stonley's family as having "an estate at Over Itchington", but Felicity Heal describes William Stonley as a Warwickshire tenant farmer, who "was fined in 1536 for putting too many sheep on the common", suggesting a modest agricultural background.[18] Richard's diary keeping, book ownership and professional position as Teller of the Exchequer indicate that he was an

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[16] LMA: DL/C/360/147r (microfilm X019/0150).
[17] Transcription taken from *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, And Parts Adjacent*, published by Robert Seymour, Esq; printed for T.Read in White-Fryars, Fleet-Street, London in 1733, Book III, p. 622.
[18] ODNB: Stonley, Richard.

educated man, although he is not thought to have attended university or received formal legal training.[19]

The Branche family have been identified by Heal as members of the Drapers' Company in London and the family of Anne's first husband, Robert Donne, have been described as having the same urban, commercial background.[20] While Richard Stonley himself married into a London mercantile family, the husbands of his own daughters came from different backgrounds; both men were sons of members of parliament and of gentry landowners, with country homes in Sussex and Essex. The marriages of Dorothy and Anne in the 1570s, appear to pre-empt slightly Stonley's acquisition of further manorial property in Doddinghurst, Essex. These events may have been seen as consolidating Richard and Anne's progress into the gentry class. Richard Stonley never acquired a title, beyond occasional uses of 'esquire', unlike some of his more senior colleagues. William Petre was knighted in 1544, and William Cecil was knighted in 1551 and created Baron Burghley in 1572.[21] Richard's brother-in-law, John Branche, was knighted and his stepson, Daniel Donne was knighted in 1603. Within the extended family a diverse range of markers of social status can be seen and Richard himself may have experienced several socio-cultural identities, perhaps aspiring to different social positions at different points of his life. As the preceding paragraphs have shown, some important biographical facts have been ascertained about Richard Stonley and his wider family. However, very little research has been undertaken exploring the ways in which the individuals of this family experienced, created and expressed their social identities and status; the purpose of this project is to utilise the surviving archival sources to examine these issues with a particular focus on the lived experiences that make up everyday life.

Past and Current Stonley Scholarship

Although Richard Stonley has not been subjected to extensive or in-depth academic scrutiny, recent years have shown an increasing interest from scholars in history and literature. At the time of writing the diaries have not been transcribed and published, nor has a full scholarly biographical survey been attempted.[22] However, references to Richard Stonley's diaries spring up occasionally in both popular histories and academic texts in different historical fields. These citations often turn out to be brief quotations,

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[19] Heal states that Stonley "must have been well schooled and trained in methods of accounting, but there is no evidence that he attended university of the inns of court." ODNB: Stonley, Richard.
[20] HoP: DUNNE (DONNE), Sir Daniel (c.1546-1617).
[21] HoP: CECIL, Sir William (1520 or 1521-98).
[22] With the exception of Jason Scott-Warren's forthcoming volume *Shakespeare's First Reader: Richard Stonley's Paper Trails.*

with little contextual or supporting evidence about Stonley, his life or his choices. Alan Stewart particularly warns against this approach, criticising "the 'rifling for data' to which historians routinely subject diaries".[23] This section will explore how 'rifling for data' can result in a narrow or stereotypical view of Stonley, and risk over-simplifying the very rich and detailed evidence found in the diaries. Few scholars who use Stonley's diaries appear to cite the work of other historians who use these documents and they occasionally appear to contradict each other. This can leave readers struggling to get a true sense of the man or an accurate understanding of the surviving archival material.

The earliest piece of modern scholarship on Stonley is Leslie Hotson's article written in 1949, which depicts Stonley as "Elizabeth's embezzling Teller".[24] This has become one of the labels that is applied to Stonley. Writing nearly forty years later, John Guy uses Stonley's financial irregularities as an example of the scandals which were common in the Exchequer; Guy explains that "the crunch came in 1571 when all but one of the tellers in office since 1567 defaulted on their accounts... Stonley had 'borrowed' £6,100 to buy lands".[25] Norman Jones confirms John Guy's findings, arguing that "Five of the six tellers who held office from 1567 to 1571 defaulted on their accounts, costing the Queen over £4000."[26] Both Jones and Guy draw attention to Lord Burghley's role in the financial mishandling in the Tellers' office, with Guy going so far as to question Burghley's motives.[27] Jones meanwhile, uses a specific diary entry as evidence of tension between Stonley and Burghley;

> When he was investigated in 1597 Stonley entered in his diary "This day after morning prayer I kept home at my books preparing to answer all persons...especially my L Treasurer who searcheth answers by my doing in my office as reason for his own discharge who hath other secretly to pray after him, yet a man good natured and in thend [sic] showeth much friendship to the honest minded." But Stonley still lost his job.[28]

Curious, however, is John Guy's suggestion that the "diaries illuminate the range and extent of his dealings."[29] This view is not held by Alan Stewart, who argues that there is an "utter absence" of his Exchequer activities in the diary entries and Stonley "was keen

[23] Alan Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing: The Case of Richard Stonley', in Zachary Leader (ed.), *On Life-Writing* (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 161-79 (p. 162).
[24] Leslie Hotson, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 2 (1949), 49-61.
[25] John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 393.
[26] Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 154.
[27] Guy, *Tudor England,* pp. 394-5: "Indeed, if Stonley's diary is credible, Burghley feared damage to his own career. He kept the lid on the affair, while quietly chasing Stonley through the courts and promoting legislation reinforcing the Act for Tellers and Receivers. After an eleven-year legal battle, Stonley's assets were finally recovered, though the teller died in 1600 still in considerable debt."
[28] Jones, *Governing by Virtue,* p. 154 fn65.
[29] Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 394.

to separate his domestic and professional lives."[30] Were a detailed study of Burghley and Stonley's finances to be undertaken, the diaries would potentially be a source of information about their actions; they certainly contain references to anxieties about debts, to legal cases and sums of money changing hands. However, the precise nature of the finances could not be determined without a dedicated and detailed investigation of the official Exchequer records, which is beyond the remit of this thesis.

While Stonley has been defined by his misdemeanours in some quarters, other scholars hold him up as an example of devout and virtuous Protestantism. Writing in 2015, Felicity Heal describes Stonley as "a man whose devout adherence to the Protestant Settlement is consistently revealed in the diaries he kept".[31] Meanwhile, Alec Ryrie has made use of Stonley's diaries as a means of highlighting the lived experience of the new Protestant faith, describing the volumes as "less a spiritual journal than an account-book containing brief notes of Stonley's actions and devotions."[32] Both Ryrie and Heal view Stonley as a strict Protestant. However neither scholar explores the fact that Stonley's childhood took place in pre-Reformation England and he would have been in his mid-teens during the dissolution of the monasteries. Neither is there any discussion of Stonley's appointment to his post in the Exchequer in 1554, by Mary I during the Catholic counter-Reformation, and his close relationship to the Catholic Petre family.[33] In contrast, Jason Scott-Warren's study of Stonley finds a more complex view; the inventory of books present in Stonley's London house in 1596 lists both Protestant and Catholic texts, a situation which he concludes "might well be enough to warrant further investigation."[34] Additionally, Alan Stewart's description of Stonley's purchase of Shakespeare's epic poem *Venus and Adonis* as a "rare indulgence in an erotic pamphlet" sits uncomfortably alongside the depictions of Stonley either as an austere Protestant or a secret Catholic.[35]

Stonley's identity as a reader and purchaser of books is another field of interest to scholars. Stonley's purchase of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* poem in 1593 naturally receives attention from those interested in the drama and poetry of the period.[36] Stonley

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[30] Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', p. 175.

[31] Felicity Heal, 'Experiencing religion in London: diversity and choice in Shakespeare's metropolis' in David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore (eds.) *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 57-78 (p. 58).

[32] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 299.

[33] ODNB: Petre, Sir William (1505/6–1572).

[34] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber: religion, accounting and the library of Richard Stonley', in John N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 232-252 (p. 245).

[35] Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', p. 179.

[36] See for example: Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 218. Like many references to Stonley, Erne includes little more than a brief statement of the facts of the purchase of the poem.

is also cited by D.R. Woolf in research into reading in early modern England. However Woolf does not utilise the inventory of Stonley's London house, which includes a large number of books, instead focusing on the diaries; searching for evidence of reading choices and habits, Woolf interprets Stonley's phrase "at my books" to mean reading as a leisure activity.[37] He does not explore alternative interpretations for this phrase, which could also mean keeping financial accounts, either for personal use or in his professional capacity as a Teller.[38] Acknowledging only one interpretation of this phrase risks oversimplifying a whole set of daily activities and encouraging the evidence to conform to a trend which may not in fact be upheld by the evidence.

The lively scenes depicted in Stonley's diary entries make delightful vignettes with which to illustrate particular aspects of early modern life. For instance, Felicity Heal makes further use of Stonley's diaries in her research on early modern gift giving. She identifies three categories of gift exchange; those associated with hospitality, those connected to life-cycle events such as weddings, and finally, those associated with the annual festive calendar. Although Stonley recorded gift exchange in all three of these categories, Heal focuses on the third category, highlighting Stonley's New Year gifts in 1593/4;

> Stonley, a Teller of the Exchequer, was in serious financial trouble, and was caught between obvious anxiety about money and his attempts to be a good lord and neighbour on his rural estate of Doddinghurst, Essex, and a subservient client to Burghley. So, he carefully noted the number and value of his gifts - £24 including a preserving pan for Burghley - and his receipts of food - 12sh. Given his circumstances this was a costly way to maintain status.[39]

Heal does not mention Stonley's other gifts, including money and poultry to many friends, family and neighbours, nor the expensive sugar loaf received by Stonley from his stepson Daniel Donne. Heal's interpretation focuses almost entirely on social climbing and the implication that he chose to record the value of these gifts because of his debt problems. Other factors may further illuminate these gift-exchange activities, including

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[37] D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 94. Woolf's selection of Stonley's diaries as a source of evidence for the reading of history books is curiously problematic, since Woolf admits that "[t]he purchase of particular books...is occasionally mentioned but no histories are listed [in the diary]" (p. 94, fn35).

[38] Jason Scott-Warren also suggests that "presumably it means 'working on my accounts', though other kinds of reading and writing might be implied." Jason Scott Warren, 'Early Modern Bookkeeping and Life-Writing Revisited: Accounting for Richard Stonley' in *Past and Present* 230, suppl. 11 (2016), 232-252 (p. 158).

[39] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 75. Heal transcribes the gift to Burghley as a "preserving pan", however my own reading of this phrase is "perfuming pan", which seems a more likely gift from an upper-middling employee to give an elite patron. The OED defines a "perfumer" as a "box or casket for perfume; a vessel in which incense or perfume is burned" and cites a sixteenth-century example which uses the term "perfuming pan" for this object.

the potential for personal affection and longstanding relationships with colleagues (like Burghley) who he had known for many years. Other examples of gift exchange could enable a more nuanced interpretation of Stonley's customs, such as Stonley's gift of a silver bowl to his daughter to celebrate the birth of a grandchild, along with gifts of money to the nurse and midwife.[40] Considering a wider range of scenarios when Stonley gave and received gifts would demonstrate different emotions (apart from money worries and professional social climbing), such as family pride, affection and respect for the work of others.

Stonley's diaries are frequently cited in Liza Picard's popular history volume *Elizabeth's London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London*, in chapters on various aspects of London life, including food, furniture, servants and prisons.[41] Unfortunately, Picard does not appear to have been aware of the original manuscripts of the diaries, instead making good use of the nineteenth century partial transcription of the diaries made by Francis Douce, which is now held in the Bodleian Library.[42] Referring to Stonley's time in the Fleet prison, she notes;

> He regularly entertained his wife and daughter, and friends, to meals, which - being in the habit of keeping records and having nothing else to record - he set out in detail, with their costs.[43]

In fact, Stonley's lists of meals in the third volume of his diary do not have costs attached, (nor do they in Douce's transcription), although some meals do have costs attached in the first and second volumes. It is likely that an unfortunate error like this was able to creep in because of the lack of an accessible and comprehensive transcription of the original diary manuscripts. Additionally, whilst Picard's assumption that Stonley's detailed recording of his daily meals in the Fleet was a result of his boredom paints a vivid picture, she does not explore other reasons why Stonley's diary keeping methods may have changed at this time, such as anxiety about his position in society.

Recently, significant progress has been made by Jason Scott-Warren and Alan Stewart in reading, handling and interpreting both the diaries and the case of Richard Stonley more generally.[44] Both Scott-Warren and Stewart advise taking a holistic approach to the diary manuscripts, in order to fully unpack and understand the contents of the documents. With a dense and complex source, like Stonley's diaries, there is a

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[40] Vol 1: 72v.

[41] Liza Picard, *Elizabeth's London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London* (London: Phoenix & Orion Books Ltd, 2004). Picard began writing popular history books after retiring from her career as a lawyer.

[42] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce d.44.

[43] Picard, *Elizabeth's London, p.* 285.

[44] Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber' pp. 232-252. Jason Scott-Warren, 'Early Modern Bookkeeping and Life-Writing Revisited: Accounting for Richard Stonley' in *Past and Present* 230, suppl. 11 (2016), 151-70. Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', pp. 161-79.

temptation to divide up the contents, cherry-picking what is useful and ignoring that which is problematic. Scott-Warren and Stewart both express concern with this approach of attempting to "carve them up, leaving the material culture in them to historians of dress, food and domestic life whilst requisitioning the books for bibliographical and literary studies".[45] Indeed, 'carving up' the diaries thematically risks creating artificial barriers between aspects of Stonley's life which he would not have experienced. Research methods which place lived experience centre-stage seems to be the best way of ensuring that this source is approached holistically, rather than as merely a source for sixteenth-century anecdotes.

The materiality of the diaries themselves is a theme that both Stewart and Scott-Warren return to repeatedly. For Scott-Warren, the diaries are "another source which blurs the lines between the literary and the material."[46] Stewart meanwhile suggests that the best way to begin to understand the diaries is to "work outwards from the ways in which Stonley writes" because "[o]ther aspects of the diaries are thrown into relief when one focuses attention on the layout."[47] The high resolution images of the diaries, made available via the Folger Library's website, provide an excellent way for scholars to consult the palaeographic details of the manuscript pages, in addition to the quantifiable and literary contents.

Richard Stonley's diary keeping and accounting habits were likely influenced by his professional background in accounting and the broader cultural trends for financial record keeping in the sixteenth century.[48] There are many other early modern diaries and account books, which have received scholarly attention, one of the most famous being the diary of Samuel Pepys, kept between 1660 and 1669.[49] Both Scott-Warren and Stewart highlight the role that Stonley's diaries could play in challenging views that certain methods of diary-writing were initiated by later seventeenth and eighteenth century diarists. Scott-Warren suggests that Stonley's diary challenges claims "that Pepys innovates in treating time as a continuum and in offering an insider's account of the day from waking to sleeping."[50] Certainly, Stonley's diary entries summarise his life day-by-day and often hour-by-hour. Alan Stewart argues that there is an "unspoken

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[45] Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber', p. 237.
[46] Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber' p. 236.
[47] Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', pp. 164 and 175.
[48] Scott-Warren argues that "[u]ltimately, Stonley's inventory and his diaries are part of a pan-European culture of appraisal" (Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber', p. 251). Other examples of this listed by Scott-Warren in his 2016 article on Stonley include the fashion book compiled by the accountant Matthäus Schwarz in mid-16th century Germany. See Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward (eds.), *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthaus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsberg* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).
[49] An on-line edition of Pepys' diary is now available <http://www.pepysdiary.com>.
[50] Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber', p. 247.

assumption...that it is not until the legendary diary of Samuel Pepys...that we find a work that merges the private and the public, the professional and the domestic in a satisfyingly modern manner."[51] Lena Cowen Orlin's study of privacy in Tudor London echoes this concept, giving the example that "Henry Machyn's mid-1550s London journal...tells us a great deal about his times but very little about his inner life".[52] Clearly, Richard Stonley's diaries, with their unusual format and innovative writing techniques, have a part to play within the wider context of pre-modern writing and as a part of the development of the diary format.

A number of diaries and account books dating from the seventeenth century have been used by social historians, revealing different interests and modes of editing and analysis. Parts of the diary of Ralph Josselin (kept from 1640 to 1683) were first published in 1908; the aim of the editor, E. Hockliffe, is "to extract so much personal detail as is required to give a picture of the actual life of the author, and to include everything that possesses any historical interest." Hockliffe goes on to admit, however, that the 1908 edition contains less than half the original manuscript; "There are many entries of no interest whatever - endless thanks to God...trivial details of everyday life, records of visits to his friends etc. etc."[53] When Alan Macfarlane returned to Josselin's diary in 1970 he took a different approach, subtitling his publication "an essay in historical anthropology" and describing an opportunity for an "exciting synthesis" between the social sciences and historic archival evidence.[54] Macfarlane's introduction describes the study's aim as finding a balance between statistical facts, material and physical conditions, and interior thoughts and attitudes.

Historians from different fields have found account books to be useful sources of information for particular historic social groups. For instance, the farm accounts of Robert Loder kept from 1610 to 1620.[55] G.E. Fussell's introduction to the 1936 edition particularly focuses on the early modern farming techniques revealed in the accounts. The business and household accounts of Joyce Jeffreys (kept from 1638 to 1648) have recently been edited by Judith Spicksley, providing a rare source of evidence of the agricultural work and daily life of a seventeenth-century woman.[56] The daily lives of university students John and Richard Newdigate are recorded in an account book

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[51] Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', pp. 162-3.
[52] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 2.
[53] E. Hockliffe (ed), *The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin 1616-1683*, Camden Third Series vol 15 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1908), p. v.
[54] Alan Macfarlane *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: a seventeenth-century clergyman: an essay in historical anthropology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 3.
[55] G.E. Fussell (ed), *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts 1610-1620*, Camden Third Series vol 53 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1936).
[56] Judith Spicksley (ed), *The business and household accounts of Joyce Jeffreys, spinster of Hereford, 1638-1648* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2012).

compiled between 1618 and 1621; in her introduction to the edition published in 1990, Vivienne Larminie particularly highlights the family history and social interaction revealed by the accounts; "pursuit of 'connection'...might be advanced as the keynote of John Newdigate's stay at the Inner Temple", she suggests.[57] The 1620 household account book for Sir Thomas Puckering is also recently published; in the introduction Catherine Richardson and Mark Merry describe how analysis of the materiality recorded in the accounts reveals how Puckering's elite identity was created, in both London and Warwick where he lived during this time.[58]

The highly subjective nature of journals and diaries has lead Jason Scott-Warren to suggest that diaries are unreliable for ascertaining financial accuracy, concluding that "financial accounts may be more valuable to the cultural than to the economic historian".[59] Scott-Warren observes that the diaries "are obsessed with property - both the small 'moveables' of Stonley's daily expenditure and larger transactions"; he continues by suggesting that the materiality recorded in Stonley's diary particularly illuminates his identity, as it is "evidence for individualist selfhood, in a world where ideas of identity and ownership were closely intertwined."[60] It seems that the diaries of Richard Stonley are hybrid in nature, combining elements of various different types of diary and account book frequently seen in this period; at different times Stonley recorded domestic and agricultural activities, small-scale expenditure, personal thoughts and social interactions.[61]

A range of scholars have shown interest in the diaries of Richard Stonley and other diaries and account books, particularly of the seventeenth century. These manuscripts have potential as sources of evidence for many different aspects of early modern life. However, there is a risk that Stonley's diaries are being used selectively, with anecdotes being cherry-picked in order to fit particular narratives. Some interpretations of Stonley have been rather two-dimensional, omitting conflicting evidence within the diary and overlooking the broader complexities that Stonley faced during his lifetime. On some occasions the diaries appear to have been used in isolation, and further evidence pertaining to Stonley's life from other sources, such as his

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[57] Vivienne Larminie (ed), 'The Undergraduate Account Book of John and Richard Newdigate, 1618-1621' in *Camden Miscellany 30*, Camden fourth series 39 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), pp. 149-270 (p. 159).
[58] Mark Merry & Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick 1620: Living in London and the Midlands* (Stratford-upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society, 2012), p. 2.
[59] Scott-Warren, 'Early Modern Bookkeeping', p. 152.
[60] Scott-Warren, 'Early Modern Bookkeeping', p. 158.
[61] As Scott-Warren observes, Stonley's "numerous links of kinship, friendship and business to the aldermen and citizens of London...would bear further investigation". Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber', p. 241.

household inventories, has not been considered. Progress has certainly been made in recent years in identifying the need for a more holistic approach to the case of Richard Stonley; Alan Stewart and Jason Scott-Warren highlight the need to consider the diaries both as material objects and sources of textual information simultaneously. Both scholars advocate using the diaries in conjunction with the inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house. However, as this thesis will show, it is possible to explore further, drawing a wider range of documents into dialogue with the diaries, including evidence of Stonley's home in Essex and his professional work in Westminster. A broad, interdisciplinary approach which places lived experience centre-stage is necessary to excavate, analyse and interpret the complex array of archival evidence pertaining to Stonley. This thesis benefits from a broad theoretical framework to develop the practical methodological approach to the research and this will be outlined in Part Two of this Introduction.

PART TWO

A Theoretical Framework For The Study of Early Modern Everyday Life

In the first part of this introductory chapter I have summarised the case of the diarist Richard Stonley, outlining the biographical work that has been done and the scholarly uses of his diaries to date. In the following section I will explore the methods which must be developed for this project and the theoretical frameworks that underpin them, in order to gain a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the diaries and the sixteenth century everyday lives that they record.

From popular history and the cultural heritage sector, to the academic scholarship of the humanities and social sciences, the study of everyday life is of interest to a wide range of individuals, in both theoretical and practical capacities. Writing more generally on the relationship between popular and academic history in the early twenty-first century, Jerome de Groot observes, "While professional historians busied themselves with theoretical argument, 'History' as a leisure pursuit boomed".[62] The subject of everyday life appears to reflect this trend; the quirks and subtleties of daily tasks and routines often appear to catch the imagination of consumers of cultural heritage, or what might be termed 'popular history', for instance in the form of museums and historic houses. De Groot particularly highlights recent trends for experiencing or witnessing the past in a more active, narrative-rich and sensory way, in the form of re-enactment activities, historical novels and historically-informed performances.

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[62] Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History; historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 2.

Similarly, when writing about food history in particular, Sara Pennell observes that "[p]opular print, radio, TV and the internet are the most abundant and oft-replenished sources for food history...in Britain" and that "energetic heritage engagement with 'life below stairs' serves forth a feast of food re-enactment, or 'experimental archaeology'".[63] It seems that material culture (including clothing, domestic objects and weapons, to give just three examples), ephemera and food often form parts of historical re-enactment and reconstruction, as curators, experimental archaeologists and amateur participants strive to recreate historic settings and experiences as leisure pursuits and learning opportunities.

Reconstructions of daily life, particularly in domestic settings, have been attempted at heritage sites, such as the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum in Sussex and on television documentaries. Ruth Goodman, an independent historian of British social life, exemplifies this trend; she has advised numerous heritage attractions, made television documentaries and recently published *How to be a Tudor: a Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Everyday Life*.[64] Although her book was aimed at a popular history audience, Goodman's rigorous research is clearly rooted in the analysis of archival documents and she draws on her own experience of historic practices to inform her interpretation of the sources. Historic everyday life appears to be a theme which is explored in multiple forums, from historic novels, to exhibitions and television documentaries.

In academia, meanwhile, theoretical and practical work on the everyday has been undertaken across numerous fields, including history, archaeology, geography, anthropology, sociology and critical theory.[65] *A Dictionary of Human Geography* describes the everyday simply as the "ordinary and regular practices that people engage in day in and day out."[66] Despite the simplicity of the definition, the reasons why studies into this subject are undertaken are more complex;

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[63] Sara Pennell, 'Food in history: ingredients in search of a recipe?', in *Past and Future: The Magazine of the Institute of Historical Research,* issue 13 (2013), p. 7-9.

[64] Ruth Goodman, *How to be a Tudor: A Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Everyday Life* (London: Viking, 2015). Also see: <http://www.ruthgoodman.me.uk>.

[65] In the twentieth century, the theoretical concept of 'the everyday' was particularly explored by social scientists and philosophers. For instance, Michel de Certeau's 1980 publication, 'L'Invention du Quotidien', which was later published in translation as *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Michel de Certeau, *L'Invention du Quotidien*. Vol. 1, Arts de Faire. Union générale d'éditions 10-18, 1980). A comprehensive exploration of this vast and complex international field of theoretical and philosophical work would not be possible within the space constraints of this survey. In order to avoid producing unhelpfully superficial or vague discussion on a highly nuanced subject, this thesis instead focuses on a conceptual framework that is more closely tied to the practical requirements of understanding archival manuscripts and other evidence relating to the English early modern period.

[66] 'Everyday Life', in Noel Castree, Rob Kitchin and Alisdair Roger (eds.) *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

The analysis of everyday life can tell a great deal about prevailing economic practices, cultural norms, gender, and class relations, power inequalities... [and is] a way of asking questions about the structural and spatial ordering of thought and action in a particular place and time.[67]

Meanwhile, *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*, describes everyday life as being particularly important for "registering the effects on individuals of social change on both a micro and macro scale" and for allowing "discussions of the impact of new technology. For example, when email was introduced it transformed...the way business is conducted".[68] These definitions appear to be primarily concerned with the study of contemporary societies. However, as will be shown in this thesis, a methodological emphasis on understanding everyday activities is a fruitful approach for the study of historical communities.

The relationship between the everyday and its antonym, the extraordinary, catches the attention of some scholars. A straight-forward view is taken by the *Dictionary of Human Geography,* which defines the practices of everyday life as "the antithesis of spectacular events, political revolutions, or economic crises".[69] In contrast, Ian Buchanan's *Dictionary of Critical Theory* suggests that the purpose of everyday life studies "can be summarized by the paradox that it aims to see what is extraordinary about the ordinary."[70] Drawing on the new historicist scholarship of the late twentieth century, Patricia Fumerton also identifies this paradox, arguing that "the everyday practice of another period (as also our own) can be charged with strangeness even to its practitioners."[71] This theme is further drawn out in Angela McShane and Garthine Walker's collection *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England*, a volume which seeks to "illustrate how the extraordinary and the everyday each informed the other".[72] McShane and Walker further problematise the topic by observing "that early modern people themselves regarded some things as extraordinary" and consequently not everything can be explained "in its own terms" as an 'ordinary' occurrence.[73] It seems that context is important here; the same actions or objects could be seen as 'everyday' in one context and 'spectacular' in another; as Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling observe, "[a]n object might be classified as a luxury item in terms of

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[67] 'Everyday Life', in *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (2013).
[68] Buchanan, Ian (ed.), *A Dictionary of Critical Theory,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[69] 'Everyday Life', in *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (2013).
[70] Ian Buchanan (ed.), *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (2010).
[71] Patricia Fumerton in Patricia Fumerton & Simon Hunt (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 6.
[72] Angela McShane and Garthine Walker (eds.), *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England: Essays in Celebration of the Work of Bernard Capp* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), p. 4.
[73] McShane and Walker, *The Extraordinary and the Everyday, p.* 4.

cost and quality of materials but still form part of everyday experience."[74] It is understandable, therefore, that the study of everyday life is a field which has been described as "the most self-evident, yet the most puzzling of ideas".[75]

A Method for Studying Early Modern Everyday Life

In light of the diverse use of the term 'everyday life' this project requires a methodological approach which incorporates interdisciplinary theories with practical methods designed for the study of individuals in early modern England. The following section will outline the qualities of the quotidian and the theoretical approaches which facilitate research in this field. This will enable the development of methods which generate a deeper understanding of the ways in which people of the early modern period organised and navigated their daily lives, and expressed and cultivated their identities; namely, material culture studies, the verb-oriented method, the study of networks and the transactions and movements between objects and peoples.

One of the primary qualities of the everyday is its universal nature; "Everyone has everyday lives and experiences, regardless of their class, sex, age, ethnicity or any other social categorisation".[76] However, as McShane and Walker also acknowledge, the everyday is sometimes mistakenly connected to specific subsections of communities. Literary theorist, Rita Felski observes that "some groups, such as women and the working class, are more closely identified with the everyday than others."[77] She goes on to suggest that the particular connection between women and the everyday is in part due to the biological cycles of menstruation and pregnancy. She continues;

> The problem with this view...is that it presents a romantic view of both everyday life and women by associating them with the natural, authentic and primitive... Furthermore, to affirm women's special grounding in everyday life is to take at face value a mythic ideal of heroic male transcendence and to ignore the fact that men are also embodied, embedded subjects, who live, for the most part, repetitive, familiar and ordinary lives.[78]

A particular challenge for the study of everyday life is in acknowledging the quotidian lives of men alongside women and all classes of individuals. To take a well-known early modern example, we could consider William Shakespeare being depicted as travelling to London in search of playwriting opportunities while his wife Ann stayed at home,

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[74] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 13-14.
[75] Rita Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', *New Formations Journal,* 39: Cool Moves (1999), 15-31.
[76] McShane and Walker, *The Extraordinary and the Everyday, p.* 1.
[77] Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', p. 16.
[78] Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', p. 31.

unloved, in domestic Warwickshire. This motif has been challenged by Germaine Greer's study of Ann Hathaway.[79] Similarly, research by Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths into the Le Strange family accounts of the early seventeenth century demonstrates the complex and interconnected nature of the work of the household within its community.[80] They also highlight the wide range of consumption, work and production tasks which were being undertaken by different members of the household, including men and women.

The relationship between the study of everyday life and study of the working classes is also complex and occasionally problematic; Felski particularly cautions against scholars implying that the effect of the industrial revolution was to detach working class people from earlier, simpler, more healthful and spiritual ways of life and allowing 'the everyday' to be tainted by a sense of nostalgia. Felski also warns against viewing quotidian activities as "the residue left over after various specialised activities [including philosophy and intellectual pursuits] are abstracted."[81] Equally, it overlooks the natural annual cycles which dominated (and still do dominate) the work of farming communities and trivialises the immense effort required to sustain a self-sufficient life. Anthropologist Daniel Miller warns against a similar academic prejudice that pre-industrial societies were inherently better or more pure, noting with concern that "This is usually meant as a snide comment on our own industrial world, which is seen as shops full of superfluous nonsense that we should all regret".[82] A converse concern is found in Jack Larkin's warning against scholars who write "a cheerful catalog of increasing comfort, ease, speed, convenience, and safety", that progresses from a bad and primitive past into a good and modern present.[83]

An important step in the study of historic everyday life is in identifying the locations most frequently inhabited by the subject. This project favours a broad concept of places relevant to everyday life, as highlighted by the *Dictionary of Human Geography*;

> The actions of everyday life are performed in all those domains that people routinely traverse: the domestic/private, the public, and the commercial. They cover relations of intimacy, friendships, provisioning, work, and leisure.[84]

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[79] Germaine Greer, *Shakespeare's Wife* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).
[80] Jane Whittle & Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household: the world of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[81] Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', p. 17.
[82] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 47. Miller also states that "non-industrial societies are just as much material cultures as we are" (p. 4).
[83] Jack Larkin, 'Everyday Life' in Lynn Dumenil (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 338-54.
[84] 'Everyday Life', in Noel Castree, Rob Kitchin and Alisdair Roger (eds.) *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Echoing this broader definition of 'home', Rita Felski highlights three features; they are locations which are familiar, sources of comfort, heat or nourishment and they are visited regularly.[85] These criteria enable the identification of quotidian locations which are not limited to domestic settings, but include places of work, leisure, travel or imprisonment. Crucially, it makes allowance for the fact that individuals frequently cross geographic boundaries, moving between different types of locations. Taking the example of William Shakespeare again, a scholar might ask who he is and where he is from; a glove-maker's son from rural Warwickshire, or a professional playwright in London with contacts at court? A focus on daily experiences avoids favouring one location over another and encourages the inclusion of a fuller range of quotidian locations. Furthermore, if experiences and places help to determine an individual's identity, then maintaining an inclusive approach to quotidian locations ensures that certain identities are not given preference over others.

Theories of social anthropology are particularly helpful for the development of methods which focus on quotidian life as an experience which is not limited to particular genders, locations or social classes. Tim Ingold has explored a difference between anthropological and ethnographic approaches, in terms of the ways in which scholars engage with their subjects;

> In anthropology...we go to study *with* people. And we hope to learn *from* them... Anthropology is studying with and learning from; it is carried forward in a process of life, and effects transformations within that process. Ethnography is a study of and learning about, its enduring products are recollective accounts which serve a documentary purpose.[86]

Ingold acknowledges a difficulty in drawing this distinction and admits that some of his colleagues may disagree with him; the nuances of that debate are outside the remit of this project. However the distinction between 'studying with and learning from' and 'studying and learning about and recording' is certainly relevant to the study of everyday lived experience. Ingold goes on to specifically describe "close and attentive observation" and "generous, open-ended, comparative yet critical enquiry into the conditions and potentials of human life."[87] He also cautions against a method which merely involves collecting data for subsequent interpretation, echoing Alan Stewart's concern about historians "rifling for data" in early modern diaries.[88] Instead Ingold describes his practice as an "art of enquiry", advocating scholarship which is rooted in an understanding of practical experience.

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[85] Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life'.
[86] Tim Ingold, *Making: archaeology, anthropology, art and architecture* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 2-3.
[87] Ingold, *Making, p.* 4.
[88] Alan Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', p. 162.

The study of early modern lived experience may require both approaches described by Ingold; an ethnographical approach involving recording (both quantitatively and qualitatively), describing and learning about the subject, combined with an anthropological approach which involves an element of reconstruction, immersion and "living with" the subject. Jack Larkin's approach, described in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History*, appears to combine this anthropological approach with a historical slant; he suggests finding "a way of describing and evoking the specificity, the otherness, of a particular place, a particular group (or intertwined groups) of people at a particular time."[89] He continues by explaining the themes which regularly impact his research;

> to begin to understand this process [of change], it is necessary to return to the "infinite details": of house and household, personal appearance, domestic sanitation, and quotidian experience.[90]

For Larkin, the study of everyday life helps to reveal aspects of both historical change and also the development of personal and social identity, with a particular focus on locations, relationships and the bodies of historic individuals.

Material Culture and the Invisible Frame

Material culture studies share a number of similarities to everyday life and the two fields are clearly interconnected. Historian Giorgio Riello describes the simultaneous development of the two fields, commenting;

> It is not by chance that the historical study of material culture has coincided with an interest in everyday life: how people lived, the reality that they experienced, the way in which they interpreted what surrounded them, as well as their values and attitudes.[91]

Archaeologist Dan Hicks writing in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, shows further interconnectedness between the two fields by defining material culture as "providing a sense of the unspoken things that constitute the everyday dimensions of social life...Such an approach placed the everyday...at the centre of the analysis".[92] The interdisciplinary nature of material culture studies has been commented upon;

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[89] Jack Larkin, 'Everyday Life' in Lynn Dumenil (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 338.

[90] Larkin, 'Everyday Life', p. 340.

[91] Giorgio Riello 'The Material Culture of Walking: Spaces of Methodologies in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 41.

[92] Dan Hicks, 'The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect', in Dan Hicks and Mary C Beaudry (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 69.

> Although questions of materiality pervade a wide range of disciplines in the social and human sciences, no single academic discipline unifies the various approaches to material culture and gives them an institutional identity.[93]

An important similarity between material culture studies and the study of everyday life is that they are both a response to a broad interdisciplinary interest in lived experience. Not sitting entirely within a single broad discipline can lead to a sort of 'homelessness' for these fields; the same subjects may interest historians, archaeologists and social scientists.

The theoretical concept that can link the two fields of everyday life and material culture most strongly is perhaps the idea of the 'invisible frame'. The theory, as developed by Daniel Miller, argues that material culturists should attempt to identify the 'frame' of the subject's life; the frame is that which is not obvious, but gives meaning to the subject, or the thing within the frame.[94] As Miller explains;

> It is not that things are tangible stuff...It is not that they are firm, clear foundations...They work by being familiar and unremarked upon, a state they usually achieve by being familiar and taken for granted.[95]

This idea is also evident in Rita Felski's description of the everyday as "the taken-for-granted-backdrop".[96] It is the routine, familiar and subtle features of an individual's life which make up the 'frame'. Judy Attfield develops this idea further, by drawing a distinction between objects when they have "celebrity and spectacle...[when they are] 'new', popular, highly acclaimed, sensational and above all - visible" and objects which are "part of the disordered everyday clutter of the mundane".[97] We might draw from this that an object can change over the course of its lifetime from being something new, visible, and deliberately chosen, to being something invisible and part of the background. Taking this idea beyond the world of objects, it could be seen that in the study of everyday life there are activities and behaviours which shift between being new, heightened or obviously symbolic, to being subtle, routine, familiar or even hidden in plain sight.

For Daniel Miller, the degree to which things are visible and highly noticeable or invisible and rarely observed, may in fact indicate the extent to which they are influential on a human being's lived experience;

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[93] Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (eds.) *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2006), p. 1.

[94] Miller particularly describes being influenced by art historian Ernst Gombrich in the development of this theory. Describing Gombrich's theory, Miller points out that "when a frame is appropriate we simply don't see it because it seamlessly conveys to us the mode by which we should encounter that which it frames" (Miller, *Stuff*, p. 49). Miller calls his theory 'the humility of things' and also cites the influence of sociologist Erving Goffman, who sees everyday life as a performance.

[95] Miller, *Stuff*, p. 50.

[96] Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', p. 17.

[97] Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), p. 5.

> [O]bjects are important, not because they are evident and physically constrain or enable, but quite the opposite. It is often precisely because we do not *see* them. The less we are aware of them, the more powerfully they can determine our expectations, by setting the scene and ensuring appropriate behaviour, without being open to challenge.[98]

The stuff that makes up the 'invisible frame' may be the very stuff that has the deepest impact on behaviour and has the strongest cultural meanings. Identifying those things that recede the most into the background of daily life appears to be an important remit for both material culture and everyday life studies. The two fields are obviously closely connected, but it could be argued that material culture studies focuses on the function and use of objects, while everyday life incorporates activities and social interaction. In searching for evidence of these things, contemporary anthropologists and material culturists have the advantage of being able to observe first-hand the objects and customs of their subject; however, historians are reliant on archaeological or archival evidence which may be in the form of subjective images or written descriptions.

Labels and Activities: The Verb-Oriented Method and Early Modern Societies

Social historians of the early modern period have observed a risk in focusing on occupational titles recorded on archival documents, in order to understand the working practices of historic people; Maria Ågren and colleagues identify a "discrepancy between what a person is called and what that person actually does"; they observe that "a person who had a title indicating agricultural work, could in reality be occupied as a craftsman, and vice versa."[99] Their work has also identified that this issue is a particular problem for understanding women, since they may not have used formal occupational labels or been paid for their labour. Ågren advocates the use of a verb-oriented method of analysis, which concentrates attention on the use of time and the activities undertaken in order to understand labour and daily life in the pre-modern period. Drawing on Maria Ågren's approach, Jane Whittle is currently adapting this method for her project *Women's Work in Rural England 1500-1700*. Whittle advocates, as part of her method, using a broad definition of work derived from a modern UN definition that describes work as "any activity that could be replaced with paid labour or purchased goods", in order to avoid inadvertently exclude the unpaid work tasks which took place in homes, farms and other sites.[100]

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[98] Miller, *Stuff*, p. 50.
[99] Rosemarie Fiebranz , Erik Lindberg , Jonas Lindström & Maria Ågren, 'Making verbs count: the research project 'Gender and Work' and its methodology', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 59:3 (2011), 273-93 (p. 279).
[100] As discussed by Whittle on the project blog:
<https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/the-project/> [accessed 7 May 2017].

Both of the research projects mentioned above make use of court records, for the statements where individuals account for their time at a specific moment, as a form of evidence in a legal case. They both also advocate comparing the court records with detailed analysis of bookkeeping records. Ågren and her colleagues observe that household and business accounts for the payment of wages "comprise good material for the simple reason that it is difficult to believe that people were paid for work they did not do. Reliability is therefore high."[101] Of course, they also note the risk that some work was unpaid, or paid in kind with objects (foodstuffs for instance) rather than with money. Although court records can give large quantities of data about daily activities, diaries and account books can place activities within specific communities, businesses or households.

An important objective outlined in Ågren's research into gender and work is in identifying "how men and women supported themselves during this period of pronounced societal change".[102] Retaining a focus on broader progression in a society, whilst analysing daily tasks, ensures that the results do not become merely annecdotal. Jack Larkin warns against a method which involves "antiquarianism, the piling up of curious details for their own sake."[103] The ongoing development of theoretical and methodological approaches will ensure that the activities of daily life are analysed, interpreted and understood within the broader context of historical scholarship of the early modern period.

A verb-oriented method can be particularly fruitful in understanding the daily activities of individuals who do not fall neatly into established categories. Writing particularly on the city of London, Vanessa Harding notes significant variation between studies of the population of London, in terms of where the geographical boundary was located.[104] Harding also discusses what she calls "the floating population", those individuals who travelled between urban and rural locations, questioning whether they may be 'lost' in some data analysis.[105] For instance, a family who maintained two homes, one in London and one in the country, may have identified with both groups, participated in local activities in both areas and experienced the influence of both cultures; indeed this may have led to the development of a hybrid culture.

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[101] Ågren et al, 'Making verbs count', p. 280.
[102] Ågren et al., 'Making verbs count', p. 275. They continue; "the early modern period witnessed increasing commercialisation of society, the expansion of state administration, social differentiation, the spread of new technology…, and new religious and cultural ideals (such as Protestantism)" (p. 276).
[103] Jack Larkin, 'Everyday Life' in Lynn Dumenil (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 338-9.
[104] Vanessa Harding, 'The population of London, 1550-1700: a review of the published evidence', *London Journal* 15 (1990), 111-28.
[105] Harding, 'The population of London', p. 117.

Problematic terminology troubles numerous scholars working on the early modern period; for instance, Amanda Vickery's work on Georgian England explores a group she describes as "the English lesser gentry", which has been "smothered under the conveniently elastic label 'aristocracy'."[106] Vickery's research using descriptions of personal relationships and shared social activities (such as dining) in letters, diaries and account books written by these individuals found that "many families were so 'hybrid' in status, that it seems artificial to assign them a single occupational label."[107] Furthermore, it may be that labels such as 'gentry' and 'middling' are more for the benefit of scholars than they were relevant to historic individuals. David Cressy proposes six categories (1. Gentleman, 2. Clergy and Professionals, 3. Merchants, Tradesmen and Craftsmen, 4. Yeoman, 5. Husbandmen, 6. Labourers and Servants) for sixteenth and seventeenth century England, however he notes;

> This is as arbitrary as any other division but it does provide a convenient number of handling categories well suited to the kinds of documents encountered in the study of Elizabethan or Stuart social history.[108]

While awareness of these six categories may be helpful for a researcher in the archive search room, a verb-oriented method reveals a more accurate view of the ways in which individuals spent their time and made their livings. It also particularly allows for a deeper understanding of the occupations of individuals who defy categorisation, including women and those who sit between social class boundaries.

Networks, Transactions and Accounting

As an interdisciplinary field, the study of historic everyday life benefits from drawing on a range of concepts from across the social sciences and humanities. Rather than studying objects or individuals in an isolated and static way, scholars can consider them within networks. Additionally, for historians, evidence of these networks may come from written records, rather than from material evidence; for instance, an account book may record the purchase of a particular item, which is now used, lost or destroyed. Details of the item, such as where it came from and who made or purchased it, may survive in the written record. These details are evidence of the transactions that make up everyday life.

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[106] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1998), p. 14. The lesser gentry described by Vickery may include the same professional and mercantile families described as the 'middling sort' by scholars such as Henry French and Peter Earle, and which may have included the families of Richard Stonley's descendants.

[107] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 17.

[108] David Cressy, 'Describing the Social Order of Elizabethan and Stuart England', in *Literature and History;* Mar 1:3 (1976), p. 35.

The movement of goods and people (and the subsequent relationships between them) is a phenomenon which is of interest to a range of historical and social-science scholars, from archaeologists to geographers. Social-cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai suggests focusing on identifying the shifting parts in networks of exchange and interaction;

> [W]e have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories... [and] it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.[109]

In the context of everyday life, 'things-in-motion' could include items which are consumed, such as food, objects which are produced, such as clothing or tools, financial transactions or gift-giving. As Daniel Miller concludes, "it is the circulation of things that creates society".[110] Miller's reading of this issue suggests that the transactions of material objects are an inherent part of the relationships between individuals that make up a society. In the broader context of everyday life, relationships may be formed through transactions of objects or money, or through ephemeral things such as information or emotion.

Social network analysis (SNA), utilised in the field of sociology, explores the relationships between individuals within a group, and is seen by some sociologists as the response to the question "How do we capture and analyse relational phenomena?"[111] The technique utilised by scholars such as Nick Crossley and his colleagues at the University of Manchester's Centre for Social Network Analysis, begins with identifying "two essential elements"; a set of nodes and a set of ties, which also have certain attributes or identifying features.[112] In the context of research into historic everyday life, the 'nodes' are 'actors', or other people that the subject of the study interacted with; evidence for these people may come from diary entries, letters or account books which prove social interaction between individuals on specific dates. The 'ties' which connect the actors are the different types of daily activities which took place and which caused or enabled the interaction to take place, for instance a shared meal or financial transaction. Finally, the 'node attributes' are the different categories which we may be used to analyse the individuals, such as their location or identity, or the activity they participated in.

The ties that link actors within a network could include kinship, employment, friendship, trade, sexual contact or love, all of which are tangible and evident to varying degrees. Indeed, Charles Kadushin suggests that SNA "reveals what is hidden in plain sight". He continues;

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[109] Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 5.
[110] Miller, *Stuff,* p. 67.
[111] Nick Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets* (London: Sage Publications, 2015), p. 3.
[112] Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets,* p. 4.

> Social networks evolve from individuals interacting with one another but produce extended structures that they had not imagined and in fact cannot see. Individual interaction takes place within the context of social statuses, positions, and social institutions, and so social networks are constrained by these factors.[113]

Kadushin here appears to echo Daniel Miller's theory of 'the invisible frame' of material culture. Archival sources of the early modern period can provide evidence of inter-personal relationships that range from hidden to obvious; legal or political documents can demonstrate connections between high-profile individuals, for instance a letter from a monarch to a government minister. Sources like diaries and account books, however, can demonstrate relationships which took place between lower status individuals who can be harder to trace in the archival record.

Accounting for the transactions or the movement of things is an important method of tracing evidence of cultural change. Adam Smyth argues that research on financial accounting forms one of the "master-narratives for explaining cultural change" in the early modern period.[114] Smyth's method includes analysing different forms of accounting, including journals, diaries, account books, inventories, parish records and annotated almanacs, to identify transactions and relationships between individuals. He suggests that the "emerging market economy created a culture of debt, and so a web of reciprocal obligations which depended upon individuals convincing others of their trust and reliability."[115] Smyth's work echoes that of Craig Muldrew, who explores the overlap of economic and social credit in the early modern period. Muldrew suggests that in the early modern period "[t]here was not as yet an important cultural distinction between the utilitarian world of economics and a more 'subjective' social world of feelings and events."[116] Indeed, Muldrew sees it as typical for the period, for records to include details of both financial and social transactions;

> These [accounts or diaries] could include transactions, discussions, hospitality, gift-giving and receiving as well as much else. Such interaction with one's neighbours was what contemporaries usually referred to when they used the word 'business', and in many cases there was little contemporary distinction between the keeping of accounts and the keeping of diaries.[117]

The movements of people and objects appears to be a central theme in the study of everyday life. Tracing evidence of activities such as shopping, gift-giving, travel and

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[113] Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: theories, concepts, and findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 6 and 11.
[114] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 10.
[115] Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, p. 10.
[116] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 65.
[117] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, p. 64.

socialising reveals the sorts of transactions and interactions which take place between objects and people across social networks. Furthermore, transactions and interactions often provide information about activities, such as working, socialising or shopping; in a written format these activities may be evident in the form of verbs and therefore drawn out with a verb-oriented approach as discussed previously.

Everyday life is a complex concept; it is inherently inclusive of locations where all sorts of daily activities take place and not limited to a particular gender or social class. Indeed, depending on context, even unusual or irregular occurrences can form a part of an individual's everyday experiences, making it difficult to ascertain the boundaries of the field. However, this can be seen as a strength when dealing with sources of evidence which are dense and multi-faceted and defy simplistic categorisation; a holistic approach is appropriate for the study of sources like the Stonley diaries, which do not benefit from being 'rifled for data' or only partially examined. These sources are best regarded as windows looking onto the everyday life of Richard Stonley, rather than comprehensive logs of his every move. Different vantage points are also sometimes possible by using other forms of evidence pertaining to his life, such as inventories and accounts. Of course, all archival sources are mediated by their authors so combining them provides different angles which can contrast or complement each other. Combining a material-cultural approach with a verb-oriented method provides a means of examining archival sources in order to develop a nuanced understanding of historic everyday life.

A focus on lived experience is central to this thesis, forming an overarching theme for the opening four chapters, wherein I will explore the materiality of Stonley's daily life, both as he recorded it in his diary and as can be deduced from supporting evidence. The broad theme of 'lived experience' could have been divided up into a number of different sub-categories, perhaps looking at seasonality, chronology, types of material objects or activities such as eating, sleeping and working. Instead, this project utilises a geographic approach, taking as its starting point four quotidian locations inhabited by Stonley, his homes in London and Doddinghurst, his workplace in Westminster and the Fleet Prison. This approach makes the physical environments of these locations, and Stonley's engagement with them, the focal point. It also helps retain a sense of the three diary notebooks as material objects which probably travelled with Stonley to these four locations. Chapters five and six delve deeper into the qualitative and quantitative data contained within the diary, exploring two important aspects of everyday life; social interaction and routines and cycles, allowing connections and comparisons to be drawn between the three volumes. Finally, this thesis concludes with a summary of the main findings of this analysis and a discussion on the effectiveness of the methodological approaches explored in these chapters. But first, the next section

introduces the three diaries as material objects, with an in-depth description of my personal experiences in handling these manuscripts.

Examination of The Stonley Diaries (1581-1598)

I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to examine the three volumes of Stonley's diary over three days, in the impressive reading room of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC.[1] I took extensive notes, in an effort to record the details of the books as material objects. I considered their size, condition, construction and traces of wear and tear, with a view to thinking about how Stonley might have used and interacted with these objects himself. Having examined digital images of the diaries (via the Folger's website) several times, I considered myself to be familiar with the appearance of the diaries; but in 'real life' I found them to be unfamiliar and it was surprising how they provoked fresh responses from me. Features such as their size and condition were immediately striking, while other issues, such as the extent to which the volumes had been conserved, developed as I spent more time with the volumes. In this section I will outline the physical features of the diary manuscripts, drawing on the method of enquiry suggested by Alan Stewart and discussed in the Introduction. Rather than considering the volumes solely as receptacles for historic data, exploring my personal responses to the materiality of these objects has helped to retain a focus on Stonley's quotidian lived experience.

The Covers

When the three diary manuscripts arrived in the reading room they were not immediately recognisable, looking more like nineteenth century printed volumes than early modern manuscripts. The three volumes are housed in individual, bespoke archival boxes that were designed to look like printed books, with brown leather spines and cardboard covers, in shades of brown, buff and marbled green. The spines are stamped 'RICHARD STONLEY / DIARY', followed by the years covered by the volume and the archival call number. The style is reminiscent of a vintage book from a private library, perhaps reminding the reader of the Folger Library's origins as the personal collection of Henry Clay and Emily Jordan Folger, although the diaries were acquired much later.[2]

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[1] Folger: V.a. 459, 460 and 461. High resolution images of the diaries, including the covers and bindings are available via their website.

[2] See: Kathleen Lynch, 'Folger, Henry Clay', *American National Biography Online*, 2000, <http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-00356.html> [accessed 22 May 2017].
Also: Kathleen Lynch, 'Folger, Emily Jordan', *American National Biography Online*, 2000, <http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-01300.html> [accessed 22 May 2017].
Lynch describes the Folgers as keen Shakespeare enthusiasts and collectors; although their personal collection started with facsimile copies of First Folios, it expanded to comprise 80,000 volumes. Lynch points out that "Folger did not neglect the smaller quartos containing individual plays, editions of poems, and even playbills, portraits, and relics. Henry Clay Folger died in 1930,

On opening up the archival boxes and viewing the manuscripts themselves, the first thing that struck me was their modest size; the volumes are smaller than I was anticipating and certainly smaller that the high resolution on-line images seem to suggest. Each volume is comparable to a modern day A5 size, measuring 190mm to 200mm by 140mm to 150mm, making them small enough to be easily transportable; it seems likely they were originally intended to be kept on or close to the body, in a bag or even a large pocket.

The first and third volumes retain their original vellum limp bindings, a style of binding that was common for stationery items in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3] The covers of the three volumes provoked slightly different responses from me. The first volume has an authentic feel, triggering a sense of proximity to Stonley. It has not been conserved and the start date for the volume is hand-written in the top right hand corner ("*June 1581*") and signs of the wear and tear of everyday life are clearly visible. The second volume, however, had its original cover removed for conservation reasons in 1979; a typed note at the end of the diary confirms that the old vellum cover had shrunk badly and the volume had to be re-bound. The new binding has brought all the pages back into alignment and gives the volume a crisp, square, more robust appearance, but somehow creates a distance between the modern day handler of the object and the volume's original life.

The third volume of the diary again evokes a different response to the first two; it retains its original cover, but unlike the first volume, the cover is extremely fragile and worn. The cover is only very loosely held on to the main body of the book along the spine; it has not been glued to the first paper page. The fragility of the third volume is perhaps heightened because we know that Stonley was a prisoner in the Fleet when writing this volume, reminding us of his vulnerability and advanced years. The cover of the third volume is in fact recycled; the interior of the cover reveals it to be a vellum document, which the Folger's catalogue describes as a copy of a lease between Stonley and Humfrey Holte from the 1540s.[4] The contract is virtually unreadable, as it is partly

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leaving his wife Emily (who had studied Shakespeare to postgraduate level herself) to oversee the establishment of the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1932. The broad collecting remit established by the couple continued.

[3] David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2005), p. 20.

[4] For further discussion on the re-use of earlier documents in book bindings of the late medieval and early modern period, see for example: Jennifer M. Sheppard, "Make do and mend': evidence of early repairs and the re-use of materials in early bindings in a Cambridge College Library', in Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg (eds.), *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 6,* (Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), pp. 196-217. Sheppard suggests that analysing the re-use of materials in bookbinding and repair can shed light on both practical issues relating to the work of bookbinding, and also "the socio-economic circumstances of the environment in which such repairs were carried out" (p. 214).

tied to the book in the middle and the edges have been folded inwards, presumably to add strength to the edges of the cover, suggesting that the document was no longer needed and therefore re-used to avoid wasting a large piece of expensive vellum, or perhaps hinting at the limited supplies Stonley had with him in the Fleet prison.

The re-use of an old document in this way challenges the idea that the diary books were completely professionally made, indicating that Stonley may have made his own diaries, or at least covered his own professionally made paper notebooks.[5] The cover of volume three, being made of a recycled piece of vellum, perhaps also hints at Stonley's change in situation; by the time of the third volume Stonley was in debt and imprisoned, so the cover of the third volume may reflect an attempt to avoid spending money on an expensive new cover and a preference for recycling. As with volume one, the original cover and binding of volume three triggers a stronger connection to the materiality of the object and the intimate nature of examining another individual's diary.

Inside volume one the first page of paper has been pasted down to the velum cover; the vellum has had its edges folded inwards to create the firm edges of the cover and the edge of the folded in section is slightly visible through the more delicate paper. The regularity and consistent quality of the cover seems to imply that is was made by someone experienced in the task. Inside the back covers of volumes one and three are two holes, punched into the edge of the vellum. The holes are not clean or smooth, but rough, worn and slightly dirty, suggesting that the ribbon or lace threaded through them was manipulated frequently during the use of the notebook. In the first volume, exactly in between the two holes there is an indented groove, slightly worn, perhaps indicating that a tie went through both holes, before coming together to tie the book closed across its middle. Considering the ways in which Stonley handled and secured his diaries evokes a connection to the author; they feel like Stonley's possessions, while the carefully conserved second volume looks more like a museum object, reminding the reader of the new ownership of the diaries, as part of the Folger's collection.

Some indications about the provenance of the diary can be found inside the front cover of volume one; firstly, there is a book plate indicating that the volume was once in the collection of William Niven, of Kingwood, Berkshire. Above the book plate a small slip of paper has been pasted into the front cover, which appears to be the description of the three volumes from a sales catalogue, when the diaries were sold by James Rimell & Son, probably in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The conservator who worked on the second volume of the diary took care to remove another book plate which

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[5] For further discussion of stationery bindings and the production of blank notebooks see: Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800,* pp. 89-90.

was presumably attached to the original cover of this volume. This book plate belonged to John Adair Hawkins.[6]

Included in the second volume is a sheet which appears to be a partial transcription of some dates in May 1593, found in the second volume of the diary. This small transcription appears to be in a nineteenth century hand and the water mark on the paper does not match any used in the three volumes of the diary, suggesting is has been written on paper not connected to the actual volumes of the diary. This sheet may have been written by Francis Douce, who made a partial transcription of the diary, which is now held by the Bodleian library, within a notebook.[7] This evidence of the individuals who have previously owned or studied the diaries naturally highlights the long and complex lives of the manuscripts. The bookplates in two of the volumes are anachronistic and are evidence of a time when archival practices were very different to those employed today; and yet the addition of the bookplates also indicates that these diaries were valued possessions.

The Paper and Pages

The paper quality generally appears consistent across the three volumes, although some of the pages of the third volume are particularly worn on the edges. In the three volumes of the diary, three different watermarks are visible; a fleur-de-lis in volume one, a heart, crossed circle and club with the initials FL for volume two and a single handled pot (or water jug) with the initials NB for volume three. All three are reminiscent of other watermarks recorded in the Gravell Watermark Archive.[8] In all three notebooks the watermark, when it occurs, is located in a consistent location; in the first volume the fleur-de-lis is visible half in the spine of the book, about one third of the way down the spine from the top. In the second volume, the watermarks are all visible across the spine, in the bottom quarter of the edge of the spine. The third volume has watermarks which are visible slightly higher than half way. In all three volumes the watermarks are oriented sideways under the spine, running horizontally, rather than vertically. The regularity with which these watermarks are placed suggests that they were made with a

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[6] The name John Adair Hawkins appears in documents relating to the Royal College of Surgeons, for instance; *A general list of the members of the Royal College of Surgeons in London* (London: T Bayley, 1812), p. 6.

[7] Francis Douce (1757-1834) was an antiquary and collector, who joined the department of manuscripts at the British Museum in 1807. See: ODNB: C Hurst, 'Douce, Francis (1757-1834)', 2004. Douce's notes and partial transcription can be found in the Bodleian: MS Douce d.44 Viewing Douce's partial transcription was another baffling experience, since it is clearly written in a legible nineteenth-century style hand, and yet it retains the sixteenth century spelling.

[8] The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive: <www.gravell.org>. See for instance: a simple fleur-de-lis: Lily:007.1 dating from 1602, a heart and club: HRT.017.1 dating from 1633, and a pot with initials: POT.089.1 dating from 1552.

fresh ream of paper. In addition, the consistency in page size and stitching in all three volumes suggests that these were the work of a commercial notebook maker, or by a competent person with regular and deliberate methods.
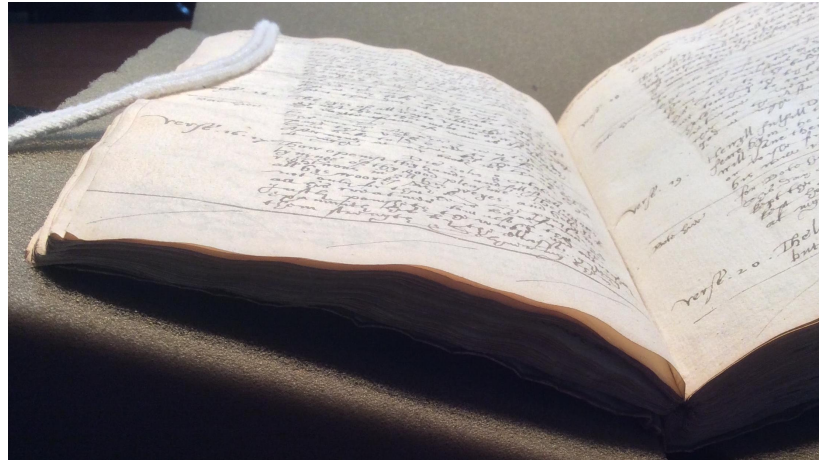
Image A.1: Showing the folds in the pages (Vol 1:23v & 24r)
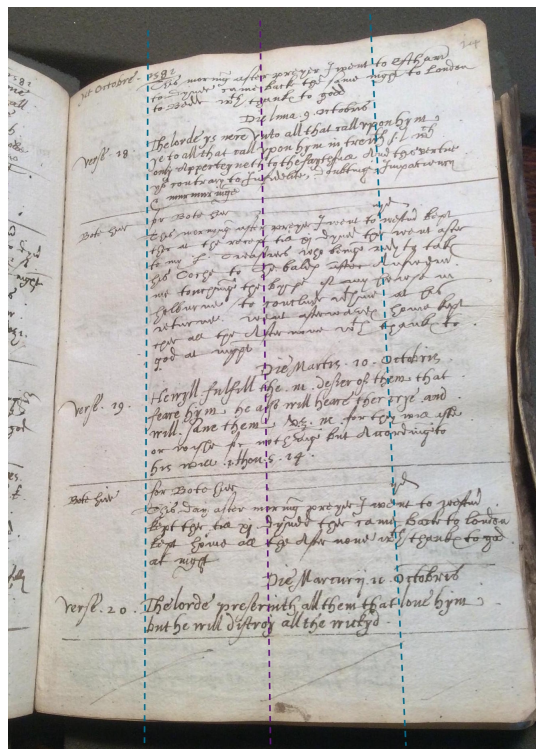
Image A.2: Showing the folds in the pages (Vol 1:23v & 24r)

Viewing the diaries in person revealed a particular method of preparing the pages for writing that is not visible in the flattened, high resolution images on-line; the edge of each leaf was folded into towards the spine (along the purple dotted line) then folded again (shown by the blue lines) to create four equal columns. Stonley used the left hand column as the margin, where he would note his categories for any expenditure, as seen in the image above. Strangely the justified edge of his writing appears more striking

when viewing the diary in person than it appears in the digital images; perhaps this is due to a difference in the way that digital images and objects are 'read'. Although Stonley clearly folded four columns into each page, he does not appear to have used the other fold lines in any consistent way and he did not use the right-hand column to line up his financial accounts. Stonley's is clearly the only hand in the diary, with the exception of some signatures in the third volume; the prison wardens John Hore and Thomas Phillips signed the third volume to record Stonley's rent payments. The signatures stand out as belonging to another hand, when viewing the diary in person, again drawing a distinction between the digital and paper images.
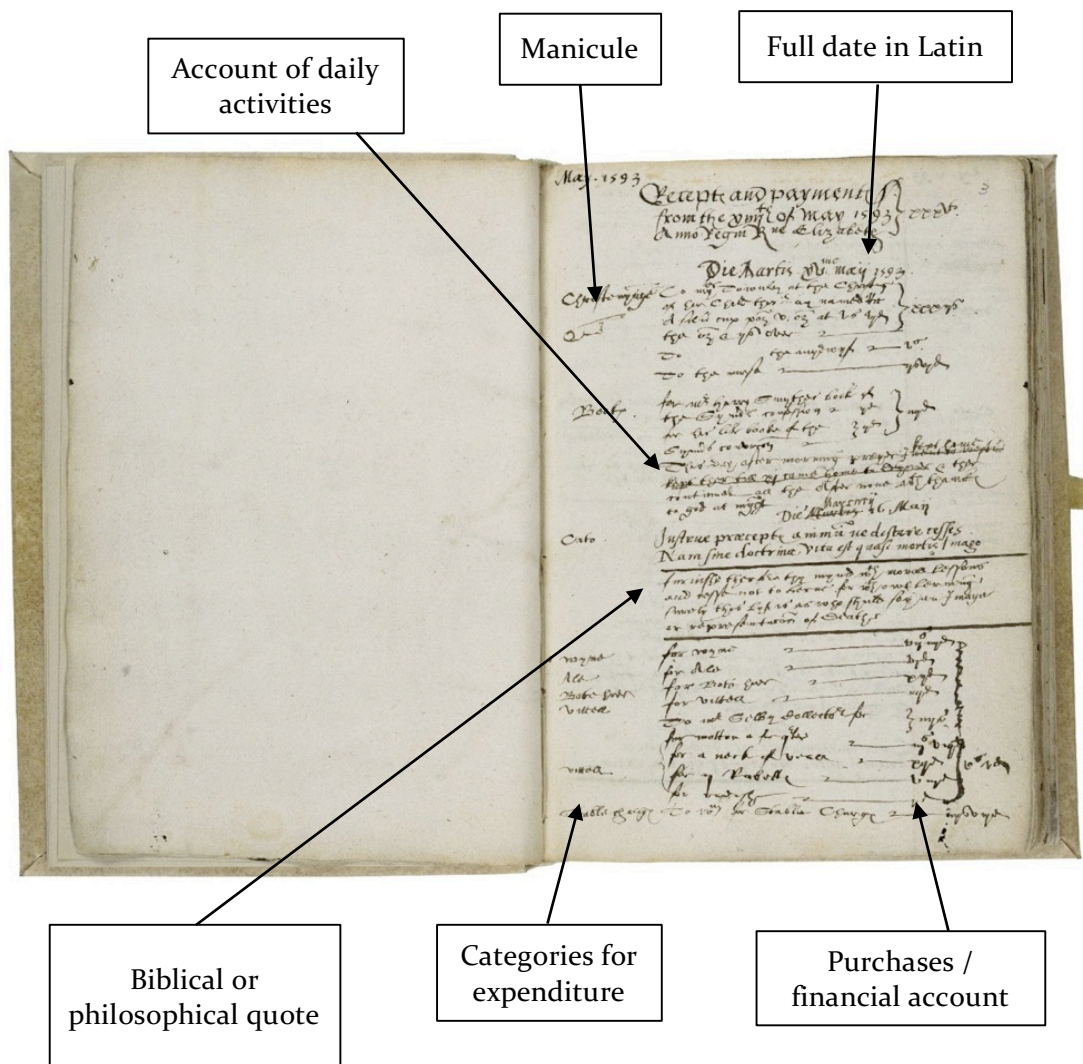
Figure A.3: Showing the anatomy of the diary entries (Vol 2: 2v & 3r)

As shown in the image above, Stonley had a formulaic approach to the writing of his diary, starting with the date in Latin and a philosophical or biblical quote, before accounting for any purchases and describing his daily activities. Any expenditure was categorised, possibly allowing him to complete summary accounts at a later date. Sections of the diary that were of particular note were marked with a manicule, or

pointing hand, perhaps highlighting sections that Stonley would return to re-read at a later date. A number of different topics were highlighted by Stonley in this manner, as summarised below:

Topic	Vol 1	Vol 2	Vol 3
News (including crime + plague)	5	0	12
News from the court	4	3	7
News of friends (incl. illness + death)	4	4	2
Legal / Financial	3	2	4
Stonley's family	3	2	3
Social activities (including dining)	6	6	0
Religious activities (incl. marriages + christenings)	6	1	5
Exchequer work	4	1	1
Trips out of the Fleet prison	N/A	N/A	4
Richard Stonley's own sickness	-	-	3
Unclear / Other	1	1	7
Total =	36	20	48
Table A.4: Showing the topics highlighted by manicules in the diary manuscripts			

As can be seen in this table, Stonley's use of manicules reflects the very broad range of topics covered in the daily entries. These entries include personal matters relating to Stonley himself, his immediate social circle and also wider society, including the court at Westminster. The third volume, written during Stonley's stay in Fleet prison, has a higher frequency of manicules, particularly relating to news from the outside world; it is perhaps not surprising that Stonley began to prioritise and value news from the court and the world of London at this time. The use of manicules may also indicate that he regularly reviewed passages of his diaries after writing; it seems likely that the volumes were not static documents, but active with regular use and frequent consultation and reflection.

Stonley's Method of Dating and Archiving

Stonley's methods of diary writing remained broadly consistent throughout the years. Each of the front covers is simply dated with the month and year that the volume started. Each of the back covers also includes a date in Latin, recording the regnal year and some letters; on volume one a 'Z', on volume two a 'KK' and on the third volume 'OO'. These letters appear to be Stonley's own archiving system, identifying each volume of the diary with a letter or letters. Presumably he began at 'A', worked through the alphabet to 'Z', before starting the sequence again, 'AA', 'BB' and so on. This feature could help to identify other volumes of Stonley's diaries, were any others to come to light. Stonley includes references to his identification system in both volumes one and

two, making it certain that they were applied by him at the time of writing the diaries; in volume one he writes "Look the next Book of / A.A." and similarly in volume 2 he writes "Loke the next Booke / of LL". There is no reference at the end of the third volume looking forward to the next volume, perhaps indicating that the third volume was indeed his final diary. Stonley's numbering system gives a clear indication that he saw his diaries as part of a deliberate activity involving careful storage, or even curation, of past volumes. Although only three random volumes have survived, Stonley's numbering system is a helpful reminder that at one point, there would have been a whole series of diaries, stored on a shelf, in a cupboard or in a box in one of Stonley's homes.

From the surviving volumes it is possible to extrapolate the number of diaries Stonley kept over the years and even get a sense of how long he had been keeping these diaries for. Working on the basis that twenty five volumes ('A' to 'Y') are missing before the one labelled 'Z', and ten ('AA' to 'JJ') are missing before 'KK', and three ('LL', 'MM' and 'NN') are missing before the final one labelled 'OO', this gives us a total of 41 volumes. It seems likely that most of the volumes covered a 12 month period, while some (like diary 'Z' that we call volume one) covered 18 months; working on this basis it seems probable that Stonley began writing his diary in the early 1550s, a time when he began his marriage and his position as a Teller of the Exchequer, and perhaps when he was establishing his own home for the first time. It is not clear why these three volumes survived. Stonley's own identification system highlights the fact that the three surviving diaries are just a small fragment of his writings, and the modern conventions in referring to the three volumes does not reflect their position within his own original archive or library.

Diary entries were completed every day and the entries generally give a strong sense of accuracy; each day Stonley recorded the day of the week and the date and there is evidence of errors being corrected by him. For instance, in the first two entries in the first volume, he seems to have made an error in the date, recording Roman numerals, then crossing them out and writing the new dates.[9] Another examples shows that on Sunday 16 September 1593 Stonley recorded his usual account of his daily activities, attending his parish church in Doddinghurst and dining with relatives and neighbours; later, using ink of a slightly lighter brown, Stonley made a small note in the left hand margin that on that day his close friend and colleague, Robert Petre, died.[10] The note is marked with a manicule too, highlighting its importance. It seems that Stonley did not receive the news until after the diary entry for that day had been finished, so he had to

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[9] Vol 1: 3r - Friday 16 and Saturday 17 June 1581.
[10] Vol 2: 27r. Stonley's use of ink, writing style and use of manicules has been explored in a Masters dissertation; Andrew Preston, *Moving Lines: The Anthropology of a Manuscript in Tudor London* (unpublished dissertation, The University of Akron, 2014).

add the piece of information in a small blank space in the margin. This suggests that for Stonley, the accurate recording of these sorts of events was considered important.

The question of what genre Stonley's diaries fall into is complex; Jason Scott-Warren argues that Stonley's journals "present a complex composite that brings together elements of the almanac, the account-book, the diary and the commonplace-book" and "[o]ne of the main challenges the journals pose is how we should understand the relationship between these various elements."[11] Alan Stewart meanwhile suggests that "the Folger's catalogue records testify to a (proper) confusion about how the volumes might be understood, variously classified under the rubrics 'Manuscripts', 'Diaries', 'Journals (accounts)' and 'Journals'."[12] The different ways in which manuscripts are labelled and catalogued in the archive can affect the ways in which they are read, researched and understood. In the case of Stonley's diaries, we have documents which are described using a variety of names, and ultimately which are hybrid in nature and perhaps even unique in their nature and format. Viewing the diaries in person and handling them allowed me to get beyond the challenge of 'labelling' the documents; it encouraged me to view them as material objects, and the personal possessions of Richard Stonley which he probably kept close to his person, writing in them and consulting them on a frequent, if not daily basis. The first surviving volume begins in June 1581; Stonley was residing at his Aldersgate Street house, and it is this location that will be the focus of chapter one.

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[11] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Early Modern Bookkeeping and Life-Writing Revisited: Accounting for Richard Stonley' in *Past and Present* 230, suppl. 11 (2016), 151-70 (pp. 157-8).
[12] Alan Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing: The Case of Richard Stonley' in Zachary Leader (ed.), *On Life-Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 162. Adam Smyth observes similar challenges in searching for examples of early modern life-writing in archive catalogues in *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Chapter 1: Aldersgate Street and London

> This Day after morning pr[a]yer I went to Westm'...came home to Dyner
> kept ther all the After none w[i]th thankes to god at night [1]

On Monday 19 June 1581 Richard Stonley noted his activities for that day in his diary; he worked at Westminster until late morning, before returning to his Aldersgate Street house for the midday meal and remained at home in the afternoon. This routine is repeated frequently throughout the first and second volumes of the diary. In this chapter I will examine evidence of Stonley's daily life in and around his London house in Aldersgate Street, particularly focusing on his experience of these locations and the material objects and environments he engaged with. I will begin by exploring evidence of the geographic location and architecture of the house itself. Developing a sense of how the house may have been experienced by inhabitants and visitors, this chapter will explore a range of activities which were undertaken in this location. The diary itself is naturally a source of information for domestic activities. An inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house also survives, which illustrates the material environment hinted at in the diary entries. The chapter then moves to consider Stonley's experiences of the city of London more broadly, such as attending his parish church, shopping and socialising. This chapter will particularly consider evidence of the ways in which individuals approached, accessed, utilised and responded to different spaces, both within the home and in the environs of London. A consideration of the ways in which Stonley navigated both his home and the capital city, allows for an exploration of different elements of his identity, from being the head of his household to being a consumer of goods and just one of many thousands of workers across the capital city.

Aldersgate Street

Richard Stonley acquired the house in Aldersgate Street in the 1550s; according to his biographer Felicity Heal, the house came to Stonley via his marriage to Anne, the widow of Robert Donne.[2] An important clue to the precise location of Stonley's house comes from a record at the London Metropolitan Archives, which notes permission given to a neighbour of Stonley's to do some works to his house. The entry reads;

> M'd that the [10th] daye of November 1597 Anno 39
> Elizabeth Regina Edward Jones of the cyttye of
> London Esquire is lycenced by Tho. Wilford chamb[e]rleyn
> of the cyttye of London to sett owt a pale and porche
> before the seyd Jones his howse or Tenement in
> Aldersgate streete Betweene the Inne called

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[1] Vol 1: 4r.
[2] ODNB: Stonley, Richard (1520/21–1600).

or knowen by the name of the White Bell And
the mansion howse of Mr Stonley theare: the
seyd pale & porche to be sett towardes the streete
equall w[i]th the pale and porche before the sayd
Stonley his howse next adioyninge ³

This description allows for a more accurate identification of the position of Stonley's house than has hitherto been possible; the inn named here as the White Bell was probably also known by the name The Bell Inn, an establishment which was located on the eastern side of Aldersgate Street, at the northern end, close to the intersection with Barbican and Long Lane, where Aldersgate Street became Goswell Street.⁴ The description indicates that Stonley's house was one or two blocks to the south of the Bell Inn, placing it at the northern end of Aldersgate Street. These locations are shown on the diagram below at points numbered 1 and 2.
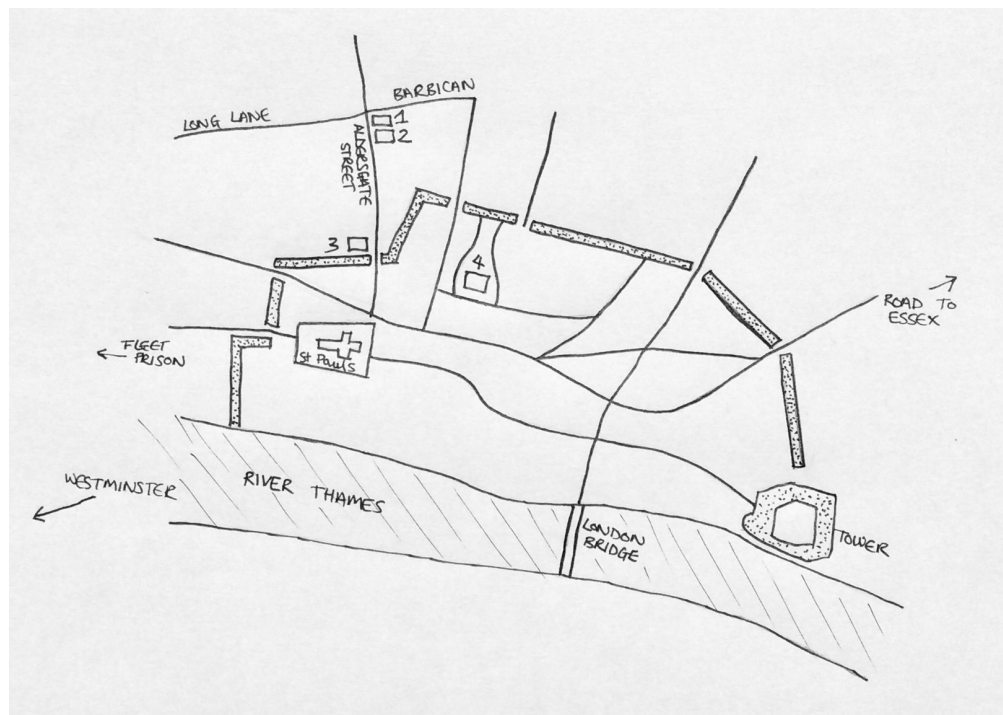
Image 1.1: Plan showing Stonley's London⁵ - the city walls shown with dotted shading and the main roads in and around the city as single lines. North is located at the top of the page.
Location 1: The Bell Inn on Aldersgate Street. 2: Richard Stonley's house.
3: St Botolph Aldersgate parish church. 4: The Guildhall

Drawings and maps of early modern Aldersgate Street can give a sense of the environment of the road as Stonley experienced it. An important source for the layout of

³ MLA: CLA/008/EM/02/01/1.
⁴ See *A Map of Tudor London, 1520,* Old House, British Historic Towns Atlas, 2013. This area is now part of the Barbican Estate, close to 60 Aldersgate Street and Lauderdale Tower.
⁵ Illustration authors own and not to scale. Devised with information from: *A Map of Tudor London, 1520,* Old House, British Historic Towns Atlas, 2013 and Ian Haynes et al (eds.), *London Underground: the archaeology of a city* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), pp. 208, 211 and 224.

housing in early modern London is the drawings of Ralph Treswell, a surveyor working in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Treswell was a painter, who lived in Aldersgate Street and was involved in the administration of the Aldersgate Ward between 1583 and his death in 1617, so it is entirely possible that Stonley and Treswell knew each other.[6] Two of Treswell's surveys pertain to property on Aldersgate Street. Curiously, both of these properties had a personal connection to Treswell, as the floorplans clearly label the residents as 'R Treswell' and 'Rbt Treswell'. 'R' may refer to either Ralph himself or his son with the same name, while 'Rbt' almost certainly refers to his son Robert, also a surveyor.[7] The property at 7-10 Aldersgate Street (shown as belonging to R Treswell, presumably Ralph) shows a building bisected with an entryway to an open yard. The section of the building on the right of the entryway appears to have been sub-divided into two homes, divided by another yard containing a shared well. The home to the left of the entry way does not appear to have been sub-divided and this home stretches around 60 or 70 feet, from the street-front to the garden at the back. Ralph's home is noted on the drawing as being 21 and a half feet wide and around 35 feet long. As the Edward Jones document describes Stonley's home as a mansion, it seems likely that Stonley's home was a complete block and not a subdivided block.[8]

Describing Aldersgate Street as being "lined with tall houses, owned or occupied by prosperous merchants and dealers", Vanessa Harding suggests that "plots tended to be long and narrow, with a short frontage and extensive premises to the rear... Almost every property facing the street had cellars, partly or fully below ground, also used for storage."[9] Both of Treswell's Aldersgate Street drawings show rectilinear houses, abutting the street which runs north-south.[10] Other surveys by Treswell show properties

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[6] ODNB: Treswell, Ralph (*c*.1540–1616/17).

[7] John Schofield (ed), *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London Topographical Society Publication No. 135, 1987), pp. 34-8.

[8] Vanessa Harding's research into Aldersgate Street properties suggests that some properties in the area were divided along commercial and domestic lines: "While many shops were clearly occupied and used as part of an integrated commercial-residential complex, and were certainly structurally part of the house frame, some leases and agreements point to a division between the two functions, and illuminate the spatial and access relationships of different parts of the premises." However it seems that Stonley's residence was a combination of domestic and commercial. Vanessa Harding, 'Shops, markets and retailers in London's Cheapside, c.1500-1700', in Bruno Blondé, Peter Stabel, Jon Stobart & Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Buyers & Sellers: Retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe, Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800) 9*, Turnhout (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006), pp. 155-70 (p. 158).

[9] Harding, 'Shops, markets and retailers in London's Cheapside, c.1500-1700', p. 156.

[10] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell,* pp. 34-8. Elsewhere Schofield has noted that in London "[t]he majority of secular buildings were built of timber" and were usually "narrow tenements, with gable ends on the street frontage and often an alley on one side." See: John Schofield, 'London: buildings and defences 1200-1600', in Ian Haynes et al (eds.), *London Underground: the archaeology of a city* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), pp. 231-3. The Treswell surveys show that many of these narrow, rectilinear houses were subdivided into two or more smaller dwellings.

within the city walls and close to the river Thames which were more random in shape, houses that apparently had been built up organically with irregularly shaped rooms squeezed into whatever space was available.[11] Aldersgate Street, being a suburb just outside the city walls, instead appears to have had more regular, planned rows of housing, with mostly square and rectangular rooms, probably resulting from the fairly straight route of the street itself. The Aldersgate Street properties surveyed by Treswell show properties which fronted directly onto the street, often with a passage way leading behind alongside the property, to an open yard.

The arrangement of properties in a city, particularly the relationship between buildings and streets or open spaces, is referred to by architects and town planners as urban grain, as explained by Conway and Roenisch; "Narrow streets and small-scale buildings give a fine grain; wide streets and large buildings give a coarse grain; and there are many variations in between."[12] The Treswell surveys of London show that it was a fine-grained urban environment. However, there are different types of fine-grained cityscapes; Aldersgate Street shows fine, but regularly spaced urban grain, almost comb-like, with straight (but penetrable) edges. Fleet Lane, on the other hand, shows fine, but irregular urban grain, with few straight edges, which makes it harder to navigate unless you know the routes. Since Aldersgate Street was located outside of the city walls, there was more space to allow for regular, rectilinear houses, with gardens and more open space than inside the city walls where space was at a premium.

A print dating from the late seventeenth century (see below) shows the edge of a building that would have been typical on the street during Stonley's lifetime; the print mostly shows Thanet Court, a large mansion house, but the building next door (visible on the left of the image) shows an older, more modest timber-framed building, comprising three stories, plus perhaps an attic room. This style was probably similar to Stonley's house, having a frontage directly on the street, but with gateways to the yards behind and alongside the buildings. The wooden double doors on the far right of the image below, presumably large enough for a horse or a small cart to enter, hint at the activities which went on within the houses, behind the street-front facade, or within the comb-like urban grain of the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, the house on the left appears to have some kind of first floor balcony and fence-like structure at ground level, perhaps similar to the 'pale and porch' described in the Edward Jones document above.

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[11] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell.* See for example the home of Lady Wood, shown in Tresswell's survey of 1-6 Fleet Lane, which shows a cluster of rooms arranged around a hall in the medieval style, with external yards, outbuildings and extensions squeezed into corners wherever possible. In some areas, rooms belonging to other individuals appear to have been surrounded by rooms belonging to Lady Wood. This truly was living cheek by jowl.
[12] Hazel Conway and Rowan Roenisch, *Understanding Architecture: An Introduction to Architecture and Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 203.
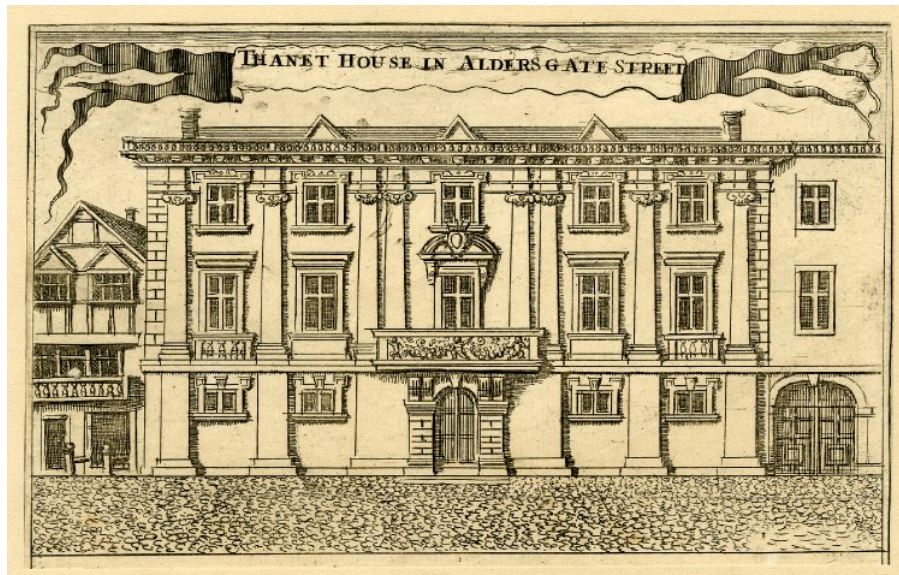
Image 1.2: British Museum, 1881,0611.352, print of an engraving of Thanet Court, Aldersgate Street made around 1670-1690 by Henry Winstanley.

Image 1.3: Staple Inn, High Holborn, London.
Image from http://hidden-london.com/nuggets/staple-inn/

Following the 1666 fire of London, the Second World War bombing of London and the general pressures on space in a densely populated city, very few sixteenth century buildings survive in the city of London. Stonley's own home may still have been standing in the late seventeenth century, since the fire was contained by the city wall around Aldersgate. The Staple Inn, on the south side of High Holborn, as shown in the photograph above, is a rare example of a sixteenth century secular building surviving to the modern era.[13] Like the Winstanley engraving, these buildings are timber framed and contain multiple stories; these buildings were tightly packed, opening right onto the

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[13] Corporation of London, *Chancery Lane Conservation Area Character Summary,* 2004. See: <https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/environment-and-planning/planning/heritage-and-design/conservation-areas/Documents/Chancery%20Lane%20Character%20Summary.pdf>.

street, but with gateways allowing access to the yards and service areas behind the facade of the building.

The evidence suggests that Richard Stonley's neighbourhood was a residential suburb of closely packed, but regularly spaced, domestic properties. Buildings rose two or three stories high in this area, with occasional larger buildings, such as the Bell Inn and St Botolph without Aldersgate Street church, punctuating the rows of domestic dwellings. Understanding the neighbourhood of Stonley's London home provides a helpful context for examining evidence of his house and understanding the broader environment of his lived experience.

The Aldersgate Street House Inventory

An inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house survives in the National Archives; the document relates to Stonley's attempts to sell property in order to clear his debts in the late 1590s, when he was imprisoned in the Fleet.[14] The inventory lists a wide range of furniture, books and domestic items, arranged room by room. The ground floor appears to have contained rooms for professional work and areas for food preparation and storage, while the upper floors contained six bed chambers. Socialising and leisure spaces included a Hall, a Parlour and two Galleries. The document provides evidence, not only of the contents of Stonley's house, but of the architecture too; a possible arrangement of rooms can be deduced through a comparison of the inventory with Treswell's surveys of other properties on the same street.

John Schofield developed a typology from the Treswell surveys with *Type 1* being small houses, with just a single room on each floor, *Types 2* and *3* slightly bigger, more complex houses, and *Type 4* being large courtyard houses.[15] Stonley's home appears to have been a *Type 3*, with up to around six rooms on each level of the house. It is likely that Stonley's home contained three or four floors; the Winstanley engraving above shows a three story building with an additional attic space. There are clues to the arrangement of the rooms within the layout and content of the inventory; the document appears to have been written logically, starting at the top of the house in the most private and prestigious rooms (Richard Stonley's bedchamber and the gallery next to it) and finishing with the production and service rooms, including the kitchen and 'The Little House' which included a water pump.

Being located on the eastern side of Aldersgate Street, the street entrance (with pale and porch) would have faced west, with the garden at the rear of the property, facing east. The presence of the office and study (which is described as being beneath

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[14] TNA: E159/412/435 - see transcription in appendix.
[15] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell,* pp. 11-15.

the parlour) suggest that rooms relating to Stonley's work were situated on the ground floor, perhaps looking out onto the street, and domestic spaces were situated above and behind these rooms. This arrangement is similar to that seen in the home of Ralph Treswell and shown in his survey of 7-10 Aldersgate Street, which shows his study and another room facing the street, with a parlour, kitchen and stairs to upper rooms behind them.[16]

The arrangement of the upper rooms is harder to deduce, since Ralph Treswell's drawings only include ground level rooms. However, some of the details given in the inventory give a sense of different levels. For instance, the study is described as being beneath the parlour. Similarly, the house contained an 'under gallery' in addition to an 'old gallery' and a second gallery. It seems likely that the under gallery was located underneath the old gallery and the other gallery was a later addition or extension. The description of the kitchen, buttery and various service rooms towards the end of the inventory suggests that they were located towards the back of the property, close to the back yard and garden. The presence of a 'Jacke and [3] leades' in the kitchen, along with spit-roasting equipment, suggests that this room was located directly underneath the room described as the 'Jackhouse' which housed the mechanism required to turn the spit.

Hearths are listed in some of the rooms of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house; in his own bedchamber, the Green chamber, Mrs Stonley's bedchamber, the kitchen, parlour and hall. This comprises just six of the sixteen main rooms of the house, so it seems that less than half the rooms of the house had a proper heat source. This correlates to John Schofield's typology of London houses in the Treswell surveys, which found that "Type 1 houses had nearly two-thirds of their rooms heated, Type 2 had a little over a third of their rooms heated and Type 3 about half."[17] The low number of hearths in Stonley's house suggests it was closer to the category of *Type 2*, despite having a total number of rooms that makes it a closer match for *Type 3*. An explanation could be that the building was originally a more modest *Type 2* house, but with Stonley's increasing wealth as his career progressed, additional rooms were added onto the building making it a larger and more complex building. It seems probable that the ground floor contained work-related and service rooms opening onto small yards or the garden, and the first floor contained fewer, larger rooms, while the upper floor contained some smaller bedchambers.

The archival sources do not give enough detail to determine a complete and accurate floor plan, however the details discussed so far can lead to some hypothetical

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[16] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell,* p. 35.

[17] John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (Yale University Press, 1994), p. 115.

conclusions about the arrangement of the rooms. Different arrangements can be devised, by considering the order that the rooms were listed in, the descriptive phrases used in the inventory and the presence of fireplaces which indicate how rooms were arranged around flues.

1: Mr Stonley's Bedchamber (H)	3: The Green Chamber (H)	7: Mrs Stonley's Chamber (H)
2: The Gallery	4: The Chamber	9: The Entry at Mrs Stonley's Chamber door
	5: The Jackhouse	
Second Floor		8: The Maid's Chamber
	6: The Old Gallery	10: Eastwick's Chamber
12: The Hall (H)		
	11: The Brushing Chamber	13: The Parlour *[with window]* (H)
First Floor		
15: The Office	16: Under Gallery by the Office	14: The Study *[beneath the parlour]*
		Leading to:
16b: The office yard	17: The Buttery	19: Little Back House, 20: Little House,
	18: The Kitchen (H)	21: Garden and 22: Back yard
Ground Floor		

Figure 1.4: Showing a hypothetical layout of rooms across three floors. (H) denotes the presence of a hearth.

Figure 1.4 prioritises the order of the rooms as they are laid out in the inventory, whilst also utilising the descriptive phrases which help to place certain rooms above others; for instance, the Jackhouse must be positioned above the Kitchen, due to the spit mechanism being installed in this location. This arrangement results in a first floor Hall and parlour, most likely with one overlooking the street to the west and one facing east overlooking the garden. An alternative arrangement can be seen below in figure 1.5, with a ground floor Hall. Although generally, large properties in the country had ground floor Halls, Tara Hamling acknowledges that some English town houses "contained a more modest entrance-way with an impressive reception room (the principal first-floor chamber) above."[18] The parlour was almost certainly on the first floor, since the study is described as being beneath the parlour. Since the parlour had a window which was particularly noted by the inventory, it must have been positioned with a view either of the street to the west or the garden to the east.

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[18] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 123.

1: Mr Stonley's Bedchamber (H)	7: Mrs Stonley's Chamber (H)	3: The Green Chamber (H)
2: The Gallery	9: The Entry at Mrs Stonley's Chamber door	4: The Chamber
		5: The Jackhouse
Second Floor	8: The Maid's Chamber	
		10: Eastwick's Chamber
13: The Parlour *(with window)* (H)	6: The Old Gallery	11: The Brushing Chamber
First Floor		
		17: The Buttery
14: The Study Beneath [the Parlour]	12: The Hall (H)	18: The Kitchen (H)
15: The Office	16: Under Gallery by the Office	*Leading to:* 19: Little Back House,
16b: The office yard		20: Little House, 21: Garden
Ground Floor		*and* 22: Back Yard

Figure 1.5: Showing an alternative hypothetical layout of rooms across three floors, with the Hall on the ground floor. (H) denotes the presence of a hearth.

An unresolved anomaly to both arrangements is the position of the Old Gallery, which is the sixth room listed, but seems to be located on the first floor, not the second floor, since the 'under gallery' is clearly listed as being next to the office on the ground floor. One explanation for this could be that the building contained more than one staircase linking the levels, allowing the person making the inventory to dip down from the second floor to the first floor, into the old gallery, before returning to the second floor to complete the bed chambers on that level. Of course, further alternative arrangements could be devised; however, considering how individuals, including those who made the inventory, moved throughout the building, helps to illuminate some of the quirks in the layout and potentially identifies changes made to the building itself over time.

The presence of both an old gallery and a new gallery confirms that at some point there were building works to add new rooms. John Schofield, in his commentary to the Treswell surveys, describes a situation where a medieval-style arrangement of a separate kitchen in a building across a yard, was later absorbed into the main body of the building;

> Although such kitchens may have been of a single story when built, they were not so by 1612; all the separate kitchens had chambers above, some reached by a gallery crossing from the main house at first floor level...

> The separate kitchen had been incorporated into the house complex, a process which could well be also of medieval date.[19]

Schofield's analysis here does seem to correlate to the presence of an under gallery, old gallery and new gallery in Stonley's house. The building was perhaps originally in two parts, with separate kitchen buildings and outhouses, which were subsequently united with the addition of new rooms, particularly the new gallery. It seems highly likely therefore, that the inventory reflects a second (or later) phase of the building. The building works at the Aldersgate Street house most likely followed as a result of Stonley's increasing wealth and status, which occurred during his career at Westminster between the 1550s and 1580s.

Few interior architectural features are specified in the inventory (which focuses on moveable goods), but one exception is the presence of three "olde greene saye Wyndowe curtens and [2] curten Roddes" in the parlour.[20] Other rooms, including 'Mr Stonley's Bedchamber' and 'The Greene Chamber', list curtains in addition to bed hangings, but the parlour is the only room that describes the textiles as specifically relating to a window. Schofield's study of the Treswell surveys suggests that parlours often contained "a prominent window overlooking the garden".[21] This seems particularly likely in Stonley's residence, located in the suburbs to the north of the city, where there was more space for gardens than within the city walls. In specifying the window and curtains of the parlour, the inventory maker may have been drawing attention to a large window, perhaps part of a semi-circular or half-hexagonal oriel window, which jutted out of the main part of the building. A similar bay window can be seen in a drawing of another building in Aldersgate Street, which was recorded in 1879, prior to its demolition. The window was located on the first floor, in a room at the front of the building.[22] The bay window maximised space and light in the room, whilst also providing a view of the street below.

The inventory gives further details about the appearance of the rooms. Mrs Stonley's bedchamber contained "Olde hangings of paynted clothe" worth 6s 8d, while there were less valuable painted cloth wall hangings in the maid's bedchamber worth 5s. Painted cloths were also found in a room described as "Eastwick's chamber", worth only

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[19] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell,* p. 19.
[20] See appendix for full transcription.
[21] Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell,* p. 18.
[22] J P Emslie (artist), *view of first floor window in the front room of no. 134 Aldersgate Street*, The London Picture Archive, London Metropolitan Archives, catalogue no. v8484322. Emslie completed a group of six drawings of 134 and 135 Aldersgate Street, including the first floor window, two second floor paneled rooms (v8484411 and v8484339), two staircases (v8484405 and v8484316) and some details of the paneling (v8484428).

2s 6d.[23] The identity of this individual is currently unknown; the name only occurs on one occasion in the diary, in the first entry of volume one, and this may not be the same person.[24] Furthermore, the name does not appear in lists of wages given to household servants. It is possible that Eastwick was a steward assisting with the management of the London household during Stonley's imprisonment. The hangings in his room may have been older, of inferior quality or smaller, perhaps only covering one or two walls.

In addition to the hanging cloths, green curtains were present in the parlour (as discussed above) and attached to the bedsteads in Richard's room, Anne's room and the Green Chamber. The rooms included a wide array of domestic textiles, including a "deske covered with red lether", two "lowe stooles covered with olde red velvet", "cusshions of tapestrye" and three chairs "of walnut tree frames with seats and backes of oulde black clothe imbrodered"; the effect of these soft furnishings must have been to create a rich, tactile and textured backdrop to daily life within the house. As Richardson and Hamling observe, "textiles covered almost every surface of the early modern interior."[25] In addition to these decorative textiles, the Stonley household also contained a vast number of linens, including napkins, tablecloths and sheets, which would have been seen, handled and utilised on a daily basis.

Routes Into and Around the House

Analysis of the possible room layout and an examination of the contents of the room, as recorded in the inventory, can shed light on the ways in which different people would have approached and inhabited the house and different spaces within the building. In this section I will take a closer look at some examples of individuals who visited or lived in this space. As these case studies will show, the arrangement of the Aldersgate Street house was not based on a clearly demarcated public level and private level of the house. Instead, there were elements of public, private and work-related space on each of the three levels and some rooms could have been used for a mixed range of activities.

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[23] It is strange that the name does not occur at all in any form in the third volume of the diary, so an alternative explanation is that this is some kind of clerical error. I have not found records of any individuals with the name Eastwick in the Aldersgate Street area in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

[24] Vol 1: 3r: In this entry Stonley notes a payment of 3 shillings to his servant Thomas Fysher, for riding "to Mr Eostwickes".

[25] Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling (eds.) 'Ways of Seeing Early Modern Decorative Textiles for Textile History', *Textile History*, 47:1 (2016), p. 5. Richardson and Hamling highlight the social, cultural and economic importance of domestic textiles; "They were key to the definition of the emerging 'middling sorts', who invested a substantial percentage of their wealth in textile goods that advertised the sophistication and comfort of their domestic provision" (p. 8).

Unnamed Servants, Monday 19 November 1593

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I kept home
> recevyng money of Sr James Marven's men
> had them wth me to Dyner[26]

In this entry the servants of Sir James Marvyn delivered money to Stonley's Aldersgate Street house. Sir James Marvyn (1529-1611) was a member of the Wiltshire gentry and served as an MP on two occasions, in addition to pursuing a number of offices at court.[27] Although this work was undertaken at Stonley's home, it was clearly an official payment intended for the Receipt of the Exchequer, as he notes that the money was later carried to Westminster.

If the servants arrived at the Aldersgate Street house on horseback or with a small cart (carrying the money they were delivering), they perhaps proceeded through the entryway, leaving their cart and horse stationed in Stonley's back yard, while they delivered the money. They may have entered the house via the under gallery and the space described in the inventory as 'The office yarde', which may have been transitional spaces between the exterior street and the interior of the house. The money was probably delivered to the ground floor office; this room contained "A countinge table of bords covered with olde greene cloth", providing a place where the money could be unpacked and counted. The servants may also have met with Stonley in his study before being invited to join the household for dinner. The meal may have taken place in the hall or in the first floor parlour if they were particularly favoured guests.[28] This movement, from the office to the dining space reflects a shift from a public, outward-looking space to a more private, inward-looking space. After the meal the servants appear to have left the house; they are not listed as supper guests.

Dorothy Dawtrey, Tuesday 4 September 1593

> This day after morninge preyer I rode [*from Doddinghurst*]
> wth my Daughtr Dawtrey to London who
> rode from thenc wth Harry, Roger, Pare
> & Pole to More in Sussex the next morning[29]

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[26] Vol 2: 40v.

[27] HoP: MARVYN, James (1529-1611). This biography notes that Marvyn had some debt problems, "still owing £400 from his first term of office two years after its expiry, and during his second complained to Burghley that the commissioners were hampering him by their refusal to acquaint him with their proceedings."

[28] Tara Hamling argues that the parlour developed as a means of "offering more privacy and comfort" and "filtering down large gatherings into more select and intimate companies". Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household,* p. 131.

[29] Vol 2: 24v.

This entry records an occasion when Stonley and members of his family and household left his Essex home in Doddinghurst and travelled to London. Stonley's daughter Dorothy Dawtrey and her son Harry were part of the group, since Stonley's London house was a convenient point for them to break their journey to Sussex, where the Dawtrey family house was located. On their arrival in Aldersgate Street in the early afternoon they perhaps would have alighted from their horses or coach close to the house or in the back yard. There are occasional payments recorded in the diary, including for shoeing and the provision of hay which are classified as 'Stable charges'. This may indicate that Stonley made use of a nearby stable for housing his horses, rather than having his own stable on the site of his Aldersgate Street house.[30] In the course of the afternoon and evening the group may have had a meal in the hall; Stonley lists five guests in this entry, who would have been in addition to the members of his own London household, such as servants or clerks and the hall would have provided enough space. The inventory does not indicate that the hall was particularly richly or comfortably furnished; it contains just tables, three benches ('formes of wainscot') and a single chair, although it was decorated with painted cloths. A sense of hierarchy is indicated with the decorative objects of the room, which included a print or picture 'of the kinges of this lande in a frame'. A more intimate and comfortable supper may have been served to the visitors in the parlour; this room contained tables and stools, along with two chairs, a back-stool and 'Twoe little olde stooles covered with redd velvett', along with 'An olde smale turkie carpet', three 'olde cushions of tapestrie' and 'greene saye Wyndowe curtens'. The presence of these soft furnishings suggests that this was a room intended for comfort.

Entertainment was not in short supply at the Aldersgate Street house. The parlour contained a pair of virginals.[31] The inventory also records the presence of music books stored in Stonley's own bedchamber, indicating that Stonley himself may have been the musician of the family. Harry Dawtrey, Dorothy's son and Richard's grandson, was aged around 15 at the time of this visit and in addition to the opportunities for music and reading, he may have enjoyed exploring the gallery on the second floor of the house. In this room a visitor could have played a game of bowls, chess or "fox and geese".[32] The visitors may also have examined 'The celestiall and terrestiall globes' or browsed the

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[30] See for instance, Vol 2: 67r: On Thursday 21 February 1592/3, Stonley recorded: "Stable charges / To Robrt Nashe for Bringinge from Hame to London 2 Doss & 3 of hay... } 4s 2d".

[31] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 294-5. Heal and Holmes observe that musical instruments were not limited to the nobility, but found in gentry homes too, adding that "a measure of skill was certainly expected of women as part of their training".

[32] The OED describe "fox and geese" as "a game played on a board with pegs, draughtsmen, or the like."

pictures of maps, religious images and portraits of Stonley's patrons and employers, in addition to a portrait of 'Mr Branche', presumably Stonley's brother-in-law or father-in-law. This space was clearly a prestigious, luxury space, designed for leisure time that was stimulating, exciting or perhaps competitive and therefore potentially a draw for a young man visiting his grandfather's house. As visitors to the house, Dorothy and Harry Dawtrey may have slept in one of the guest chambers; 'The Greene Chamber' appears to have been the more prestigious room, containing a luxurious green velvet tester bed, complete with a feather bed, wool bed, bolster, pillow and blankets. Although the inventory does not list any additional rooms, the Winstanley image suggests that there could have been an attic level above the second floor, which may have provided more bedchambers for servants and members of the household.

Richard Stonley, *Monday 4 December 1581*

> This Day I kept home not beinge well at ease
> & ther spent the hole Day in readinge the
> Scriptures w[i]th thankes to god at night[33]

In this entry in early December 1581, Stonley recorded a low-key day of reading the bible in an attempt to recover from 'not beinge well at ease'. His bedchamber would have been a good location for this sort of day of recuperation and spiritual contemplation; the inventory for this room records a table, a leather chair and a walnut-tree chair with a cushion, in addition to a candlestick and a lamp, all providing comfort for reading activities.[34] The inventory also records numerous books on spiritual matters, including bibles, study aids (such as 'A Concordance of the bible') and 'Foxes Ecclesiasticall Hystory twoe books'. His concerns over his well-being may have prompted him to turn to his books on the subject of health, 'The Juell of Health' and 'Haven of Healthe'.

The parlour may also have been an appropriate location for a day of bible study; the inventory suggests that this room was a warm, comfortable and light space thanks to the fire, curtains, soft furnishings and window. It also contained 'An olde Frenche bible'. Alternatively, the gallery next to Stonley's bedchamber included 'A little deske covered with greene velvet on the toppe'. The presence of chairs, tables and reading materials in both the bedchamber and gallery suggests that these rooms were multifunctional spaces where Stonley could spend a whole day, reading, resting, working or eating.

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[33] Vol 1: 34v.

[34] The inventory does not include a bed in Stonley's bedchamber, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4; it is likely that the bed was removed from the house and taken to Stonley's chamber in the Fleet prison at the time when the inventory was made.

Roger Batte and Margery

To Roger Batte for wyne		} 9s 11d
at Sondry tymes		
To a porter		2d
To Margery that she hath leyd out		
[*for fish*]		} 16s
for egges	4d	
for butter	6d	
for a Rochet	10d	} 2s 6d
for Smeltes a qrtr	16d	
for egges	6d[35]	

Roger Batte and Margery were two of Stonley's household servants in the 1590s, who appear to have been based at his house in Aldersgate Street. He frequently mentioned them in his diary entries, often recording tasks they had undertaken on his behalf. The above entry is typical; Roger Batte often managed the purchase of wine, beer and ale while Margery purchased food for the Aldersgate Street household. The inventory lists "a beere Joyst" in the Buttery, indicating that this room was used to store the large vats of drinks that Roger often purchased. The room also included quart and pint pots, which Roger could have used to decant the beverages and take to the rooms where they were to be consumed. No equipment for serving drinks is apparent in the hall or parlour, where meals were presumably eaten. However, the gallery next to Stonley's bedchamber included silver and gilt covered stone jugs, in addition to "A seller for wyne havinge but three glasses"; these luxury items reinforce the sense of this room as being an elite space, but one that appears to have housed numerous social and solitary activities, from dining to reading and playing games.

Margery may have used the Buttery to store the food items she purchased for the household, as it contained "A cubberd for meate" and a bread bin. The inventory shows a wide range of cooking implements, from spits, pans and kettles to skillets and porringers, indicating that the food Margery purchased was destined for many different types of dishes. In addition to these cookery tools, the kitchen inventory includes two cleavers, perhaps suggesting that meat was butchered on site, an activity which could have taken place in the back yard; indeed, other entries in Stonley's diary confirm that large quantities of meat were purchased, which may have needed to be cut into smaller pieces for cooking individual dishes.

The kitchen and buttery, two rooms which must have been frequently inhabited by Roger and Margery, do not seem to have been particularly multi-functional; they did not include tables and seating for informal meals or evidence of comfort in the form of

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[35] Vol 2: 67v.

soft furnishings. The room called "The maides Chamber" on the inventory, which was presumably Margery's bedroom, was simply furnished, with just a bed, described as old and broken, and some bedding and "a tawney Rugge" valued together at 40s; this is around half the value of the equivalent items in Anne Stonley's bedchamber, which also contained numerous other items of furniture in addition to the bedstead. Margery's room did not include other furniture, such as chairs or tables, to indicate that this room was used for anything other than sleeping.

These examples show how people entered, moved around and made use of the different spaces within the Aldersgate Street house. After entering the building, visitors would have experienced different forms of access to the interior spaces of the building, depending on which activities they were invited to participate in. These experiences could have included luxury and recreation activities in the gallery, intimacy and comfort in the parlour or a sense of status and hierarchy in the hall. It seems likely that Stonley's experience of the Aldersgate Street was influenced by a much greater sense of multi-functionality, for instance in the same room he could do his professional work, eat a meal, or enjoy his leisure time. Meanwhile, it seems that for other members of the household, particularly servants, different tasks were more rooted to particular locations.

Journeys In and Around London: Shops

To George Strange, sadler
at Pye Corner in Smythfeld
for a sadle with brydle
bytte & harnes   } 66s 8d

To Wm Garrett my Sho maker in
Long Lane for 2 pere of showes   } 4s 4d

For the Queenes picture bought
of John Gipkyn picture maker
at Shorediche   } 10s

To Mr Greves at the Half Moon
for a ringlet of Sack   } 35s 7d [36]

Stonley was an avid consumer of Elizabethan material culture and his diaries include frequent references to purchases of food, books, clothing and household goods. Many of these references are fairly non-specific, recording simply the object purchased and the price paid. The four examples above, however, are representative of a significant

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[36] Four examples in volume 3, pages 6v, 59r, 80r and 84v.

minority which include the names of vendors and tradespeople and the location of their shops, either in the form of a building name (or shop-sign), a street or a neighbourhood.

More than 130 vendors or tradespeople are named by Stonley in the first two volumes of his diaries and of these, 38 were based at identifiable London locations.[37] In some instances Stonley specified the street name of the vendor concerned and in other cases a shop-sign was recorded, the precise locations of which can be traced using other sources. For example in the case of "Mr Greves at the Half Moon", where Stonley purchased a large quantity of sack, is listed in Henry A Harben's *Dictionary of London* as a tavern on Half Moon Passage, leading west out of Aldersgate Street.[38] Given the proximity to Stonley's home, it seems highly likely that this was the location of Mr Greves' establishment. Another significant example is Edward White, the printer and bookseller, who is known through title pages of early modern plays (including Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus) as a printer located at 'The Sign of the Gun' in Paul's Churchyard.[39] White is listed in Stonley's diaries on seven occasions, making his the most frequently visited shop.

Of the 38 named shop locations in and around London, only 7 were located in the heart of the city centre, the eastern end of the city, in and around Aldgate, or at the docks to the east of the Tower. Only two shops are recorded as being in the south (Southwark) and two to the north in Shoreditch and Finsbury. The majority of the named shops appear to have been located on the western side of the city centre (including St Paul's Churchyard), and the suburbs on the north-western side of the city walls, between Bishopsgate and Holborn; 23 are located in these areas, with a further 4 shops located in Westminster. This area is of course includes Aldersgate Street, indicating that much of Stonley's shopping took place close to his home. It may be that Stonley preferred to make purchases from shops which he passed during his regular commute to and from Westminster, which accounts for the higher concentration of shop locations on the western side of the city, in Westminster and Holborn.

Stonley appears to have purchased all sorts of items, from food and household goods to textiles and clothing in all different areas around the city and there does not appear to be any strong correlations between particular areas and specific types of goods. The only possible exception to this is the purchases made in St Paul's Churchyard; 5 shops are identified in the churchyard itself (Edward White, a printer and bookseller at

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[37] See appendix for complete list.
[38] Henry A Harben, *A Dictionary of London,* (London: 1918), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/dictionary-of-london> [accessed 28 January 2017]
[39] Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard,* Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society Number 5, (London: Bibliographic Society, 1990), p. 87-88.

the Sign of the Gun; John Barnes, a seller of clothing at the Bear; Hutchinson, a seller of leather bags at the Crossbow; Barrows, a haberdasher; and Thomas Clarke, a fletcher at the Peacock). One further shop, belonging to Gryffyn, a brush maker, is described as being near St Paul's Churchyard.

Stonley's numerous purchases from Edward White appear to confirm this area's reputation for book-buying, described by Peter Blayney, who argued that "during the second half of the sixteenth century, Paul's Cross Churchyard became the unrivalled centre of retail bookselling in London".[40] However, it seems that Stonley made more non-book purchases in this area than book purchases; he made 5 purchases from John Barnes for different items of clothing, millinery and textiles, in addition to leather items from Hutchinson, hat trimming from Barrows, a quiver of arrows from Thomas Clark and two brushes from Gryffyn. Unfortunately, none of the shopkeepers or shop names listed by Stonley appear to correlate with those identified in Blayney's research on the booksellers of the churchyard. This would appear to suggest that during the time of Stonley's diary, this location was a diverse market place; for Stonley, it was most likely not experienced solely as a venue for bookselling, but as a market place for all sorts of goods.

This examination of Stonley's shopping preferences allows for an interesting comparison with the choices of Samuel Pepys, in Restoration London, as researched by Ian Archer.[41] Like Stonley, Pepys appears to have covered a great deal of ground, often by foot, even managing to travel between the City and Westminster or Greenwich multiple times in one day. Archer's analysis concludes that Pepys' shopping habits were not focused around either his home (in the east of the city, in the parish of St Olave's Hart Street) or his workplace at Greenwich. Instead, Pepys' preferred shops appear to have been in the same locations as Stonley's, including tailors and shoemakers in Fleet Street, haberdashery from the western side of the city and books from St Paul's Churchyard. It may be the case that all through the early modern period, the area around the western end of the city of London was particularly associated with shops selling luxury goods; as Archer observes of Pepys' shopping habits, "It is a pattern which reflects the nature of occupational and retailing concentrations in the city, and the location of the most fashionable outlets."[42]

The comparison between Pepys and Stonley is not entirely straightforward due to their different circumstances; Stonley was an elderly man writing in the late Elizabethan

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[40] Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard,* p. 5.
[41] Ian Archer, 'Social Networks in Restoration London: the evidence from Samuel Pepys's diary', in Alexandra Shepard & Phil Withington (eds.) *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric,* (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 76-94.
[42] Archer, 'Social Networks in Restoration London', p. 80.

era, while Pepys was a young man writing nearly 80 years later. However, Archer's research concludes that "considerations of customer loyalty", rather than convenience of location, was actually the major motivation for Pepys.[43] Stonley's careful recording of specific shopkeepers and apparent ongoing relationships with particular tradespeople and shopping locations suggests that he too was motivated by the emotional bond of customer loyalty during shopping activities.

The comparison between Stonley and Pepys' shopping patterns also reveals something of the different choices they made relating to their homes; Pepys established his home in the east of the city, in a house on Seething Lane that was owned by the Naval Office and made available to officers.[44] According to his biographer Claire Tomalin, Pepys' choice of domestic location was a result of his professional work, rather than family connections or his relationship to the city. Pepys was born at the other end of the city and, as Archer's research reveals, visited a wide variety of locations across London. But Pepys appears to have been swayed more by the housing itself, and the convenience and prestige of getting access to it, rather than a location that was particularly convenient for his everyday life. Stonley, meanwhile, appears to made his home in a very specific location, close to his patrons and friends, the Petre family, and an area with convenient shopping opportunities located between his home and his workplace.

Journeys In and Around London: Places of Worship

> This Day after p[ra]yer I went to Sr John Petre
> to my p[ar]ishe Church where he was
> placed in his new pue & After dyn[e]d
> w[i]th hym[45]

Another important category of journeys made by Stonley in and around the city of London include visits to places of worship. These primarily occurred at St Botolph without Aldersgate church and St Paul's cathedral. St Botolph without Aldersgate parish church was located on the western side of Aldersgate Street, just north of the city wall. Leaving his house, Stonley would have turned left and walked south, down Aldersgate Street for 300 or 400 meters, before reaching the church on the opposite side of the road. Continuing past his parish church, Stonley would have passed through Aldersgate,

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[43] Archer, 'Social Networks in Restoration London', p. 80. Archer concludes: "The development of these strong relationships of patronage between shopkeepers and their customers reflected both the need for the customer's insurance against potentially fraudulent tradesmen and the fact that much business was conducted on credit."

[44] Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 111. Tomalin describes Pepys' manoeuvring to ensure that he was able to get the house in Seething Lane that he wanted.

[45] Vol 1: 37v, Thursday 21 December 1581.

following St Martin's Lane (now St Martin's Le Grand) for another 400 meters, before reaching the roads around the northern edge of the St Paul's precinct and St Paul's Churchyard. Stonley regularly attended these two locations for worship, including services, communion and sermons.

In the example above, which took place on 21 December 1581, it seems that Sir John Petre, a fellow resident of Aldersgate Street and the son of Stonley's former patron, either purchased or was awarded a new seat at St Botolph without Aldersgate parish church. This was a prestigious event, allowing Sir John Petre to assert a superior social status. Christopher Marsh observes that custom, economic wealth, status and gender could all affect where one was permitted to sit in the local parish church.[46] Marsh suggests that the complex social hierarchies would have led to some specific experiences for parishioners;

> After passing through the porch, parishioners crisscrossed the nave, negotiating a path to their 'places' in the church and in the universal order. ... Individuals walked up aisles and along alleys, passing 'superior' and 'inferior' folk as they did so, making and not making eye contact and bodily gestures as appropriate.[47]

Stonley does not give any further specific information about his own seating position within his parish church, however his apparent participation in Sir John Petre's inaugural use of his new pew indicates that he may have sat close by, perhaps benefiting from the association. Indeed, Marsh confirms that there were "individuals who owed their position within the church to the kindness of a wealthier family", since "there was an intricate web of patronage in operation".[48] Being invited to join Sir John Petre for dinner after the church service highlights Stonley's position as part of the inner circle of the Petre family at this time.

Another example of Stonley's church-going shows another form of religious practice. On Sunday 22 October, Stonley made his way south from his house, into the city of London, to hear a sermon at St Paul's cathedral. He noted the day's activities as usual in his diary;

> This Day after morninge preyer & Mr Andersons
> Sermon at Paules I dyned at the L Mayers[49]

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[46] Christopher Marsh, 'Order and place in England, 1580-1640: the view from the pew [excerpt], in Trevor Cooper and Sarah Brown (eds) *Pews, Benches & Chairs: Church seating in English parish churches from the fourteenth century to the present* (The Ecclesiological Society, c/o The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2011), pp. 131-48. See also: Christopher Marsh, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560–1640: The View from the Pew', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53: 2 (2002), 286-311.

[47] Marsh, 'Order and place in England, 1580-1640: the view from the pew', p. 143.

[48] Marsh, 'Order and place in England, 1580-1640: the view from the pew', p. 143-4.

[49] Vol 1: 26v, Sunday 22 October 1581.

This sermon may have been delivered by Anthony Anderson, a theological writer and preacher.[50] The event probably took place outdoors, in Paul's churchyard, on the northern side of the cathedral, close to the shops that Stonley frequented. Researchers at North Carolina State University have recently developed a visual and aural reconstruction of these spaces, giving a unique insight into the atmosphere of the cathedral and churchyard which Stonley probably experienced.[51] John N Wall describes the aim of his reconstruction as being "to reimagine how these sermons, as social and political as well as religious gatherings, functioned to bring together church, state, and people for instruction, inspiration, and identity formation."[52] Wall highlights the good acoustics of the churchyard;

> The space of Paul's Churchyard, surrounded to the west and south by the cathedral itself, and to the east and north by the buildings that housed booksellers' shops, created a kind of natural amplification system by reflecting the sound of the preacher's voice.[53]

In addition to the preacher's voice, Stonley would have experienced "the ambient noise of horses, dogs, and birds, as well as the sound of the cathedral's clock marking the passage of the hours".[54] Along with the impressive backdrop of the cathedral precinct and the sights and smells of nearby shops and the sensation of being in the open air, this must have been a multi-sensory experience for Stonley.

After attending services at either Paul's churchyard or St Botolph without Aldersgate, Stonley would have returned to his house in Aldergate Street, or (as in the two examples already discussed) made his way to another house for the midday meal; on three occasions, Stonley noted that following a religious service he dined with his brother-in-law, Sir John Branche who was the Lord Mayor.[55] Stonley was a frequent visitor to Sir John Branche's house in the first volume of the diary, as will be discussed in the following section.

Journeys In and Around London: The Lord Mayor's House

> This morning after preyer I went to Westm'[inster]
> Attended ther till 11 came back to the L Mayers
> to Dyner Kept home all the Afternone w[i]th thankes

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[50] ODNB: Anderson, Anthony (*d.* 1593).
[51] Virtual St Paul's Cathedral Project; see: <https://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu>.
[52] John N Wall, 'Transforming the Object of our Study: The Early Modern Sermon and the Virtual Paul's Cross Project', *Journal of Digital Humanities,* Vol. 3:1 (2014).
[53] Wall, 'Transforming the Object of our Study: The Early Modern Sermon and the Virtual Paul's Cross Project'.
[54] Wall, 'Transforming the Object of our Study: The Early Modern Sermon and the Virtual Paul's Cross Project'.
[55] Vol 1: 16r, Sunday 27 August 1581. The other examples are dated Sunday 18 June, Sunday 27 August and Sunday 22 October 1581.

to god at night[56]

This morning after p[ra]yer I kept home till 11 Dyned
wth my wyf at my L Mayas kept home all the
Afternone Supped ther & so ended that Day
Wth thankes to god at night[57]

Stonley's experience of London includes many examples of him undertaking more than one activity each day. As shown in the examples above, the midday meal frequently marks the point at which Stonley would travel from one location to another. In volume one, he makes particularly frequent trips to the house of the Lord Mayor, John Branche, who was the brother of Stonley's wife Anne. On 35 occasions Stonley ate dinner at Branche's home, and on a further 4 occasions he ate supper there.   Oftentimes, these meals at the home of John Branche took place when Stonley was already out and about in the city of London. Stonley's custom appears to have been to leave his Aldersgate Street house early in the morning, presumably heading south through Aldersgate, past St Paul's cathedral and to the river, where he took a boat to Westminster. At around 11am, Stonley would return to the city of London, and oftentimes he made his way to the home of John Branche before returning to Aldersgate Street.[58]

The precise location of John Branche's home is not known, although his will describes him as being "of Saint Mary Abchurch, city of London".[59] This would place Branche's home close to Abchurch Lane (running north-south), between Thames Street and Cornhill (both running east-west). Travelling from the Thames northwards towards Cornhill and Poultry (roads which led to St Paul's cathedral and the north-west corner of the city), Stonley would have passed close by to his brother-in-law's house, making it a convenient place to stop. Since Branche was serving as the Lord Mayor of London in 1580-1581, there may be another interpretation; the official residence of the Lord Mayor of London, Mansion House, was not built until the eighteenth century. Therefore Branche may have been using another official residence connected to his guild, the Drapers' company, who owned property in Throgmorton Street.[60] This site was purchased by the Drapers Company in 1543, and had previously been known as Austin Friars, the home of Henry VIII's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. The nature of this

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[56] Vol 1: 14v, Wednesday 16 August 1581.
[57] Vol 1:15v, Thursday 24 August 1581.
[58] The routine of working in Westminster, then dining at the Lord Mayor's house occurs on 18 occasions in the first volume.
[59] TNA: PROB 11/72/725.
[60] For the history of the Drapers' Hall refer to: <http://www.thedrapers.co.uk/Company/History-And-Heritage/Drapers-Hall.aspx> The site was originally a medieval friary: see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 242.

site, as both a place of professional activity and a domestic residence, is another example of the elision between home and work activities.

The particular connection between work activities taking place in various locations and dining at John Branche's home reinforces the idea that Stonley experienced Branche's home and hospitality as an extension of his professional activities. Indeed, a further example from Thursday 27 July 1581 shows that official business was conducted at social occasions of this sort. After working at home in the morning, Stonley noted that he "Dyned wth the L Mayer where Mr Ric Marten Alderman was Chosen Sheref of London".[61] This example indicates that Stonley was experiencing Branche's home more as a public forum for business and professional discussion, rather as a private, social occasion in a purely domestic setting. On one occasion Stonley noted that he and his wife Anne (who was the sister of Branche), dined with Branche together, however this does not appear to have been a frequent occurrence. These examples of Branche and Stonley's dining activities demonstrate that a distinction between 'home' and 'place of work' may not be helpful terminology for examining individuals in early modern London and the places they inhabited.

The details of Richard Stonley's diary give a strong indication that he was adept at navigating both the geography and the cultural topography of London; he purchased items in his preferred shopping locations, completed his work in a variety of places and enjoyed regular social activities. As might be expected from an individual who had lived in the same location for many years, he appears to have visited certain locations more frequently, such as Paul's Churchyard, indicating personal preferences. Within his home, his domestic life was organised through the use of systems and boundaries to generate different senses of hierarchy, openness or intimacy, formality, comfort and industriousness. Although Stonley, as the head of the household, appears to have experienced many spaces as multi-functional, his household servants may have found that domestic locations were more closely tied to specific household tasks.

The material objects listed by the household inventory suggest that Richard Stonley's London home was a place of both professional and domestic work and that it could be a place of privacy but at other times an extremely social space and the site of elite dining and leisure activities. Tresswell's surveys of similar properties in Aldersgate Street indicate that it was a tightly packed and well-populated suburb of the capital. What Richard Stonley's diary accounts can particularly add is an understanding of the ongoing movements of people and objects during daily activities.

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[61] Vol 1:11r, Thursday 27 July 1581.

Evidence of the material objects within particular spaces, as revealed by a household inventory for example, helps to identify the potential activities that took place there. Considering the physical environment of a space, which may be gleaned from an in-depth reading of archival documents or through the examination of physical remains, can reveal how activities were experienced; we could ask whether individuals in that space felt warm, cold, formal or relaxed. A sense of the proximity between locations, objects and people can be determined through the use of plans and maps, such as the Tresswell drawings. The materiality of Stonley's London townhouse gives a strong indication that he was deeply embedded within the social and cultural world of the professional upper middling classes in late sixteenth century London. However, as will be shown in the next chapter, London was not Stonley's only home, since he also frequently spent time at his home in rural Essex.

Chapter 2: Doddinghurst and Essex

Richard Stonley's diaries confirm that he spent significant amounts of time at his property in rural Essex. His everyday activities in this location, most importantly food production and his responsibilities as the resident of the local manor house, were clearly specific to this location. These quotidian tasks no doubt had a deep impact on his sense of his role in the world and his personal identity. This chapter seeks to explore evidence of the materiality and environment that Stonley experienced in the village of Doddinghurst; archival evidence of Stonley's life in rural Essex includes records of his two homes in the village. Additionally, the village of Doddinghurst and the surrounding area contains a number of physical remains, including buildings and occasionally objects that Stonley would have been familiar with. The physical and archival evidence reinforces the sense gained from Stonley's diary that he was as deeply embedded in the agricultural world of Doddinghurst as he was in the commercial and business world of London. Richard and Anne Stonley appear to be examples of what Margaret Pelling terms a 'divided household', whereby a household inhabits two homes simultaneously, usually in an urban and a rural location, which often necessitated frequent travel between the two sites.[1] Analysing Stonley's lived experience of Doddinghurst, and contrasting it with the findings of chapter one, reveal a man with a dual identity, inhabiting two locations and engaged with the cultures of both places. By focusing on everyday life, particularly the movement of people and things between places, it is possible to gain a sense of how Stonley navigated these two aspects of his life.

The village of Doddinghurst, in Essex, lay close to the main route leading out of London, towards Chelmsford and Ipswich, and what is now the route of the A12. The village is around 25 miles from Aldersgate Street. It seems that Stonley made his home in Doddinghurst shortly after his marriage to Anne and his acquisition of the position of Teller of the Exchequer. Stonley's choice in acquiring property in this area was likely a result of the influence of his patron, Sir William Petre; Doddinghurst is around 5 miles west of Ingatestone, the home of the Petre family. Were Stonley to have been making the journey from London to Ingatestone with his employer, he would have passed the turning for Doddinghurst (perhaps travelling via the village of Mountnessing) shortly before arriving at Ingatestone. This chapter will consider the experiences of Stonley in his Essex homes, the physical environment of the buildings and his engagement with the

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[1] Pelling questions; "Were early modern Londoners convinced urbanites, or were they 'skirters' - town-dwellers following patterns of living which involved avoidance of, as much as commitment to, urban environments?" See Margaret Pelling, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century', in Paul Griffiths and Mark S R Jenner (eds), *Londinopolis: Essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London* (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 154-75 (p. 154).

materiality of the location. Historical surveys of the area and supporting archival evidence can be used in conjunction with the information in Stonley's diaries, to reveal details of his way of life in this area.

Since the sixteenth century there have been a number of manor houses in Doddinghurst, with various names including Doddinghurst Hall and Doddinghurst Place. Stonley's diary entries are not explicit in giving the exact names or locations of buildings in the village, including his own homes, only referring to the general location as 'Duddingherst'. Consequently some investigation is required to develop a clearer understanding of the main buildings in the village in the early modern period. An important source is the work of the eighteenth century scholar, Philip Morant, who published *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* in two volumes between 1763 and 1768.[2] Morant identifies two manors in the parish of Doddinghurst, firstly Doddinghurst Hall, located on the south side of the church, and secondly Doddinghurst Place, also known as Kensingtons, situated half a mile north-west of the church.

Morant confirms that Richard Stonley acquired Doddinghurst Hall in 1579, from Edward De Vere, the Earl of Oxford. The following year Stonley was also able to acquire the advowson of the parish church, giving him the right to nominate the parish priest. These acquisitions confirmed Stonley's status as one of the most important men in the local area. Following Stonley's financial difficulties in the late 1590s, it seems that the manor house was sold to Thomas Glascock, whose daughter married into the Luther family, who later inherited the manor house. Curiously, Morant explains that later in the seventeenth century, that Anthony Luther married a woman named Dorothy D'Autrey, who almost certainly seems to be a relation of the Dawtrey family of Sussex, who Dorothy Stonley (Richard's daughter) had married into in the 1570s.[3]

The other manor house of the parish was Kensingtons, also known by the name Doddinghurst Place; this was Stonley's first home in the area, although he owned both properties by the time the first volume of the diaries was written. Morant confirms that the house was owned by Stonley and then later passed to the descendants of his grandson, Henry (or Harry) Dawtrey. A document in the Essex Record office confirms that Stonley acquired Kensingtons in 1556 from a man named Edward Colthurst, having recently married Anne and begun his position as Teller of the Exchequer.[4] It seems that

[2] Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex,* volumes 1 and 2, 1763 and 1768 - the relevant pages on Doddinghurst are also reproduced in: Peter Kurton, *Doddinghurst: A Place in the Country,* (PBK Publishing, 1999), pp. 15-16.
[3] Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex,* pp. 191-2. The marriage of Dorothy Stonley into the Dawtrey family is also evidenced by a document recording a marriage settlement made in 1573 between the Dawtrey and Stonley families, see: Essex: D/DLc M3A.
[4] Essex: D/DFa T29 - includes a lease of 1556, which has a brief inventory and valuation of stock and household goods upon 'manor or farm' of Kensingtons.

Colthurst was a local man, since a will for Edward Colthurst of Mountnessing (a neighbouring village) survives, dated 11 January 1585/6.[5]

After selling Doddinghurst Hall to Thomas Glascock in 1599, it seems that Anne Stonley remained at Kensingtons.[6] Following Richard's death in 1600, Anne retained the advowson of All Saints Doddinghurst parish church until 1611, indicating that she retained strong connections to the area.[7] In making Kensingtons her base during her widowhood, it is possible that Anne was continuing the farming activities that took place during her marriage, whilst also maintaining social relationships with local farmers and tenants. Jane Whittle's research into the work of widows in early modern England identifies a number of examples of women who "continued to work as yeoman farmers, managing large farms, during widowhood."[8]

Eighteenth and nineteenth century records of the manor houses of Doddinghurst reveal a number of changes and potential confusions. The 1921 publication *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex* describes two buildings which appear to have been in very different locations to those described by Morant; firstly, Doddinghurst Place is described as being 700 yards west of the church and Doddinghurst Hall, built in the seventeenth century, is described as being 150 yards east of the church.[9] It seems likely that at some point in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, Kensingtons was demolished and the name of Doddinghurst Place was adopted by a farmhouse to the west of the church; indeed, a road in this location still bears the name Place Farm Lane. Around the same time, the manor house to the south of the church became the parsonage associated with All Saint's parish church, however this building may have been a later building, rather than the manor house that was inhabited by Stonley. It seems likely that the name 'Doddinghurst Hall' was then adopted by the newer building to the east of the church. For some reason it seems that the parsonage to the south of the church (which was Doddinghurst Hall to Stonley) was omitted in the 1921 survey;

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[5] Essex: D/AEW 8/184.

[6] In the History of Parliament biography for Stonley, N.M. Fuidge notes that "his inquisition post mortem describes his widow Anne as living at Kensingtons, where he may have retired towards the end of his life." It seems unlikely that Stonley retired to Kensingtons, since his work and debts kept him in London in the final years of his life. However it seems likely that Anne moved there; she is only mentioned occasionally in the diary for 1597-8, suggesting that she was not often in London at this time. HoP: STONELEY, Richard.

[7] Details of all the church's patrons are recorded in a framed notice in the church; as a widow it seems that Anne held the advowson in her own name, before selling it to the Glascock family.

[8] Jane Whittle, 'Enterprising widows and active wives: women's unpaid work in the household economy of early modern England', *The History of the Family,* 19: 3 (2014), 283-300 (p. 284).

[9] 'Doddinghurst', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 2, Central and South west* (London: The Stationery Office, 1921), pp. 56-8.

local history records confirm that the building was finally demolished in 1959, so it must have been standing in 1921.[10]

Other late medieval and sixteenth century domestic buildings do survive in the village today. Pear Tree Cottage is located south east of the church, on the corner of Doddinghurst Road, which links the A12 to the centre of the village. Originally a late medieval hall house, it was considerably re-built in the seventeenth century, having a second chimney stack added.[11] During renovation work a small child's leather shoe and two hats (one decorated with flowers) were discovered "pushed into an angle between the floor and front wall of the low end storeyed bay."[12] The concealment of objects within pre-modern buildings has been studied by Dinah Eastop, who suggests that "these objects are likely to be the result of a combination of traditions, including sacrificial or Masonic customs, folk-magic and 'evil averting' practices."[13] Research shows that these objects are often found in spaces close to doorways, windows and chimneys, to protect the inhabitants and prevent dangerous things from entering the space.[14]

Another building, now called Days Farmhouse but also known as Solomon Farm and Salmons Farm, is located further away, due south of the church and closer to the route of the A12.[15] This farmhouse was initially constructed in the early to mid-sixteenth century and was modified throughout the seventeenth and later centuries. A particularly interesting feature is a fireplace on the first floor, probably constructed around 1600, which includes a painted plaster surface decorated with a Biblical text written in black letter.[16] The text appears to have been taken from the Tyndale bible.

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[10] Peter Kurton, *Doddinghurst: A Place in the Country* (PBK Publishing, 1999), p. 33. The National Monuments Record does not include any information on the lost manor houses that Stonley would have known; furthermore, there are surprisingly few references to the village of Doddinghurst in the Victoria County History for Essex. Doddinghurst has historically been located on the edges of a number of different areas of jurisdiction, which may account for why the history of this village has not been recorded in as much detail as other areas in Essex.

[11] See the National Heritage List for England (NHLE), *Pear Tree Cottage, Doddinghurst Road,* list number 1197273.

[12] NHLE: *Pear Tree Cottage, Doddinghurst Road.* The report does not give dates for these items.

[13] Dinah Eastop, 'The Conservation of Garments Concealed within Buildings as Material Culture in Action', in Hamling, Tara and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 147.

[14] Eastop continues; "Common sites for concealment include near doorways, window openings, chimneys and in voids" and that this provided "protection by disabling or diverting malevolent forces which might enter via doors, windows and chimneys." Eastop, 'The Conservation of Garments Concealed within Buildings', p. 147.

[15] NHLE: *Days Farmhouse, Days Lane,* list number 1197270. Intriguingly, Richard Stonley notes on 25 July 1581 that he visited his neighbour Thomas Salmon, who was making his will. Since this farmhouse was also known as Salmon's farm, it is likely that this was the house Stonley visited on that day.

[16] NHLE: *Days Farmhouse, Days Lane*: the entry identifies the text as the book of James, chapter 4, verses 7-17, but does not give a full transcription. A partial image of the inscription is available in Kurton, *Doddinghurst: A Place in the Country*, pp. 63-4. The image shows phrases which identify the passage as being taken from the Tyndale bible: *"Submit youre selves to god and resist the devyll and he will flye from you. Drawe nye to god and he will drawe nye to you. Clense youre hondes*

The position of the decoration, on the chimney breast, echoes the findings at Pear Tree Cottage, of ritual objects positioned in potentially vulnerable positions for protection. As Tara Hamling argues, "[i]t is only a short step from casually etching a ritual mark...to the more formal inscribing of mottos".[17] Hamling describes this activity as "a mainstay of Protestant religion" and not limited to a particular social class.[18]

Pear Tree Cottage and Days Farm are just two examples of a number of local listed buildings that must have been familiar to Stonley and probably visited or passed by him on a regular basis. The presence of hidden symbolic objects and decorative biblical texts demonstrates the rich material culture present in the village in the early modern period. Furthermore, the presence of a written decoration implies that this was a literate family and community. Many of the domestic buildings in the village appear to have undergone significant architectural changes, growing and shrinking in both size and significance, and building names have migrated from one location to another. This seems to suggest a village community that was adaptable and responsive to changes in social status and cultural identity. Stonley reflected this in his choice of homes in Doddinghurst too, and a discussion of the environment of his two manor houses and his quotidian activities will form the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Doddinghurst Hall and Kensingtons Farmhouse

> This morning after p[ra]yer I rode to Estham [East Ham] to Dyner
> & from thence to Duddingherst in a great rayninge
> Day to bedd wth thanks to god at night[19]

Evidence of the physical environment of the two manor houses in Doddinghurst is essential for considering Richard Stonley's lived experience of his properties there. A number of records were made at the time when Richard and Anne first acquired Kensingtons, which provide evidence of the size and contents of the farmhouse. These

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ye synners and pourdge youre hertes ye waverynge mynded. Suffre affliccios: sorowe ye and wepe. Let youre laughter be turned to mornynge and youre ioye to hevynes. Cast doune youre selves before the lorde and he shall lift you vp. Backbyte not one another brethren. He that backbyteh hys brother and he that iudgeth his brother backbyteth the lawe and iudgeth the lawe. But and yf thou iudge the lawe thou art not an observer of ye lawe: but a iudge. Ther is one lawe gever which is able to save and to distroye. What art thou that iudgest another man? Go to now ye that saye: to daye and to morow let vs go into soche a citie and continue there a yeare and bye and sell and wynne: and yet can not tell what shall happen to morowe. For what thynge is youre lyfe? It is even a vapoure that apereth for a lytell tyme and the vanyssheth awaye: For that ye ought to saye: yf the lorde will and yf we live let vs do this or that. But nowe ye reioyce in youre bostinges. All soche reioysynge is evyll.

[17] Hamling explains further; "marks and objects were positioned to protect those liminal areas of the building that were considered most vulnerable to assault from outside". Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household, p.* 270-271.

[18] Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household, p.* 269-270.

[19] Vol 1: 25r, Saturday 14 October 1581.

include a brief inventory and a description of the buildings and adjoining lands.[20] The documents reveal a property that was very different from their London town house. The inventory for Kensingtons is almost entirely concerned with farming and food production, rather than the quality or status of the buildings and their contents. The inventory starts with a listing of cereal crops on the farm; wheat or rye, barley and oats, which were valued at over 60 shillings. The document then goes on to list a number of farm animals, and equipment including two carts and two ploughs. The document then outlines the contents of the farmhouse. Only three rooms are listed; a milk house, a kitchen and a great chamber. The great chamber contained only a long table, a pair of trestles (legs to support a table top) and two forms (long benches), which were valued at 4 shillings. This is much less than the kitchen furniture which was valued at 10 shillings and the milk-house which was valued at 8 shillings. The house may have had additional rooms which were not included on the inventory, such as a parlour, upper chamber or buttery. If these rooms were empty at the time the inventory was taken they may have been omitted from the list, which focused on moveable goods rather than features of the rooms themselves.

Kensingtons was clearly a different type of residence from Stonley's London home; in the Aldersgate Street house, the private, elite rooms contained the most valuable furniture and objects, while the kitchen contained less valuable items. This gives a clear indication of the priorities associated with each property at the moment that their inventories were taken. The inventory taken of the Aldersgate Street towards the end of Stonley's life shows a greater focus on luxury objects, elite socialising and professional work. Meanwhile, the inventory taken at Kensingtons, towards the beginning of Stonley's adulthood and marriage, shows a greater focus on food production and farming. Of course, the two inventories are different types of documents, which must also be considered; the Aldersgate Street inventory was written as an account of items which were to be sold in order to clear Stonley's debts, so it was in his interests to leave valuable objects there to recoup the most money. The Kensingtons inventory, was most likely drawn up after the former residents had removed all their personal belongings, so it reflects the property as it was when Richard and Anne took up residency, rather than after they had inhabited it. Furthermore, the two documents pertaining to Kensingtons were written in 1556, when Richard and Anne, both in their early thirties, were just starting their family life together; in contrast, the inventory of Aldersgate Street from the late 1590s shows the results of Stonley's career and possibly

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[20] Essex: D/DFa T29, including an inventory, and D/DFa M15, an unnumbered page within a small bundle of records. Both documents were written in 1556.

investments he had made in the house over the course of his ownership, such as extensions or renovations.

The archival records suggest that when Richard and Anne acquired the farmhouse in 1556, Kensingtons was a modest and simple dwelling. A description of the property survives in Essex archives, which appears to be a page of rough notes, perhaps made during a survey or compiled during the preparation of a more formal document. The opening line shows evidence of corrections; Stonley's name had been corrected from what looks like 'Stondley' to 'Stonley' and his title 'gent' was inserted above the line. The document starts by describing the property itself as both a mansion and a farmhouse;

> Richard Stonley [gent] holdithe the ma[n]cyon & farme place being 45 fete long 14 fett wyde 15 storye tyled [21]

Described as 45 feet long by 14 feet wide, this long, narrow farmhouse was probably just one room deep, comprising the great chamber and perhaps some separate, private or functional spaces at one or both ends. The document continues by listing two external buildings located adjacent to the main building; a kitchen, described as 30 feet long and 14 feet wide, and a bakehouse, listed as 36 feet by 15 feet. All three of these structures are described as having tiled roofs and as "standing w[it]hin a mote". Beyond the moat, the document lists a large barn (63 by 21 feet), a stable and a shed, along with orchards, gardens and yards, and 131 acres of farmland.

A potentially useful comparison is found in Bayleaf, a timber-framed Wealden hall-house dating from the fifteenth century, which has been rebuilt at the Weald and Downland Living Museum in Sussex, which is shown in the illustration below. Although common in Sussex and Kent, this style of house is also found in other areas of England.[22] On entering Bayleaf, a visitor finds themselves in a passage way, which on one side opens into a large hall open to the roof and on the other side two service rooms. Matthew Johnson has a vivid description of the interior;

> [H]ow spartan and, to our eyes, physically uncomfortable the interior of Bayleaf is. There is very little furniture;...there are few fixtures and fittings, few moveable items. The open and lofty hall is visually arresting but draughty and cold; the smoke gets everywhere[23]

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[21] D/DFa M15, unnumbered page. The reference to "15 storye" is likely a description of the number of upright timber posts used in the construction of the building. The OED defines the term 'storey post' as "a timber post supporting an upper floor", which may also indicate that Kensingtons did in fact have upper rooms, despite none being listed in the inventory.

[22] Matthew Johnson observes that "it is found elsewhere, as far afield as Stratford-on-Avon, Oxford and Suffolk": Matthew Johnson, *English Houses 1300-1800; Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Pearson Education, 2010), p. 66.

[23] Johnson, *English Houses,* p. 68.
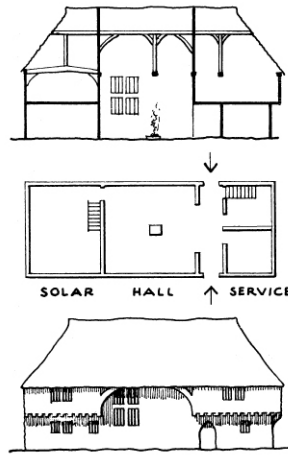
Fig 2.1: Illustration of a Wealden house, similar to the layout of *Bayleaf* at the Weald and Downland Living Museum.[24]

By reading the floorplan of Bayleaf in conjunction with the inventory of Kensingtons, it is possible to consider these properties not as sparsely furnished homes, but as dwellings with a different focus or function for their inhabitants. The purpose of properties like these was not leisure, but farming and food production; there would have been little need for lavishly furnished interiors if the inhabitants spent most of their time outside, at work around their property.

In the inventory of Kensingtons, there is a contrast between the level of detail and value associated with the farm crops, animals and equipment, and the living area of the house itself, highlighting the importance of farming; the contents of the hall was valued at just 4 shillings, while the kitchen and milk-house equipment was valued at 18 shillings. Stonley may have experienced aspirations of becoming a part of the landed gentry classes, and the convenience of an estate which came with the added bonus of manorial status may have been a motivating factor. However, the details of farming opportunities outlined by the archival documents may indicate that access to food sources was equally important. Joan Thirsk refers to famine years taking place in 1550 and 1556, in addition to an earlier famine of 1527 which Richard Stonley may have remembered experiencing as a boy of seven. Thirsk notes that in 1527 Henry VIII's government was impelled "to search out grain supplies all over the kingdom".[25] Had Stonley been fearful of facing grain shortages again, his farm at Kensingtons was well set-up for the production of his own supplies of grain, and the inventory specifically lists wheat, rye, barley and oats and ploughing equipment.

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[24] Dr Danae Tankard, 'Bayleaf Wealden Hall House', <http://www.wealddown.co.uk/explore/buildings/further-reading/general-information-bayleaf-wealden-house/?building=251> [accessed 7 May 2017].
[25] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Continuum Books, 2007), p. 34.

Alongside fear of famine, Stonley may have been motivated by a fear of plague or illness; his diary mentions anxieties about plague in London on several occasions.[26] Margaret Pelling's research into seventeenth century divided households suggests that "vigilant seasonal and 'semi-detatched' patterns of living by middling elites" was a solution to the risk of plague and illness in urban areas.[27] Doddinghurst was a safe distance from the capital city and the farming opportunities in Essex could also provide his family with a source of natural medicines and healthful foods.[28] Kensingtons appears to have been a working farm, complete with the necessary equipment for food production on site, which was perhaps a more convenient option than purchasing land and building a farmhouse from scratch. The risk of disease and food shortages in the city and the opportunity to acquire a means of self-sufficient food production may have motivated Stonley to pursue the purchase of Kensingtons in the spring of 1556.

The Kensingtons inventory includes information about the types of farming and food production that were taking place on this site. The farmhouse came with a number of animals already in situ, including seven cows and a bull, worth £17. A herd of this size appears to have been typical for a household engaged in dairy farming. Jane Whittle's research into the sizes of dairy herds of the period found that "even the larger herds rarely contained more than ten cows. Herds of this size could be managed by one woman, as long as she was not overburdened with other types of work."[29] Dairy farming and cheese production had clearly been taking place on the site; not only was there a dedicated space for dealing with fresh milk (the milk-house), but the kitchen also contained a cheese press. According to Joan Thirsk, dairy farming was a local speciality in Essex, so this is perhaps typical for farms in this area.[30] Other animals on the farm included "a Sowe and fower [4] yonge pyggs" and six ewes, which may have been sources of either fresh or preserved meat. The kitchen and milk-house also contained "a tubb for meale or malte" and a "malt querne" for brewing. Kensingtons appears to have been a good opportunity for Richard and Anne Stonley at the start of their marriage; Alexandra Shepard and Judith Spicksley observe that from 1550 onwards, "spectacular increases in

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[26] See for example Sunday 28 October 1582 (vol 1: 83r), when Stonley remained at home with friends, family and servants "by cause of the Danger of the plague".

[27] Pelling, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century', pp. 154-75 (p. 156).

[28] Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England,* p. 2: Thirsk points out that "at no time before the late nineteenth century should we separate food from medicine, for throughout all ranks of society they were regarded as one and the same."

[29] Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: Evidence of women's work from probate documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 15* (2005), 51-74 (pp. 70-1).

[30] Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England,* p. 37: "...in Essex...dairying was a speciality. Essex looks across to the Netherlands where dairying was a markedly expanding branch of commerce."

yeoman worth...outstripped inflation by a factor of 10."[31] Combined with fear of food shortages and disease in the city of London and a desire to be close to Stonley's patrons, the Petre family at nearby Ingatestone Hall, Kensingtons was clearly a sound investment.

Unfortunately, significantly fewer records appear to survive for Doddinghurst Hall, Stonley's second acquisition in the village, than for Kensingtons. In order to clear Stonley's debts Doddinghurst Hall was sold off in 1599 to the Glascock family, a local family whose name occasionally appears in Stonley's diary. Essex archives hold documents relating to this family, but none which specifically place them as inhabiting Doddinghurst Hall; a will belonging to Thomas Glascock dated 1617 describes him as being of West Hanningfield, a village around 10 miles west of Doddinghurst.[32] A further explanation for the lack of records and the subsequent re-use of the name 'Doddinghurst Hall' for other properties, is that the manor house was viewed as a business investment, rather than as a purely domestic dwelling, for both the Stonley and Glascock families.

A Sense of Home

Although it is certainly likely that during the time of the first and second volumes of the diary, Doddinghurst Hall was Richard and Anne's main home, the impression given by the records is that Kensingtons retained the status of being a family home. In the midst of Stonley's financial troubles, it was Kensingtons, not Doddinghurst Hall, that was kept for Richard's heir Harry Dawtrey, the son of his eldest daughter Dorothy. Indeed, Dorothy may already have been living there; although the Dawtrey family had estates in Sussex, it is likely that after Dorothy was widowed in 1589, she resided in Doddinghurst. An entry in the second volume of the diary records a large purchase of fish made at Stourbridge fair; the purchase includes "fishe for my frendes" and includes a quantity that was allocated "for Dorathe", who was presumably residing close to Richard Stonley's home in Doddinghurst.[33] Furthermore, a document held by Oxford archives confirms that Dorothy Dawtrey leased Kensingtons officially from 1599.[34] Given Richard Stonley's advanced years and his imprisonment in the Fleet for debt at this time, it seems likely that this lease represents the family's efforts to secure the property for future generations. During Anne's widowhood she also returned to Kensingtons.[35] It was perhaps this property, rather than Doddinghurst Hall, which evoked the emotions of domestic and familial comfort.

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[31] Alexandra Shepard and Hudith Spicksley, 'Worth, age and social status in early modern England', *Economic History Review*, 64:2 (2011), 493-530 (p. 493).
[32] Essex: D/ABW 17/213.
[33] Vol 2: 26v.
[34] Oxford Archives: E4/1/D10/9 - Lease of 21 years for "the Manor and farm of Kenzington, Duddinghurst, Essex" dated 19 January 1598/9.
[35] HoP: STONELEY, Richard (c.1520-1600).

Aside from the familial connection, it also seems that Richard Stonley used one of his homes in Doddinghurst as his 'official' residence; a group of certificates in the National Archives show that in the 1580s and 1590s Stonley was liable for taxation in Essex, not London.[36] This may have been for financial, or for personal reasons. Another explanation is that it was related to Stonley's responsibilities as a local landowner in holding manorial courts, as shown in the following diary entries for Thursday 18 and Friday 19 October 1593;

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I kept cort
> at Duddinghirst Hall wth thankes to god
> at night. Strangers at Supper Mr Heigham [37]

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I had a cort
> kept at my howse at Kenzingtons & had
> wth me at Dyner Mr Heighm, Thomas
> ?Masdon & George Hockley and at supper
> Mr Heighm & Hockley & so ended that Day
> wth thankes to god at night [38]

These two entries highlight Stonley's administrative duties in Doddinghurst, but they also demonstrate the multi-faceted nature of Stonley's relationship with these buildings. Firstly, Kensingtons is referred to as 'my house', suggesting a personal connection. Furthermore, on the day of the Kensingtons manorial court, Stonley appears to have hosted a number of his neighbours to dinner and supper, while on the day of the court at Doddinghurst Hall he does not appear to have hosted any meals.

Stonley's use of the passive verb "I had a court kept" suggests that he himself did not undertake this work at Kensingtons, whereas he was directly involved at the court at Doddinghurst Hall. However, fragments of manorial court rolls held by Essex archives do not entirely support this view, including Richard Stonley's name on documents pertaining to both locations in this period.[39] A portion of a court roll for Kensingtons from 1593 specifically notes Stonley's name and is oddly labelled just 'Dodynghurst' on one end. It is possible that in the 1580s and 1590s, when Stonley owned both properties, he was effectively managing them as one manor, since they were located so close to each other.

Stonley's ownership of two manor houses in the same parish is not unusual in this local area; the Petre family were originally based at Ingatestone Hall, but in 1573, following the death of Sir William Petre, his son, John Petre, purchased another manor

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[36] TNA: E115/343/92, E115/341/110, E115/336/17, E115/344/67, E115/341/99, E115/349/140, E115/357/66.

[37] Vol 2: 33v.

[38] Vol 2: 34r. See also Essex: D/DFa M14 - a portion of a court roll for Kensingtons in 1593 and D/DFa M13 from 1580-1583.

[39] Essex: D/DLa M79 (Doddinghurst Hall) and D/DFa M14 (Kensingtons).

house around 6 miles south-west of Ingatestone, while Sir William Petre's widow remained at Ingatestone Hall. The acquisition of a second, local manor house may have been considered a strategic move to securing elite status in the local area for future generations. F.G. Emmision particularly notes that "Ingatestone Hall served as the house for the widow or the heir-presumptive and was sometimes, especially at Christmas, the alternative residence of the head of the family."[40] Richard and Anne may have employed a similar arrangement in Doddinghurst.

Ingatestone Hall provides a useful comparison with Stonley's residences in Doddinghurst. Like Richard Stonley, Sir William Petre did not inherit land in Essex, but instead chose to purchase land there and make it his home, and the home of his descendants. Sir William Petre had worked for Thomas Cromwell from 1535, assisting with the dissolution of the monasteries. By 1539 he was in a position to buy the manor now called Ingatestone, which was previously owned by a nunnery. The old manor house on the site was described as "an old house scant meet for a farmer to dwell upon", which he proceeded to demolish and rebuild.[41] This may give a clue as to the condition of Kensingtons farmhouse in 1556. Furthermore, it is clear that Sir William Petre, as employer and patron, was in a position to advise the young Stonley on suitable property investments in the local area. Both men were likely to have had access to useful information and opportunities following the dissolution of the monasteries.

Ingatestone Hall is a large, brick manor house. Indeed, Emmison notes that "All the surviving Tudor courtyard houses in Essex, except one, were built of brick" and that in the case of Ingatestone, the bricks were made on the site, which was "the usual practice".[42] Emmison continues that Sir William Petre "probably used his position to obtain the services of a first-class ex-monastic architect, but the possibility of his being his own architect should not be dismissed".[43] Richard Stonley was certainly in a good position to benefit from Sir William's expertise in house building and renovating. In terms of the practical management of (or lived experience of) the residences of Kensingtons and Doddinghurst Hall, the Stonley family may have had a similar arrangement to that employed by the Petre family at their manor houses; although Ingatestone Hall was the more modest of the Petres' two homes, it was the preferred home for Sir William Petre's widow, just as Anne Stonley made Kensingtons her home during her widowhood. While the Petre family were able to firmly establish their roots in and around Ingatestone and Thorndon Hall for many generations, Richard Stonley

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[40] F.G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London: Phillimore, 1970), p. 39.
[41] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary* p. 27, quoting archival document in Essex Archives: D/DP M186.
[42] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary* p. 27.
[43] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary* p. 27.

was not so fortunate and Kensingtons was the only property he was able to pass on to his heir Harry.

Building Works

Although Richard Stonley's diaries are not strictly household accounts, they do include occasional references to payments made in connection with building works, which can reveal details of his homes. The first volume of the diary (from 1581-1582) seemingly contains more references to building works than the second volume, a decade later. For instance, on 13 July 1581, John Williamson was paid 60 shillings "for the new Clocke at Duddingherst".[44] John Williamson was also paid to maintain the 'turnbroche' (mechanical spit-roasting equipment) at Stonley's Aldersgate Street house. It seems likely therefore that the clock at Doddinghurst Hall was a large scale clock rather than a small personal time-piece, and that Williamson was a highly skilled craftsman entrusted with the installation of complex luxury items. On Wednesday 6 June 1582 Stonley recorded being occupied "wth the plomber that mended my cesterne".[45] The following day, he paid 29s 9d "To Walter Ryvers plomber" for "Plom[er]s work abowt the Cestern... at Duddingherst".[46] The subject of domestic plumbing may be another where Stonley was able to benefit from local expertise based at Ingatestone; Sir William Petre's house had sophisticated plumbing, including a piped water supply, brick gutters and drains.[47]

A brick layer named Major was employed on two occasions; in January 1582 he was paid 7d for "leying 4 pavinge tyles" and in December of the same year he was paid 2s 4d for "mending the halpas in my p[ar]ler".[48] The 'halpas' was probably a halpace or half-pace, an architectural feature comprising a raised step or platform. A feature of this type is commonly found in the hall, often referred to as a dais, where the high table would be located for meals which involved the whole household.[49] However, Stonley describes the 'halpas' as being located in the parlour. It may be that Stonley's parlour contained a wide step leading to a flight of stairs or an inglenook fireplace that incorporated a raised platform. The OED gives a third possibility, that the word halpace is sometimes associated with a raised platform upon which sits an altar, raising the possibility that Stonley had a dedicated space for private worship in his home.[50] Whatever form the

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[44] Vol 1: 8v.
[45] Vol 1: 61v.
[46] Vol 1: 61v.
[47] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, pp. 36-9.
[48] Vol 1: 42r and Vol 1: 97v.
[49] Matthew Johnson, *English Houses 1300-1800; Vernacular Architecture, Social Life,* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), pp. 68 and 79.
[50] The OED's definition includes a step or platform, a "platform at the top of steps, on which an altar stands" and a "broad step or small landing between two half flights in a staircase".

feature took, Stonley's investment in repairing it reflects the general trend for parlours increasing in importance in the mid to late-sixteenth century. Matthew Johnson observes that "it was not so much that the hall was less important, as that the adjoining parlour became less subordinate to it and more a focus of household activity"; he adds that "[m]ore parlours were heated, either with their own chimney-stack, or with a fireplace on the other side of the hall stack."[51] Stonley's payment for repair work in the parlour is an investment in a more private space within his home. This perhaps signals an interest in seclusion and comfort, two experiences which may not have been found in open hall spaces.

As mentioned previously, the diary does not specify which home Stonley inhabited in Doddinghurst, however it seems likely that the building works recorded by Stonley in the early 1580s took place at Doddinghurst Hall, following Stonley's purchase of the property in 1579. The property may have required renovating and the luxury items chosen by Stonley provided an opportunity for him to express his increasing elite status. The second volume of the diary, written more than ten years later, contains virtually no references to building works in Doddinghurst, perhaps suggesting that the renovations of Doddinghurst Hall were complete by this stage. One exception in March 1594 is a note that a large number of fish had been removed from the moat and placed in some ponds "untill the motte be mendyd & filled ageyne".[52] The event was recorded in some detail in the diary, and marked with a manicule to highlight the entry, indicating its importance. But the actual work seems to have been managed by Stonley and his household and no additional payments to tradesmen or workers were recorded. This entry may represent a different type of building work; a sort of ongoing maintenance, rather than large scale rebuilding. Stonley's thriftiness here may have been necessary following his increasing financial difficulties during the 1590s.

Farming in Doddinghurst

> This Day I occupied my self abrode in the feldes
> w[i]th my s[e]rvants gathering frute &c and so spent
> that Day w[i]th thankes to god at night
>
> This Day I occupied my self abrode in the felds
> w[i]th my frute gatherars w[i]th thankes to god a night
>
> This Day After morning p[ra]yer I kept home wth my
> workmen in the orchard wth thankes to god [53]

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[51] Johnson, *English Houses*, pp. 98-9.
[52] Vol 2: 69v.
[53] Vol 1: 19r, Vol 2: 26r and Vol 1: 74r.

Richard Stonley appears to have retained an interest in farming activities throughout his life and in the 1580s and 90s, his diary entries include several references to this activity. As the examples above show, Stonley appears to have been directly involved in agricultural tasks, spending many hours in the fields and orchards himself.[54] It is not clear from the diary whether this farming took place at Kensingtons or Doddinghurst Hall, since by this time he owned both properties. The two properties were within a short walk of each other, so he may not have experienced the two sites as entirely separate, instead managing them as a single estate. Stonley's differentiation between 'servants', 'workmen' and 'fruit gatherers' reflects his position as an employer of both household servants and seasonal labourers. But the examples above simultaneously undermine any sense of social superiority, by showing his direct involvement with working on the land; the implication from Stonley's descriptions is that he worked alongside the agricultural labourers, and was one of the team.

Stonley appears to have had a particular interest in recording activities connected to fruit farming. Between July and October 1582 he specified working in his orchard on ten occasions. In addition, on Monday 27 August 1582, Stonley visited another orchard, while making his way from Doddinghurst to London;

> This morning after p[ra]yer I rode to Mr
> [*blank*] Stones to see his orchard &
> so from thenc to London"[55]

The diary contains other occasional references to fruit harvesting and orchards, but late summer and autumn 1582 appears to be a particularly intense period of fruit-farming. One explanation for this could be that in the early 1580s, these orchards were only recently added to Stonley's farm and estate, following his purchase of Doddinghurst Hall in 1580, so they may have required additional attention from him. The visit to Mr Stone's orchard may have been to gather information that would benefit his own farming. Evidence of Stonley's interest in garden management can also be found in his library, which contained a copy of Thomas Hill's *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, published in 1594 and William Turner's herbal.[56] The acquisition of these books and the visit to Mr Stone give a strong sense of Stonley's practical and intellectual interest in the subject.

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[54] Stonley describes participating in agricultural activities on around 37 days in volume 1 and 65 days in volume 2.

[55] Vol 1: 72r; Richard Stonley does not appear to be well-acquainted with the owner of the orchard, leaving a blank space where his first name would go, perhaps indicating that he did not know the name or had forgotten it.

[56] Leslie Hotsun, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 2 (1949), 49-61.

Although not referenced in the 1556 Kensingtons inventory, the growing of hops was occasionally mentioned in the diaries. For instance, Stonley recorded that he spent Thursday 30 August 1593 "abrode in the felds & wth my hoppes gatherers".[57] Richard and Anne's foray into hop growing may have been inspired by their neighbours, the Petre family. F.G. Emmison's research into Ingatestone Hall, indicates that there was a 'hopgarden' in the grounds from 1548, along with two hopkilns by the end of the sixteenth century.[58] At this time the Petre family employed a man named Cornelis to brew batches of beer at Ingatestone Hall on a fortnightly basis, so it is clear that there was local expertise and equipment available to the Stonley household.

An entry in the first volume of the diary also sheds some light on the way in which farming responsibilities were managed by Richard and Anne; on Thursday 14 September 1581, he recorded the in some detail the quantities and sums of "whete, hops & wolle solde":

R[*eceive*]d of my wyf for iii quartrs of whete at 3s 4d the qrtr	£4
R[eceive]d of hir for 67 lb of hoppes of the Last yere at 4d the lb	22s 4d
R[eceive]d of hir for 63 pownd of wolle at 8d ob the lb [59]	44s 7d ob

It seems that Anne has been responsible for the sale of wheat, hops and wool produced on the Essex farm. This example concurs with Jane Whittle's observation, "That the housewife should generate her own income...by selling products as well as saving money by producing things at home is a point repeated [in advice manuals]".[60] Anne Stonley's activities here appear to have been significant enough to warrant recording in Richard's diary and it is strongly implied by this entry that Anne was accustomed to handling large sums of money. The arrangement between Richard and Anne suggested by this entry is reminiscent of a case researched by Margaret Pelling, dating from the early seventeenth century, where she found that the wife focused on managing the family farm, while her husband attended to his professional work in London.[61]

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[57] Vol 2: 24r.

[58] F.G. Emmison, *Tudor Food and Pastimes: Life at Ingatestone Hall* (London: Earnest Benn Ltd, 1964), pp. 56-7.

[59] Vol 1: 19v - sums of money and numerals converted to aid legibility, although curiously Stonley's sums do not appear to add up.

[60] Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: evidence of women's work from probate inventories', *Transactions of the RHS* 15 (2005), p. 64.

[61] Pelling, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century', pp. 154-75. Pelling describes "surgeon James Winter, whose wife was obviously also active in his business. Together they maintained a dwelling not only in Fleet Street, but also at West Green, in Tottenham parish. Winter's wife appears to have been more active in the 'country' location." However Pelling also observes some evidence that sick people were treated in both locations, suggesting that the couple shared their professional and agricultural work (p. 159).

This entry also gives a sense of the scale of Anne Stonley's farming activities, although the quantity of wool would have depended on a wide array of environmental and biological factors, including the breed of sheep and weather conditions. Christopher Dyer's analysis of wool production in the early sixteenth century uses an average of 1.75lb per fleece, in order to calculate the size of a flock from the quantity of wool produced.[62] Working on this basis, Anne Stonley's 63lbs of wool may have been produced from a flock of around 36 sheep. Dyer's research into the wool trade in the early sixteenth century found that the majority of wool was purchased from small-scale producers, who had flocks of between 16 and 144 sheep.[63] This may indicate that the Stonley's farming practices were at the modest end of the commercial spectrum.

It seems that farming activities at Kensingtons and Doddinghurst Hall were commercial, though not on a particularly grand scale, and Anne Stonley was taking a lead role in the management of this work.[64] The entry on Thursday 14 September 1581 describing Anne's farming business is the only one of its kind in the three surviving volumes of the diary, so it may be that this sort of commercial activity was atypical for the household. However, an alternative view is that this work was typical, but usually recorded elsewhere, and it is Richard's recording of it in his personal account book that is unusual. Richard Britnell's research into employment in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries identifies medieval households combining different forms of agricultural, craft, trade and professional employment, rather than specialising in one particular career, despite the frequency of surnames that denote specific trades. Britnell argues that "Farming, in particular, brought both cultural and practical advantages, and even wealthy craftsmen, tradesmen, and village professionals acquired and retained what land they could."[65] Britnell gives the example of "John the clerk of Oldbury... But this was only part-time employment, since he was also a prosperous farmer...[and] someone in his household brewed commercially as well."[66] Jane Whittle's research into women's dairy farming in the early modern period has similar findings; "Dairying, as would be expected, was more common in households involved in commercial agriculture, but surprisingly common in craft and waged households."[67] It seems that Richard and Anne Stonley were engaging in a similar sort of diversification, by pursuing a combination of

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[62] Christopher Dyer, *A Country Merchant, 1495-1520: Trading and Farming at the End of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 155-6.

[63] Dyer, *A Country Merchant,* p. 156.

[64] Vol 1: 19v.

[65] Richard Britnell, 'Specialization of Work in England, 1100-1300', *Economic History Review,* 54: 1 (2001), 1-16 (p. 12).

[66] Britnell, , 'Specialization of Work in England, 1100-1300', p. 12.

[67] Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: evidence of women's work from probate inventories', p. 68.

professional waged work (in the form of Richard's position at Westminster), agriculture for their own food production needs, and commercial farming activities.

Journeys in and Around Doddinghurst

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I rode to my Lady
> Petre at Ingatestone to Dyner from thence to
> Mr Clyffe & so home"[68]

> "This Day I receved the Communion at my
> p[ar]ishe Church hadd wth me at Dyner
> Mother Abell & hir sonne gartham et uxor
> went the After none to Sermon [69]

From his homes in Doddinghurst, Richard Stonley made occasional visits to nearby locations, for religious worship, socialising and occasionally to deal with administrative or business matters. Locations visited by Stonley include the homes of his neighbours and his parish church. All Saint's Doddinghurst remains at the heart of the village and is itself a valuable source of material evidence for the life Richard Stonley experienced in the sixteenth century. Parts of the church are still as they would have been during Stonley's lifetime; the stone doorway dates from 1220 and the large timber porch has been dated to around 1530.[70] Two of the three bells date from Stonley's lifetime and they were both made by London-based bell-makers, working at the Whitechapel Bell Foundry.[71] The oldest bell dates from around 1530 and was made by Thomas Lawrence. The second bell was cast in 1578 by Robert Mot; the bell is inscribed with the words "Robert Mot made me".[72] Robert Mot was the Master Founder of the Whitechapel foundry from 1574. It is entirely possible that Stonley was directly involved in the procurement of this bell, since by 1578 he was an increasingly elite figure in the village; just two years later he would be the official patron of the church and owner of the two manor houses in the village. Additionally, around this time Robert Mot pursued Lord Burghley (Stonley's superior in the exchequer) for assistance in getting debts of £10 10s and £5 5s paid to him.[73] It seems plausible therefore that Stonley and Mot were known

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[68] Vol 1: 8r.
[69] Vol 2: 74r.
[70] Peter Kurton, *Doddinghurst: A Place in the Country* (PBK Publishing, 1999), pp. 42-5.
[71] The Whitechapel Bell Foundry continues to this day and is thought to be Britain's oldest manufacturing company. In spring 2017 they finally had to relocate from the Whitechapel area and production now takes place at other sites. Collections of objects and archives are held by the Museum of London and London Metropolitan Archives.
[72] Cecil Deedes and H.B. Walters, *The Church Bells of Essex: their founders, inscriptions, traditions, and uses* (Aberdeen: W. Jolly and Sons, 1909), p. 70 and pp. 235-6.
[73] William Page (ed), *A History of the County of Middlesex: Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, (1911), pp. 568, 591, 593.

to each other, through both Stonley's professional work and his home life in Doddinghurst, thus demonstrating an overlap between the spheres of home and work, urban and rural and between professional and artisan classes.

A silver communion cup and lid dating from the late sixteenth century is also held in the church's collection. It is likely that this cup was used by Richard Stonley and his family when they took communion in the church, as he recorded on 31 March 1594; "This Day I receved Communion at my p[ar]ishe Church".[74] The communion cup was made in London in 1562 and is described as "a pretty Elizabethan cup, with a deep straight-sided bowl inclining outwards towards the rim".[75] The cup and lid are mostly plain, engraved with a simple decorative band of scrolls and leaf-shapes around the middle. The cup is also inscribed with the name of the parish, though this was added in the early nineteenth century.[76]

Image 2.2: The silver communion cup from All Saints parish church Doddinghurst.

There are several comparable cups in the collection of the Victoria & Albert museum. The catalogue entries for these objects suggest that these cups are particularly associated with the post-Reformation period;

> To consolidate this break with traditional religion, the church authorities launched a programme from about 1560 to replace the 'old massing chalices' with 'decent' communion cups of prescribed design.[77]

It seems that although the work to replace chalices with communion cups began in the early 1560s, it took many years to complete; some of the regional cups from further afield

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[74] Vol 2: 74r.

[75] G.M. Benton and W.J. Pressey, *The Church Plate of the County of Essex* (Colchester: Benham & Co. Ltd., 1926), p. 62.

[76] Benton and Pressey describe this later inscription somewhat bitterly as a "piece of vandalism". Benton and Pressey, *The Church Plate of the County of Essex,* p. 62.

[77] Victoria & Albert Museum catalogue entry for object M.44&A-1923. Other similar cups with patens include: 4636-1858 and 1876-1898.

were not made until the mid-1570s. The cup in Doddinghurst however, appears to be one of the earlier examples, made in 1562. Despite the church's modest scale and rural environment, it seems likely that its relative proximity to London and the presence of local professional men who spent time in London and Westminster, ensured that a new-style communion cup was acquired sooner, rather than later. Evidence in the diary suggests that Stonley was a keen adherent of the new religion, and loyal to Queen Elizabeth, so he may have been influential in embracing new forms of worship.
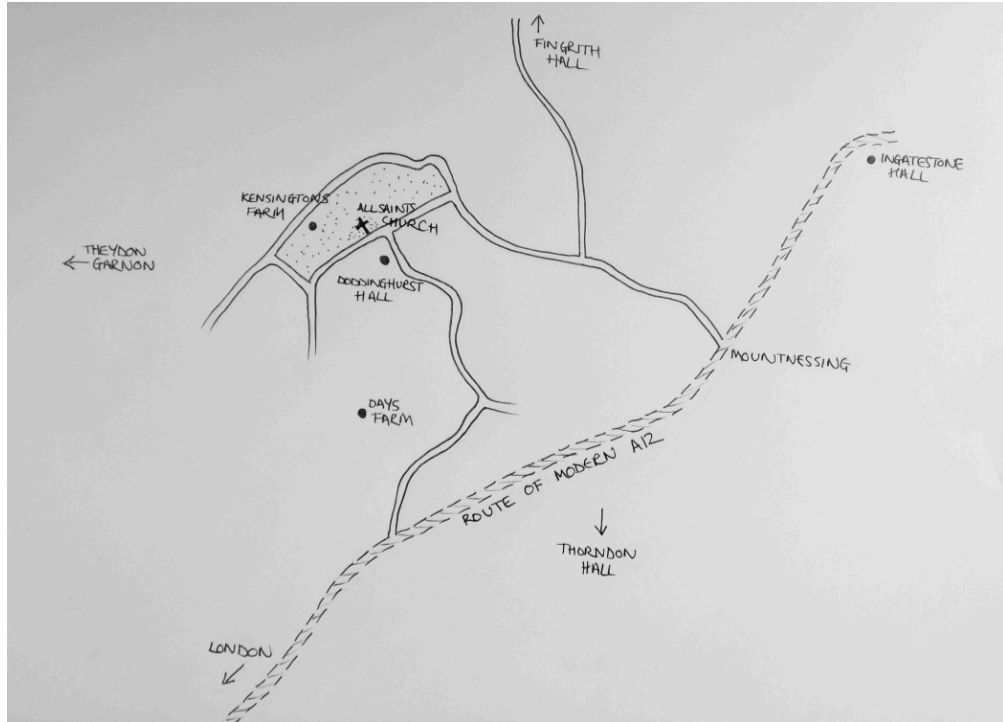
Map 2.3: Showing Doddinghurst and the surrounding area. Drawing author's own, not to scale.

Location	Frequency Volume 1	Frequency Volume 2	Distance from Doddinghurst (direction)
Ingatestone	5	2	5 miles (E)
Thornden Hall (Sir John Petre)	2	4	6 miles (S)
Theydon Gernon (Sir John Branche)	2	0	10 miles (W)
John Cliffe of Ingatestone (d.1612)	1	0	5 miles (E)
Richard Glastock ("his grounds")	1	0	Unknown
Mr Weston's (Jerome Weston of Skreens Roxwell, 1550-1603)	1	0	10 miles (NE)
Thomas Fyssher	1	0	Unknown
Thomas Salmon (d.1581)	1	0	1 mile
Fingreth Hall	0	1	3.5 miles (N)
Table 2.4: Showing homes visited by Richard Stonley in the Doddinghurst area during the first two volumes of the diary.			

A number of Richard Stonley's Essex neighbours are mentioned in the first and second volumes of the diary. As shown in the table above, Stonley's visits within the

local area appear to have taken place within a 10 mile radius of his home in Doddinghurst and generally the journeys and visits lasted between a few hours and a whole day. Stonley appears to have favoured travel on horseback for these journeys, as in this example from June 1593, when he journeyed a few miles north to another local manor house; "This Day after morninge p[ra]yer I rode to the cort at Fyngrith Hall came back to Dyner".[78] More local journeys do not specify the use of a horse, for instance;

> Spent that day in visitinge
> the sick - my neighbur Salman that made
> his will the same tyme as may appeare [79]

The will being referred to in this entry belonged to Thomas Salmon of Doddinghurst, who made a will in 1581, a copy of which is held at the Essex Record Office.[80] Thomas Salmon may have resided at the property now called Days farmhouse, but which was historically known as Salmons farmhouse. Days farmhouse is located to the south of the church, further out of the village than Stonley's home at Doddinghurst Hall, but very close by. The short distance and the lack of a reference to a horse may suggest that this location was considered walking distance for Stonley.

Home and Away

The first two chapters have so far considered the two domestic locations most frequently inhabited by Richard Stonley. The division of Stonley's time between these two domestic residences requires more in-depth analysis. Stonley made the journey between London and Doddinghurst frequently throughout the year. It was a journey that he completed on horseback, in around half a day. Analysing the locations where he slept each night across volumes one and two shows that the vast majority of nights were spent at one of his two homes. He generally seems to have spent slightly more time at his Aldersgate Street house than at his Doddinghurst home as shown in table 2.5 below.

The table also shows the nights spent in other locations; in 1581-1582, Stonley spent 20 nights in East Ham, a village now part of Greater London, but which was then a village on the route towards Essex, around 8 miles from Aldersgate Street and 20 miles from Doddinghurst. What the table above does not show, but which is evident from the diary entries, is that he spent time at both properties throughout the year; he did not divide his time between the two places into two or three long chunks, but sometimes made the journey multiple times in a month. For instance, in the month of July 1581, he began the month in Aldersgate Street, then spent the next day at Ham, before returning

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[78] Vol 2: 8r. Fingrith Hall was the Essex home of Sir Walter Mildmay, a senior Exchequer official.
[79] Vol 1: 10v.
[80] Essex: D/AEW 7/318: unfortunately the copy held at the Essex archives does not include Stonley's signature, or any reference to him witnessing the will in an official capacity.

to Aldersgate Street for a week; on Saturday 8 he returned to Ham, then continued to Doddinghurst, where he remained for four nights before returning to Aldersgate Street. He remained in London from the 13 to the 19 of the month, spent the 20 in Ham and the 21 back in London, before travelling to Doddinghurst where he stayed from the 22 to the 25 July. From the 26 of July to the end of the month Stonley remained in London.[81]

Sleeping Location	Vol 1	Vol 1 %	Vol 2	Vol 2 %
Aldersgate Street	385	68.3%	219	58.4%
Doddinghurst	143	25.3%	146	38.9%
East Ham / Ham	20	3.5%	0	-
Hertford	9	1.6%	0	-
Westminster	2	0.4%	2	0.5%
Kingsbury	2	0.4%	2	0.5%
Ingatestone	2	0.4%	0	-
Greenwich	1	0.2%	0	-
St Albans	0	-	4	1.1%
Bethnal Green	0	-	2	0.5%
TOTAL	564		375	

Table 2.5: Showing Stonley's sleeping locations in volumes 1 (June 1581 to December 1582) and 2 (May 1593 to May 1594).

The tables below show the sleeping locations used by Stonley on different days of the week. There was a slight tendency for Stonley to spend more Saturdays and Sundays in Essex than in London; however this is not to say that Stonley treated his Doddinghurst home as a 'weekend house', since he clearly spent a substantial number of weekdays there in both volumes one and two.

Sleeping Location	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
Aldersgate St. = 385	57	57	62	60	57	48	44
Doddinghurst = 143	19	16	14	15	17	30	32
Other = 36	5	7	4	5	7	3	5
TOTAL = 564	81	80	80	80	81	81	81

Table 2.7: Showing the number of nights spent in each location on each day of the week, across volume 1 (June 1581-December 1582)

Sleeping Location	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
Aldersgate St. = 219	32	35	37	35	32	24	24
Doddinghurst = 146	20	18	16	16	20	28	28
Other= 10	1	1	1	3	2	1	1
TOTAL = 375	53	54	54	54	54	53	53

Table 2.8: Showing the number of nights spent in each location on each day of the week, across volume 2 (May 1593-May 1594)

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[81] Vol 1: 6v to 11v.

The frequency of Stonley's travelling between his two homes appears to be in contrast to the style of gentry life described by Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, which characterises "...the country...as the natural sphere of gentry activity", with exceptions made for occasional, lengthy and costly visits to the capital city.[82] Stonley's arrangement of his time in this way is one of the features which makes it difficult to categorise his social status. The model used by Stonley instead appears to be what Margaret Pelling has termed a 'divided household'.[83] In Pelling's model a professional man and his wife would inhabit two homes simultaneously, one based in an urban centre, with opportunities for professional work and the other in a rural location with opportunities for agriculture. This appears to be an under-examined model of early modern daily life, but further study of Richard Stonley could be beneficial here.

While Stonley inhabited the same house in London from the 1550s to the 1590s, during the same period, his domestic life in Essex appears to have undergone a significant development around 1580 with the purchase of Doddinghurst Hall and the advowson of the parish church. This advancement was perhaps made possible by the development of his professional career at Westminster. Although the original acquisition of Kensingtons farmhouse may have been motivated by a desire to be close to the Petre family at Ingatestone and to express his loyalty to them, it also demonstrates a connection back to the generations of Warwickshire yeoman farmers that Stonley is thought to descend from. Stonley's later acquisition of Doddinghurst Hall demonstrates a shift in interest and perhaps in personal identity, as he took on a more high-status position within the parish. Despite this change, it is clear that food production in Doddinghurst was a main priority for Stonley throughout his adult life there; the number of references in the diaries to his direct participation in agricultural activities indicates the significance of these tasks to him. Stonley's lived experience of Essex has been particularly illuminated by allowing the evidence of the diary to speak for itself; focusing on the activities recorded by Stonley reveals the varied strands of his identity.

Considering the layout of Doddinghurst village has helped to reveal the social relationships within the parish; for instance, Kensingtons farmhouse's location on the northern edge of the village appears to have had a different significance to Doddinghurst Hall, located in the heart of the village close to the church. The church itself provides evidence of the potential for close relationships between regional villages and urban

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[82] Felicity Heal & Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 311. See also: Mark Merry & Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick 1620: Living in London and the Midlands* (Stratford-upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society, 2012).
[83] Pelling, 'Skirting the city? Disease, social change and divided households in the seventeenth century', pp. 154-75.

centres in the early modern period. Although Doddinghurst was (and remains) a small village, it was a location which experienced cultural influence from London, perhaps thanks to the frequent journeys of men like Stonley; the acquisition of church bells made by London craftsmen and the early adoption of a new style of communion cup are two examples of this influence.

Chapter 3: Westminster

The offices of Westminster are the next quotidian location to be considered. Although not a domestic residence, Richard Stonley's diary entries confirm that this location was very frequently visited by him and formed a significant part of his daily lived experience. Stonley acquired the position of Teller of the Receipt of the Exchequer in 1554, aged around 34. He held this position until the late 1590s, when his debts and imprisonment in the Fleet made it impossible for him to continue in the role. His work involved receiving large sums of money on behalf of the government and recording and storing these sums until the twice yearly accounting took place, at Easter and Michaelmas. Naturally, this work generated a range of paperwork and many of the documents and materials which Stonley would have engaged with in the course of his work have survived in the National Archives.

This chapter will consider Stonley's experience of his Westminster office and the physical environment of the buildings. Archival evidence accounting for the objects found in the Exchequer offices will reveal the types of material culture that Stonley engaged with on a daily basis. The ways that these objects, from paper and ink to counters and bags, were recorded and distributed provides a means of understanding the hierarchies and processes of the Receipt of the Exchequer and its workers. Meals shared between colleagues were one of the more ephemeral occurrences that were part of Stonley's everyday experiences in Westminster. Evidence of these communal meals helps to build a picture of the workings of this community of civil servants. This chapter will also consider Stonley's experience of the work as a Teller more broadly, since the diary indicates that he undertook professional work in a variety of locations, including the homes of other government officials and royal palaces. By analysing Stonley's experiences of his professional work in Westminster, this chapter seeks to explore Stonley's quotidian working practices and his social position within a specific group, the post-Reformation civil servants and government workers.

The Office of the Receipt of the Exchequer

> This morning after p[ra]yer I went to Westm'[inster]
> Accompted ther wth Mr [Robert] Peter for the remayne
> of myne Accompte kept home all the Afternone
> at my Books wth thankes to god at night [1]

The first and second volumes of the diary indicate that Richard Stonley made the journey to his office in Westminster on a regular basis; on 133 occasions in volume one

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[1] Vol 1: 37v - Wednesday 20 December 1581.

and on 46 occasions in volume two. He usually made the journey by boat. Presumably Stonley left his house in Aldersgate Street on foot, heading south through the city wall towards St Pauls; he may have taken the route around the western side of St Pauls and continued down towards Blackfriars and the wharves at the western edge of the city. Alternatively, he may have taken the route around the eastern edge of St Pauls, heading for the wharves between Queenhithe and Baynard's Castle. Once at the river he could pay for a boat to take him to Westminster; "for Bote hier ___ 8d" is a frequent entry in his diary on days when he went to Westminster.[2]
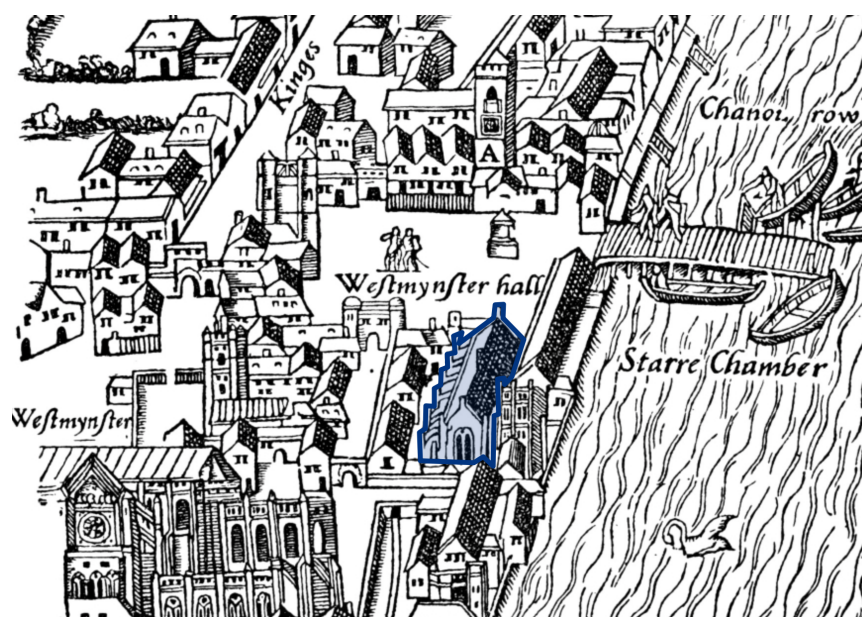
Image 3.1: Extract from the Agas map showing Westminster Hall (in blue) and surrounding streets, first printed around 1561.[3]

On arrival, Richard Stonley would have made his way to Westminster Hall. At this point the river Thames runs north-south (before turning eastwards towards the city of London, Dartford and Southend-on-Sea) and Westminster Hall runs parallel to the river, with entrances at the northern and southern ends. The hall was a huge space, more than 73 meters long and 20 meters wide and surrounded by medieval extensions and additions.[4] If Stonley entered the Hall from the door at the northern end he would have found himself located between the doors to the Court of the Exchequer and the Receipt of the Exchequer. Facing south into the hall, the Court of the Exchequer was located through a door in the north-western corner of the room. Stonley's office, the Office of the Receipt of the Exchequer, was located through the opposite door, in the north-eastern corner of the hall. Standing in the northern end of the hall and facing

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[2] Vol 2: 36r - Wednesday 31 October 1593.
[3] This version of the Agas map used by permission of *The Map of Early Modern London* project, dir. Janelle Jenstad. See: <mapoflondon.uvic.ca>
[4] For architectural details and history see:
http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/westminsterhall/

south, Stonley could have turned to his right for the Court of the Exchequer or to his left for the Receipt, or proceeded to the southern end of the hall for the legal courts of Chancery and the King's Bench.[5]

Arriving at his office Stonley would have had ample opportunity to observe or greet government workers in the related offices and courts around the hall, in addition to his colleagues in the Tellers' offices. J. F. Merritt's research into sixteenth century Westminster found evidence of a lively and interconnected community, with short-term workers moving frequently between crown, Church and private employment;

> Access to the houses of noblemen and to the Court itself would appear to have been remarkably open, partly because of the way in which they employed large numbers of people on a casual basis.[6]

In addition to the workers and official government business being undertaken, in the sixteenth century stall holders were permitted within the hall itself, "so that the great building hummed and pulsated with vigorous life from dawn to dusk."[7] Taking the door in the north-eastern corner of the hall would take Stonley into the Receipt, an extension to the main hall which faced the river Thames. It was this chamber, the diary tells us, that required repairs in November 1593; Stonley paid five shillings to "the Wharfman at Westm' for mending the gutter from my Chamba towardes the Tames".[8] These offices were the site of much, though not all, of the work undertaken by the Tellers and their colleagues. The proximity of these chambers to the river may also explain the presence of a small but perfectly formed doodle of a ship, found sketched in the margin of a 1557 Exchequer account book belonging to the Teller Nicholas Brigham.[9]

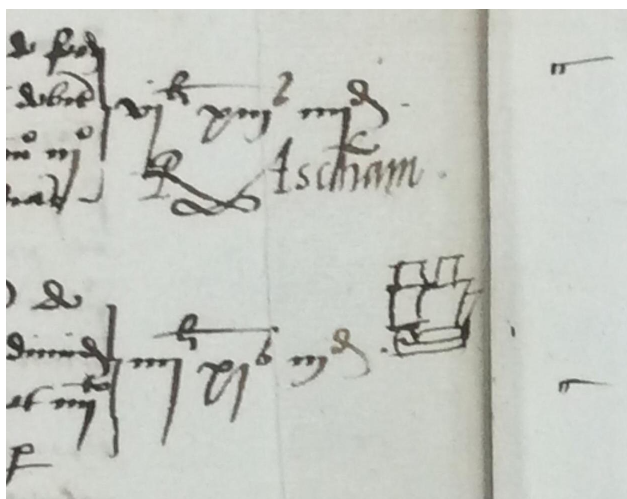*Image 3.2:* TNA: E405/508, with a doodle of a ship.

[5] Hilary St George Saunders, *Westminster Hall,* London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1951: reconstructed plan on frontispiece pages.
[6] J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, court and community 1525-1640* (Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 177.
[7] Hilary St George Saunders, *Westminster Hall,* p. 137.
[8] Vol 2: 38r.
[9] TNA: E405/508.

Records of the Receipt of the Exchequer

A wide range of archival documents pertaining to the work of the Tellers of the Receipt of the Exchequer are now held in the National Archives. The quantity and variety of these documents point to it being a place of careful accounting, both of finances and of material resources such as stationery. The National Archives holds three main types of documents relating to Stonley's professional work; firstly a large collection of 'rough work books', relating to the daily work of the Tellers, the Auditor of the Exchequer and other colleagues.[10] Secondly, there are the formal records known as Tellers' Rolls and Tellers' View of Accounts.[11] Finally, there are the administrative records of the office, including records of the distribution of supplies such as pens, ink and paper, and expenditure on the maintenance of the buildings.[12] There are also financial accounts of meals shared by colleagues in the department.

In addition to these three main groups of documents, there are also groups of Tellers' Receipts, or Tellers' Bills, held by the National Archives and in other collections.[13] These are essentially long thin scraps of paper, which were used to track information and money through the procedures of the Exchequer. The scraps of paper record the names of the individuals concerned, the sums of money involved and the name of the Teller responsible for that payment. These Receipts are highly ephemeral and it is extraordinary that they have survived; they provide a direct link to the day-to-day workings of the Exchequer in the sixteenth century.

The different formats of the records of Stonley's work in the Exchequer is striking and illuminates the complexity of the procedures for this work. The rough notebooks are close to A4 size but relatively slim books. One example is E405/525, a notebook dating from 1567, that measures 30cm by 22cm and is 2cm deep. This example is likely to have belonged to Stonley; the handwriting in comparable to that found in the diary and it contains a note inside the front cover, in pencil, that "Mr Sto: lacketh but 1,000 bills to be enterd into his booke", perhaps indicating that Stonley's financial troubles started at this early point in his career.[14] The book ties shut with two sets of thin leather strips. Throughout the volume there are a number of small parchment 'tabs' (measuring about 1.5cm wide and 4cm long) which have been pasted onto the paper pages to act as permanent bookmarks. This seems to indicate that the notebook was not used

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[10] E405/499 to E405/534 - Tellers' Rough Entry Books of Receipts and Issues.
[11] E405/119 to E405/181 - Tellers' Rolls (1553-17th c.) and E405/419 to E405/441 - Tellers' View of Accounts (1559-1598).
[12] TNA: E407/61 and E407/68.
[13] Groups of these Receipts are held by TNA (E402/113 to 178), Lincoln Archives and Southampton University Library. The strips of paper and parchment often have holes punched in the end or middle, where they were stored on a spike or perhaps strung together for storage.
[14] TNA: E405/525.

chronologically from the front page to the back page, but it was divided into sections and parts were used simultaneously; occasional blank pages within these notebooks would also confirm this.
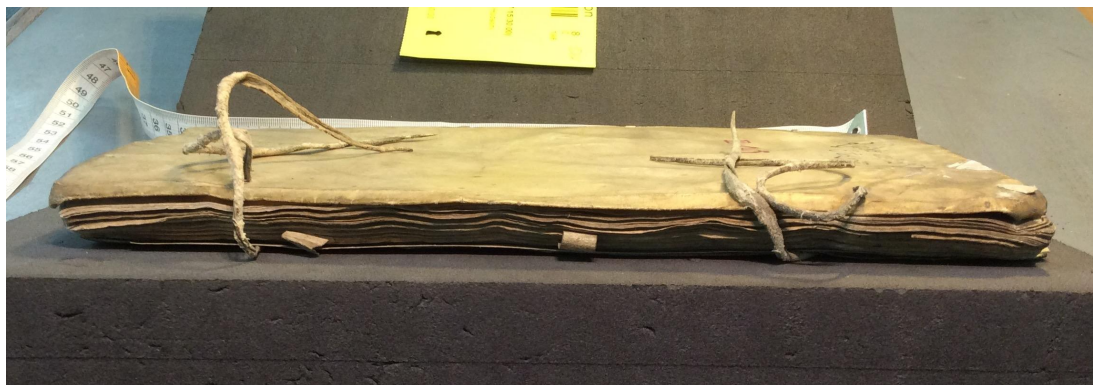
Image 3.3: TNA: E405/525, a rough notebook probably belonging to Stonley, dated 1567. This angle shows the ties and the tabs.

The formal records of the Tellers' work was the Teller's Rolls.[15] These were large sheets of parchment; for example, E407/7/142 (an incomplete sheet from 1569 which belonged to Stonley) measures around 80cm by 43cm. Written in Latin, they contain an ornate heading, which includes the name of the Teller responsible for the record, and two columns of writing, showing financial transactions. The unwieldy size of these documents indicates that they were not designed to be transported, but were written in a single location. The fine quality of the parchment also underlines the sense that these were formal, final records.

The survival of the rough work books is patchy in the sixteenth century; in some earlier years, many of the personal notebooks belonging to the Tellers have survived, showing records of both incoming ('Receipts') and outgoing ('Issues') payments. But in the years covered by Stonley's personal diary, no notebooks that can be clearly identified as belonging to a particular Teller have survived. However, some information does survive in the form of notebooks which have been catalogued with the Tellers' rough work books, for instance E405/533.[16] This volumes appears to be a summary book, which I would propose belonged to the Auditor of the Receipts. These notebooks appear to summarise the work of all four Tellers, rather than show the daily work of an individual. They are often slightly larger in scale than some of the earlier, individual notebooks, which may suggest that they were not intended to be carried about by a

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[15] See TNA: E405/119 to E405/181 for the main run of complete records. Occasional loose sheets are also held by TNA, including E407/7/142.
[16] See also TNA: E405/529, E405/530 and E405/532 for similar examples. E405/533 measures 35cm by 24cm and is 4cm wide, making it slightly larger and twice as thick as the rough notebook E405/525 discussed above.

person, but remained in a single location. Book E405/530, dating from 1582 to 1587, has holes in the cover with fragments of green ribbon visible in them; this green ribbon perfectly matches the green ribbon ties found on two volumes of 'Tellers View of Accounts', which are official summary documents written in Latin, by the Auditor of Receipts, Vincent Skinner (E405/438 and E405/439). Although lacking the individualism of a personal notebook, the summary books contain details which illuminate the workings of the Exchequer offices more broadly, particularly in terms of working relationships, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The sheer number of surviving formal records, underlines the fact that these men were undertaking a great deal of work. Similarly, the records indicate that large volumes of consumables, such as paper and ink, were distributed and utilised throughout the office. These men were not workers in name only, but clearly part of a complex and industrious administrative centre. The different types of records that have survived demonstrate the different stages of the work being undertaken; the distribution of equipment in preparation for work, the daily writing of informal rough notes, and finally the submission of formal records.

Stationery Records

Some remarkably detailed records of the allocation of stationery and work-related items within the Exchequer survive in the National Archives, described in the catalogue as "Memoranda as to stationery issued to offices of Exchequer" and dating from 1556 to 1710.[17] The booklets record the allocation of bags, paper, quills, ink and other equipment to specific individuals working in the Exchequer, including Stonley and his colleagues. These documents are also a surprisingly rich source of information about the physical environment of the buildings and the routines of the activities, since costs associated with cleaning routines, building work, workers' meals and wages were also recorded. Unfortunately, the booklets have not been individually catalogued or numbered, and there are some inconsistencies in terms of their size, use and format which will be discussed in more detail below.

The majority of the stationery records appear to be quite formal, most likely compiled by the head Teller or Auditor of the Receipt, and signed at the end of the booklet by the Lord Treasurer in order to approve the expenditure. The structure of these booklets is broadly consistent; firstly they record the numbers of bags and reams of paper allocated to each individual, then other 'necessaries' are recorded, including

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[17] E407/68: Memoranda as to stationery issued to offices of the Exchequer. The booklets are not individually numbered or catalogued. Where possible I use the dates of the documents to identify them.

writing equipment. Alongside this there are details of maintenance works undertaken in the offices themselves. These booklets appear to be summaries of the expenditure associated with the work of the Receipt and are written in a more regular, formal style, on larger size paper, close to A4 size.

The structure of these records appears to have been arranged with a sense of hierarchy, with the Lord Treasurer usually listed first, followed by senior officials, the head Teller, the other Tellers and then finally the clerks and lower level individuals. Three of the booklets within this group, however, appear to have slightly different structures. One of the booklets is much smaller, closer to a modern A5 size, and it is a shorter document, containing just brief references to items allocated to the four Tellers only (Mr Felton, Mr Farnham, Mr Stonley, Mr Alford). This booklet does not contain any information about other workers within the Exchequer, but it does contain numerous signatures, indicating that a person was required to sign their name to demonstrate that they had collected the items being listed.[18] Another booklet, dating from 1559, is also unusual in that it contains a couple of pages for each individual within the Receipt (from senior to junior) and under each name is listed all of the items allocated to that individual over time, along with the signature of the person collecting the items. This appears to be a sort of log book; the individual entries appear to be in a variety of hands and written on different occasions. It seems likely that this book was kept close to the place where stationery items were stored, so that each individual allocation of goods could be carefully monitored.[19]

Another booklet is different from the others in that it is purely a record of the parchment allocations and does not include references to other materials.[20] Unlike the others, it has a parchment cover, rather than being a simple paper booklet; this may well have been a functional consideration, since the booklet was in use for five years, so presumably needed a tougher cover to protect it during use. It seems likely that these three documents were the initial records maintained by the individuals who distributed the stationery and other items; they could be thought of as log books, recording the interactions and transactions that took place in the office, rather than summaries or publicly declared and approved accounts. It is likely that these 'log books' were themselves handed over to the Auditor of the Receipt, in order to be incorporated into the summary records which were then sent for approval to the Lord Treasurer.

The summary records of work-related expenditure in the Receipt give a useful overview of the materials being used within those offices and the range of objects that

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[18] TNA: E407/68: unnumbered part, 22 May 1556 to 31 July 1556.
[19] TNA: E407/68: unnumbered part, 1559.
[20] TNA: E407/68: unnumbered part, 1565 to 1570.

Richard Stonley encountered on a daily basis. The first page of the summary account for Michaelmas term 1583 shows that he used "Two & twenty dozen of bagges" and "One reime [5] quires [of] p[aper]".[21] The table below summarises the information;

Table 3.4: Showing the allocation of bags and paper in Michaelmas Term 1583.			
Individual	**Title / Job**	**Bags**	**Paper** [22]
William Cecil, Lord Burghley	The Lord Treasurer of England	0	6 reams
Sir Walter Mildmay? (Chancellor of the Exchequer 1566-89)	Master Treasurer	36	4.5 reams
Mr [Robert] Petre	Auditor of the Receipt	3	16 quires
Mr [Chidiock] Wardour	Clerk of the Pells	6	1 ream + 3 quires + 1 quire of demi paper
Mr Stonley	Teller	264	1 ream + 5 quires
Mr Killigrew	Teller	432	2 reams + 14 quires
Mr Taillor	Teller	432	1.5 reams
Mr Freke	Teller	240	1.5 reams + 1 quire demi paper
Mr Agarde	Unknown	15	1 ream + 1 quire
Mr Fenton	Unknown	12	1 ream
Mr Austen	Unknown	1	1 quire

These records allow for a comparison between Tellers and between different workers of the Receipt, a fact which may not have gone unnoticed by the workers themselves at the time of writing these records. Comparing the individuals gives a clear sense of the different types of work going on within the office. Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay used vast quantities of paper, but few bags, or no bags at all in the case of Burghley; as senior officials it is likely that their daily tasks involved more writing than the physical work of collecting and storing money. Robert Petre quite naturally used very few bags and comparatively little paper since his role involved checking and monitoring the work of others.

The Tellers, meanwhile, used vast numbers of bags and reasonably large quantities of paper. In effect, these documents could be seen as records of productivity and a comparison between the Tellers is possible. While Stonley's use of paper appears to have been roughly in line with his colleagues, it is clear that Killigrew and Taillor were using many more bags; whether this was actually the result of Killigrew and Taillor working harder or faster probably cannot be ascertained. But in light of Stonley's predeliction for meticulous accounting and the careful monitoring of resources in the Exchequer, it seems likely that he noticed the increased use of bags by his colleagues.

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[21] TNA: E407/68: unnumbered part dating from Michaelmas term 1583.
[22] 1 quire = 24 or 25 sheets, and 20 quires = 1 ream.

On an inner page the document lists all the other items allocated "to Mr Stoneley at several times", in addition to bags and paper. The list comprises the following:

> one gallon & three quartes of ink
> one demi paper book bound in paste [board?] and covered with leather
> two demi paper books bound in parchment
> one pewter standishe
> one pair of gold weights
> one buckram bag
> one purse with a cast of counters of the great cast
> one pound of red wax
> one pound of pindust
> one hundred of quills
> one penknife [23]

These items cost a total of 39s 2d. The quantities involved demonstrate the scale of Stonley's daily work and the variety of objects indicates the complexity of the tasks involved. The list above was not a one-off allocation, but a regular occurrence; Stonley was allocated a purse containing "a cast of compters of the g[rea]t caste" in Michaelmas term 1556, and he received the same items on 2 May and 1 July 1560. Similarly, he received sets of weights and balances in Michaelmas term 1556 and on the 2 May 1560, in addition to the one listed above. The records seem to suggest that these items associated with accounting were allocated on a regular basis; the sets of counters may have been freshly minted each year. The accuracy of the weights and balances may have had legal implications, and the frequent allocation of these items perhaps demonstrates the tight regulation of working methods.

The stationery records also contain several references to specific furniture associated with the work of the Exchequer; for instance, the counting board used by the Tellers appears to have been re-covered, as shown by an entry from the Michaelmas 1556 records:

Item in greneclothe for the covering of the comen telling borde wheron accomptes do sorte their mony within the Re[ceip]te	3s 6d
Item for v feltes called sadlers felte	2s 1d
Item for ii elnes of canvas for the same	11d
Item for d[em]i li [half lb] of small tackes for the same	6d
Item for whit tape	6d
Item for the workmanshippe	20d

This example highlights a very specific material culture associated with the tasks of accounting; the items listed would have been used to construct a soft surface, with a series of lines marked in white tape. By placing the counters on the relevant place on the surface of the board, the Tellers could use the board in the same manner as an abacus. A

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[23] TNA: E407/68: unnumbered part dating from Michaelmas term 1583. Spelling and line spacing modernised for ease of reading.

specific work surface is also mentioned in a 1583 payment of 5 shillings "for grene bayes for the coverings of a table in Mr Petre his office at Herteford", which indicates that the Tellers' and Auditor's accounting work was not limited to the geographic location of the Exchequer at Westminster.

The Exchequer Community

The log book from spring 1560 gives another useful overview of the number of individuals at work in the Receipt. This booklet contains the names of other workers who may have held a lower status, since they collected stationery items on behalf of more senior colleagues. The table below summarises the individuals who received stationery and other materials and the people who signed for these goods.

Individual	Title / Job	Total Transactions	Signed for by... (Number)
William Paulet ("Winchester")	The Lord Treasurer of England	12	Robert Hare (9) Humfrey Shelby (2) [No sig - 1]
Richard Sackville? (chancellor of the Exchequer 1559-1566)	Master Treasurer	27	Edward Barnard (17) Thomas Swynton (8) Smythe (1) [unclear name - 1]
Mr Hare	Unclear - clerk of the Pells from June 1560 onwards	3	Robert Hare (2) Edm[ond] ?Barwick (1)
Mr Felton (Thomas)	Writer of Tallies & Auditor of the Receipt	24	N Crafford (20) Th Felton (3) John Felton (1)
Mr Stonley (Richard)	Teller of the Receipt	43	Ric Stonley (37) Angelo Maddyck (4) Edward Stonley (1) [No sig - 1]
Mr Alford (Roger)	Teller of the Receipt	47	Roger Alford (9) John Birding (36) George Birding (2)
Mr Baker (Roger)	Teller of the Receipt	41	Roger Baker (24) R Tailor (17)
Mr Gardiner (Thomas)	Teller of the Receipt	40	Thomas Gardiner (27) W ?Raven (13)
Mr Reve (Thomas)	Unclear	20	Thomas Reve (10) Chr[isto]fer Robynsey (4) Barnaby Robynsey (3) Ed Barwick (1) Powell (2)
Ric[hard] Longman	Unclear	2	Richard Longman (2)

Table 3.5: Showing the recipients of stationery and the individuals who signed for them in Easter and Trinity Term 1559/60.

These records suggest that there were around 25 individuals working in the Exchequer, under the Lord Treasurer and Master Treasurer in spring and summer 1560, who were in a position to receive stationery and associated items. The most senior and

powerful men, the Lord Treasurer and Master Treasurer, appear to have been served entirely by a group of clerks or assistants and they did not collect their own stationery. The less senior men appear to have collected their own stationery the majority of the time, but also had the assistance of a range of junior staff. The four Tellers appear to sit in-between these two groups; while Richard Stonley appears to have collected his own stationery the vast majority of the time (37 out of 43 occasions), the other three Tellers relied on assistance to varying degrees. Roger Alford only signed for his own items 9 out of 47 times, instead usually relying on John Birding to sign for him. Roger Baker and Thomas Gardiner signed for themselves the majority of the time, but both relied on assistants for a significant portion of these tasks. This demonstrates different types of working relationships and the performance of different types of tasks.

This manuscript clearly demonstrates the dynamic interconnectedness of this social group and their professional roles; Robert Hare in this document appears to have been acting as an assistant to William Paulet, but by June 1560 he was awarded the post of Clerk of the Pells, which involved monitoring the work of the Receipt, reporting directly to the Lord Treasurer. The 'R Tailor' who collected stationery on behalf of Roger Alford may well be the Robert Taylor who was made a Teller of the Exchequer himself later in the century.[24] Meanwhile, it seems that Richard Sackville was the MP for Sussex in 1563, alongside William Dawtrey, the father-in-law of Richard Stonley's daughter Dorothy, and grandfather of Harry Dawtrey. Again, this illustrates the overlapping between home and work lives for the individuals in this social group.

These records also indicate that the Tellers worked independently from each other. Junior staff seem to have been allocated to a particular Teller, rather than working for the group of Tellers collectively. In terms of daily work, professional working relationships seem to have been vertical, rather than horizontal, with junior and senior individuals working together, but people of equal rank not working together. This may indicate that the Exchequer was not a collaborative workplace, but it was made up of several self-contained units. This system may have been similar to Keith Wrightson's description of apprentices within a household, which he argues "were of major importance...as a unit of residence and as a social and economic institution."[25] James Alsop's research into Nicholas Brigham argues that the Tellers "worked independently of the others" and "had considerable freedom to perform their duties".[26]

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[24] See for instance TNA: HL/PO/PB/1/1592/35Elizln25 - a private act relating to a servant of Robert Taylor, described as "one of Her Majesty's Tellers in the Receipt of her Exchequer" dated 1592.

[25] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (Yale University Press, 2000), p. 33.

[26] James Alsop, 'Nicholas Brigham (d.1558), Scholar, Antiquary, and Crown Servant', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 12:1 (1981), 49-67 (p. 55).

Similarly, G.R. Elton suggests that excluding the royal household itself, "the Exchequer was easily the largest department...served by men who usually entered young and worked their way up by seniority".[27] With such a large workforce, some kind of organising system would have been essential and the stationery records outlined above in table 3.2 suggest that the Tellers worked with a team of two or three junior colleagues, perhaps in manner similar to that found in other trades.

Another strong trend from this data is the occurrences of multiple members of the same family working together, for instance Christopher and Barnaby Robinsey, George and John Birding, and John and Thomas Felton. Within Westminster it seems there was an overlap between the familial or domestic spheres and the professional sphere. Richard Stonley's brother Edward collected stationery on his behalf on one occasion in spring 1560 (and his name appears in one of the other stationery accounts from 1556). Edward Stonley is frequently mentioned in Stonely's diaries as a dining companion, including during his stay in Fleet prison. This record confirms that the two brothers worked alongside each other too.

This system of the Tellers working individually, rather than collaboratively, may have generated a sense of competition between workers. Indeed, this system appears to be a reflection of the operating procedures between the Receipt of the Exchequer and the court of audit (the Exchequer of Account), which had, according to G. R. Elton, "almost developed into separate institutions". He continues;

> The administration of the Queen's money was indeed shared by them, but each operated as a unit, contacts between them were interdepartmental rather than casual.[28]

Elton goes on to explore the hostility that existed between the Tellers and Auditor of Receipts on one side and the Clerk of the Pells (who assessed the work of the Receipt and reported direct to the Lord Treasurer) on the other. A sense of this competition can be seen in the records of stationery allocation, by following the routes of approval required for the documents. Five of the summary accounts of stationery distributed in the Receipt are signed at the end by Thomas Felton, Robert Petre or Vincent Skinner, who all held the post of Auditor of Receipts in the second half of the sixteenth century. However two booklets, dating from 1556 and 1558, are instead signed by Edmund Cockerell, the Clerk of the Pells, who noted "Examyned by me Cockerell" on one and "ex'[amined?] p[er] me Emd Cockerell" on the other. Cockerell's use of the phrase 'examined' implies a sense of monitoring the work of the Tellers, hinting at the tension and competition between the two offices.

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[27] G.R. Elton, 'The Elizabethan Exchequer: War in the Receipt', *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, papers and reviews 1946-1972, pp. 355-88 (p. 355).
[28] Elton, 'The Elizabethan Exchequer: War in the Receipt', p. 355.

Five of the stationery account booklets were signed by the current Lord Treasurer; two by William Paulet, who signed 'Winchester', two by Walter Mildmay, and one by John Fortescue. The presence of these signatures, belonging to very powerful, elite men, on seemingly minor records pertaining to stationery allocations, is striking. It conveys a sense of the importance of these resources, and indeed of the scale and complexity of the administrative work being undertaken by sixteenth century government workers. It also perhaps reflects how these complexities and hostilities affected all levels of the hierarchical structure, on a daily basis; while the Lord Treasurer was in a position of authority, both the Clerk of the Pells and Auditor of the Receipt were jostling for power over the work of the Tellers and other officers.

The rough notebooks belonging to the Tellers and Auditors suggest that the Tellers maintained professional relationships with external people, and that external people tended to deal with the same Teller on a regular basis.[29] For instance, in the 1580s several payments were made to George Talbot, the Earl of Shrewesbury for the costs of hosting Mary Queen of Scots; these payments were all made by the Teller Killigrew.[30] The Master of the Posts and the Lieutenant of Her Majestie's Ordnance also appear to receive their payments from Killigrew on a regular basis. Although there are occasional instances of an individual collecting a payment from a different Teller, it broadly seems that the Tellers maintained separate networks of contacts when money was changing hands.

A number of individuals received payments from Stonley on a regular basis. Payments to the Earl of Sussex, Sir Henry Radcliffe, were made in autumn 1582 and throughout 1593.[31] Within the government departments, Stonley had several contacts, including Sir Henry Cobham, listed in 1582 as an Ambassador in France, to who he made payments in November and December 1582, and February and March 1582/3.[32] A further payment to "Thomas Piersonne deputy to Henry Cobham" was made in December 1582. Sir Thomas Heneage, treasurer of the Privy Chamber, received payments of £6 from Stonely on 30 September and 26 December 1582, and quarterly payments throughout 1593 and 1594, in the months of June, October, December and March. Payments to John Doddington, understeward of the Star Chamber (who was also listed in the stationery records discussed previously) can be found for October and November 1582, while payments to "Nicholas Smyth" for the "diet of the Star Chamber" took place in January, February, May and November 1593 and January 1594. It seems likely that there were

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[29] For example TNA: E405/526 and E405/323.
[30] See TNA: see E405/526.
[31] See TNA: E405/526 and E405/532.
[32] See TNA: E405/526.

strong personal relationships underpinning these transactions, and these relationships were maintained over long periods of time.

Physical Environment of the Receipt

Although ostensibly recording consumables relating to the work of the Tellers and their colleagues, the stationery records contain numerous references to the environment of the Receipt.[33] Payments were made for 'necessaries', which included repairs and maintenance work to the physical location itself. A picture can be built up of the offices and chambers occupied by Stonley and his colleagues and the ways in which these spaces were inhabited and cared for. The records suggest that the Receipt contained many rooms, with different functions. The Lord Treasurer appears to have had his own office, as did the Auditor of the Receipt and the four Tellers; indeed, the booklet from 1582, by which time Richard Stonley was probably considered the 'senior' Teller, refers to Stonley's personal "inner office" and a "Telling office". The same booklet also refers to a "waytinge chamber", suggesting that the Receipt of the Exchequer was a mixture of private and public spaces and that there were boundaries between spaces, for reasons of security and also hierarchy and status.

The booklet from 1582 includes a payment "for halfe a pound of yelow wax spente in rubbing the said chamber", suggesting that the walls of the Exchequer were panelled with wood, which required polishing. In specifying the use of the yellow wax, the writer of the records makes it clear that this was not a purchase of sealing wax (which was bought frequently, although coloured red). The yellow wax may also have been used to polish a wooden floor, although the records suggest that rush matting was also used; a detailed account of flooring is evident in the booklet from 1583:

> Item paide to Jhon Warwicke matmaker for tenne yardes of new mattes for the corte of receipte 3s 4d
> And for mendinge old mattes 20d
> And for nailes for all the same mattes 6d
> Item for 6 yardes of mattes bestowed in Mr Petre his office 2s
> Item for 6 yardes of new mattes bestowed in Mr Wardoure his office 2s
> Item for 4 yardes of new mattes bestowed in Mr Stoneley his office 16d
> Item for 6 yardes of new mattes bestowed in Mr Killigrew his office 2s
> Item for 6 yardes of new mattes bestowed in Mr Taillor his office 2s
> Item for 4 yardes of new mattes bestowed in Mr Freke his office 16d
> Item to him for mendinge all the old mattes in the said offices & for thred for the same 2s
> Item for nailes for all the said mattes 12d

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[33] TNA: E407/68.

Earlier in this period, in 1556, 3 shillings and 4 pence is paid on behalf of Nicholas Brigham, "for mattinge of his office", and 12 shillings for "vi dozen of russhes for his L[ordship's] chamber his halfe yere" and 8 pence for "takinge out of th[e] olde russhes and makynge clene of the same". Another payment in the same booklet confirms 10 shillings was paid "for the accustomed allowance of rushes for the receipte & duchycroft this half yere". The references to the 'half year' suggest that the rush matting was cleaned, repaired or renewed twice per year.

There is just one reference to artificial lighting in these records; a lantern was purchased in 1582, "provided to serche the receipte in the night season". The lantern was perhaps required for security purposes, so that the rooms could be checked by a guard at night and in the winter time. No candles appear in these records, suggesting that the majority of work in the Exchequer was undertaken during daylight hours. There are, however, numerous references to the cleaning and repairing of windows in the offices, indicating that the offices had natural light. Eight shillings was spent on glazing work in 1582, when new glass was installed in Stonley's offices, and the offices of Killigrew and Freke, in addition to a room adjoining the court of Receipt. The records specify that 18 quarrels of glass were installed, indicating that these were small panes of glass in lattice windows. Glazing work was also undertaken in autumn 1556 in the Lord Treasurer's office and another office in the Receipt. Presumably good light was important for the workers of the Exchequer, so it seems likely that written work was generally confined to daylight hours. This correlates to Stonley's diary, where he frequently describes going to Westminster to work in the morning, and returning home to his house at Aldersgate Street at noon for dinner and to conduct other work tasks during the afternoon. As Roger Ekirch observes, the availability of light was an important issue for early-modern workers; "English guilds typically prohibited work at night...[especially] skilled crafts that required keen wits, sharp eyesight, and ample illumination." However, Ekirch continues that "semi-skilled workers found crude illuminants sufficient", suggesting that some tasks were frequently completed in semi-darkness.[34] Workers who were required to remain in the Exchequer offices after the midday meal may have worked on writing tasks during the day light hours before switching to less precise or demanding tasks as the light was fading.

The booklet from 1582 refers to three chimneys in the Receipt. The booklet from 1556 includes payments for mending the chimney back in the Lord Treasurer's office, and also a chimney in the hall and one in the kitchen. The records also include payments for the sweeping of chimneys and the purchasing of coal and wood, particularly a

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[34] A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: a history of nighttime* (London: Orion Books Ltd, 2006), pp. 156 and 162.

reference in 1582 to "the old ancient allowance of firewood this half year", which cost 10 shillings. These fireplaces would have been an important source of light and heat, in addition to providing cooking facilities.

Despite being a place for work, it seems that the Exchequer was also a comfortable environment; the records refer to cleaning, polishing and renewing. These records also hint at the presence of luxury goods. In 1556 a payment of 3 shillings 4 pence is recorded for "strewing herbes" and 18 pence for "p[er]fumes" used in the Lord Treasurer's office within the Exchequer. The records from 1567 refer to a payment of 6 pence for "perfumes to air the [rooms]". In autumn 1582 "three ounces of cloves, rosewater & other perfumes" were purchased for the same office, costing 6 shillings 8 pence. The use of perfumes was perhaps a statement of prestige, or perhaps used to create an atmosphere of good health and highlight the cleanliness of the building. There are numerous references to cleaning the Exchequer, both interior and exterior, throughout these records. In 1582 a payment of 20 pence is made, for "a brushe provided for the carpettes & cushions of the thresury chamber & receipt", indicating that comfortable soft furnishings were present in the Exchequer and they were valued and maintained. The records also include payments for the cleaning and maintenance of the exterior of the building, particularly "cleaning leads", which may mean cleaning the roof, and preventing damage from extreme weather.

The maintenance and cleaning routines, and the presence of luxury goods conveys a sense of the care that was being taken in furnishing and presenting the offices around Westminster Hall. An explanation for this could be the nature of the work undertaken in the Exchequer, which required contact between people of different social levels; indeed, the Exchequer could be seen as a social melting pot, where the balance of power may have been altered due to mid-ranking civil servants dealing with the financial affairs of their social superiors. It was also a space which had to be private and secure, whilst also being public and formal. This perhaps accounts for the presence of goods and activities which might be considered more typical of a domestic space, such as perfumes, soft furnishings and cooking facilities. The atmosphere of the Exchequer rooms may have been intended to ease the social interaction that was necessary for the work to be done. The items and tasks may have evoked a sense of comfort and luxury, which could have been for the benefit of both the senior workers and the elite visitors, while subtly reminding lower status individuals of the hierarchies in place.

Cupboard Doors

Image 3.6: Cupboard door originally installed in an office in the Exchequer.[35]

In 1555, the year following Richard Stonley's appointment as Teller, it appears that Edmund Cockerell, the clerk of the Pells, had the following inscription painted on a cupboard door, located in the office in Westminster Hall;

> Annis regnorum Philippi et Marie 2 & 3, this place and the rest of the office were stablyshed by the righte honorable W. Marques of Wynchester and Highe Treasurer of England, for keepynge of all Pelles of Receipts and Exitus of the Court of Receipts called inferius scacarrium, and of all warrants and wrytynges belongyng to the same and accordynge to the aincyent ordre thereof. And also of certayne orders and rules of late yeres neglected and now agayne renewed from henesforthe to be observed of all and every officer of the said courte contayned in the redde booke of this said office made for the same intent. Edmonde Cockerell gent then the said Lord Treasourers clerk wryter and keeper of the Pells, warrants and writynges aforsaid. Anno Domini 1555

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[35] TNA: E409/1. TNA holds two wooden doors, approximately seven feet tall, one of which bears a painted inscription.

This was the same Edmund Cockerell who signed off a document about the distribution of stationery, noting that it was "Examyned by me".[36] This door, and another very similar, have survived in the collection of the National Archives. Both doors appear to have been attached to large cupboards, which it seems were used for the storage of financial records in the Exchequer offices. The two six-panelled doors are of a similar, though not identical, size, around 7 feet by 2 feet. The style of the hinges, handle and key-hole are similar on both, but the ironmongery pieces are at slightly different positions, so it is clear that the doors were never a matching pair. It seems highly probable that the doors were attached to two different large cupboards. The cupboards may have been built-in to the office itself, possibly either side of a chimney breast. Since these cupboards were used for the storage of the financial records that were at the heart of the work undertaken by the workers of the Exchequer, these doors must have been seen and used by Richard Stonley and his colleagues on a regular basis.

The inscription on this door is clearly secular in nature; it was located in the world of government-work, both in terms of subject matter and physical location. However, it is not dissimilar from other types of religious inscriptions made in buildings and on furniture, such as the biblical quote painted onto a chimney breast in a farmhouse in Doddinghurst, discussed in chapter two. Discussing the use of ritual marks in a domestic environment, such as protective symbols and biblical quotations, Tara Hamling particularly links this custom to liminal spaces that were considered vulnerable to attack; she suggests that "It is only a short step from casually etching a ritual mark...to the more formal inscribing of mottos".[37] Edmund Cockerill's inscription perhaps reveals a similar anxiety about the need to secure a vulnerable point of ingress and egress, although in an institutional setting, rather than a home.

Despite the functional nature of the cupboard doors, they have some interesting decorative features; the ironmongery on the doors is highly decorative in some places; both doors have surface-mounted iron hinges at the top and bottom, which stretch around three quarters of the way across the door. Each of these hinges is decorated at the tip with a trefoil shape and with more petal shapes at the base. Both doors also have a central surface-mounted hinge, which is more ornate and curved in shape, resembling two fish tails. The escutcheons are also decorated with fleur-de-lys shaped petals and under each escutcheon is an ornate drop-pull handle. The door handles are shaped in a way that may encourage the user of the door to place two fingers into the drop-pull in order to move the door.

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[36] TNA: E407/68 unnumbered part dated 1556.
[37] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 271.

There does not appear to be any signs of other door furniture, such as indents, holes or dirty marks, suggesting that the ironmongery on the door is original to the time that the door was built. Although the inscription was written in 1555, it may be that the doors pre-dated the inscription. One suggestion is that the panel which contains the inscription may have belonged to a different piece of furniture, before being inserted into the door.[38] The main reason for this theory appears to be that the raised middle section of the panel has smooth edges, rather than the sharp bevelled edge in all the other panels on both doors. However, it may be that the painter of the inscription chose to smooth the edges of this panel, in order to make it easier to paint the letters over the top. The size of the inscribed panel fits the door perfectly and I could not see any evidence of the panel being trimmed to fit the door. The painted inscription is made up of capital letters, which now appear rather yellowed, but the original paint may have been a brighter white. At the end of some of the lines of text there are some decorative floral shapes in red paint; the presence of the ornate painted border (which is only evident around the panel which contains the inscription - all other panels on both doors are plain) suggests that the door was decorated and inscribed at the same time.

It seems likely that in 1555 William Paulet, assisted by Edmund Cockerell, was keen to improve the security and working methods of the Exchequer office, through the establishment of a system of storing various financial documents in these cupboards. As the inscription states, these cupboards held documents which had been "neglected" in recent years, but which were part of protocols which were now being reinstated, or tightened up. The inscription on the cupboard door is extremely striking; the decorative nature of the inscription and the doors more generally, indicates a public and prestigious statement of the prescribed working methods. The presence of this statement in the working space itself, may have been construed by the workers of the Exchequer as a reminder of the rules and the presence of their superiors, or perhaps as a warning or threat against misbehaviour.

Cooking and Dining in the Exchequer

Several of the booklets of stationery records discussed earlier in this chapter contain accounts of meals eaten by workers within the Exchequer. The presence of a kitchen, confirmed by a payment for a repair to the chimney, demonstrates that these meals could have been prepared partially or entirely on-site and served in one of the Receipt chambers. The preparing and eating of meals within the Exchequer does not appear to be a regular occurrence, with the exception of the ushers. Several records include

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[38] Discussion with John Abbott at the National Archives, 07 August 2015.

payments to the ushers of the Receipt, suggesting that these individuals had their meals paid for on a daily basis. For instance, in autumn 1582, a payment of 9s 2d is made to Sir Henry Cobham;

> Item to Sir Henry Cobham, knight, gentleman
> husher of the receipte of the exchequire takinge for
> his diettes [2d] by the day from the [29th] day of
> November...[1582]...
> untill the two & twentith day of January then next
> ensewinge conteyninge fyve & fifty dayes

This payment is followed by an additional payment covering the next month, up to the end of February 1582/3. Payments, to Thomas Pierson, the deputy usher, are included in this record, matching the dates given for Henry Cobham.[39]

Meals served to other workers within the Exchequer, however, appear to have been on an ad hoc basis. These meals particularly seem to have been offered during a period of work which required the presence of certain individuals. For instance, in the booklet dating from 1567, the following payment, of £23 8d, is noted;

> Item the 8th of October 1567 p[ai]d
> for the dynners of Mr Shelton, Mr
> Hare, the 2 deputie chamberleynes
> of the receipt attending in the receipt
> aforesaid wth the 4 tellers bothe
> forenoone and afternoone about the
> examinacon of the bookes of the said
> tellers wth the grand peale [Pell][40]

This entry appears to suggest that it was not common for the Tellers and their colleagues to be required to be in the Exchequer building in the morning and in the afternoon. As discussed previously, the typical daily routine for Stonley (and presumably his colleagues) appears to have been to work at the Exchequer in the morning, and return home for dinner at noon. On the occasions when the workers were required to be in the building all day, it seems that their midday meal was purchased by the Exchequer, and most likely prepared in the kitchen and served in a chamber within the Receipt. These occasions echo the customs of farm labourers, when the long working hours (particularly at harvest-time) required a midday meal to be eaten in the work place; the provision of the meal was considered part of the workers' wages, and the responsibility of the employer to provide.[41]

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[39] TNA: E407/68 unnumbered parts.
[40] TNA: E407/68 unnumbered parts.
[41] See, for instance Muldrew's discussion of this practice: Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: work and material culture in agrarian England 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 211-13.

This ad hoc provision of meals ties in to an argument made by Martha Carlin that a specific dining culture developed in Westminster in the fifteenth century, that was distinct from the city of London and other locations.[42] Carlin suggests that this was due to vendors who "were beginning to attract customers from the ranks of the junior office workers of Westminster, who were often young and poor but socially ambitious." It seems likely that the large numbers of junior office workers, men like Stonley at the start of his career, created a unique demand for pre-prepared meals for professional workers.[43]

Another record in the National Archives is a booklet accounting for a series of dinners served in the Receipt over a three month period from 27 June to 10 November 1567.[44] The preamble to the account explains that these were "the charges Of the Dyettes provided for the Deputie Chamberlaynes of the receipt of th[e] Excheq'r and other officers and mynisters of the same". These workers, possibly including Stonley, were "remayeninge at Westm[inster] by vertue of a warrante...about the making of a repertorie of treatis of peax entre courses leagines and other matters and recordes of the lawe & newe threasories at Westm' aforesaid...". The meal served to the workers on the first day of these tasks comprised;

In bredd	6d	
in Ale	3d	
In beere	4d	
In clarette wine	8d	
In sacke	5d	
In oisters	2d	
In swete butter	4d	} 6s 11d
In lynge	16d	
In one pike	16d	
In stockf[ish]	4d	
In parceneppes	1d	
In frute	3d	
In salt & sawce	3d	
In fyer to dresse the same	8d [45]	

It seems that the records of the dinners served between June and November 1567 do not relate to exceptional feasts, but rather they were everyday dinners, served to the Tellers, ushers, deputies, clerks and messengers in the middle of their working day. Analysis of these 90 meals has revealed some specific features; each meal includes bread and drink

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[42] Martha Carlin, '"What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?": The Evolution of Public Dining in Medieval and Tudor London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71: 1 (2008), 199-217.

[43] Carlin, '"What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?"', pp. 206-7. As Carlin explains; "Westminster was thronged with such people - lawyers, litigants, civil servants, abbey and royal officials, court hangers-on, London merchants, and well-to-do travelers - who shunned take-away food but would pay for good food, drink, and service. This made Westminster the ideal location for opening what amounted to the capital's first restaurants" (p. 208).

[44] TNA: E407/61.

[45] TNA: E407/61. Original line spacing not preserved.

listed first, and a variety of seasonings and sauces at the end, followed by the cost of "fyer to dresse the same". In these records 87 different foods and drinks are listed, including a wide range of meats and fish products, including different cuts of meat and different cooking methods. Excluding bread and drink, the most frequently served foods included fruit, butter, meats and fish.

Martha Carlin suggests that bringing in a cook or servant to prepare a meal was common in Tudor London; "wealthy residents and travelers alike avoided cookshops, and instead had their meals cooked to order at their dwellings, lodgings, or inns."[46] These records appear to follow the model of a cook being brought in to prepare the meal to order. The individual payments for salt, sauce and fire, and the careful itemisation of the transaction more generally, suggest that this was not a regular task in a well-stocked kitchen; instead, the ingredients for each meal appear to have been sent in individually each day. Indeed, the existence of this booklet, accounting for a series of meals over a three-month period, suggests that the staff of the Exchequer had some kind of arrangement with a local cookshop; Carlin's research confirms that in the late fifteenth century "the innkeepers and taverners of London began serving "expense account" meals to the City's commercial and professional community."[47]

Other records survive which show examples of meals served in the Receipt on grander, more formal occasions, as part of a termly or annual routine. Four of these occasions are recorded on the back page of some of the stationery account booklets, dating from February 1582/3, February 1583/4, July 1595 and February 1595/6. Two further records are held in the collection of the Folger Library, dating from June 1586 and December 1587.[48] The bill for the meal which took place on the 24 February 1583/4 is transcribed below:[49]

Imprimis in Breade	7s
In Beere	5s
In Ale	3s
In 6 Stone of beef	8s
In 3 joyntes of Mutton	4s
In 3 joyntes of veale	6s 6d
In one Lambe	5s
In 2 Maribonnes	8d
In Bacon for Collopps	2s
In 3 Capons	7s 6d
In 4 pullettes	5s 4d
In one Turque	4s

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[46] Carlin, "'What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?'", p. 202.
[47] Carlin, "'What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?'", p. 210.
[48] Folger: X.d.113 parts 1 and 2. The acquisition of these documents by the Folger does not seem to be connected to the acquisition of Stonley's diaries.
[49] TNA: E407/68 unnumbered part, Michaelmas 1583. Original line spacing not preserved.

In 4 cockes	4s
In 8 plovers	6s
In 3 Malardes	3s
In 12 Blackebirdes	2s 4d
In 8 tame pigions	4s 6d
In 8 Rabbett ?sickens	4s
In 8 Sparrowes	4d
In grosse Butter	3s
In Egges	3s 4d
In herbes	6d
In Apples to roste	6d
In Apples to eate rawe	4d
In Suger and other Spices	5s
In Barberis	6d
In rosewater	6d
In oranges and leymons	8d
In portage	8d
In Botchier	2s 6d
In Cookes wagies	4s
In fier	8s
In Butlers wagies	12d
In White cuppis and trenthers	12d
In washinge of the naperie	2s
In porters wagies	6d
In 2 laborers triminge the spittes	8d
In the Skowrers wagies	8d
In one pottell of sacke	12d
In virgis, musterde and salte	12d
[*total* = £6 8d]	

This was clearly a special event. A sweet banqueting course seems to have been included, complete with desserts made with apples, sugar, rosewater and citrus fruits. Although this is a much grander event than that produced on 27 June 1567, there are some similarities between the two meals and the ways in which they were recorded; both accounts start by listing bread, beer and ale, then moving on to savoury dishes and then sweet dishes, with condiments (including mustard, salt, sauce and verjuice) listed last. This regularity of accounting may indicate that on some level, both events were part of routine working practices. However, the larger meal was clearly a more lavish social occasion, including a sweet course and trenchers. The extensive costs for preparing and cleaning up afterwards suggests that the meal took place in a location where this sort of activity was not part of everyday routines; the makeshift nature of the event may have enhanced notions of festivity for the diners. The careful accounting for the costs involved indicate that this was a professionally produced event, and that Exchequer officials maintained contacts with local catering businesses in Westminster. This also

reinforces Martha Carlin's view that a specific dining culture had evolved in Westminster in the Tudor period.

Beyond the Exchequer

Richard Stonley's official Exchequer work sometimes took place outside of the Westminster offices; work activities could take place at the homes of Exchequer officials and the diary records one particular occasion where the entire court, including the Exchequer, moved to a location outside of London to avoid the threat of plague. As will be seen, Stonley's diary entries clearly indicate that the work of the Exchequer could be peripatetic in nature, like the court itself.

Stonley makes numerous generic references to working "at my books" at his homes in Aldersgate Street and Doddinghurst. However, some entries make it very clear that he was working specifically on Exchequer business at his home. For instance, on 28 November 1582, Stonley notes that "This Day I kept home attending the recept & making up my Accompte".[50] A further example is evident on 15 November 1593, when Stonley appears to have travelled to a property in St Albans, where he "kept at my office & the recept" and later dined with an acquaintance in a location Stonley describes as 'our commons', suggesting a communal dining chamber.[51] These examples occurred during the winter months, suggesting a seasonal routine or the impact of bad weather, although the small number of examples makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions. It seems that Stonley's descriptions of 'attending the receipt' and his 'office' are not references to physical places, but to the activities and responsibilities connected to his work. Stonley on occasion appears to have travelled to the homes of other government officials, for instance on Saturday 10 November 1593;

> This Day after morninge p[ra]yer I rode to Sr Jo[hn] Forteskew
> at Hendon who shewed me what ord[e]r the
> L[ord] Treasurer had takne for the recept at
> Westm'[inster][52]

The entry makes it very clear that this was not a social visit, but one solely connected to the arrangement of the work at the Exchequer offices. Sir John Fortescue was chancellor of the Exchequer from 1592 to 1603, and apparently therefore an intermediary between the Tellers and Lord Burghley.[53]

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[50] Vol 1: 90r.
[51] Vol 2: 39v.
[52] Vol 2: 38v.
[53] HoP: FORTESCUE, Sir John (c.1533-1607). Fortescue was a tenant of Hendon House, on Parson Street in Hendon, now a borough of London. The house would have been an easy day trip from the city of London. See: A.P. Baggs, Diane K Bolton, Eileen P Scarff and G.C. Tyack, 'Hendon: Manors', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5, Hendon, Kingsbury, Great Stanmore,*

Stonley's references to working on Exchequer business from his home in Aldersgate Street also indicate that the work was not limited to himself, but expanded to include individuals within and surrounding his household, including women. Anne Tomlyn, a London neighbour, appears in all three volumes of the diary in a variety of roles and contexts including domestic tasks.[54] On the 19 November 1593, she appears to have taken on another role, assisting Stonley with some work related to his position as a Teller of the Exchequer, as Stonley noted in the following entry:

At Supper Anne Tomlyn carried the money to Mr Skinner's beinge [£400]...
[£100] was payd to the Duke of Brunswick & [£300] carried to Westm'[inster][55]

The exact nature of Anne Tomlyn's role within Stonley's household is not clear, but she was clearly a trusted friend or neighbour, not only working for Stonley but also engaging with his colleagues on his behalf. It may be that she was assisting Stonley with his professional activities as he grew older and was less physically able to make the frequent journeys between his Aldersgate Street home, Westminster and other sites in London connected to his work.

In November 1582 an extended trip was made to Hertford Castle, a royal residence around 24 miles north of London; on Sunday 4 November, Stonley spent the day at home, "preparing to Hartford", and later in the day he received news of plague victims.[56] The next morning he rode to Hertford Castle with Robert Petre. On Tuesday 6 November Stonley recorded the arrangements; "This Day began the Terme at Hartford where Mr [Robert] Peter and the Tellers kept Comons together". Also present were the Lord Chancellor and Sir Walter Mildmay. Stonley remained at Hertford for six nights, recording daily activities such as "I occupied myself in the recept" and "I kept my office all the hole Day".[57] On Sunday 11 November Stonley travelled to Doddinghurst, and then returned to London on the Wednesday, travelling via East Ham. For the remainder of the week, Stonley worked from his Aldersgate Street house, before returning to Hertford Castle on Monday 19 November for three nights. These periods of time working in Hertford appear to be highly social experiences shared with colleagues; the entries include specific references to communal dining, for instance on Tuesday 20 November; "This Day after morning p[ra]yer I kept the recept at Hartford went to Comons wth my

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Little Stanmore, Edmonton Enfield, Monken Hadley, South Mimms, Tottenham, ed. T.F.T. Baker and R.B. Pugh (London, 1976), pp. 16-20.
[54] Anne Tomlyn received payments for Harry Dawtrey's boarding costs in June 1581, suggesting that she was the wife of a tutor. In 1582 she also received a payment of 20 shillings "for Dressing my meat & wasshing", indicating that she also worked for Stonley in a domestic capacity, though not as a regular household servant. By the 1590s Anne Tomlyn appears to have become a close personal friend, since she frequently dined with the family.
[55] Vol 2: 40v.
[56] Vol 1: 84r.
[57] Vol 1: 85r.

c[o]mpany".[58] The diary entries during this period have a slightly heightened tone with references to news of plague victims. Furthermore, he was careful to record precise details for his working, dining and socialising activities, perhaps in order to demonstrate his loyalty and ability to adhere to instructions during a chaotic and potentially dangerous period. By examining evidence of Exchequer work taking place outside of Westminster, it is clear that these locations were as much a part of Richard Stonley's quotidian experiences as any domestic-based tasks. The ability of the Exchequer, as a concept, to move with the location of the Tellers and other workers, demonstrates that it was not locations which set the tone of quotidian tasks, but rather that the tasks gave particular meanings to the spaces at certain times.

Analysing Richard Stonley's everyday experiences of Westminster confirms that the study of everyday life should not be limited to the domestic or agricultural sphere, but should include institutions and professional work. The records of work at Westminster are evidence of an important dimension of Stonley's lived experience. While records of the material culture of Westminster are extremely useful for gaining insight into the sorts of objects that Richard Stonley encountered in his position as a Teller, the quantities of objects reveal even more; the volume and variety of the material culture associated with the Receipt of the Exchequer offices clearly correlates to the scale and complexity of the work required. The ways in which records of that material culture were written also reveals the hierarchical structure of the Westminster community and the complex lines of reporting that were in place.

Drawing out evidence of the physical environment of the Receipt of the Exchequer from these records has revealed locations which combined elements of the domestic with the institutional, in the form of comfortable soft furnishings and the provision of meals. Evidence from the diary, meanwhile, demonstrates that the professional work of the Receipt was undertaken in a variety of locations, from grand castles to Stonley's own house. As this chapter and the preceding chapters demonstrate, work activities related to Stonley's professional life as a Teller of the Exchequer took place in both Westminster and London; furthermore, the presence of the Petre family (which at various times included Stonley's former patron, Sir William Petre, and Robert Petre, a colleague in the Exchequer) at Ingatestone strongly indicates that official work and professional networks stretched as far as Essex. The peripatetic nature of the work of the Tellers of the Exchequer may also explain the prevalence of surviving rough work books; notebooks would have been more convenient for travelling than loose sheets of paper.

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[58] Vol 1: 87v.

While Stonley's lived experience of his domestic dwellings was particularly revealed by considering the ways in which individuals approached, accessed and inhabited those spaces, this chapter has focused on the transactions associated with objects; Stonley's lived experience of Westminster is particularly revealed by considering the ways in which resources were handed over, recorded and approved. These transactions leave traces of the routes of influence, ultimately revealing the social relationships at play within this group of government workers. The next chapter moves to consider the materiality and interpersonal relationships of a different institution, the Fleet prison.

Chapter 4: The Fleet Prison

Following several years of legal and financial difficulties, Richard Stonley's imprisonment began shortly before he began writing the third volume of his diary in March 1596/7. Perhaps uniquely for a sixteenth-century diarist, the third volume therefore provides a first-hand account of everyday life within the constraints of a prison. This chapter will explore evidence of Stonley's lived experience of the Fleet, particularly seeking to identify the objects and activities that were associated with his chamber and the prison site more generally; using evidence from the diary and other archival sources, this chapter will consider the Fleet prison as a familiar, domestic environment.

The third surviving volume of the diary reveals new daily routines and activities, including attending the Fleet's chapel, working on his legal case and entertaining. Glimpses of Stonley's material environment are also visible via his descriptions of activities. A deeper understanding of the prison environment can be enhanced through the use of comparative sources, revealing the furniture and other domestic items that Stonley most likely had with him in his Fleet chamber. These insights are important sources of evidence for understanding how sixteenth-century prison was arranged, how it functioned and what the experience was like for inmates. The evidence indicates that Stonley was significantly affected by his imprisonment, which particularly manifested itself in some new methods of using his diary. This chapter considers how the changes to Stonley's daily life can be traced through evidence of his lived experience and how these changes shaped his behaviour and identity. Exploring the extent to which Stonley experienced the Fleet prison as a domestic or institutional space, this chapter considers the complex social interactions that took place in and around the prison community and highlights examples of the inmates' daily activities.

The seventh image in William Hogarth's series *A Rake's Progress* shows Tom Rakewell as a debtor in the Fleet prison.[1] Although depicting a scene nearly 140 years after Richard Stonley's imprisonment, this image gives a sense of what an early modern debtor's prison environment might have been like. The room includes a canopied bed, stools and tables for guests, a fireplace with a chimney. Behind Tom Rakewell, a gaoler demands his chamber rent and a boy demands payment for ale, while a commotion of servants and visitors surrounds Tom. The shabby environment reflects Tom's fallen status and the collapsed angel wings on the top of the bed are perhaps a metaphor for this. The various papers and documents scattered across the room show the prisoner's attempts to resolve his debt problems, while a servant at the back of the room "tries to

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[1] William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress VII: The Prison,* original painting in Sir John Soane's Museum, object number P46, (1732-3).

make fools' gold at a forge".[2] Hogarth's image does not show a bleak, isolated or idle prison experience, but something more chaotic, social and multi-functional, with a cast of characters that are desperate, frustrated and tense.

Image 4.1: William Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress,* 1734 engraving of the 1732-3 painting

Of course, Hogarth's tale of a young man falling into debt and madness is fictional and the images were created to have a comic and moral impact, but the image highlights some of the key characteristics of early modern debtor's prison. Firstly, the image highlights a form of single-room living; these spaces were multi-functional spaces for work, socialising, cooking and eating. Prisoners were not separated from the outside world, but were still expected to engage with it, in both a social and a financial capacity. Indeed, prisoners were expected to pay chamber rent, purchase food and drink and eventually resolve their debts. Ruth Ahnertt sees this focus on money as stemming from the management of prisons, explaining;

> All prison staff, from the governors down to the turnkeys, purchased their position with the hope of recouping their initial investment, not from their salary but rather from the prisoners in their custody. Prisoners would effectively pay rent, which would cover their bedding, food, and drink; additional fees would buy coals and candles, furniture and furnishings, and greater freedoms, such as the use of the gardens, admittance of visitors, and even permission to conduct business outside the prison walls[.][3]

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[2] See: <http://www.soane.org/collections-research/key-stories/rakes-progress > The on-line museum catalogue entry notes that the papers depicted include a rejected play script and a scheme for paying 'ye Debts of the Nation'.

[3] Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 17.

It seems then that prison staff made their money from creating a miniature version of the outside world inside the prison, complete with authorised trading markets. Unlike the multiple competitive markets of the outside world, inside the prison the officials could take advantage of the monopolies they created. Debtors prison, especially for those of middling or elite status, did not involve a removal from society or an abdication of responsibility. Instead, prisoners were expected to continue many aspects of their previous lives, sourcing accommodation and sustenance, and maintaining relationships, but within the limited microcosm of the prison world. For Tom Rakewell, meeting the demands of rent, food costs, dealing with visitors and striving to work appears to be a source of frustration and anxiety.

Wider scholarship on the nature of the pre-modern prison experience has identified some features which aid our understanding of Stonley's prison diary. Highlighting the lack of separation between prison community and outside world, Guy Geltner observes that medieval prisons "were founded at the physical heart of cities, were highly accessible, and their routine depended to a large degree on external intervention".[4] Since incarceration in the pre-modern period was not punitive, the intention was to control an individual until a legal matter could be resolved, rather than remove them from society as a punishment or safety measure.[5] Roger Lee Brown explains that in the pre-modern period, "prisons were used to house those awaiting trial, transportation, corporal or other physical punishment, and debtors."[6] A period of imprisonment could be seen as a time of transition, between freedom and the resolution of the issue; during this period everyday tasks and routines had to continue, although they were of course modified and restricted by the environment of the prison.

Pieter Spierenburg's research explores many of the experiential and social aspects of early modern prisons, particularly focusing on prison workhouses and asylums in Europe.[7] Whilst these forms of confinement are certainly different to debtors prison, Spierenburg's research uncovers models of institutional organisation which correlate with Stonley's descriptions of his experience. Spierenburg particularly focuses on the model of the prison as a household, describing a system found in Dutch and German early modern prisons where officials (middle managers) were given the titles of 'father'

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[4] G. Geltner, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 57.

[5] Michel Foucault's *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* explores the theoretical aspects of this. (Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan, London: Allen Lane, 1977).

[6] Roger Lee Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison: The Anatomy of the Fleet*, Studies in British History 42 (Edwin Mellon Press, 1996), pp. ix-x.

[7] Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and their Inmates in Early Modern Europe,* (Rutgers University Press, 1991).

and 'mother', highlighting the familial and domestic side of prison life. Spierenburg suggests that this model evolved following the rise of Protestantism; "Monasteries and convents having disappeared from the scene, the family rather than the monastery became the model for prison institutional life."[8] A domestic and familial environment, an administrative rather than punitive experience, and a certain degree of accessibility and flexibility, are three key features which will be examined in more detail in this chapter; these themes enable a more nuanced understanding of the evidence of Stonley's prison experience. Equally, Stonley's descriptions of his activities in the prison can add valuable detail to our understanding of the ways in which prison life was arranged, since the diary demonstrates the careful navigation of daily tasks and routines that was required following his imprisonment.

The medieval Fleet prison burnt down in the Fire of London in 1666 and Hogarth's image depicts the Fleet in the early eighteenth century, prior to its being re-built in the 1780s, before being finally demolished in 1846. Throughout the early modern period the prison had a particular association with debtors and in the sixteenth century a connection to the Courts of Common Pleas, Chancery, Exchequer and Star Chamber.[9] Perhaps due to the 1666 fire, very few records survive of the sixteenth century Fleet in either the National Archives or the London Metropolitan Archives and consequently much scholarship has focused on the later part of the prison's history.[10]

A frequently used source for the pre-1666 Fleet is a document written in 1620 by Alexander Harris, a former warden of the Fleet, as a response to allegations made by the prisoners of mismanagement.[11] Titled *'The Oeconomy of the Fleet, or an Apologeticall Answeare of Alexander Harris [late warden there] unto xix Articles set forth against him by the prisoners*', this document was published in 1879 in an edition by Augustus Jessop. The booklet outlines both the claims of the prisoners and Harris' response to them, consequently allowing some insight into the organisation of everyday tasks and routines across the prison site. For instance, the prisoners claimed that Harris "exacteth intollerable fees", and he "exacteth for dyett...of men that take none of his meate or drinke", and that he broke into prisoners' private chambers, "opening their truncks,

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[8] Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience,* p. 111.

[9] Roger Lee Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison: The Anatomy of the Fleet*, Studies in British History 42 (Edwin Mellon Press, 1996), p. vii.

[10] Brown "concentrates on the latter part of its history because it is only for this period that some of the prison books and the printed accounts of the prison are available" (Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison, p.* ix).

[11] Jessop A (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, or An Apologeticall Answeare of Alexander Harris [late Warden there] unto xix Articles set forth against him by the Prisoners*, The Camden Society, 1879. Like Brown, Augustus Jessop lamented the lack of academic research, stating "I soon discovered to my dismay that nobody could tell me much about the history of prisons in England, and that I should have to break ground and explore with little or no help from previous inquirers" (Jessop, *The Oeconomy of the Fleete,* p. iii).

seizeing their goods, and still detayning them.'"[12] These claimes were refuted by Harris, who claimed that "The Warden hath two speciall wayes to rayse money from the Prisoners, which is for their lodging and for their Dyett, But they evade both [payments]".[13] Indeed, one prisoner, Harris claimed "was lodged by the Warden 8 yeares in a good Chamber...he often promised and vowed payment...but never paied a penny".[14] These accusations and counter-accusations demonstrate the antagonism between the warden and his prisoners in the early seventeenth century, which appears to have centered around issues of money and access to rooms, food and personal property. In light of these tensions, it is perhaps understandable that Stonley developed new systems of accounting for his expenditure and his daily activities; the diary may have become a sort of protection for Stonley during this period, as he carefully recorded his chamber rent payments (including having the recipient of the rent sign the diary to confirm receipt) and recorded his diet in much greater detail.

The Fleet Prison: Location and Structure

The Fleet prison was located south-west of Stonley's house in Aldersgate Street just outside the city walls, to the west of the city. The site was situated above Fleet Street, with the bank of the Fleet river on the western boundary, Fleet Lane along the northern side and The Old Bailey, which ran alongside the city wall between Ludgate and Newgate to the east.[15] The Bell Savage inn was adjacent to the prison, and the yard which was used for open-air entertainments and plays may have abutted the wall of the Fleet prison yard.[16] Stonley's house, located just a mile away, was within easy walking distance for visitors or for his trips home. The pre-1666 Fleet prison that Stonley inhabited was a complex site, consisting of several parts, rather than a single building. The Historic Towns Trust's modernised map of 1520s London shows a large square building with a central courtyard, adjacent to an L-shaped building, all surrounded by a walled area.[17] This would have covered a large area, nearly 100 meters long and wide, located on the north side of what is now called Ludgate Hill, but which at the time was called Fleet

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[12] Alexander Harris in A Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, or An Apologeticall Answeare of Alexander Harris [late Warden there] unto xix Articles set forth against him by the Prisoners* (London: The Camden Society, 1879), pp. 4-5.
[13] Harris in Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete,* p. 94.
[14] Harris in Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete,* p. 72.
[15] *A Map of Tudor London 1520*, Historic Towns Trust, 2008.
[16] Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland: archaeology, history and drama,* (Museum of London Archaeology, 2012), pp. 42-5.
[17] *A Map of Tudor London 1520*, Historic Towns Trust, 2008.

Street. The site contained the main prison building inside a precinct, alongside a row of houses containing chambers available for the prisoners to rent, known as The Rules.[18]
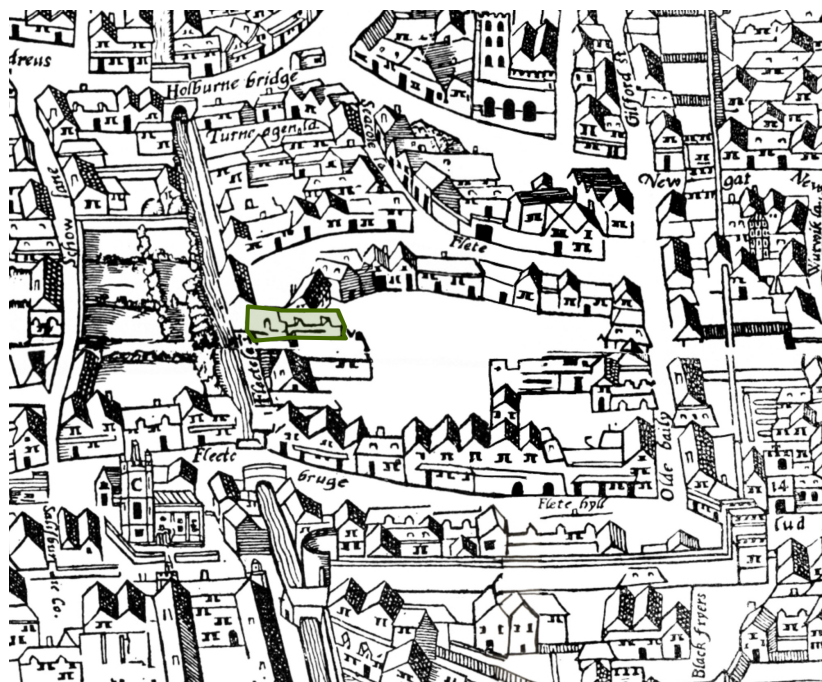
Image 4.2: Extract from the Agas map showing the Fleet prison (in green) and surrounding streets, first printed around 1561.[19]

Scholars agree that the medieval Fleet prison was a complex site, privately run for profit with different areas available to different classes of prisoners. Roger Lee Brown describes the 'Common's Side' as being for lower status individuals and the 'Master's Side' for higher status individuals, where prisoners were required to pay chamber rent. In addition to these two main sections, Brown defines 'the Rules' as "an area around the prison house, but outside it, in which prisoners who offered security for their safe imprisonment were permitted to reside".[20] It seems that the Fleet prison effectively offered a tiered payment system, with wealthier individuals (or those who were able to raise money) in a position to secure more comfortable accommodation. These arrangements are reminiscent of the system in place at other Elizabethan institutions. For instance, Julian Bowsher's research on London's Shakespearean theatres notes that at the Bell Savage inn and playhouse, which was a close neighbour of the Fleet prison, play-goers paid a penny at the gate, another penny to enter the scaffold and a third penny for "quiet standing".[21] These sorts of tiered payment systems encouraged users to self-

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[18] Edward Marston, *Prison: Five Hundred Years of Life Behind Bars,* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2009), p. 46.

[19] This version of the Agas map used by permission of *The Map of Early Modern London* project, dir. Janelle Jenstad. See: <mapoflondon.uvic.ca>.

[20] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison,* pp. xvii-xviii.

[21] Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland,* p. 42. Bowsher cites William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent,* written in 1576.

categorise and may have been seen as a method of controlling groups of people within an institution or large building, whilst also making a profit.

Brown argues that the high numbers of recusant gentry prisoners in this part of the prison actually led to additional buildings being constructed.[22] Indeed, a document in the British Library contains a note confirming that building works took place between 1596 and 1604;

> for the buylding of 40 chambers in the Fleete
> everye one having a chymneye   } £900"[23]

Describing the new chambers, Brown writes that these chambers "appear to have been built along Fleet Lane, where almost every house...was filled with prisoners."[24] It is unclear exactly where Stonley's chamber was located. It is possible that he rented a chamber in 'the Master's side' (in the main part of the prison), but it is also feasible that he was living in one of the newer chambers, with his own 'chymneye', or hearth, located in buildings on Fleet Lane in the area described as 'The Rules'.

It seems then that the chambers were examples of small private spheres located within the public institution of the Fleet prison. Augustus Jessop vividly describes the desirability these rooms and also the sense that prisoners had ownership over them;

> It appears that there was even some competition for these chambers, and
> that as long as the occupant paid his rent he could not - or believed he
> could not - be ejected from them. When he went out he locked his door,
> and for the Warden to force an entrance was regarded as a trespass -
> outrageous and illegal.[25]

The chambers in the Fleet prison occupied a middle ground, somewhere in-between public institution and private domestic space. Like a home, a prison chamber could be a marker of social status and a space in which the inhabitants felt secure, comforted or nourished. The prisoner who was able to choose a private chamber was in effect a consumer, possibly even making decisions on issues like the location of the chamber or the contents of the space, in much the same way as any other domestic residence was selected and formed. However, like an institution, these chamber rooms required the inhabitant to operate within a set of rules determined by an authority figure (the

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[22] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison, p.* 7: "The presence of these wealthy prisoners necessitated considerable improvements in the prison. New chambers were built for their reception, particularly between 1596 and 1604 when forty new chambers were built at a cost of nine hundred pounds."

[23] BL: MS Addit 38170, fol 261. This short document, from the personal papers of the judge Sir Julius Caesar, relate to Sir George Reynell, who leased the position of warden of the Fleet to various men. Sir Julius Caesar was required to adjudicate on a dispute between Sir George Reynell and his stepson, which resulted in these brief notes. Unfortunately no buildings records or accounts for the Fleet have survived to corroborate this document.

[24] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. 8.

[25] Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, p.* xiii. Jessop does not cite any particular evidence for this claim, but since he was writing in 1879, when the existence of debtors' prison was still within living memory, it is possible that he was able to draw on anecdotal evidence.

warden). The higher status and educated men who are particularly associated with chambers in the Fleet at this time may well have been unused to the sorts of restrictions imposed by the wardens. So it is not surprising that this resulted in tensions and complaints, as exemplified by the allegations made against Alexander Harris in the seventeenth century.

Fleet prisoners would have been free to make use of a range of communal facilities, whilst simultaneously being limited in other areas; food and drink was produced and sold on the site to prisoners, as will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Brown describes additional recreational facilities, made available for the higher status prisoners, including "the prison garden, where they could play bowls, a green having been laid out for the purpose."[26] Unfortunately, no plans, maps or drawings of these buildings in the sixteenth century appear to have survived to provide further details about the location or design of these outdoor spaces.

The complexity and variety of the buildings contained on the site give some indication of the manner in which the institution functioned. Numerous scholars have identified different institutional models which shared similarities with the Fleet, which would have been experienced on a day to day basis by prisoners. Brown observes that "...the Fleet was a self-contained society", comparable with "the social and administrative set-up of a nineteenth-century public school".[27] Similarly, Augustus Jessop compares the site to both a cathedral precinct and the Inns of Court;

> The Warden's freehold consisted of the prison strictly so called, and comprehended, besides, an inclosure... In this close several "messuages" had been built...[which] appear to have been blocks of buildings like those in the Temple or Lincoln's Inn, and were like them divided into chambers and let out to such as could pay for them, almost precisely as in the Inns of Court.[28]

For Stonley, as an employee at Westminster and someone accustomed to occasional periods of communal living with the court (as discussed in chapter three), the experience may not have been too alienating or discomforting.[29] Indeed, Alexander Harris, the seventeenth-century warden of the Fleet, in describing his system of arranging food for the prisoners, compares it to the system in place at the accommodation for law students, noting that "[prisoners] may take Dyett according as they be within or abroad...as at Inns of Chauncery, &c."[30] The systems in place at the Inns of Courts and universities may also have been familiar to Stonley, as he supported his step-sons through their education at

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[26] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. 8.
[27] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. x.
[28] Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, p.* xiii.
[29] Examples of communal dining at Westminster are discussed in chapter 3.
[30] Harris in Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, p.* 93.

these institutions. In terms of its day-to-day life it seems that the Fleet prison operated in a similar manner to other institutions, combining private domestic and communal modes of everyday life.

Stonley's Imprisonment

The third volume of Stonley's diaries begins on 14 March 1596/7 and at this point he was already living in the Fleet prison. It is likely that Stonley arrived in the Fleet shortly before this date. On this date he makes a payment for his chamber rent;

> To John Hore the warden's clark
> of the Fleete for three weekes Chamb[e]r   } 45s
> rent at 15s the week
> To the same for one weeks commons   } 10s
> & now owt of comons [31]

Chamber rent was paid in arrears, so the latest date Stonley could have arrived in the Fleet is 22 February 1596/7; the next rent payment was noted as covering the period from 15 March to 2 April.[32] Another three weeks later, on 23 April, Stonley made his next payment and on this occasion the diary was signed by John Hore to confirm receipt of payment, a practice that continued throughout the final volume.[33] This new method reflects Stonley's adoption of new systems of accounting for things in his diary. By having the recipient of his rent payment co-sign the diary, Stonley mitigated the risk of a dispute about unpaid bills or undelivered goods and services.

During the early part of the third volume, from March to the end of June 1597, Stonley was also using a new system of accounting for his meals; he started recording all the dishes served to him at dinner and supper, a practice which is not seen in the earlier volumes, in addition to listing his dining companions. This practice stopped on 29 June 1597, when he noted another significant change to his method of accounting;

> from this day ther is a nother book wch I terme
> the weekbook or kytchin book wherin I notte
> all thinges & somes of money leyd owt all kyndes
> of weyes. What ys spent besides of provicon [provisions]
> what presents & what strangers report to me that
> in the end of the yere I may leye owt ev[er]y
> thinge in ther p[ro]per places.[34]

This entry signifies a radical break with his former diary-keeping practices. I would argue that the months between March and June 1597 represent a period of adjustment,

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[31] Vol 3: 1r.

[32] Vol 3: 6v.

[33] Vol 3: 14r - Stonley's payments of 15 shillings per week appears to be typical for upper middling and elite prisoners of the period. Receipts from John Hore to another prisoner (Henry Vernon, Lord Powis) show sums of 60 shillings, which may reflect monthly payments. See: TNA: SP 46/59.

[34] Vol 3: 36r.

when Stonley was responding to new daily experiences. It seems likely therefore that this period was very early on in his imprisonment.

A letter in the British Library gives a further indication that as late as 30 January 1596/7, Stonley was not yet imprisoned and still involved in financial dealings. The letter is from Robert Wyseman, asking for a loan of 40 shillings; the letter seems to have been returned to Wyseman, along with the money, since it includes a note that the money had been received on "the 30th January a for seyd of Richard Stonley gent to the use of my master Mr Robert Wyseman" and it is then signed by Wyseman's servant, William Conwey.[35] In the letter Wyseman assured Stonley that he would repay the loan by the end of the term, on 28 February, however by this time Stonley was already imprisoned. Issuing this loan in late January, knowing that the recipient was not planning to repay the money until late February, may suggest that Stonley did not anticipate that his move to debtor's prison would take place at this time. Alternatively, it may be that he did not feel that his professional work would be affected by his imprisonment and he anticipated that his everyday working life would continue as before. Whether Stonley was optimistic about his prospects or oblivious to the seriousness of his debts is not clear, but it seems most likely that he arrived in the Fleet prison in early or mid-February 1596/7.

Once established in the Fleet, Stonley's diary entries came to include the names of individuals who worked at the prison. During his time in the Fleet, Sir George Reynell held the position of Warden of the Fleet.[36] Stonley did not record any dealings with this man, instead dealing with deputies; he recorded payments to John Hore, John King, Christopher Bryan and John Newberry, who appear to have worked as deputy wardens, clerks and keepers. Christopher Bryan is also described as a porter and on one occasion Stonley appears to have purchased some firewood from Bryan's wife.[37] The presence of Christopher Bryan's wife in the Fleet exemplifies the middling officials who were creating the domestic, family-run model of prison establishments in the early modern period, as discussed previously. Other prison officials may have added to this domestic atmosphere by sharing meals with the prisoners; the name Newberry occurs in Stonley's lists of dining companions and also as a keeper accompanying him on a visit to Aldersgate Street.[38] The interaction that Stonley appears to have had with these people

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[35] BL: Add MS 22115, folio 15. This Robert Wyseman could be the same Mr Wisman who Stonley purchased a horse from on 19 May 1593 (Vol 3: 4r).

[36] HoP: REYNELL, Sir George (c.1563-1628).

[37] Vol 3: 21r, Saturday 14 May 1597.

[38] John Newberry accompanied Stonley to Aldersgate Street on Sunday 26 February 1597/8 (Vol 3: 66v) and a 'Mr Newberry' is listed as a dining companion on 22 occasions in April 1597 when Stonley was accustomed to dining in the common parlour or dining room, rather than his private chamber.

implies a sense of integration between prisoners and officials, which perhaps eased the discomfort experienced by elite prisoners.

Stonley also recorded in his diary a "vittler", a "vintner in the Seller", the "Baker at Flete" and a "Brewer" who all appear to have worked on the Fleet prison site, providing food and drink to the prisoners, workers and their visitors.[39] These references highlight the contained and self-sufficient nature of the Fleet community; much food and drink appears to have been produced, prepared, sold and consumed on-site. However, Stonley also noted purchases of wine from "John Wells at the Sonne in Fleet Street" and "Thomas Harries at the Sone in Flete Strete".[40] These purchases highlight specific commercial relationships between the prisoners and the community that surrounded the prison precinct; food and drink purchases in particular are one of the methods by which the boundary of the prison walls could be crossed. Another route of access was in the form of visitors to the prison; numerous visitors, including family, neighbours and friends, dined with Stonley in his Fleet prison chamber.

A Chamber in the Fleet: the inventory of Stephen Vallenger

Despite the lack of comprehensive institutional records for the sixteenth-century Fleet prison, there are occasional archival sources which shed light on the physical environment of the prison chambers and the typical experiences of prisoners. One example is a probate inventory belonging to Stephen Vallenger, who died in the Fleet prison in the early 1590s.[41] The inventory lists out, in some detail, the possessions which he had with him in the Fleet prison, and provides a clear example of the sort of prison chamber which would have been familiar to Stonley in 1597. Vallenger achieved some notoriety in the late sixteenth century due to his imprisonment and connection to the Jesuit Edmond Campion. The activities and experiences of Vallenger, suggested by his inventory, correlate strongly to Stonley's diary account of his experience of the same prison later in the decade. Consequently, Vallenger's inventory is a useful tool with which to extrapolate a deeper understanding of the physical environment of Stonley's prison chamber.

Stephen Vallenger was born in 1541 and at the time of his death in 1591/2, had been imprisoned for around 10 years. Anthony Petti's 1962 biography of Vallenger describes him as being "of a well-to-do family" in Norfolk, who appeared to have "conformed to the Established Church" in the mid sixteenth century.[42] Vallenger, a

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[39] Vol 3: 26r, 27r, 32r and 34v - purchases made on 29 May, and 2, 16 and 24 June.
[40] Vol 3: 4r and 35r - purchases made on 25 March and 25 June.
[41] TNA: E178/2978 - transcription in appendix.
[42] A.G. Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', *Recusant History 6* (1961), 248-64 (p. 248).

"recusant poet and Cambridge tutor" was accused of publishing an eyewitness account of the death of Edmund Campion, which led to his being put on trial in the Star Chamber in May 1582.[43] This trial led to a debt, which Vallenger was unable to pay, resulting in his imprisonment in the Fleet.

It is feasible that Stonley was aware of Vallenger's legal case; Vallenger himself is not mentioned in the first volume of the diary, but the case of Edmund Campion was certainly of interest to Stonley. He noted details about Campion's case in his diary on several occasions. On 23 July 1581 he recorded Campion's arrest;

> And this day report was made that one Campion
> was a Jh[s]uyt, was brought...
> to the Tower & 8 others [44]

In November 1581 Stonley also mentioned the legal case, which took place in the Kings Bench court in Westminster Hall and close to his own offices in the Exchequer. Finally on Monday 20 November Stonley noted that Campion and the other men were "fownd gylty" and on Friday 1 December, their execution took place;

> This Day After morning preyer riding through
> Chepside ther came one Edmond Campion
> [*blank*] Sherwyn & [*blank*] Drawen upon
> hurdles to Tyborne & ther suffered execu[*tion*]
> at wch tyme a pamphlett boke was redd
> by way of Aduertisment agenst all thos
> that were busye flaterers faverers or
> whisperers for his cause. After dyn[*er*]
> I kept home wth thankes to god at night [45]

Stonley's account here includes some blank spaces, by the names of the individuals being executed, perhaps indicating that he wished to add the correct names at a later date. In contrast to Stonley's usual concise turn of phrase, he employs an evocative description of Campion's supporters as 'busy flatterers, faverers or whisperers', suggesting they were quietly sneaky and untrustworthy. Stonley's words echo the title of the pamphlet itself: "An aduertisement and defence for trueth against her backbiters : and specially against the whispring fauourers, and colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederats treasons."[46] Of the five occasions when Stonley reported on Edmund Campion, three were marked with manicules, highlighting the importance he placed on these events.

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[43] Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', p. 248. See also: Frederic A. Youngs Jr, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens*, (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 224.
[44] Vol 1: 10v.
[45] Vol 1: 33v.
[46] "An aduertisement and defence for trueth against her backbiters : and specially against the whispring fauourers, and colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederats treasons. 1581. God saue the Queene" (London: Christopher Barker), Folger STC 153.7.

The manicule marks may also indicate that Stonley planned to meditate upon these events when reading his diary at a later date.

At the time of Vallenger's trial in May 1582, Stonley also appears to have been spending time in the Star Chamber. His diary includes references to being in Westminster throughout the month and particularly notes that it was a "Stare Chambr Day" on the 4 and 29 May.[47] He also makes references to having a legal case postponed on 21 May, noting that he "had my cause moved...but the day held not", indicating a sense of frustration with the slow moving legal processes.[48] The case of Stephen Vallenger was surely discussed among men like Stonley and his colleagues at the time and it is feasible that their paths crossed in one of the chambers of Westminster Hall during this busy month.

Vallenger and Stonley's positions in the world, in terms of their ownership of modest rural estates, their professional and business interests in London and their involvement in legal cases, makes a comparison between the two men appropriate. A further similarity between Stonley and Vallenger is their interest in reading and book-buying. Moving through London's literary circles, both men appear to have inhabited the edges of elite social groups. Petti implies that the use of the title 'gentleman' for Vallenger was "generous" rather than strictly accurate.[49] Furthermore, although Vallenger had inherited property in Norfolk, no mention is made of it in the inventory or other documents relating to his legal case. It seems that like Stonley, Vallenger's life became increasingly London-centric during his imprisonment. Whilst these similarities are no guarantee that the two men were known to each other, it certainly seems reasonable to conclude that they shared similar lived experiences in London and in the Fleet prison.

Vallenger's prison-chamber inventory gives a strong sense of his daily activities, including sleeping, dressing, eating, cooking and socialising. An educated, middling status is hinted at through the presence of large numbers of books in multiple languages and the presence of writing desks suggests he engaged in literary or work activities. It is reasonable to consider that Vallenger's environment in the Fleet prison was typical for men of a middling or lower gentry status. Consequently, details contained within Vallenger's probate inventory can be used to extrapolate details of Stonley's physical environment.

Vallenger's inventory opens with a summary of the main pieces of wooden furniture and soft furnishings before moving on to assess clothing, linen, books, metal

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[47] Vol 1: 57r, Vol 1: 60v.
[48] Vol 1:59v.
[49] Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', pp. 250 and 260.

ware, money and other valuables present in the chamber. However, in his analysis of the inventory, Petti devotes most of his attention to Vallenger's books and only a cursory glace at the furniture, clothing, soft-furnishings and domestic objects.[50] The inventory strongly suggests that Vallenger inhabited only one room in the Fleet and it does not list any homes or land outside of the prison. A note from the assessors at the end of the document mentions items which, following Vallenger's death, were in the possession of other individuals (including another prisoner and the prison warden). This suggests a complex network of credit relationships was in place, leading to the transference of goods between individuals, both within and outside the prison.

The main items in Vallenger's chamber included a wainscot bedstead, two tables, a large chair and six stools. He also owned three table-top writing desks, indicating that Vallenger was engaging in work activities, particularly writing, during his time in the Fleet. The single great chair and several stools hints at a sense of hierarchy within the room, whether the chair was Vallenger's own (as the head of his 'household') or reserved for an important guest. The additional stools and tables suggest that Vallenger was accompanied by a servant or hosted visitors. A group of five wooden storage boxes completes his furniture, which was valued at 29 shillings.

Vallenger had some sources of comfort in his chamber; there was a fireplace, with "a paire of andirons, a fire shovell, a pair of tonges" and "2 candle stickes" for warmth and light. Drafts were kept at bay with four curtains, hung on curtain rods. He slept on a feather bed, with blankets, linen sheets and "a greene rugge coverlet". Although only one bedstead is listed, the inventory includes six pillows, three large and three smaller, in addition to both flaxen sheets and old sheets, so there was certainly spare bedding being stored in the chamber. The inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house shows that spare bedding (including 24 "cource sheetes" and 8 pairs of "fyner sheetes"[51]) was being stored in a chest in the old gallery, not in the bedrooms themselves. Of course, since Vallenger was inhabiting a single room, everything would have been stored in his chamber. However an alternative explanation for this may be that Vallenger was not alone in his chamber, but had one or more servants who slept in the room alongside him on makeshift beds on the floor. Although certainly not luxurious, Vallenger was obviously able to maintain a certain level of physical comfort during his decade in the Fleet.

Along with his everyday domestic necessities, Vallenger had a large collection of books, in Latin, English, French, Spanish and Greek, with him in the Fleet; the inventory

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[50] Petti's approach here is reminiscent of Leslie Hotson's 1949 article examining Stonley's inventory. See: Petti, p. 257.
[51] TNA: E159/412/435 - see appendix for transcription.

lists more than 90 books in total, indicating that Vallenger maintained his interest in literature and religious texts especially. This correlates with Ruth Ahnert's view that the late sixteenth century saw "the emergence of the prison as an important and influential literary sphere."[52] Vallenger's inventory lists numerous religious texts, but, as Petti points out, "Catholic prayer books and missals are understandably absent".[53] It therefore seems that Vallenger was able to maintain access to some religious texts, despite the outcome of his Star Chamber case, his precarious position as a religious prisoner and his connection to Campion, a man executed for treason. This is slightly contrary to Ahnert's research, which describes prisoners who were still permitted to continue in their religious practices, which was "made possible by the help of sympathetic keepers."[54] The books Vallenger chose to have with him in the prison perhaps were a means to demonstrate either his innocence or his reformed character.

Vallenger's chamber was clearly a multi-functional space, like that shown in Hogarth's painting described at the beginning of this chapter. In addition to sleeping and working in the chamber, it was also a space for cooking and dining. The inventory lists table cloths and multiple spoons, trenchers and saucers, suggesting that Vallenger was in a position to host dining companions. The presence of a pestle and mortar, a skillet, a colander and a ladle indicates that food could have been prepared in the room too. Vallenger's single-room life-style is reminiscent of daily life in the medieval period, where the household lived communally in an open-plan hall. Unlike a monastic cell or dormitory, which implies either solitude or communal living among equals, the Fleet prison chambers appear to have been microcosms of larger domestic dwellings, with a sense of being a 'household' within the individual rooms.

The inventory does not give a sense of how these everyday items came to be in the Fleet prison, whether they were provided by the prison or brought in by the prisoners. Since the items are listed as part of Vallenger's probate inventory, they were clearly regarded as his personal property, rather than items he was renting from the prison or warden.[55] Vallenger's lengthy imprisonment may account for the fact that he had his own possessions with him; if he had anticipated that his stay in the Fleet would be shorter he may have left his possessions in another home elsewhere. The idea of

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[52] Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 7.

[53] Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', p. 258.

[54] Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature, p.* 17.

[55] Discussing the 18th century Fleet prison, Brown observes that some furniture was provided by the prison authorities, but "The state of the furniture provided by the warden caused further disputes. It was so poor, claimed many prisoners, they were forced to obtain their own" (Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison,* p. 190).

travelling with one's furniture is of course not unusual in the early modern period, although it is more frequently associated with extremely wealthy elites and nobility.

It is likely that Vallenger's possessions were moved into the chamber on the day that his imprisonment began. Further items may also have been acquired gradually over the years, either through purchasing or in the form of gifts or perhaps even trading with other prisoners. Petti's discussion of Vallenger's goods concludes that his books "were seemingly conveyed from his lodgings to the Fleet with his other goods", but "at least some of them must have been acquired while he was in prison, because they were printed after 1582."[56] The Fleet prison, it seems, had a degree of permeability for personal goods, consumables, prisoners taking trips out and visitors coming in.

Vallenger's selection of both functional and valuable clothing, including occasional pieces of silk and fur, further reinforces his middling status. The inventory shows a middling everyday life in microcosm; Vallenger was not necessarily separated from the outside world, but rather his everyday existence had been condensed into a single chamber inside the prison with him. Ahnert's study of sixteenth-century prison literature also highlights the nature of prisons like the Fleet "not as something that contained the prisoner and sealed him or her off from society, but rather an institution that was riddled, both literally and figuratively, with cracks and hidden spaces."[57] Perhaps like literature, elements of prisoners' everyday lives and daily routines seeped through the cracks and hidden spaces of the prison, due to the way in which their design, structure and organisation allowed a degree of osmosis.

Another example of an educated inmate with access to books and writing materials is Clement Draper, a debtor imprisoned in the 1580s and 1590s in the King's Bench prison. Deborah Harkness has identified fifteen complete or partial notebooks that were written by Draper during his imprisonment, exploring his interests in science and medicine.[58] Draper was of a similar urban middling status to Stonley and Vallenger; a working man, member of the Ironmongers' Company and relative of Sir Christopher Draper, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1566.[59] Harkness' study highlights the community of intellectuals within and around the King's Bench prison, who shared information and particularly books;

> Despite the apparently daunting obstacles facing him, Draper did manage to construct a lively intellectual community to sustain him during his imprisonment, a community that included the authors of books he read and transcribed, other prisoners who shared experimental nuggets

[56] Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', p. 257.
[57] Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature, p.* 22.
[58] Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 288.n2.
[59] Harkness, *The Jewel House,* p. 185.

gleaned from their own experiences, and visitors to the prison who brought in news and information from London and the world beyond.[60] Draper's notebooks show a particular interest in medical texts and scientific experiments and Harkness describes information being shared across a network; Draper's wife Elizabeth is particularly cited as a source for remedies which made their way into the prison from the outside world, presumably during her visits to the prison or his trips abroad.[61] For Vallenger, Draper and Stonley, it seems likely that books were a particular method of transferring information across the boundary of the prison wall; this may be a particular feature of the prison experience for middling and elite prisoners, who had more influence and control and more interest in intellectual and literary pursuits.

The Prison Chambers of Stonley and Vallenger

Evidence of Stephen Vallenger's physical environment in the Fleet can provide helpful information enabling a deeper understanding of the evidence of Richard Stonley's physical environments. On 23 April 1597, Stonley made a note that he paid 20s to "Phelips Mr Hill's clarke, for making a coppy of the Inventary of my Goods".[62] This presumably was the inventory of the Aldersgate Street house. It seems likely that the inventory was originally taken around the time of Stonley's arrival in the Fleet prison. Curiously, some items of furniture do not appear to have been included in this inventory; the room listed as "Mr Stonley's bedchamber" does not actually contain a bedstead or mattress-type material. The other bedchambers listed (Mrs Stonley's bedchamber, the green chamber, Eostwick's chamber, the chamber between the green chamber and the jackhouse and the maid's chamber) do contain bed frames and items such as feather beds, bolsters, cushions and linens. Similarly, the study in the Aldersgate Street house did not contain any furniture at all, at the time the inventory was made. The likely explanation is that Stonley brought his bedstead, and perhaps a table, writing desk and some chairs or stools with him from his house in London to the Fleet prison when he arrived. The limited space would have constrained the amount of property he brought with him; but furthermore, it would have been in his interests to sell as much property as possible in order to help clear his debts, so it is likely that he brought with him the items that were necessary for him to live and work from the prison.

Extrapolating from Vallenger's inventory, we can assume that Stonley's chamber in the Fleet also contained soft furnishings, perhaps a feather bed, sheets, pillows and cushions, blankets and rugs, providing enough comfort for a man of his age and status.

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[60] Harkness, *The Jewel House*, p. 184.
[61] Harkness, *The Jewel House*, p. 191-3.
[62] Vol 3: 14r. See appendix for full transcription of the inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house.

Some of these soft furnishings may have been convertible into temporary beds for a servant or two to sleep in the room alongside Stonley. He may also have had a large chair, symbolic of his position as patriarch. It is highly likely that Stonley had a large table in his chamber with a selection of stools or benches in order to entertain guests, since he frequently dined in his chamber with groups of family, friends and servants. In terms of personal possessions, it seems that Stonley, like Vallenger, had items of clothing with him. In an entry on the 3 April 1597 Stonley records a reward payment to a woman for "bringinge my gowne from Westm'[inster] to the Flete"[63]. After initially moving into his chamber in the Fleet with some items, perhaps further, non-essential, items were brought to him gradually over time. It may be that he was keen to source additional items as it became clear that his stay in the Fleet was likely to continue for some time. Apart from letters and friends and servants running errands, it seems that Stonley did not send anything out of the Fleet prison, so it is likely that the gown from Westminster and all his other possessions, remained with him until his death.[64]

Vallenger's extensive book collection in the Fleet suggests that Stonley also had part of his library with him in the prison. Stonley continued his habit of copying out a philosophical quotation at the start of each daily entry in his diary, so he must have had access to reading material. The source of Stonley's quotations in the third volume has been identified as Richard Taverner's *The garden of wysdome*, based on Erasmus' *Apophthegmata,* which was published in London in 1539, so this is one book which he must have had with him.[65] Jason Scott Warren's analysis of the books left behind in Stonley's Aldersgate Street house found that his library covered a "range of interests" but that "spiritual concerns predominate", with bibles and religious texts comprising more than 35 per cent of the total library.[66] It seems likely that he also took a selection of religious texts with him into the prison.

Scholars of Stonley and his diaries have observed that his copy of *Venus and Adonis*, famously purchased in London in 1593, was not included in the inventory of Stonley's Aldersgate Street house, made in February 1597.[67] Of course, the book may simply have been lost, passed on to a family member or friend, or stored at his house in Essex. But it is also possible that the copy of *Venus and Adonis* had been moved into his

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[63] Vol 3:7r.

[64] Felicity Heal's ODNB entry notes some uncertainty regarding Stonley's death, but that it occurred on 19 February 1600, "probably still in prison".

[65] Alan Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing: The Case of Richard Stonley' in Zachary Leader (ed.), *On Life-Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 177 n.41

[66] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Books in the Bedchamber', in John N King (ed), *Tudor Books and Readers: materiality and the construction of meaning* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 239-40.

[67] Leslie Hotson, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 2 (1949), 49-61.

chamber in the Fleet. Stonley must have had writing materials with him, not to mention the diary itself, which he continued to write during his time in the Fleet. Indeed, the third volume of the diary (unlike the first and second volumes) has a recycled binding, made from an old mortgage document which bears Stonley's name, indicating that some bundles of papers were also kept with him in the Fleet.

Stonley certainly dined in his chamber, often giving detailed accounts of the individuals present and the dishes served. Like Vallenger, Stonley probably had table linens and dining equipment such as spoons and plates in order to be able to provide for his guests. Vallenger appears to have been keeping his own cooking equipment in his chamber, so it is likely that some food production was possible in Stonley's rooms too. Hogarth's image of a chamber in the Fleet indicates that this was still the case in the eighteenth century.

Although Stonley's diary indicates that he usually ate meals in his private chamber, in the month of April 1597 he mostly appears to have had his meals in the common dining room in the Fleet. His entries for this month reveal something of the practical arrangements in the prison; one entry describes the prisoners as the "gent[lemen] of the howse", suggesting that the men were regarded as equal peers.[68] However, Stonley's descriptions of mealtimes suggest a stronger sense of hierarchy and place; Stonley listed fellow prisoners at a meal served "in the p[ar]ler", noting exactly who sat "at o[u]r table".[69] Later in the month, Stonley noted some specific details of the furnishings of the communal parlour; on 23 April he wrote "I dyned at the other square table w[i]th Mr Phelips...", while on 26 April he noted "I sat at the other Table with Mr Skynner...".[70] In distinguishing between particular tables, Stonley may have been identifying a sense of hierarchy in the room. It is also reminiscent of Stonley's description of a large Christmas meal, where he describes guests as sitting at the main table and a side table.[71]

Stonley's diary entries corroborate the Alexander Harris document, that food and dining could be a source of contention amongst prisoners. One particular examples was described in some detail by Stonley, on Monday 25 April 1597;

> This evening at Supper Mr Mr Strowd &
> one Kirkton fell at such hote wordes as
> Mr Strowd called the other Pillerye Knave the other
> w[i]th that began to rise to goe to hym after yt was
> ax[sk]ed what he wold have Done. [illegible]...in my
> fury I wold have kyled hym. But after ther fury was

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[68] Vol 3:7v.
[69] Vol 3:7r.
[70] Vol 3: 14r and Vol 3: 15r.
[71] Vol 1: 38r, see transcription of this entry at the beginning of chapter 5.

<div style="text-align: center;">mitigated and folded up in the Table cloth [72]</div>

This entry includes a rare example of reported speech and the expression of a hypothetical thought. The words "I would have killed him", which may have been uttered by Kirkton or Strowd, indicate what might have happened, rather than reporting what actually happened. The argument appears to have been diffused though; Stonley's poetic description of their fury being 'folded up in the table cloth', suggests it was thrown out with the crumbs after the meal.

Stonley rarely writes about the emotions of anger; the first two volumes of the diary show examples of duty, familial love, hospitality and neighbourliness, rather than conflict, which makes the above description stand out even more. Alexandra Shepard places violence as the opposite of respectable, patriarchal manhood; Shepard not only connects violence with "the excesses of youthful misrule" but also with "those disenfranchised...as well as men occupying patriarchal positons who (temporarily or otherwise) flouted the codes of behaviour expected of them."[73] In the example above, it may be that the dispute was exacerbated by the heightened circumstances of being in the prison and furthermore, the event became more significant and therefore worthy of recording by Stonley.

The end of Vallenger's inventory of goods includes references to items and money being transferred between prisoners; the document describes how some items belonging to Vallenger "came to the handes of Richard Southwell, gentleman, prisoner in the Fleete" possibly by a pawning agreement.[74] It seems that both goods and money were transferred between the prisoners, for a variety of different reasons. Stonley's diary records a payment of twelve pence "To a Decayed gent[leman] in the Flet called / [*blank space*] to releve him".[75] While ostensibly an act of charity, the fact that Stonley left a blank space to fill in the gentleman's name and recorded the fact that he was a gentleman perhaps indicates that this was part of a more complex social credit arrangement. Roger Lee Brown describes a "prison economy", in which prisoners could "let their prison rooms, act as servants within the prison, or use their craft or professional skills".[76] It might be concluded that within the Fleet prison there were complex networks of financial and social credit at play, mimicking in miniature wider Tudor society.

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[72] Vol 3: 15r.

[73] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 248.

[74] TNA: E178/2978 - Fleet prison inventory of Stephen Vallenger, see appendix. The identity of Richard Southwell is unclear.

[75] 19 March 1596/7, vol 3:2r.

[76] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. x.

In and Around the Fleet Prison

As would be expected for a prisoner, volume three of Stonley's diary shows a life which revolved around the Fleet. The diary entries include numerous references to different locations within the prison building. Unlike the earlier volumes of the diary, Stonley made no references to his Essex home in the third volume; even the offices of Westminster were visited only a handful of times, since he was formally replaced as one of the four tellers in February 1598.[77]

Instead, Stonley recorded visiting several locations within the Fleet prison complex. As discussed previously, he referred to a common-room parlour where some of his meals were eaten. In addition to this, the diary contains references to a chapel, a bowling green, a garden, a courtyard and a yard, as shown in the table below;

Table 4.3: Showing the frequency of references to different locations visited by Stonley within the Fleet prison.

Fleet Location	Number of references
Chapel	62
Parlour / Commons	41
Garden	5
Bowling Green	4
Courtyard	1
Yard	1

The activities associated with the chapel and parlour (religious worship and eating) indicate activities which Stonley recorded throughout all volumes of the diary. However, some of these locations and their associated activities were an unexpected discovery, on account of their connection to leisure activities. This includes Stonley's description of going to watch the players of bowls at the prison bowling green (on 4 occasions) and taking walks in the garden of the Fleet (on 5 occasions, one of which specifically makes reference to "the garden walkes"). On one further occasion, Stonley mentioned "exercise abrode in the flete yard".[78] Stonley's descriptions of walking and exercising in the gardens and watching his fellow prisoners on the bowling green reinforce Roger Lee Brown's suggestion that these facilities were specifically provided for the entertainment of the prisoners.[79]

These locations associated with leisure activities stick out as rather atypical from the first two volumes of the diary. Prior to his imprisonment, the activities described in the daily entries are almost entirely focused on productivity (professional or agricultural work and responsibilities) or dining and what might today be termed 'networking'. It

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[77] ODNB: Stonley, Richard.
[78] Vol 3:65r.
[79] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. 8.

may be that Stonley's imprisonment (and his effective retirement from the Exchequer) provided the opportunity for new activities with which to fill his time. An alternative explanation may be that living a constrained life in an unfamiliar place prompted him to begin recording new types of information. Stonley's habit of recording his meals in minute detail for a three month period in the beginning months of his imprisonment may be another example of this shift; as certain activities gained in significance to Stonley, they merited more detailed mention in his diary.

As was common for prisoners in the early modern period, Stonley was permitted to pay a fee for day trips out of the prison. Stonley was presumably accompanied by a keeper on all excursions, although he only names specific prison officials on a few occasions. Thomas Roche accompanied Stonley to his house in Aldersgate Street on 22 June 1597, while John Newberry made the same trip with Stonley on Sunday 27 February 1597/8 and John King accompanied him the following day.[80] John King was noted by Stonley on three further occasions, all in relation to paying the fees for trips abroad. It might be concluded from this that Stonley had a closer relationship with John King than with other prison wardens. The table below outlines the different locations Stonley travelled to during these excursions;

Table 4.4: Showing the frequency of references to different locations visited by Stonley outside the Fleet prison.

Location	Number of references
Aldersgate Street house	33 (including dinner on 6 trips)
Westminster	10
Abroad in the city	6 (including 4 Wednesdays)
Southwark	2 (both Thursdays)
Mile End	1
Peckham Rye	1
Servants Inn (Chancery?)	1
Unclear	3 - all London/Westminster

The most frequent destination for Stonley's trips out of the Fleet was his house in Aldersgate Street. Stonley appears to have found his first trip home after many months in the prison as being particularly significant, recording the following;

> This Day after morninge p[ra]yer I went to my howse
> in Aldersgate Stret & ther occupied myself till night
> w[i]th thankes to god being the fyrst tyme I came
> there since my comytment. had wth me ther Tho[mas]
> Roche Mr Warden's man w[i]th Roger my servant.[81]

Stonley's awareness and desire to record these details perhaps reveals the emotional impact he experienced on his return home. On six of the 33 occasions when Stonley

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[80] Vol 3: 33v, Vol 3: 66v.
[81] 22 June 1597, Vol 3:33v.

made a trip to Aldersgate Street he specified that he ate dinner while there. But even when Stonley was absent, the Aldersgate Street house appears to have been inhabited. On Sunday 3 April 1597, he recorded his own dinner in the Fleet, consisting of boiled veal, bacon and roast beef, then noted what was happening at his house in Aldersgate Street; "At my howse the mayd, Roger, the boy & had at Dyner pottage & bef & [2 and a half pence] in Bredd".[82] Later that month, Stonley also recorded further payments for food for those at the Aldersgate Street house, noting a payment of 8s 1d "To Roger for vittell at my howse my wyf beinge ther".[83] It seems, therefore, that life in the Aldersgate Street household was to a certain extent at least, continuing with a sense of stability during Stonley's prison stay.

The second most frequently visited external location during this period is, perhaps unsurprisingly, Westminster; he attended on ten occasions, most frequently (5 out of 10) on a Tuesday. On six occasions Stonley recorded being "abroad in the city" and four of these trips took place on Wednesdays. Although the data is certainly not extensive enough to identify a weekly schedule, there does seem to have been a slight preference for trips out of the Fleet on mid-week days, particularly Tuesday and Wednesday. Aside from the visits to his own house, the majority of the trips out of the Fleet appear to be related to either work or legal tasks, or perhaps shopping activities. One exception occurs on Tuesday 14 March 1598, when Stonley visits his sick brother in Peckham Rye;

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I went to see
> my brother Edward [Stonley] being sicke at my sister's [house]
> at Pec[k]ham Rye. had w[i]th me Kinge my keper
> & Mr Puxley. came back to the flete after then.[84]

It may be that the majority of Stonley's trips out were planned events, for work or legal purposes, but he was neither prohibited, nor unwilling, to make personal trips as in the case of his sick brother. Despite his imprisonment, the diary gives clear evidence of an ongoing participation in the lives of his extended family.

Volume three includes 28 occurrences of shopping activities, despite Stonley's reduced financial position and restricted access to markets and shops. Eight of the twenty-eight references (29%) include a specific reference to a household servant making a purchase on his behalf. This is broadly comparable to the second volume of the diary, when 31% of purchases were made by a household servant on Stonley's behalf. This suggests that despite Stonley's imprisonment, domestic routines were being maintained.

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[82] Vol 3:7r.
[83] Vol 3:14v.
[84] Vol 3:68v.

Of the goods purchased, the majority were for food and drink items; for instance, Stonley spent 2s 6d on claret and sack from "Thomas Harries at the Sone in Flete Streete" and 2s 4d for bread from "the Baker at Flete".[85] These tradesmen are clearly local to the Fleet, reflecting again the reduced scale and spread of Stonley's everyday life. In addition to food and drink staples, Stonley also purchased a number of books; on the 1 June 1597 he bought a "booke of the proverbes" from Mr Cottesford and "the Booke of Jacke of Newburye" from Johns the printer.[86] Although Stonley was always a keen reader and buyer of books, the purchase of these publications highlights again his new found leisure time in the Fleet prison.

Stonley's Prison Dining

In the opening months of the third volume of the diary, Stonley appears to have developed a preoccupation with recording both his dining companions and diet.[87] This entry shown below is typical of the period between 14 March to 28 June 1597; at this time, Stonley's custom was to record all the dishes served to him at dinner and supper, along with the people he dined with, including friends, family, servants and (on some occasions) fellow prisoners. Interestingly, in this particular entry, he also recorded a payment for "vittel in Flet", a payment made to a provider of bread and drink inside the prison.[88]

	Dyner	
	Bredd: herringes: Linge & halb' [*halibut*]: Cold veall Cold Cap[o]ne:	
	Strangers	
	Mr Heigham. Servantes - Roger Batte: Margery Harry Dawtrey the boy	
Vittel in Flet	for Bredd & Drinke	20d
	Supper	
	Butt[e]r herringes Linge Rost veall : Cap[o]ne Strangers	
	Mr Heigham Harry Dawtrey Edward [*Stonley*] Servants: Harry makpes: Roger Batte: the boy the mayd	

These records indicate that entertaining in his prison chamber was Stonley's primary method of maintaining his personal relationships with family members and

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[85] Vol 3: 35r and 27r.

[86] Vol 3: 27r - this second book was a fictionalised account of John Winchcombe, a clothier from Newbury, written by Thomas Deloney.

[87] This was the subject of a chapter in my unpublished Master's dissertation, *Food, Dining and the Everyday Life of Richard Stonley* (University of Kent, 2013). The discussion here draws on some of the detailed analysis undertaken for that project.

[88] Vol 3: 1r.

friends. As mentioned previously, food could be an aspect of everyday life that was susceptible to grievances in the Fleet. Stonley's careful recording of his diet is perhaps, therefore, a form of safeguard, to ensure that he had records which could be relied upon in the event of a dispute.

Few records survive showing exactly how food preparation and dining was organised in the Fleet in the sixteenth century. It seems that prisoners of middling or elite status could either purchase bread and drinks from vendors within the Fleet, pay a fee to eat in the common parlour (known as commons charges), or obtain items from outside, perhaps brought in by their friends, families or servants. But as Brown points out, "prisoners were expected to pay these board or commons charges, even if they obtained their food from outside the prison."[89]

Stonley's diary shows evidence of different methods of acquiring foods. On 29 May 1597 Stonley records a payment for "Bredd & drink - To the vintner in the Seller" of 17 pence and the following week he pays 2 shillings 4 pence "To the Baker at Flete".[90] Between March and June 1597 Stonley's daily diet was plentiful, but there are some striking differences in the meals served across different months. In April 1597 Stonley appears to have been dining mostly with his fellow prisoners in a communal dining room. On 4 April 1597 Stonley was served "Boyld Bef : Rost Veall" for dinner and "Boyld motton : Rost motton : Rost veall" for supper, which he ate with "Mr Fitzherbert : Mr Lee : Mr Townsend : Mr Phelips: Mr Smyth : Mr Strowde".[91] This meal appears to be in stark contrast to meals served in May and June which were much more varied. On 8 May 1597 Stonley was served "Pegions & Bacon : boylde bef : Rost veale : Rost lambe : Bacon gammon : Chese" at dinner and "Sliced bef : Rost motton : Bake pegions : rost pegions" at supper. Notably, on this day in May he dined with "my wyf : Mr Heigham : Harry Dawtrey : Servants - Roger Batte : Ffysher : Makpes : the boye".[92]

It does seem that Stonley's diet when in the common dining room was much simpler than the meals he ate when dining in his chamber with his family and household servants. The inclusion of food items like cheese, bacon and pigeon on particular dates when Anne Stonley was visiting particularly suggests that she may have brought these home-produced items from the farmhouse in Essex. Stonley was clearly in the fortunate position of having access to different sources of food; in taking advantage of the permeability of the Fleet prison (both in the form of foods, objects and people) he was able to continue elements of his former life during his imprisonment.

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[89] Brown, *A History of the Fleet Prison*, p. 9.
[90] Vol 3:26r and 27v.
[91] Vol 3:7v.
[92] Vol 3:19v.

Another source of evidence for sixteenth-century prison dining comes from records pertaining to the imprisonment of bishop Hugh Latimer and archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who were executed in Oxford in 1555 and 1556. Carl I Hammer explains; "Because of a reimbursement dispute, Oxford bailiffs' accounts for Latimer and Cranmer survive... The accounts record the composition and costs of the prisoners' individual daily diets by item and dish for 245 meals."[93] Hammer's study finds that the prisoners were served an average of 7 dishes as part of a dinner and 6.3 dishes as part of a supper across the 6-month period covered by the records. By contrast, Richard Stonley's diary reveals that his prison dinners and suppers contained an average of 3.8 dishes, although Stonley rarely recorded bread and drinks, usually focusing on the expensive main dishes.[94] In contrast, Hammer's study indicates that bread and ale was always included in the 'menu' list for each meal.

Hammer concludes that the diets of Latimer and Cranmer were "ample" but "only at the upper level of those appropriate to a gentleman or merchant dining privately and, moreover, significantly below the [number of dishes] allowed to bishops and archbishops by the sumptuary regulations."[95] It may be concluded, therefore, that Richard Stonley's prison diet was more modest than that of Latimer and Cranmer, and perhaps more modest than he was used to, having previously enjoyed a status closer to that described by Hammer. Comparing Stonley's diary to the study undertaken by Hammer suggests that prisoners experienced a slightly (but not radically) reduced status in terms of their diets. This may explain Stonley's careful accounting of the food he ate in the Fleet; whether the records reflect his maintenance of a certain level of status or the adoption of a more modest lifestyle, the diary could have been used as proof to others or simply as a means of reassuring himself.

Conclusion: Life and Death in Fleet Prison

Both Richard Stonley and Stephen Vallenger died in the Fleet prison, presumably in the chambers they had been inhabiting for their final years, surrounded by their familiar things and perhaps servants, friends or family members. Although the third volume of Stonley's diary indicates that he was attempting to resolve his debt, the final entries in

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[93] Carl I Hammer, 'A Hearty Meal? The Prison Diets of Cranmer and Latimer', *The Sixteenth Century Journal XXX/3* (1999), p. 653. Hammer cites MS 128: 367 to 401 in the collection of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Hammer takes a quantitative approach to this archival source and does not include any examples of specific meals served to the prisoners, to give a sense of their daily experience of prison dining; instead Hammer focuses on general analysis for the months covered by the manuscript, including the types of foods eaten, the size of the meal and the average costs involved.

[94] This analysis was undertaken for my Master's dissertation, *Food, Dining and the Everyday Life of Richard Stonley* (University of Kent, 2013), chapter 3.

[95] Hammer, 'A Hearty Meal? The Prison Diets of Cranmer and Latimer', p. 665.

1598 get steadily shorter, less detailed and in some cases his hand is increasingly wobbly; Stonley's ability or inclination to diarise his everyday life was perhaps affected by age, poor health or even the psychological impact of his imprisonment. Augustus Jessop warns that life in the Fleet could impact negatively on a man;

> After some years of confinement men got accustomed to the place: they had dropped out of society, lost their friends, contracted new habits, had become unfitted to mix with their equals in rank... cases are not infrequent of such as had actually got their discharge refusing to avail themselves of it, and continuing to occupy their old quarters.[96]

Of course, Jessop was writing at a time when many prisons, including the Fleet, were demolished, which may have influenced his view that these sorts of buildings had a negative impact on individuals and society. The evidence of the everyday lives of Stonley and Vallenger challenges Jessop's view here; far from allowing themselves to be degraded by their imprisonments, the evidence suggests that both men were attempting to maintain their middling or lower gentry status through their possessions and the activities of reading (particularly scholarly and foreign-language works in the case of Vallenger), writing, socialising and entertaining. However, Jessop raises an important consideration; we might ask to what extent men like Stonley, particularly those in the final years of their lives, appreciated the opportunity to retreat from public life by remaining in prison. Both Stonley and Vallenger may have felt reassured or comforted by moving into a chamber in the Fleet. For men of middling or elite status, everyday life in the sixteenth-century Fleet prison was organised in a way that made the space partly domestic and partly institutional. In this sense, life in the Fleet may have been a similar to an almshouse; as Nigel Goose points out, "a place in an almshouse meant an honourable way of avoiding the combination of elderly physical decline and dishonourable public poverty."[97] The prison may have been a preferable place to be, particularly for older individuals like Stonley and Vallenger, caught up in the financial, political or religious turmoil of the late Tudor period.

This is not to suggest that Stonley's imprisment did not impact negatively on his life. Indeed, Rita Felski, in her discussion of the theories of everyday life, suggests that disruption to an individual's identity and patterns of behaviour can have a serious impact;

> To be suddenly deprived of the rhythm of one's personal routines, as often happens to those admitted to...prisons...or other large institutions, can be a source of profound disorientation and distress.[98]

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[96] Jessop (ed.), *The Oeconomy of the Fleete, p.* xiii.
[97] Nigel Goose, Henk Looijesteijn, 'Almshouses in England and the Dutch Republic circa 1350–1800: A Comparative Perspective', *Journal of Social History*, 45:4 (2012), 1049-73.
[98] Rita Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', *New Formations Journal,* 39: Cool Moves (1999), 15-31 (p. 28).

The question of how Richard Stonley's everyday life underwent change following his imprisonment is central to understanding his lived experience of the Fleet prison. On the one hand, the changes seem to have been radical and far-reaching; his life was condensed from two multi-roomed homes in London and Doddinghurst into a single chamber in the Fleet. Although the arrangements for life in the Fleet prison appears to have combined domestic and institutional qualities, Stonley's new living conditions appear to have triggered significant changes in the ways in which he recorded things in his diary. Alexandra Shepard particularly links a form of patriarchal manhood with "middle-aged, householding men, and, increasingly, those considered of 'able and sufficient means.'"[99] It seems that Stonley's debt problems, after rumbling along for many years, finally got the better of him when he left the period of middle age and moved into old age, and his shifting position in society perhaps resulted in him becoming increasingly vulnerable and unable to put off his creditors.

Stonley's diary is a rare source of evidence for everyday life in the Fleet prison in the late sixteenth century. Analysing Stonley's lived experience of the prison has highlighted the presence of both boundaries and opportunities for transference.[100] This transference took a number of forms, including visits into the prison by family and friends and visits out of the prison by prisoners; in a material sense, books, food and drink also appear to have been items which were frequently permitted to cross those boundaries. While this transference could be considered a simple sort of osmosis, with people and objects simply passing across the boundary, Paul Griffiths suggests that more elaborate, broader forms of transference were taking place among early modern criminal communities in London. He sees "a shifting sequence of overlapping circles" which "constantly touched at points of intersection, dispute, or compromise" and where "boundary-hopping was a day-by-day routine".[101] Indeed, the tensions and complaints that arose from prisoners (and perhaps which caused Stonely some anxiety) appear to have been more related to the control of material possessions and consumables, and the social positions that those goods implied, rather than access to the outside world being limited. The changes experienced by Stonley following his imprisonment included some significant modifications to his diary-keeping methods. Being imprisoned, of course Stonley experienced different types and quantities of social interaction than earlier in his

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[99] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* p. 246.

[100] Ruth Ahnert sees transference as a central theme in the historiographical approach to the study of early modern prisons; "...the vocabulary of porosity and permeability that is repeatedly used by scholars working on the early modern prison to describe the ease with which people, objects, and writings moved in and out" (Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature, p. 22*).

[101] Paul Griffiths, 'Overlapping circles: imagining criminal communities in London, 1545-1645', in A Shephard and P Withington (eds.) *Communities In Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 115-33 (p. 115 and p. 120).

life; in the next chapter, a more detailed examination of Stonley's social network places the changes that occurred in the late 1590s into a broader context, by analysing the named individuals across all three volumes of the diary.

Chapter 5: Social Networks, 1581-1582, 1593-1594 and 1597-1598

> This morning after p[ra]yer I h[e]ard service at my p[ar]ishe Church where the minister Mr Lavary made a S[e]rmon...
>> After wch S[e]rmon
>> Ther Dyned wth me thes p[er]sons vz:

John Foster et uxor	Steven More
Wydow Petchy	Wm Lincoln et uxor
Tho' Baly et uxor	Ruskwike et uxor
Tho' Glazier et uxor	My Self & my Wyf
George Hockey et uxor	My Daughta Dawtrey
Doctor [Daniel] Donne	My Son Heigh[a]m & hys wyf

>> In all 21 where 16 sate at my Table
>> The others at the side table
>> The same night came to me to Supper Tho Baly et uxor, Tho Glazier et uxor, George Hockey et uxor &c.[1]

Richard Stonley's diary records a huge number of individuals, including members of his family and household, colleagues, neighbours and tradespeople. The names of individuals he encountered were recorded in both the narrative passages and in the functional, accounting parts of the entries. As can be seen in the example above, Stonley had a clear sense of his social circle and the positions that he, his family and other individuals held. He also differentiated between activities (listening to a sermon, eating dinner and eating supper) and locations ('my parish church', 'my table' and 'the side table'). In reading the diary, we come across the names of many people, some famous, some familiar and many unknown, who played parts in Stonley's day-to-day experiences. This chapter will explore the ways in which Richard Stonley navigated social interaction in his daily life, both in terms of the individuals and groups he spent time with and the activities he was involved in. The inter-personal relationships experienced by Stonley help to illuminate the social capital that he possessed. The analysis undertaken for this chapter provides insight into Stonley's communities and the ways in which he interacted with individuals of differing social backgrounds, in addition to revealing the ways in which he navigated his own shifting social status.

Stonley's diaries are a rich source of evidence for the complex, interconnected networks of inhabitants of late-sixteenth century London and Essex. Utilising theories associated with social network analysis provides a method for dealing with the many hundreds of individuals recorded in the diary. Ian Archer urges scholars to "think of individual Londoners as belonging to a variety of interlocking communities...each of which generated loyalties, the intensity and mobilisation of which would vary according

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[1] Vol 1:38r - 25 December 1581.

to context."[2] A method that draws on the theories of social network analysis enables an investigation of the individuals that Stonley encountered in his daily life, without losing sight of their interconnectedness. It also helps to avoid prioritising those individuals who are already well known to historians; although well-known and well-documented elite individuals, such as Lord Burghley, were occasionally a part of Stonley's life, his diary records a wide variety of individuals from different social backgrounds who formed the bulk of his everyday social interactions and experiences.

Using the three volumes of the diary as the main source, I searched for references to the people Stonley met and referred to, both by name and unnamed. The list of individuals and groups gives a sense of the size of Stonley's social network. Analysis of the list of individuals reveals a number of different categories, including gender, status, and the location or type of 'interaction' which took place. Work, dining activities and shopping are three areas where Stonley frequently recorded social interactions. A comparison of volumes one and two reveals elements of consistency in Stonley's everyday social interactions. There is also evidence of change, perhaps resulting from his advancing years or his worsening financial situation. Comparing the first two volumes with the third volume, when Stonley was imprisoned in the Fleet, has revealed further changes and consistencies, reflecting the impact his imprisonment had on his everyday life and to the ways in which he kept his diary.

A general reading of the diary reveals that Stonley had different ways of recording people; through a full or partial name, a job title or a profession (as in 'Lord Treasurer' or 'the smith'), or a family relationship ('my wife'). Stonley often used formal forms of address in the diary, including M^r (master), S^r (Sir) and M^{res} (mistress), as was common in the period. Stonley listed both male and female individuals, married couples and family groups; frequently a married couple or a related pair would be written partly in Latin; "Mr Heigham et uxor" (translation: Mr Heigham and wife) or "M^{res} Cowper et filia" (translation: Mistress Cowper and daughter). In this analysis I chose to preserve Stonley's technique of recording couples, families and groups, rather than splitting them all into individuals, in order to reflect Stonley's preferred method and allow comparison between occasions when single names and Latin phrases are used. The final list includes both extremely well-known and well-documented individuals (especially those connected to Westminster), alongside many people who are less notable, or even completely unknown; Stonley's position at Westminster explains the references to high status and well-known individuals and his personal preference for meticulously

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[2] Ian W. Archer, 'Social networks in Restoration London: the evidence of Samuel Pepys's diary', in Alexandra Shpeard & Phil Withington, *Communities in early modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 76-94 (p. 76).

recording his daily life appears to account for the huge range of individuals in different settings.

Of course, the nature of the diaries as private notebooks intended for personal use means that there may have been inconsistencies in Stonley's accuracy in recording specific names; we cannot know exactly how comprehensive or precise Stonley was in the recording of his interactions. For instance, there are moments in the diary when the reader might assume that certain people were present, even though they are not mentioned by name. This particularly includes Stonley's wife Anne and other immediate family members or household servants. Ian Archer's research into the social networks of Samuel Pepys found a similar trend in Samuel Pepys' diary, where the dining companions are listed as "my people", which Archer takes to mean "unspecified servants and his wife".[3] Stonley occasionally used terms such as 'my household' to describe those present, for instance, on 25 December he noted that he "...had wth me to Dyner...[30] p[er]sons besides my owne howsold". Two days later Stonley only recorded that he "had wth me to Diner serten of my p[ar]ishe & likwise to Supper".[4] There are no additional references to any members of his family or household departing Doddinghurst between these dates, so it is likely that individuals including his wife and possibly his daughters, stepsons and their families, were also present despite not being listed. There are other individuals who are present in other archival sources but who appear to have been omitted from the diary. For instance, the records discussed in chapter three reveal an extensive social network in and around the Receipt at Westminster Hall, where Stonley had his office. Many of the names in these records do not appear in the diaries, although it seems likely that Stonley encountered them on a regular basis.

For the purposes of this analysis I have recorded individuals as Stonley recorded them; I have not attempted to interpret his vaguer references, or adjust my findings for any omissions. The results therefore show Stonley's social interactions as he recorded them; the diaries are already an interpreted version of Stonley's everyday life, reflecting his choices in selecting what to record, how to record it and what details to include. Sociologists David Newman and Jodi O'Brien argue that human beings "respond to our interpretations and definitions of situations, not to the situations themselves."[5] In the context of Stonley, his diaries are a response to his own interpretation of the daily occurrences that he faced and therefore there is a question of reliability for the sources, which are inherently personal.

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[3] Archer, 'Social networks in Restoration London', p. 77.
[4] Vol 1:97v and 98r.
[5] David M. Newman and Jodi O'Brien (eds.), *Sociology 9: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life: Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2013), p. 3.

It is helpful, therefore, to be mindful of the difference between Stonley's actual lived experience and his experiences as he wrote them. Another issue is that Stonley occasionally reported news or gossip, naming individuals who he had not actually interacted with. Although these indirect references do not reflect face-to-face contact, they give insight into Stonley's knowledge of other people and highlight the issues and events that Stonley deemed worthy of recording. The indirect references to individuals have been handled separately from the occasions where an actual meeting took place. This helps to differentiate between Stonley's lived experience of social interaction and the more interior processes of thinking and writing about other individuals.

Social Network Analysis

As discussed in the Introduction, social network analysis (SNA) is a method for examining relationships between individuals who are known to each other. The method involves identifying 'nodes', or actors, who are the individuals that are known to the main subject of the analysis (who is known as the 'ego'). Then the 'ties' between the nodes can be identified; these are the relationships that exist between individuals. Finally, the nodes can be categorised according to their attributes, which might include their location, identity or the activity concerned. SNA helps historians to understand the social and economic outcomes of relationships and transactions between individuals.

The SNA method can help to identify similarities between groups of actors.[6] As Charles Kadushin explains, homogenous clusters of individuals can create a "feedback system" where "the network patterning itself produces individual motivation such as status seeking" and "a constant feedback between structure and behaviour."[7] An example of this is Stonley's choice to establish homes in Aldersgate Street and Doddinghurst in Essex; he purchased homes in these locations, despite having no known family connections in those areas. These locations were, however, close to the homes of Sir William Petre and other elite individuals the young Stonley would have sought closer connections with. In maintaining homes in these particular locations, Stonley would have increased his cultural homogeneity with his neighbours, through methods such as shopping in similar locations and attending the same social events or places of worship. In the early modern world, geographic proximity would have been especially influential on the types of behaviour, and therefore homogeneity, within a social network.

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[6] Crossley et al explain that "where ties cluster, generating a dense nexus of mutual influence, we often find greater homogeneity in attitudes, preferences and practices". Nick Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets* (London: Sage Publications, 2015), p. 3.

[7] Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: theories, concepts, and findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 11.

Another important feature of SNA is the identification of transference between actors, since "pathways of ties through networks provide channels for the diffusion of culture, resources, [and] information".[8] As ideas or resources move between individuals, different types of transference can be identified; for instance a symmetrical relationship could involve individuals who are equals, both present at the same location or who exchange gifts of equal value. Other relationships between individuals may be directional, where the transference is influenced by the unequal statuses of the individuals, for instance the relationship between a parent and child or employer and worker. Another example could be the differences in relationships between guests and hosts during communal dining activities.

Scholars in the field of SNA highlight the role of social capital in their understanding of relationships between 'actors'; "where specific patterns of ties give rise to trust and norms of co-operation ('social capital') this can facilitate forms of action, both individual and collective..."[9] Kadushin suggests that social network connections provide "networked resources that you do not own, but to which you have access through your friends and acquaintances" which he considers to be 'social capital'.[10] Kadushin lists a number of "valuable resources" which are accessible via an individual's social network connections; his list includes professional opportunities, "help with personal problems", referrals to cultural activities and assistance with domestic tasks.[11] Although Kadushin's list was perhaps written with the study of twenty-first century society in mind, it seems equally pertinent to the study of historic communities and individuals. While today a job referral might come by email, in the early modern period the equivalent could be a handwritten letter of introduction and recommendation to a potential patron.[12] Occurrences of transference within a social network can be found throughout history; what changes is the technologies being used by the actors to facilitate that transference. Within different time periods and different cultural groups, the types and depths of interaction between people of different or similar status may also change. The types of shared activities, the material culture involved and the methods of transference may change in different historical periods. Traits which are particularly

[8] Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets,* p. 3.
[9] Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets*, p. 3.
[10] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 6. Similarly, John Field argues that the "central idea of social capital is that social networks are a valuable asset." See: John Field, *Social Capital,* second edition (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 14.
[11] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 6.
[12] The subject of early modern patronage letters are explored in detail by Paul D. McLean, who suggests that "we can see the beginning traces of ourselves in the techniques the letter writers employed to obtain advancement and recognition through their cultural agency in the domain of patronage seeking." Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: strategic interaction and patronage in Renaissance Florence* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), p. xiii.

'early modern' will be identifiable through an in-depth study of material culture and everyday life.

So far, the discussion of transference between actors has focused on positive opportunities for transactions and interaction. However, within a network there may be evidence of negative transactions, for instance in the form of the spread of a damaging rumour, attitudes of guilt by association, damage to an individual's reputation or even the spread of disease; as Kadushin explains, "Networks are conduits of both wanted and unwanted flows."[13] Awareness of this feature may aid our understanding of Stonley's shifting financial position, particularly during the third volume of the diary when he was imprisoned for debt. Throughout the diaries we may see evidence, not only of the aspirational building of a network, or reaching out towards different actors, but also something more defensive, protective or inward-looking. Evidence of positive and negative transference may reveal information about Stonley's motivations, as he navigated his way through his social network.

The size and density of a social network can provide information about the community concerned. A dense social network is one where there are many connections between nodes; in other words, a dense social network is one where the ego (or subject) has multiple relationships with each actor. Kadushin explains that "[density facilitates the transmission of ideas, rumours, and diseases. ...the greater the density, the more likely is a network to be considered a cohesive community, a source of social support, and an effective transmitter." Kadushin suggests that this model is more common in "[c]lassic agricultural communities or villages" where there is "greater density than modern cities, and people tend to know one another in many contexts".[14] Looking for evidence of the density of a network, or in other words the number of ties between actors that occur in different contexts, can reveal the type of community and therefore reveal information about the social status of the actors.

Although SNA is a useful tool for this chapter, it is not without limitations or caveats for this project in particular. As the focus of this research is on Richard Stonley's everyday life, it is important to be as inclusive as possible, in terms of identifying all the individuals Stonley interacted with. However, this has resulted in a list of several hundred names, which would be extremely difficult to represent on a single page in the form of a network diagram.[15] A project which has attempted to avoid this problem is the

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[13] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 8.
[14] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 29.
[15] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 27: "Sociograms that contain more than ten nodes are hard to grasp and subject to different interpretations depending on who is 'watching'."

Six Degrees of Francis Bacon project, which makes use of an on-line platform.[16] This method is advocated by Kadushin;

> Displays of networks on the Web are especially useful because they can be interactive, allowing further information about the points in the network. We can not do this in a book[.][17]

A web-based representation of a social network would allow a vast amount of data to be visible, and would create a way to access further details via hyperlinks to relevant biographical information. However, the challenge with this method is its reliance on 'clean' data which can be put into a spread-sheet or database. As evident in this project, the nuances of an individual's everyday experiences are not necessarily 'clean', easy to standardise or convert into mathematical statistics; within Stonley's diaries I found many anonymous, unidentifiable individuals (such as tradespeople and servants) and people on the edges of particular social groups (such as clerks), who Stonley encountered on a regular basis. Many of these lower status individuals in particular did not sit easily in the digital format that would be required for the creation of a computer-generated network diagram. Excluding the difficult or partial data, in order to make it more compatible with a digital format, would decrease the extent to which the data reflected Stonley's everyday routines and experiences.

Visual representations of social network diagrams or 'maps' may be a tool more suited to a project where the function or purpose of the social network has been pre-defined and the purpose of the research is to discover which individuals exist within that group. This type of analysis would therefore be ideal for identifying groups such as political elites and the alliances formed across a period of time. One example of this sort of project is Paul D McLean's research into the social networks among political elites in fifteenth century Florence, which uses letters of patronage to trace connections between individuals.[18] This sort of project is obviously different from research which starts with an individual and looks outwards to the everyday interactions that took place at a particular time. For scholars of everyday life, it is important to include as wide a range of inter-personal encounters as possible, including people of different social backgrounds and individuals on the edges of a group. It is extremely fortunate that Stonley often chose to record exactly those people, from farm labourers and fishmongers to clerks and blacksmiths. Of course, Stonley's diary provides useful evidence of specific social groups

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[16] See: <http://www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com> The project is a collaboration between Carnegie Mellon University and Georgetown University. Researchers used the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography to create a social network revolving around elite individuals in the 16th and 17th centuries.

[17] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 7.

[18] Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: strategic interaction and patronage in Renaissance Florence* (London: Duke University Press, 2007).

(such as civil servants or Essex gentry), but this would involve 'cutting up' the evidence of the diary and therefore it would no longer reflect the breadth of his everyday life.

For the purposes of everyday life studies, some aspects of SNA may require modification. An important step is what SNA scholars describe as the 'selection' of nodes;

> [N]odes and node sets must be defined and selected carefully, with reference to the ideas and theories driving a particular research project.[19]

In the case of studying historic social networks, the act of selecting nodes may risk imposing criteria which had different meanings for the individuals concerned. This is a problem for the study of everyday life in particular; it is important to be impartial and inclusive, avoiding ruling out individuals, especially those individuals who are lower status, from minority groups or groups who can be less visible in the archival record. Sociologists may focus their attention on drawing boundaries around a set of nodes.[20] However, for scholars of historic everyday life, a social network is not restricted in any way; the only limit would be the extent of the documentary evidence. In the case of this project, the limit of the network being examined is that which is evident in Stonley's diaries. For instance, while some of the administrative records of Westminster show evidence of the social network focused in and around the Receipt offices, this would not allow for the wide variety of social interaction Stonley appears to have experienced on a daily basis.

General Analysis of the Diaries

Across the three volumes of Stonley's surviving diary, I have identified over 700 individuals or groups, with whom Stonley interacted. Volume one contains 410 individuals or groups, volume two contains 303 and volume three contains 164. Removing the names of individuals who appear in more than one volume (around 100 people) has produced a list of 784 individuals and groups. This list includes partially identified individuals, for instance when Stonley notes half a name, or some kind of identifying trait, but no full name, such as "Anne", which could refer to Stonley's wife, daughter or granddaughter. The list also includes some unidentifiable individuals, where, for instance, a job title has been used in place of a name, for instance "servant" or "the smith".

Variations in early modern spelling also occasionally make it difficult to determine if two names are in fact the same individual. For instance, Stonley's tailor is

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[19] Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets,* p. 5.
[20] Nick Crossley et al argue that "The question of which nodes to focus upon for a social network analysis is often a matter of where to draw the boundaries around a node set. Some networks are already bounded for us." Crossley et al, *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets,* p. 5.

named as "Peter Wensing", "Wenzing" and "Wenson". Even more complicated, a brother-in-law of either Richard or Anne is named both as "Uvedale" and "Woodhall". Changes in time across the three volumes of the diary may also account for differences in the way an individual is named; a woman may have had the title "goodwife" or "mistress", but later was described as "widow". Some of these confusions may be impossible to resolve, but despite the difficulties of identification, it is clear that a vast number of social connections are represented in the diaries, and Stonley was engaged in numerous social network clusters.

Size and Density of the Interpersonal Environment

Stonley's social network seems to have been considerable in size and he appears to have been a well-connected man, maintaining relationships with several hundred individuals.[21] As Kadushin points out, when considering the size of a social network, the scholar must "take account of variation in people's skills at making connections."[22] The size of Stonley's network may be explained by his professional status; the position he held in the Exchequer would have required contact with a wide range of people of both high and low status. Meanwhile, Stonley's personal financial and property investments would have required a large network of elite contacts, while his marriage gave him access to both the connections of his wife's family and that of her first husband. Stonley's own background in the farming community of rural Warwickshire may have made him value his social interactions with lower status individuals, such as farm labourers, tradesmen and shopkeepers. It may be argued that Stonley was skilled in maintaining social connections, which aided him in his professional and social lives, and that these connections with people of different socio-economic backgrounds reflects his upper-middling status. Furthermore, the fact that he chose to record social interaction with all sorts of individuals, not just elite men, and in different contexts, gives a strong indication that he valued the activities associated with maintaining different types of social connections.

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[21] Kadushin suggests that "The average person historically has had a maximum effective network size of about 150, but that size appears to have doubled in current Western countries" (See: Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 57). Even taking account of duplicates and the challenges of working with the variations of early modern spelling and personal titles, Stonley's network of around 700 is considerably larger than the 150 suggested by Kadushin. This is an area where social scientists and historians could collaborate to develop more accurate understandings for different time periods.

[22] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks,* p. 35.

Table 5.1: Showing total number of individuals and groups recorded by Stonley.	Vol 1	Vol 2	Vol 3
Total number of individuals / groups	410	303	164
Average per day	0.72	0.81	0.38
Number of individuals only recorded on one occasion (% of total)	285 (69.5%)	195 (64%)	86 (52%)
Number of named individuals recorded on 10 occasions or more (% of total)	17 (4%)	20 (7%)	23 (14%) [14 (9%)][23]

The full extent of Richard Stonley's social network is revealed by the total number of specific individuals and groups listed in the diary, which altered across the three volumes of the diary. Table 5.1 shows that the numbers of individuals or groups recorded by Stonley decreases across the three volumes. An issue here, however, is the various lengths of the three diaries, which lasted 564, 375 and 431 days each. By looking at the number of individuals per day (by dividing the number of individuals and groups by the number of days covered by each volume of the diary), it could be argued that the breadth of Stonley's social network was at its largest during the second volume of the diary, having risen from 0.72 in 1581-2 to 0.81 in 1593-4. As might be anticipated, the final volume of the diary, written during Stonley's incarceration, shows that his social network had drastically decreased in size and he recorded just 0.38 people per day. However, an interesting feature of this data is that the number of individuals that Stonley recorded seeing most frequently stays broadly the same across the three time periods, between 17 and 23 individuals. A further issue here is that the 23 individuals most frequently recorded in the third volume includes 8 fellow prisoners and the deputy warden, who Stonley presumably had no choice in seeing; excluding these individuals results in just 14 individuals. The individuals with whom Stonley interacted the most frequently may represent the 'inner core' of Stonley's quotidian social network; it may be that an 'inner core' of between 14 and 20 people was either a preference for Stonley, or a size that he was best able to manage.

Interpretation of this data may be improved by considering the density of the social network and the depth of the relationships. The percentage of individuals who were recorded by Stonley on just one occasion gradually decreased from nearly 70% to 52%; these individuals may have been experienced as peripheral actors within Stonley's social network; following his imprisonment it is not surprising that this category reduces to just 86 individuals. Furthermore, it is clear that by the time of the third volume of the diary, the 'inner core' of Stonley's social network comprised a much larger percentage of

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[23] The sum of 23 individuals who were most frequently recorded in the third volume includes fellow prisoners and the deputy warden; excluding these individuals results in just 14 individuals.

his whole network, hinting at the loss of parts of his wider social circle. By concentrating his social interaction on the 'inner core', it may be that Stonley experienced a deepening of those relationships over the years covered by the diary.

Considering the identities and attributes of the individuals in Stonley's social network reveals other changes over time. Table 5.2 shows the different genders of the individuals and the different groupings of individuals that Stonley used in his diary entries;

Table 5.2: Genders of the individuals recorded by Stonley	Vol 1	Vol 2	Vol 3	Average across 3 volumes
TOTAL	410	303	164	-
Men	306 (74.6%)	205(67.6%)	124 (75.6%)	72.6%
Women	46 (11.2%)	40 (13.2%)	19 (11.6%)	12%
Married couples	30 (7.3%)	25 (8.3%)	1 (<1%)	-
Pairs (usually relations)	5 (1.2%)	8 (2.6%)	2 (1.2%)	-
Groups	12 (2.9%)	10 (3.3%)	6 (3.7%)	-
Unclear	11 (2.7%)	15 (5%)	12 (7.3%)	-

As can be seen in this table, the majority of Stonley's social network was made up of male individuals, around 72% on average across the three volumes. Across the three volumes, individual women formed 12% of those recorded. There were changes across the three volumes of the diary. The number of men recorded dipped slightly from 74.6% in volume one to 67.6% in volume two, before rising again to 75.6% in volume three. In contrast, the number of women recorded rose slightly between volumes one and two (from 11.2% to 13.2%) before falling in volume 3. The number of married couples recorded follows a similar pattern, rising from 7.3% to 8.3% between volumes 1 and 2. This data indicates changes to Stonley's social network between 1581 and 1598. As discussed above, between volumes one and two, the network appears to have increased in size and the relationships may have deepened; this appears to have coincided with an increase in the number of women recorded by Stonley. The decrease in the size of the network during volume three, but the maintenance of relationships with frequently encountered individuals, is explained by his imprisonment in the Fleet. During this time he lived alongside other male prisoners and the women he recorded would have been visitors to the prison.

The Main Actors in Volumes One, Two and Three

Across the three volumes, there is significant variation in the frequency that certain individuals are recorded.[24] Table 5.3 below summarises the most frequently recorded individuals, those who were recorded ten times or more. The table also includes certain

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[24] A full list of all the specific people mentioned in the diary is included in the appendix.

members of Stonley's immediate family (his brother Edward, his wife Anne, his two daughters Dorothy and Anne, and his grandson Harry Dawtrey), who were recorded on fewer than 10 occasions.

Table 5.3: Showing individuals who were recorded 10 or more times in each volume. Also showing the frequency that members of Richard Stonley's immediate family were recorded.

Volume 1	Volume 2	Volume 3
Dr Daniel Donne (45)	William Heigham (67)	Roger Batte (145)
Sir John Branche (44)	John Puxley (60)	the boy [servant] (117)
Uvedale (35)	Anne Tomlyn (38)	William Heigham (92)
William Heigham (24)	Margery (27)	William Dove (69)
Richard Newman (23)	Roger Batte (22)	Harry Dawtrey (67)
William Dawtrey (22)	Dr Daniel Donne (22)	the maid [servant] (44)
Thomas Trotter (18)	Wm & Anne Heigham (20)	Edward Stonley (40)
Harry Makepeace (17)	Mr Turke (18)	Francis (25)
Mr Patten (17)	Uvedale (18)	Harry Makepeace (25)
Anne Stonley (13)	Grace Biggins (17)	Margery (23)
Cottesford [minister] (12)	George Hockley (15)	John Cottesford (20)
Thomas Fysher (12)	Mr Fering (14)	Mr Lilly (17)
Mr Lavery [minister] (12)	Anne Harrison (13)	Mr Puxley (13)
Anne Tomlyn (11)	Richard Newman (11)	Anne Stonley (12)
Richard Glastock (10)	William Poole (11)	
John Taylor (10)	Peter Wensing & wife (11)	**Fleet Prisoners / Warden**
Thomas Thorncroft (10)	Richard Brooke (10)	John Hore (34)
	Anne Goodyere (10)	Mr Philips (27)
	Mr Thompson (10)	Mr Stroud (26)
	Thomas Wyse (10)	Mr Fysher (24)
		Mr Fitzherbert (23)
		Mr Townsend (23)
		Mr Newberry (22)
		Mr Lee (19)
		Mr Smythe (15)
Other immediate family members:		
Edward Stonley (8)	Anne Heigham (9)	Anne Heigham (6)
Dorothy Dawtrey (4)	Edward Stonley (9)	Dorothy Dawtrey (5)
Harry Dawtrey (3)	Dorothy Dawtrey (8)	
Wm & Anne Heigham (5)	Anne Stonley (7)	
Anne Heigham (2)	Harry Dawtrey (5)	

In the first volume of the diary Stonley's stepson Daniel Donne and his wife's brother, Sir John Branche, both stand out as having had particularly frequent contact with Stonley; Daniel Donne is mentioned on 45 occasions and Sir John Branche on 44 occasions. These two men were perhaps Stonley's most influential and successful male relatives, so his relationship with them may have had a strategic dimension as well as a personal one. Branche was the Lord Mayor of London in 1580 and in the same year Daniel Donne (aged around 36) was appointed as the principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford.[25] Daniel Donne appears to have pursued an academic career in the 1560s and 1570s, although some entries in volume one suggest that Stonley was still supporting his

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[25] ODNB: Dun , Sir Daniel (1544/5–1617).

step-son financially at Oxford at this stage. Other male relatives who clearly played a prominent role in Stonley's life include his brother-in-law Uvedale (35 occasions) and his sons-in-law William Heigham (24) and William Dawtrey (22). Interestingly, none of these men are direct blood-relatives, since they are all related through the marriage of Stonley's sister and daughters, or Stonley's wife. This gives a strong indication of how significant marriages could be in the development of a social group.

The most frequently cited woman in volume one is Anne Stonley, Richard's wife, who is referred to on 13 occasions, although this figure may be misleading as it is possible that there were occasions when she was present as a member of the household but not specifically mentioned by Stonley. Anne Tomlyn (a currently unidentified woman who was probably a London neighbour) is referred to on 11 occasions. In total, in the first volume, Stonley refers to 47 different women and 34 of these are referred to on just one occasion, indicating a wide social network. It appears that the women Stonley recorded were of varying social backgrounds; in addition to his wife, Stonley also refers to Lady Anne Petre (the widow of his patron Sir William Petre) on 3 occasions and Lady Mary Petre (the wife of Sir John Petre) on 3 occasions. However, he also refers to a lower status relative (perhaps the cousin of his wife), called Grace Biggins on 5 occasions and a female servant, Bridget Bradye, who may have been a housekeeper, is referred to on 7 occasions.[26]

Agricultural workers and household servants (both male and female) are referred to frequently throughout volume one, always in the context of farm work, domestic tasks or shopping for food or other necessities. Eight servants are referred to by name, the most frequently recorded being Thomas Trotter (18), Harry Makepeace (17), Thomas Fysher (12) and Bridget Bradye (7). In addition to the servants of his own household, on 26 occasions, Stonley records encounters with unnamed servants from other households. At the other end of the social spectrum, in the first volume Stonley encountered 21 individuals who were of the nobility or titled gentry and of these, he referred to over a third of these more than once (8 out of 21). This gives a strong indication that in terms of Stonley's daily life, there was significant amounts of interaction between social classes.

In volume two there appears to be a slight shift away from the powerful and elite men frequently encountered in volume one. By 1593 Stonley's social interaction appears to have become centered around his family, servants and a mixed-gender group of friends or neighbours. Stonley's son-in-law William Heigham (often with his wife, Stonley's daughter Anne), Daniel Donne, his brother-in law-William Uvedale/Woodhall and cousin Grace Biggins are very frequently mentioned in this period, along with

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[26] Grace Biggins in described as a cousin in Anne Stonley's will (LMA: DL/C/360/147r / microfilm X019/0150).

household servants Roger Batte and Margery, and two friends, Mr Puxley and Anne Tomlyn. The second volume also shows a decrease in the frequency with which Stonley encountered people with titles and those of noble rank; while he recorded 21 titled individuals in volume one, this was reduced to 12 in volume two. Of these 12, only 5 of them were listed more than once. This shift away from powerful social superiors towards a closer circle of friends and family may reflect Stonley's advancing years; he may have been anticipating a sort of retirement from Westminster. Alternatively, it may be that his social position was suffering as a result of the financial problems which were catching up with him.

One exception to this shift towards family and women, away from the world of business, finance and Westminster, is in Stonley's interaction with his attorney Mr John Turke; in volume one, Mr Turke is mentioned on just one occasion. However in volume two, Stonley refers to Mr Turke on 18 occasions, both in the context of legal work and at dining occasions. It seems likely that due to Stonley's increasingly precarious financial position, he grew more reliant on the legal services provided by his attorney and perhaps also felt the need to invite Mr Turke to dine with him as a means of maintaining 'social credit'.[27] Stonley's relationship with Mr Turke appears to have incorporated social and professional activities; on Wednesday 12 December 1593 Stonley noted that Mr Turke, along with Mr Puxley, had been a dinner guests "whom I used in my busynes".[28] This interaction is evidence of the sort of social credit relationships investigated by Craig Muldrew;

> [T]ransactions, discussions, hospitality, gift-giving and receiving as well as much else. Such interaction with one's neighbours was what contemporaries usually referred to when they used the word 'business'[29]

In the case of Stonley's dinner with Mr Turke, we can see evidence of multiple relationships between the node, or actor (Mr Turke) and the ego (Stonley); the transference taking place included hospitality alongside legal advice or financial transactions.

Alongside the apparent shift away from powerful elite male appears to be an increase in contact with lower status women; in this period Stonley names five women with the title 'goodwife', a title which is not seen at all in volume one. All of these women were based in rural Essex, rather than London, where Stonley more frequently used the title 'Mistress' or a descriptor such as 'wife' or 'widow'. The correlation between the title 'goodwife' and the rural location perhaps indicates that these women were the

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[27] Muldrew defines social credit as "social communication and circulating judgment about the value of other members of communities": Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 2.
[28] Vol 2: 46r.
[29] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation,* p. 64.

wives of local farmers and considered socially inferior to the gentry class that Stonley felt he had joined. Although the OED defines the title 'goodwife' as simply meaning the mistress of a household, William Harrison's 1577 *Description of England* associates the male equivalent title, goodman, with the yeomanry.[30] Shakespeare only uses the title 'goodwife' on one occasion; in Henry IV part 2, Mistress Quickly mentions "goodwife Keech, the butcher's wife", who she describes as "such poor people".[31] Although this scene refers to characters in London, the reference evokes a sense of the lower status of goodwife Keech, while her role as the wife of a butcher hints at a connection to food production and agriculture. Goodwives Everard, Pare, Fysher, Hogge and Foster all dined with Stonley in Doddinghurst and four of the women were dinner guests on Sundays.[32] All of these women were listed individually on these occasions, but they share surnames with other people mentioned elsewhere in the diary, often men employed by Stonley or possibly tenants in and around Doddinghurst. These meals may have been examples of Stonley acknowledging the status of these women as local respectable neighbours, while asserting his own status as patriarch and host.

The apparent shift from being a part of London's political elite to a more domestic and mixed-gender social group could be connected to Stonley's advancing years, as he was now well into his seventies. Stonley's brother-in-law, Sir John Branche (the former Lord Mayor of London) had died in 1588. Since Stonley's original patron, Sir William Petre, had died in 1572, followed by his wife, Lady Anne in 1582, Stonley may have found it increasingly difficult to navigate the edges of this circle of political elites, without these high-status patrons. On the occasion of Lady Anne's burial in April 1582, Stonley makes a specific reference to his former patron, describing the couple as "my singular good master and lady", perhaps indicating a closer connection to the older generation of the Petre family than the current generation.[33]

As can be seen in table 5.3, the most frequently encountered individuals in the third volume of Stonley's diary are quite different to the first two volumes; by this time Stonley had been imprisoned in the Fleet for debt and he had modified his usual method of diary-keeping, resulting in a different range of information regarding his everyday life. During the first four months of this volume (March 1596/7 to June 1597) Stonley's entries are incredibly densely packed with information, including over 1,200 social interactions. At the end of June 1597, Stonley changed his method of accounting and for the eleven

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[30] William Harrison, *Elizabethan England: From "a Description of England," by William Harrison (in "Holinshed's Chronicles")* (London: W. Scott Publishing Co., 1876).
[31] William Shakespeare, Henry VI part 2, 2:1, 89-97.
[32] Pare, Everard, Fysher and Hogge were dinner guests on Sundays on 29 July 1593 and 4 November 1593 (vol 2: 19v and vol 2: 37v).
[33] Vol 1: 54v.

remaining months his entries are quite sparse. Even before this change however, he appears to have adopted a much more detailed method of accounting for his dining companions and dishes served at dinner and supper. Other differences between volume three and the earlier volumes, include a lack of any trips outside of London or Westminster, no references to agricultural workers and fewer charitable donations, most likely due to his imprisonment restricting his contact with the outside world; although Stonley could (and did) pay for trips out of the Fleet, travelling further than London or Westminster would have necessitated an overnight stay, which was perhaps not acceptable to his gaolers or not preferable to Stonley, on account of the additional cost.

Over 150 individuals or groups are identifiable in the third volume; the majority are men (124). Of these, 32 appear to be prisoners, wardens or keepers also inhabiting the Fleet and the remainder comprise male servants, family members, friends or tradespeople from outside the Fleet. Only 19 individuals named in this volume are women, including family members, acquaintances and tradespeople, so it seems that Stonley experienced much less contact with women during this period.

The most frequently seen individuals were Stonley's inner circle of household and family members; his servants Roger Batte and William Dove (appearing on 145 and 69 occasions respectively) and family members William Heigham, grandson Harry Dawtrey and brother Edward Stonley (92 occasions, 67 occasions and 40 occasions respectively). It seems that Stonley experienced even less contact with higher status individuals, including nobility and gentry, than in volume two; contact with his stepson Daniel Donne (who was by this point working as an ecclesiastical judge and chancellor of the diocese of Rochester) appears to have reduced.[34] As Donne's position of power and authority was increasing and his step-father's career and social position was struggling, their relationship may have become more distant. Visits from Stonley's wider circle of social superiors or peers in volume three appear to be rare occasions; he notes one visit from Thomasine Greville and two meetings with Sir John Petre, the daughter and son of his former patron, Sir William Petre. There are a five additional references to Sir John Petre during this time, which are all indirect and suggest that Petre was involved in Stonley's attempts to clear his debts. This may indicate a cooling of their relationship, however it may also have been a result of Sir John Petre not taking on any sort of official role of patron to Stonley. Indeed, sources indicate that Sir John Petre did not pursue a political career himself suggesting that the connection between the two men was one of a familial obligation rooted in the historic relationship between the two families.[35]

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[34] ODNB: Dun , Sir Daniel (1544/5–1617).

[35] See ODNB: Petre, Sir William (1505/6–1572). "Unlike his colleagues Cecil, Paget, and Russell he did not found a political dynasty. His family's firm adherence to the Catholic religion…largely

Types of Social Interaction

So far, the relationships between the nodes (or actors) and the ego (Stonley) have been explored by examining the frequency of references to them occurring in Stonley's diary. Due to Stonley's detailed methods of recording, it is also possible to analyse the contexts in which these social interactions took place. A range of categories has been identified, including the type of shared activity and the location where it took place. While a discussion of cyclical patterns within the three volumes will be discussed in further detail in chapter six, this chapter will now turn to examine the total number of interactions in more detail. Across the three volumes of Stonley's diary, I have identified 3299 references to interactions with individuals or groups, as shown in the table below:

Table 5.4: Showing the total number of interactions recorded in the diary.	Vol 1	Vol 2	Vol 3
Total number of days covered by the diary	563 days	375 days	431 days
Number of days with no interactions recorded	186 (33%)	66 (17.6%)	280 (65%)
Total number of interactions	1082	1002	1215
Average interactions per day (excluding days without interactions recorded)	2.9	3.2	8
Average interactions per day (including all days)	1.9	2.7	2.8

As seen in table 5.1, due to the different numbers of days contained in each volume of the diaries, it is helpful to look at the average number per day, in order to get a sense of how each volume differs. Table 5.4 above shows some important shifts between the volumes. Firstly, between volumes one and two it seems that Stonley makes his daily entries more detailed, and the percentage of daily entries with no social interactions recorded nearly halves, from 33% to 17.6%. Consequently, the average number of social interactions per day increases slightly from 2.9 to 3.2 between 1581-2 and 1593-4. This table particularly highlights the radical change that took place following Stonley's imprisonment, when he made significant changes to the types of information he recorded and the way that he used his diary. This accounts for the very large number of days without any interactions recorded and the average number of interactions recorded each day.

A number of different scenarios, or contexts, for these social interactions can be determined from the data. These contexts would be described as the connectors that link the different actors on a social network diagram. Fourteen different types of

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impeded his heirs from following the path of royal and public service which he had himself so successfully negotiated."

interaction, or shared activity, were identified; the type of the interaction was either clearly stated by Stonley, or it could be determined from contextual information within the entry, or other parts of the diary. Table 5.5 compares the different contexts, or categories, of social interactions, which took place in volumes one and two.

Table 5.5: Showing categories of social interactions in volumes one and two.				
Context / Category	**Vol 1 Number**	**Vol 1 % (of 1082)**	**Vol 2 Number**	**Vol 2 % (of 1002)**
Social / Dining (Host) - meals where Stonley acted as host	268	24.8	490	48.9
Social / Dining - meals where Stonley was a guest	154	14.2	64	6.4
Shopping / Services (Vendor) - purchases or fees for services made directly to the vendor	152	14	94	9.4
Shopping / Services (Household) - purchases or fees for services made via a servant or household member	33	3	45	4.5
Legal / Financial / Property / Admin - including legal fees, investments, payments, land, rent, court keeping, parish clerks wages, fees for beadles	100	9.2	76	7.6
Tips / Charity - including donations to the poor and alms	65	6	64	6.4
Individuals / Maintenance - maintenance of family/household including 'bordwages' and 'scollers charge', educational fees, expenses and personal items.	51	4.7	14	1.4
Servants Wages - quarterly paid wages, or payments specified as going to servants	47	4.3	40	4
Agricultural - farm work and food production	45	4.2	16	1.6
Exchequer Work - in Westminster and other locations, involving collecting or distributing money or keeping records	39	3.6	20	2
Religious - including attending church, hearing sermons, receiving communion and reading the bible	38	3.5	0	0
Travel - journeys taken by Stonley with others or references to other individuals travelling to or from one of Stonley's homes	26	2.4	21	2.1
Gift (Given) - given by Stonley including New Year, marriages and Christenings	13	1.2	25	2.5
Gift (Received) - received by Stonley	0	0	13	1.3
Unclear / Other	51	4.7	20	2
TOTAL	**1082**		**1002**	
N/A (days no interactions noted)	[186]	-	[66]	-
Number of days covered by the volume	563	-	375	-

Table 5.5 shows the different types of social encounters mentioned in volumes one and two, allowing for a comparison of Stonley's daily experiences in 1581-1582 and ten years later in 1593-1594. Since volume one of the diary covers a longer period

(around 18 months compared with 12 months in volume two), percentages allow for a more accurate comparison than the raw numbers. A number of the categories remain broadly consistent between the two volumes, suggesting a sense of continuity and stability in his social network, status and personal and professional activities. Meanwhile, other areas did change radically, indicating that new or different daily activities had been adopted which points to an alteration within Stonley's social network and status.

Occasions when Stonley paid his household servants (category 'Servants wages' in the above table) remained similar (4.3% and 4% in volumes one and two respectively) suggesting that Stonley's domestic arrangements at his homes in Aldersgate Street and Doddinghurst did not change significantly during this period. Similarly, the frequency of interactions involving a charitable payment ('Tips / Charity' in the table above) remained consistent, rising only slightly from 6% to 6.4%. This category includes small, regular payments made to the poor (sometimes described as alms given at church) and payments that were sometimes recorded as 'rewards' to lower status people (such as a 'charwoman', or the servants of other people) who have completed a small task for him, such as delivering an item or a domestic chore. This continuity perhaps demonstrates a stability in Stonley's social position, as a social benefactor and benevolent patriarch. The number of social interactions which took place in the context of a religious activity dropped from 38 in volume one to zero in volume two. This does not reflect a lack of religious activity, but it does suggest that Stonley did not record specific social interactions taking place during spritual activities in the second volume of the diary. This could indicate that Stonley's spritual practices were increasingly solitary in the 1590s, but it may also suggest that his priorities in terms of what information he recorded shifted slightly in the second volume.

References to Stonley's legal and financial dealings, including property investments and payments to clerks and lawyers, dropped slightly from 9.2% to 7.6%. References to Stonley's professional work as a Teller of the Receipt also dropped slightly, from 3.6% to 2%, however this does not appear to have been a radical change and it is likely that Stonley's occupational responsibilities and activities did not diminish in any significant way between 1582 and 1593, despite his age. Jane Whittle's research into early modern working practices suggests that;

> Rather than concentrating on agriculture, a craft or a trade, most
> households combined a range of different types of production to generate
> multiple sources of income.[36]

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[36] Jane Whittle, 'Enterprising widows and active wives: women's unpaid work in the household economy of early modern England', *The History of the Family,* 19: 3 (2014), 283-300 (p. 297).

Evidence of Stonley's social interactions appears to confirm Whittle's findings. Stonley was involved in a range of different types of 'production', including professional work connected to Westminster, his own financial and property dealings and agriculture. Whittle's research indicates that "[t]he household was the primary place of work in early modern England".[37] However, in the case of Stonley it seems that work activities took place in a variety of domestic and non-domestic locations. Agriculture naturally took place in Doddinghurst, but Stonley's professional work took place in Westminster, at his homes and wherever the court was located, as discussed in chapter three.

Another field of Stonley's social interactions which seems to have changed between 1582 and 1593 is shopping. In both volumes of the diary Stonley had two ways of recording purchases; shopping could either be recorded as a payment direct to a vendor (which was perhaps made by Stonley himself), or it could be recorded as a payment made by a servant on his behalf. The purchases which appear to be made via direct interaction between vendors or tradespeople and Stonley drops from 14% to 9.4%. Meanwhile, the purchases which appear to have been made via a household servant rises from 3% to 4.5%. Although subtle, this shift might be explained by considering Stonley's advancing age; by the age of 73, Stonley may have begun to rely more heavily on his household servants making purchases on his behalf.

The most striking change between volumes one and two is in social occasions, usually in the form of dining. Across both volumes, dining and social occasions (including supper) are the most frequently recorded type of interaction with other individuals; in volume one more than a third of the recorded social interactions are with dinner or supper companions and in volume two this rises to more than half. This significant increase may be explained by Stonley participating in more dining events, or it may be that he was taking more care in recording his dining customs in more detail.

A further change regarding social and dining occasions is related to Stonley's role as host or guest. From volume one to volume two, the dining companions encountered by Stonley at occasions where he was also in the role of guest halves from 14.2% to 6.4%. However, at the same time, the number of dinner and supper companions hosted by Stonley appears to double from 24.8% to 48.9%. It seems therefore that in the second volume, Stonley was more frequently the host, rather than being a guest. One explanation for this change may be that invitations to the dinners and suppers began to dwindle in the early 1590s, perhaps related to Stonley's age or his delicate financial situation and that he was falling out of favour. The opposite explanation may be that

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[37] Whittle, 'Enterprising widows and active wives', p. 284. See also: Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household: the world of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Stonley did not feel the need to attend dinners and suppers hosted by his social superiors or equals and due to his confidence in his position as benefactor and patriarch, he preferred to play the host.

As discussed previously, Stonley modified his diary keeping style and methods for the third volume (written in the Fleet prison), meaning that different types of information have been recorded. Comparing the types of interactions Stonley experienced with those which took place in volumes one and two, it is clear that while some aspects of his social network remained consistent during his imprisonment, other things altered significantly. Table 5.6, below, outlines the different types of interactions experienced by Stonley in the third volume. Between March and June 1597 the bulk of Stonley's references to social interactions are connected to dining and supper activities in the Fleet prison. Following this, between July 1597 and May 1598, the entries appear to focus on his paid excursions out of the Fleet and progress with his legal case. References to religious activities and encounters with ministers and preachers, however, remain broadly consistent across the volume.

Table 5.6: Categories of interaction as recorded in volume 3	**Number**	**% (of 1215)**
Dinner	564	46.4
Supper	372	30.6
Legal / Financial	65	5.3
Rent / Fee paid to Fleet	48	4
Religious	29	2.4
Shopping	27	2.2
Servants Wages	26	2.1
Social / Visit (received)	22	1.8
Tips / Charity	13	1.1
Excursion - involving another individual	11	0.9
Exchequer Work	8	0.6
Gift (Received)	3	0.2
Leisure	3	0.2
Individuals / Maintenance	1	<0.1
Unclear / Other	23	1.9
TOTAL	**1215**	
N/A (days no interactions noted)	[280]	
Number of days covered by the volume	431	

Indirect References: Rumours, News and Memories

An important category of the social network members recorded in Stonley's diary are instances where Stonley clearly refers to an individual but an actual interaction or shared activity did not take place. This might include instances of gossip or news being reported. The diary also records evidence of Stonley recalling a piece of information about an individual, though the memory does not appear to have been triggered by actually meeting with them.

Table 5.7: References to individuals not met with directly.	Vol 1	Vol 2	Vol 3
Total indirect references to individuals/groups	108	64	138
Number with manicule (% of total)	13 (12%)	5 (7.8%)	47 (34%)
GENDER			
Men	84	59	108
Women	18	4	19
Pairs, Couples, Groups, unclear	6	1	11
STATUS			
Queen	10	2	8
High Status (including Queen, titled gentry, nobility and their immediate families and political elites)	35	18	46
CONTEXT			
Stonley's family members	9	11	27
Life cycle events (birth, death, marriage)	13	9	3
Business / Financial / Work related	14	31	41

As can be seen from table 5.7, the number of references to individuals that Stonley did not actually meet himself rises significantly in the third volume of the diary; this is most likely a result of his incarceration. Being restricted in his social contacts may also have prompted an interest in news from outside the prison. References to individuals connected to his professional and financial situation naturally increases dramatically at this time. Interestingly, references to the queen and other high status individuals also decreases between volumes one and two, before increasing again in volume three. An explanation for this could be a slight distancing between Stonley and his high-status contacts during volume two, perhaps due to his advancing age. Following this, during Stonley's imprisonment, his concern to resolve his debt problem may have resulted in a particular interest in high-status contacts who may have been in a position to assist him. The only category which decreases is life cycle events, including births, deaths and marriages, which is perhaps explained by Stonley's imprisonment removing him from these sorts of community events and celebrations during his imprisonment.

Contexts for Social Interaction: Dining and Shopping

In volumes one and two, shopping and sharing meals are the two contexts which contained the largest number of social interactions, as shown in table 5.5. A more detailed analysis for these categories is important for a deeper understanding of Richard Stonley's social network. The findings here highlight the importance of these activities for early modern communities.

Dining is an important category for both cultural and practical reasons. Food availability may have had a particular significance for the generations who were affected

by famine years which occurred in 1550, 1556, 1585, 1586 and mid-1590s.[38] Since sharing a meal involves spending a period of time together and participating in a specific set of customs and patterns of behaviour, it can also be connected to aspects of identity and shared culture. Whittle and Griffiths' research into the Le Strange family accounts of the seventeenth century finds that "[c]ultural conventions were just as important as the seasons".[39] Religious fasting and feasting also had a role in the Le Strange household throughout the year. The frequency with which individuals shared dining activities may have been an indicator of the closeness of relationships and reveal the positions held within a community.

In volume one, social occasions (usually in the form of dinner or supper) account for around one third of all of Stonley's social interactions. This includes occasions where Stonley was a guest at an event hosted by another person, and when he hosted other individuals at one of his two homes. Around 150 different individuals have been identified as dining companions; the exact figure is difficult to ascertain, since on some occasions Stonley gives less information about the group present at a meal.

Stonley's most frequent dining companions in volume one appear to have been men based in London, especially those who were his social equals or superiors, including Sir John Branche (41 occasions in London and 3 in Essex), Dr Daniel Donne (26 occasions in London and 6 in Essex), in addition to William Uvedale, William Heigham, Mr Newman, Mr Patten and William Dawtrey. In fact, only one Essex-based man appears as a dining companion 10 times or more, Richard Glastock. Meanwhile in Doddinghurst, Stonley's frequent dining companions included three ministers (Mr Cottesford, Mr Lavery and Mr West) and many more married couples; in Essex he dined with 24 married couples, 11 individual women and 40 individual men. This is compared with 5 married couples, 8 individual women and 54 individual men in London. In volume one it seems that Stonley's dining circles were affected by his location; his dining experiences were perhaps more masculine and business orientated in London, while family ties and women had a more prominent role at his rural home in Essex.

In 1581 and 1582 Stonley's dining activities in London may have been more related to the production and maintenance of social capital for the benefit of his professional activities, while the same activities in Essex were more closely associated with interpersonal and interfamilial relationships. In terms of numbers Stonley's dining circles in London and Essex were roughly equal in size; 71 individuals in London and 70 in Doddinghurst, although this does not allow for the individuals who appear in both

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[38] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1790,* (Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 34.

[39] Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household: the world of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 97.

locations and some individuals who occur in other locations Stonley visited, including Hertford Castle, Ingatestone and East Ham. But in terms of Stonley's experience of dining, it might be argued that the primary differences between the two communities were related to gender and an increased frequency of dinner and supper events recorded for London.

Dining appears to become an even larger part of Stonley's interactions with his society in the second volume of the diary; in this period, 1593-1594, around 51% of the individuals mentioned by Stonley have the context of a shared meal. It is unclear whether this is due to dining events occurring more frequently, the meals being larger with more dining companions, or whether perhaps Stonley is just recording these occasions in more detail.

The trends for dining appear to reflect the general trend for the most frequently named individuals in general across the diary; in the second volume, William Heigham continues to be the most frequent dining companion (63 occasions) alongside Mr John Puxley (60 occasions), Anne Tomlyn (37 occasions), Stonley's daughter Anne Heigham (20 occasions), his cousin Grace Biggins (20 occasions) and stepson Daniel Donne (24 occasions). Like the earlier volume, it appears that the most frequent dining companions were those based in London, where Stonley seems to have experienced a slightly larger social circle, with more men. Like volume one, volume two appears to show a stronger female presence in Essex and a stronger male presence in London. Anne Stonley, Richard's wife, may have lived primarily in their Essex home; as discussed in chapter two, she seems to have been involved in farming activities there. Anne's presence in Doddinghurst may have encouraged mixed gender groups to socialise there.

As discussed in the previous chapter, in the third volume of the diaries dining activities were recorded quite differently from the earlier volumes; in the first four months (March to June 1597) of volume three, Stonley meticulously recorded every dish served to him dinner and supper along with the names of any guests dining with him in the Fleet prison. He recorded the midday and evening meals separately, following a format which is also seen in some records belonging to Sir William Petre at Ingatestone, dating from January 1552.[40] Occasionally Stonley also recorded himself in amongst the list of dining companions, as in the following example, on Sunday 10 April 1597, when

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[40] See: F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London: Phillimore, 1961), pp. 308-16; appendix F in Emmison's volume includes a transcription of a household account book from Ingatestone Hall which dates from Christmas 1551. The style of accounting appears to match Stonley's custom of listing the dishes and guests. Stonely is known to have worked for Sir William Petre before being appointed as Teller of the Exchequer in 1554, so he may have picked up this method of record keeping from Sir William Petre's household. Additionally, he may even have been involved in keeping these records at Ingatestone Hall early on in his career.

Stonley and his dining companions enjoyed a meal of boiled veal, roast beef and gammon;

> Strang[e]rs
> Mr Fitzherb[e]rt : Mr Phelips : Mr Newton
> Mr Fysher : Mr Strowde : Mr Smyth
> Mr Townsend & my self

In these instances, Stonely usually recorded himself at the end of the list. It may be that the list shows some kind of hierarchy within the group of prisoners, or perhaps gives an indication of where individuals sat at the table.

Despite his imprisonment, it seems that Stonley maintained a social circle with whom he shared meals; 64 different dinner companions are recorded. Within this group, 28 appear to have been fellow prisoners or keepers at the Fleet, 8 individuals were close family members and the remaining 28 were other external individuals, including household servants, acquaintances and former colleagues. Within this group of dinner companions, were both individuals who Stonley dined with on just one or two occasions and individuals who he dined with on 10 or more occasions.

William Heigham continued to be a frequent dining companion of Stonley's, sharing dinner with him on 43 occasions, often several times per week. Stonley's grandson, Harry Dawtrey became a much more frequent dining companion. Harry Dawtrey was aged around 19 or 20 during the third volume, and it appears he was developing a closer relationship with his grandfather during this time. Certain individuals who were very frequent dining companions during the second volume of the diary (such as Mr Puxley, Mr Newman and Anne Tomlyn) only appear occasionally in the prison diary. This may have been social, due to changed relationships between the individuals, or practical, due to restrictions caused by Stonley's imprisonment in a different geographic location.

There are 46 individual supper companions mentioned by name (including one couple - Peter Wensing and his wife - so 47 individuals in total). This is slightly less than the 64 dinner companions. This difference may be due to supper being a smaller, more casual meal, but also potentially because Stonley recorded supper with less accuracy; on some occasions he would indicate in the diary that the supper guests had included dinner guests from earlier in the day, but he did not write their names again, making it difficult to be sure exactly who was present. The data indicates that Stonley's supper companions tended to be the core group of his close household servants (Roger Batte, William Dove, the maid and Margery, and Francis and 'the boy'), his son in law William Heigham, his grandson Harry Dawtrey and his brother Edward Stonley. The other main group was Stonley's fellow prisoners and a small group of acquaintances (Harry

Makepeace, John Cottesford, Mr Hynde and Mr Puxley in particular). Like the dinner companions, this appears to demonstrate a varied social network.

Shopping is the second most frequent type of social interaction which Stonley recorded in the diary, at just over 15% in volume one and around 13% in volume two. He even records some instances of shopping when imprisoned in the Fleet. These findings corroborate the argument made by Claire Walsh, that "[s]hopping in the early-modern period was a routine, everyday activity, even for those with servants".[41] The nature of Stonley's diary as a hybrid between personal diary and household account book means that Stonley recorded more than just his simple financial outgoings; he frequently noted the names of specific vendors and tradespeople, in some cases allowing some insight into their relationship. These records reveal shopping to have been a complex and social activity for Stonley and his household, as argued by Walsh;

> Shopping in the early-modern period was not a matter of simple provisioning. It was a complex activity, built on endless repetition and well developed experience and it was embedded within everyday needs and contexts.[42]

I use the term 'shopping' here to mean the purchasing of goods or services; Whittle and Griffiths note that the word 'shopping' was not used until the eighteenth century, although the concept of purchasing obviously did exist.[43] The category of 'shopping' includes both items purchased direct from the vendor by Stonley, and items bought on his behalf by members of his family or servants.[44] The category of 'shopping' excludes other forms of procurement, such as home produced items, things shared between neighbours and the receipt of gifts, all of which may have resulted in interpersonal interactions and which could have been a significant part of Stonley's social network.

Stonley identified more than 50 different people who were involved in purchasing, either as vendors or as household servants purchasing things on his behalf. Five household servants made purchases on Stonley's behalf and this includes Roger Batte and Margery, who made the most frequent purchases, usually for basic foodstuffs and drinks, sometimes in large quantities. On one occasion Anne Stonley made a

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[41] Claire Walsh, 'The social relations of shopping in early-modern England', in in Bruno Blondé, Peter Stabel, Jon Stobart & Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Buyers & Sellers: Retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe,* Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800) 9, Turnhout, (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006), pp. 331-51 (p. 332).
[42] Walsh, 'The social relations of shopping in early-modern England', p. 333.
[43] Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-century Household*, p. 49.
[44] Claire Walsh discusses new terminology differentiating between types of shopping that was undertaken on behalf of the head of a household: "I have coined the term 'proxy shopping' to define shopping carried out for someone by family, friends or socially significant contacts, and distinguish this from what I term 'correspondence shopping' - that carried out by agents, bankers, servants or tradespeople" (Walsh, 'The social relations of shopping in early-modern England', p. 338).

purchase of spices and dried fruits. The majority of the individuals involved with shopping activities appear to be vendors who Stonley dealt with directly. As in volume one, there seems to be an emphasis on purchases related to personal appearance; volume two contains several references to a barber (on one occasion named as Pomfret). There are seven references to purchases made from Stonley's tailor, Peter Wensing and one purchase made from Wensing's wife, who are also occasional dining companions. The closeness of this relationship perhaps hints at Stonley's role as patron, able to offer both work and hospitality to a favoured tailor.

There appears to be a division between shopping for necessities and for luxuries; the most frequently named vendors are sellers of books (particularly the printer and bookseller Edward White, who is mentioned on 7 occasions) and clothing (particularly Ludwell the tailor and John Barnes), suggesting that for these items, Stonley made purchases in person. Meanwhile, it seems that purchases of food and costs associated with horses (perhaps resulting from Stonley's frequent travels between London and Essex) were more commonly made by his servants on his behalf. Of course, it may be that luxury goods were deemed worthy of a more accurate description in the diary, including the name and location of the seller, regardless of whether Stonley visited the shop himself or sent a servant, while the day-to-day costs of food and transport were noted more briefly. However, purchases such as books and clothing perhaps required more specific involvement from Stonley, in terms of making choices that reflected his taste and needs, which explains a preference for making the purchase himself.

An act of purchasing could have degrees of intimacy or complexity. Some purchases may have involved only brief interactions between vendor and purchaser, while others were more time consuming and included more complex customs and behaviours. This may account for Stonley's more detailed records of books and clothing purchases; a purchase of clothing from a tailor may have been affected by the interpersonal relationship present, since the tailor would be assisting with choices relating to appearance and taste. Additionally, the act of fitting a garment would have involved being in close proximity and physical contact, potentially over a period of time if a new garment was being made. Likewise, in the sixteenth century when book choices could reveal political opinions or be an indicator of religious preferences, an individual may wish to develop a close relationship with a trusted bookseller. Curiously though, Edward White, Stonley's favoured bookseller in volume one, is not mentioned in the second volume, despite the fact that White continued his business printing and selling books until the early seventeenth century and Stonley continued to buy books.

There are 28 references to shopping in volume three of the diary, compared with 185 instances in volume one and 138 instances in volume two. This significant decrease

is understandable in light of Stonley's financial position and reduced contact with markets and opportunities for purchasing due to his imprisonment. Eight of the 28 references (29%) appear to show Stonley's household servants making purchases on his behalf (Roger Batte, Margery and Mr Wysse). The proportion of those purchases made by household servants in broadly comparable to volume two (31% of purchases were made via a household servant), suggesting that previous domestic routines were perhaps being maintained despite Stonley being imprisoned in the Fleet.

Contexts for Social Interaction: Household Servants

Analysis of Stonley's social network can reveal much information about the ways in which household servants functioned and the types of relationships he had with these individuals. Within the diary, household servants can be identified by the quaterly payments categorised by Stonley as 'servants wages'. The table below lists the recipients of these wages, including in brackets, the number of occasions that they received wage payments.

Table 5.8: Showing servants who received wages from Stonley (including the total number of payments given in brackets).		
Volume 1 (18 months)	**Volume 2 (12 months)**	**Volume 3 (15 months)**
Bridget Bradye (7)	Roger Batte (4)	Roger Batte (3)
Thomas Trotter (7)	Olyf Everard (4)	Margery (3)
William Waltes (7)	William Kene (4)	Olyf Everard (3)
Thomas Fysher (6)	John Lovely (4)	Anne Hogge (3)
Thomas Thorncroft (6)	Margery (maid) (4)	Richard King (3)
Roger Batte (2)	Robert Pare (4)	Robert Pare (2)
Robert Pare (2)	William Poole (4)	Thomas ?Rainbow (2)
Sybell (maid) (2)	Thomas Wysse (4)	Mr Wysse (2)
John Taylor (2)	Waverley (3)	Richard Greve (2)
Agnes (maid) (1)	Richard Gardiner (2)	William Kene (2)
Agricultural workers (1)	Johan / Joanne (2)	Anne Harris (1)
Thomas Edmonds (1)	John Ray (1)	
William Edmonds (1)		
Harry Makepeace (1)		
Goodwife Mansfield (1)		

Each volume of the diary reveals a core group of servants; in volume one (which covers 18 months) this group includes five individuals, who each received six or seven payments;[45] Bridget Bradye, Thomas Trotter, William Waltes, Thomas Fysher and Thomas Thorncroft. In volume two, this core group seems to have expanded to eight individuals, who each received four payments in the 12 month period; Roger Batte, Olyf

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[45] The discrepancy between 6 or 7 payments may be due to the date for some of the servants receiving the seventh payment falling just outside the diary; for instance, the payment for October-December 1582 may not have been paid until early January 1582/3.

Everard, William Kene, John Lovely, Margery, Robert Pare, William Poole and Thomas Wysse.

Volumes one and two suggest that Stonley's homes were maintained by a core group of between five and eight servants. Stonley's domestic arrangements appear to be typical, for his status at this time, concurring with Jane Whittle's description of the servants required for a lower gentry or wealthy yeoman farming household:

> The households of gentry and wealthy yeoman farmers always contained servants in this period: normally four or more such employees. These always included women as well as men, but more men than women were employed.[46]

However Stonley's records in volume three are less clear; the core group of servants probably included Roger Batte, Margery, Olyf Everard, Robert Pare and Thomas Wysse, five of the individuals who received wages in volume two. Despite covering 15 months, only two or three payments are recorded for these individuals. The most likely explanation for this is that he had limited contact with these individuals while he was imprisoned in the Fleet, or that the payments were managed by someone else, in his absence. Additionally, when Stonley changed his method of accounting for his household at the end of June 1597, the payments were no longer recorded in his personal diary.

In addition to the core groups, it seems that other servants were either paid on an irregular basis. Analysis of Sir Thomas Puckering's account book of 1620 demonstrates a similar arrangement, including "those men and women who were 'salaried' members of his household and those who acted for him on an ad hoc basis".[47] Similarly, J.F. Merritt's research on early modern Westminster (a world that Stonley would have been familiar with, although he did not live there himself) suggests that casually employed servants could lodge in Westminster, moving between private employers and work in the offices of Westminster.

> Servants employed in a lesser capacity, such as messengers and those who looked after horses and carriages, would often have operated outside the household and may have been far more loosely attached to it.[48]

The nature of service work in Westminster may account for a number of irregular payments recorded in the diary; on nine occasions Anne Goodyere undertook tasks for Stonley, often in and around his offices at Westminster. For instance, two shillings was

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[46] Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: evidence of women's work from probate inventories', *Transactions of the RHS,* 15 (2005), 51-74 (p. 61).
[47] Mark Merry and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick 1620: Living in London and the Midlands,* (Stratford-upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society, 2012), p. 54.
[48] J.F. Merrit, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, court and community 1525-1640* (Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 175-6.

paid "To Goddyere for hir service at Westm[inster]" on 15 July 1593, and on the 8 November 1593 she was rewarded for assisting with, or possibly overseeing, the repair of "the gutter from my Chamber towardes the Tames".[49] While the repair itself cost Stonley 5 shillings, he paid a further 2 shillings 12 pence to Anne Goodyere. A month later Anne Goodyere assisted with "Drying my Stuf that came from St Albons" and then delivering the items to Stonley; she was paid 12 pence "for bringinge my App[ar]ell from Westm' that came from St Albons".[50] On this occasion, it seems that Anne Goodyere was also invited to join Stonley and others for the midday meal. The evidence of Anne Goodyere's work correlates to the model of short-term employment described by Merrit whereby "relatively unskilled servants would have passed from household to household, and possibly even into and out of Crown employment."[51] Like Anne Goodyere, Anne Tomlyn is also recorded as undertaking Exchequer work on Stonley's behalf on 19 November 1593, "Anne Tomlyn caried the money to Mr Skinners being £400".[52] Anne Tomlyn was also a frequent dining companion of Stonley's. It seems that these women were simultaneously casual employees of Stonley household and also friends, or possibly neighbours in London.

Irregularities in the payments to household servants may also have occurred because some servants were occasionally paid by other individuals, who recorded their wages elsewhere. Senior servants, such as Roger Batte or Margery, who both appear to have taken a prominent role in the household in the 1590s, or other family members may have been responsible for the management and payment of other workers within the household. An entry in the first volume of the diary supports the theory that Anne had her own group of servants. Stonley recorded on 13 August 1581;

> This morning after p[ra]yer I brought Thom[a]s Fisher my
> Cook to my p[ar]ishe Church where he maried
> Rose that had byn my wyves S[e]rvant[53]

Rose does not appear in the lists of those who received wages from Richard, implying that Anne Stonley managed her own servants. Furthermore, in an entry on 20 December 1581, Stonley recorded that a payment to Sybell the maid was paid "by hir mystres".[54] The domestic financial arrangements between husbands and wives are also highlighted by Merry and Richardson in their analysis of the Puckering account book; they describe a complex and shifting arrangement between Puckering and his wife, who maintained separate finances in some areas, although Puckering contributed towards

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[49] Vol 2: 16v and Vol 2: 37v.
[50] Vol 2: 44v and Vol 2: 45v.
[51] Merrit, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster,* p. 174.
[52] Vol 2: 40v.
[53] Vol 1:14r.
[54] Vol 1:37r.

some of his wife's expenses in other areas.[55] These findings are echoed by Jane Whittle, when she cites John Fitzherbert's advice manual of 1533, which "suggests a wife should keep her own accounts, but should report her financial affairs to her husband, just as he should report to her."[56] The evidence of the diary suggests that Richard and Anne may both have been responsible for maintaining their own accounts and paying their own household servants. Since the diary seems to indicate that Richard and Anne frequently lived apart, this may have been a practical solution for them.

Stonley's use of the past tense in the reference above, to Rose 'that had been' his wife's servant, also implies that Rose stopped being Anne Stonley's servant after her marriage. Indeed, although the name Thomas Fisher or Fysher continues to appear in volumes two and three, it is never in the context of servants wages, but instead it usually appears in the context of social occasions and dining, usually in Doddinghurst. This may indicate that after their marriage, Thomas and Rose Fisher established their own household in Doddinghurst, perhaps as tenants of Stonley's. This correlates to R. C. Richardson's explanation that "household service was a life-cycle experience which often filled the gap between adolescence and marriage."[57] Richardson adds that marriage "commonly marked the point at which a female servant left employment."[58] These factors indicate that the relationships between servants and employers were not necessarily a straightforward transaction of money in exchange for labour, but were subject to complex cultural customs.

Stonley's household, it seems, evolved over time and relationships shifted. In the ten years that passed between volumes one and two, it seems that Roger Batte and Robert Pare gained more prominent roles. Although Robert Pare appeared throughout volume one, he was only paid wages in December 1581 and December 1582. Roger Batte, meanwhile, made his first appearance in the diary on 14 July 1581, but he was not paid quarterly wages until early October and late December 1582. It may be that Roger Batte and Robert Pare were both paid by another individual some of the time, but at some point during or after 1582, they moved into roles that resulted in them being paid directly by Stonley on a quarterly basis.

Examining the role of servants within Stonley's social circle also reveals long-lasting and complex relationships between families. Thomas Trotter and Thomas Fysher appear to have been part of Stonley's core group of household servants in 1581-1582.

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[55] Mark Merry and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering*, pp. 64-5. Puckering's accounts also indicate that he lived seperately from his wife at times.
[56] Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650', p. 64.
[57] R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 64.
[58] Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England,* p. 76.

Although they were not paid 'servants wages' by Stonley in the second volume of the diary, their names do not disappear; Thomas Fysher appears as both a dinner guest of Stonley's and in the context of giving and receiving gifts in 1593-94. Indeed, Thomas Fysher was given a gift of money from Stonley on the occasion of his brother's marriage on 29 June 1593 and a woman described as 'goodwife Fysher' (who may have been Rose) was a dining companion in Doddinghurst on 4 November 1593. Thomas Trotter, meanwhile, received a gift from Stonely at New Year in 1593/4. This perhaps suggests that after leaving his service, Trotter and Fysher went on to establish their own homes in the Doddinghurst area, perhaps even as tenants of Stonley, and their families maintained ongoing relationships with their former employer.

A number of individuals who were perhaps former servants actually appear in the third volume of the diary. Thomas Fysher, for example, shared meals with Stonley on nine occasions in May 1597. Harry Makepeace also appears as a dining companion, on 18 occasions in March, May and June 1597, including the following example, on Monday 8 May; [59]

> Dyner
> Pegions & Bacon : Boylde Bef : Rost Vealle : Rost Lambe
> Bacon Gamon : Chese
> Strangers
> My wyf : Mr Heigham : Harry Dawtrey   Srvants
> Batte, Fysher : Makpes : the boye

In this example Stonley categorises both Thomas Fysher and Harry Makepeace as servants, despite neither of them apparently being paid servants wages (by Stonley directly) since the first volume of the diary, fifteen years earlier. While this may be an indication that some servants were paid by an alternative household manager, perhaps Anne Stonley, it may also reflect more multi-faceted relationships, incorporating elements of 'tenant and landlord', 'family friend', 'neighbour' and 'master and servant'. Indeed, Stonley's relationships with the families in his service may echo that which he himself had with the Petre family; a relationship once rooted in service, but also reflecting qualities of friendship, patronage and neighbourliness. R.C. Richardson suggests that 'service' as a genre of work, was "a vertical feature of English society, extending from top to bottom."[60] The social relationships with servants (and their families) that Stonley depicts in his diary, including his own relationship with his patron, demonstrate that service was very much a feature of the fabric of sixteenth century society, at all levels.

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[59] Vol 3:19v.
[60] Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England,* p. viii.

Stonley's relationships with his current and former servants also extended to include other family members and cross generational boundaries. The Edmonds family appear in both volumes one and two of the diary, with both William and Thomas receiving wages from Stonley in 1581. However, at this time William appears to have been unwell, and his mother is noted as having received a sum of money to support her son on 13 October 1581. In March 1594 it appears that William Edmonds had died, since Thomas was given money towards the burial costs on 13 April 1594. The Everard family is another which seems to have been interconnected with Stonley's family. Olyf (or Olive?) Everard was a quarterly paid servant of Stonley's in 1593-94 and 1597. On 23 December 1593, Stonley noted a tip that was paid to a servant named Daniel Everard, who was described as "Daniel Done's boye", indicating that members of the Everard family were in service at both Stonley's homes and those of his stepson Daniel Donne.

Examining the different types of social interaction between Stonley and his household servants and other employees reveal a range of complex inter-familial and long-lasting relationships and ultimately reveal groups of lower-status individuals who might otherwise remain unseen. Stonley's daily diary entries reveal interpersonal relationships that were often vertical in nature; that is, they resulted in triangular shaped social groups, with small numbers of higher status individuals towards the top and larger numbers of lower status individuals towards the bottom.

Multi-Functional Activities and Multi-Faceted Individuals

Examining Stonley's social interactions has revealed a number of activities which are difficult to categorise and interpret. Some diary entries reveal that certain individuals played multiple roles, while others imply that the social interaction itself had multiple functions and meanings. Both scenarios demonstrate instances of increased density in the social network, where the links between different actors are numerous and individuals are deeply connected.

On Sunday 26 August 1593 Richard Stonley describes an excursion with his wife to visit Sir John Petre at his house at Thorndon in Essex:[61]

> I rode with my wife to Sir John Petre's, to Thorndon, to dinner. Had some speech with Mr Robert Petre & him of money matters & of one Mr Fage, his currupt dealing in matters at Doddinghurst [62]

This extract shows socialising as a married couple, combined with business and financial dealings with both the son of Stonley's former patron (Sir William Petre) and his current superior in the Exchequer, since Mr Robert Petre was an auditor of the Receipt. The

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[61] Sir John Petre lived at Thorndon until the death of his mother, Lady Petre, who continued to live at Ingatestone after the death of her husband, Sir William Petre.
[62] Vol 2: 23v.

discussion of the corrupt Mr Fage also brings the focus onto Stonley's position as the local elite family in the parish of Doddinghurst. But equally, the references to Mr Robert Petre highlight the professional work of the two men in Westminster, and their lives as colleagues and neighbours in London. Although brief, this entry demonstrates the shifting and intersecting nature of Stonley's social status and network; this single entry shows Stonley as both superior and inferior, as a private man, husband and friend and a public figure and colleague, a rural landlord and a city-dweller. Entries like these demonstrate the interplay between different aspects of Stonley's identity, and avoid labelling him with a one-dimensional identity.

As a host, Stonley frequently dined with individuals who appear to have played multiple roles in his life, including tradespeople and individuals involved in Stonley's legal and business dealings. For example, between 1593 and 1594, Stonley's tailor Peter Wensing and his wife are listed as dining companions on 12 occasions and in the context of payments for purchases of clothing on 8 occasions. Similarly, Mr Turke, Stonley's attorney, appears in the second volume of the diary on 4 occasions in the context of legal and financial work and on 14 occasions in the context of dining at Stonley's house in Aldersgate Street. Likewise, Richard Newman is listed on multiple occasions in volumes one and two, both in the context of purchasing fish and in the context of dining together. For instance, on 10 October 1582, Richard Newman dined with Stonley at Aldersgate Street and the following day Stonley paid 12 shillings "To Mr Newman for one kegge of Sturgion".[63]

Stonley's methods of describing individuals in his diary can give further insight into the roles that they played, both within his network and the world more widely. In volume one, Stonley dined at the London home of his wife's brother, Sir John Branche, on 40 occasions, two of which were significant enough to warrant being signposted with a manicule. At this time, Branche was the Lord Mayor of London and Stonley used this title to describe his brother-in-law up until November 1581, when he switched to the phrase "my brother Sir John Branche" or just "Sir John Branche", indicating that Branche no longer held this position. It seems that during his term of office as Lord Mayor, this was the capacity in which Stonley thought it most appropriate to record his brother-in-law. After Branche left the role, in late October 1581, Stonley noticeably changed the way he described him, preferring to highlight his role as a titled member of the gentry and his wife's brother. Not only is this indicative of a shift in Branche's occupation and identity, it demonstrates Stonley's changing attitude towards him, and the elements of his identity which Stonley deemed most important. The multi-functional nature of the

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[63] Vol 1: 80v.

relationship between Sir John Branche and Richard Stonley is also exemplified in a description of a dinner which was hosted by Branche. On Thursday 27 July 1581, Stonley recorded that he "Dyned w[i]th the L Mayor where Mr Ric Marten Alderman, was Chosen Sheref of London".[64] This example shows a multi-faceted occasion, which appears to have been both a social meal and an important political event, highlighting the nature of meals like this as a combination of social, family, business and political events. Stonley's relationships are not always classifiable in a straightforward way, but are often of a hybrid or fluid nature and the shared activities he participated in often incorporated a variety of functions.

Conclusion: Social Networks and the Lens of Everyday Life

Although more commonly associated with large scale social network diagrams, the theories associated with social network analysis have proven extremely useful for analysing the individuals that Richard Stonley encountered on a daily basis. Although social network maps or web-based models showing Stonley's network have not yet been attempted, this would be a fruitful avenue for future research. The theories associated with social network analysis have enabled an exploration of Richard Stonley's social interaction without undue preference being given to individuals who are already well-known to historians. The vast majority of Richard Stonley's social interactions that he recorded in his diary did not involve elite individuals, but ordinary people who are generally poorly represented in the archival record. By focusing on the specific context of each interaction, it is possible to develop a clearer sense of how Stonley experienced his social network. Dining and shopping have been found to be the most frequent contexts for social interaction and the presence of multi-functional contexts and multi-faceted individuals illustrates areas of particular density within his network.

The theories associated with social network analysis have required adaptation for the study of early modern everyday life; the nature of early modern spelling and the use of different titles and identity descriptors (such as 'widow') can make accurate identification challenging. A particular issue for the study of historic everyday life, is the need to place all types of social interaction on an equal footing, focusing on the frequency and nature of the social interactions, rather than their historical importance. For the study of everyday social interaction, there is no limit or boundary to the size of the network, other than what is provided by the documentary evidence.

Having three volumes of Stonley's diary available enables a comparison between his experiences of social interactions in different years of his life. This analysis has

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[64] Vol 1: 11r.

revealed subtle shifts between the first and second volumes, particularly in the gender split within the network; although dominated by men in the first and second volumes, there were slight increases in the number of women in Stonley's social network in the second volume. At first glance the third volume of the diary looks fairly consistent with the earlier volumes, in terms of the ways in which people were recorded by Stonley. However, analysing the social interactions recorded by Stonley has clearly shown how much his life was impacted by his imprisonment in the late 1590s. These changes are reflected in the reduced size (but increased depth) of his social network and are also explained by the adoption of different methods of diarising and recording. Social network analysis has clearly demonstrated that Stonley's network altered over time and this would appear to correlate to the ways in which his position in society shifted, moving between urban London and Westminster and rural Doddinghurst, and finally to the Fleet prison.

Chapter 6: Cycles and Routines

Cyclical patterns are evident throughout Richard Stoney's diaries; he carefully recorded the major life-cycle events of birth, marriage and death and the associated ritual activities which took place within his social circle. Stonley recorded events connected to the annual cycles of Westminster, the religious year and the agricultural seasons, which might be seen as externally influenced. He also recorded details of internally motivated routines which were deeply embedded within his everyday life, such as working, shopping and dining. There if, of course, considerable overlap between these types of cycles. For instance, daily working routines may have been influenced by external factors, such as the weather or the terms of the legal year; similarly, fluctuations in routine shopping activities may have been affected by religious or life-cycle celebrations. This chapter will seek to analyse these different types of cycles in order to develop a fuller understanding of Stonley's everyday experiences, how he responded to cyclical changes and how his routines were modified by external events.

In line with Rita Feski's view that everyday life "is above all a temporal term...that which happens 'day after day'", this chapter explores evidence of small-scale weekly and daily routines in Stonley's diary, in addition to analysing patterns of activities across the year.[1] An important focus for this chapter is the relationship between the routines of Stonley's everyday life and the text of the diary; his daily activities may have shaped his writing customs and there may have been variations in the extent to which he was explicit or reserved in his record keeping. As will be seen, his diary-keeping methods changed over time and there is evidence of shifting linguistic habits. Paying close attention to the text and materiality of the diary allows for the consideration of the manuscript as a tool used by Stonley to organise the complex factors which shaped his routines. Previous chapters have noted that the format of Stonley's diary changed significantly in the third volume, during his imprisonment. Consequently, the analysis of cyclical activities will primarily focus on the first two volumes. However, the disruption of patterns or routines, whether for positive or negative reasons, can also be illuminating; the third volume of the diary provides a valuable opportunity to observe the daily life of an individual whose routines have been broken on a fundamental level.

This chapter will also explore Stonley's descriptions of religious festivals and life-cycle events; the diary records a number of births, marriages and deaths which occurred within Stonley's social circle, while the festivals of Christmas and Easter are recorded on

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[1] Rita Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', *New Formations Journal,* 39: Cool Moves (1999), 15-31 (p. 18). Felski adds that everyday activities "conform to regular diurnal rhythms that are in turn embedded within larger cycles of repetition" (p. 18).

several occasions. Although a focus on grand life-cycle events and religious festivals may appear to be at odds with the concept of everyday experience, this chapter will show that the two fields of grand life-cycles and daily routines are in fact intertwined and relational. Disassociating 'ritual' from 'routine' would be problematic, since each area informs our understanding of the other; an activity which is routine in some scenarios may take on a ritual significance in other contexts.[2] Of course, a challenge for historians of the pre-modern period is that often the surviving evidence only records the big events; birth, death, marriage, the purchase or inheritance of land and property, or a professional achievement such as a university degree or apprenticeship. Diaries and household accounts, however, are ideal sources of evidence when, as in the Stonley diaries, they capture both the daily lives of early modern individuals alongside more overtly significant events and ritual activities. Changes to descriptions of routine behaviours can particularly illuminate the ways in which Stonley expressed his social position and personal identity.

Weekly and Daily Routines

> This day after morninge p[ra]y[er] I kept my Chamba and
> at 11 of the cloke began my fytte wth moch T[r]emblinge
> ...& so continued till 4 And
> then waxed warme & Drye Afterwardes going to
> bedde at 7 I slept then till 11 & from 12 to 4
> And after some slombring rose at 7 & ended that
> Day & night wth thankes to gode[3]

Richard Stonley's day-to-day life appears to have had a broadly flexible structure and the diaries do not suggest he had a strict or regular weekly or daily routine. Instead, it seems that Stonley was accustomed to making numerous decisions each day about how best to spend his time; he may have been influenced by a variety of factors, including directions given to him by superiors or information shared by members of his household or employees. As the above quotation shows, he made frequent references to precise hours of the day, indicating that he had access to clocks or other means of telling the time. These references reveal some broad patterns to his daily life, particularly relating to personal prayer and dining.

The majority of Stonley's descriptions of his daily activities include references to morning and evening prayers. The above example is perhaps unusual, as it took place in

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[2] As discussed by McShane and Walker: Angela McShane and Garthine Walker (eds.), *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England: Essays in Celebration of the Work of Bernard Capp* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010): "Our aim is...to illustrate how the extraordinary and the everyday each informed the other" (p. 4).
[3] Monday 16 January 1597/8, Vol 3: 61v.

the Fleet prison and he was suffering from a severe illness, limiting him to "a small Dyner of motton and pottange wth a lyttle rost bef" and prompting him to follow "the Advise of Doctor Barnesdall".[4] Morning and evening prayers were not limited to times of illness or anguish; even in short diary entries Stonley was usually consistent in including these activities, across all three of the volumes of the diary. The near-ubiquitous use of these phrases would suggest that these were important markers of the day for Stonley. Indeed, occasions where his morning and evening prayers were not mentioned usually indicated that an atypical activity or event had taken place. For instance, during a severe illness that lasted many weeks in February and March 1581/2, the following example was typical; "This Day I kept home continuwing still in myne Ague wth great cough".[5] It was not until the first of April that Stonley observed "This Day I began som[e]what to recover my Sicknes, god be thankyd for yt".[6] The absence of his usual references to morning and evening prayer for a period of around six weeks hints at the severity of the illness and the impact on his daily routines.

Other disruptions to his usual routine of prayers can be seen when Stonley embarked on a day of travel. For example, on Monday 15 April 1594 Stonley opened his daily account not with a reference to morning prayers but a reference to the weather;

> This [*day*] being feyre I brought my Daughte
> Dawtrey to Lambeth by water & so sett
> Her forwards towards Moor [*in Sussex*] wth Harry
> Dawtrey

Stonley continues here by listing a group of servants or acquaintances who travelled with Dorothy to her Sussex home, before accounting for his own activities in Westminster and Chelsea, pursuing a legal case which affected his grandson Harry Dawtrey. The busyness of the day, Harry's legal case and the presence of several acquaintances and family members throughout the day may explain either the lack of morning prayers or his forgetting to record them. A further example took place on Tuesday 3 October 1581; on this occasion Stonley opened his account of the day with a rare reference to breakfast, rather than prayer;

> This morning after Brekfast w[i]th Mr Sharp
> Mr Pere Collector & others I rode to E[a]stham
> And so to London to bed.[7]

By omitting any reference to his morning and night-time prayers in these entries, Stonley highlighted the day as atypical; although he frequently made the journey between London and Doddinghurst, it seems to have been unusual for him to share the

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[4] Tuesday 16 January 1597/8, Vol 3: 6lv.
[5] Vol 1:48r (Monday 19 February 1581/2).
[6] Vol 1:53v (Sunday 1 April 1582).
[7] Vol 1:23r.

journey either with a large group of family and household members, or colleagues. It may be the interaction with these groups of fellow travelers that Stonley found disruptive to his daily routine, rather than the act of travelling itself.

The journey between Stonley's house in Aldersgate Street and his office in Westminster is one that he made frequently throughout the first and second volumes of the diary. For instance;

> This Day after morning pr[a]yer I went to Westm'
> being the Sealing Day tarryed ther till xi
> came backe to Dyner kept home all the After
> none wth thankes to god at night[8]

A typical routine for Stonley appears to have been leaving Aldersgate Street early in the morning for Westminster, usually travelling by boat, and returning at 11am, in time for the midday meal at his house or another location in the city of London. However, there are occasional examples in the diary of Stonley eating his midday meal at Westminster and remaining there in the afternoon, for instance on 17 January 1581/2;

> This morning after pr[a]yer I went to Westm'
> kept the receipt till xi Dyned ther
> & lay ther all night[9]

During this period Stonley appears to have been working extensively at Westminster, dining there on seven days in the second half of January 1581/2. On two of these days he also slept at Westminster; he made no reference to specific social occasions taking place or other reasons for staying (such as adverse weather), probably indicating that he was required to be there for work purposes. Dining and sleeping at Westminster does not appear to have been a typical activity for Stonley and it may have been the result of an especially large workload and the start of Hilary term after the Christmas break.

While certain daily routines were highlighted by Stonley, such as prayers, sleeping, eating and working, other daily tasks were omitted from his entries. The daily personal routines of washing, grooming and dressing, for instance, are not mentioned.[10] Stonley did not record his intimate and romantic relationships, unlike Samuel Pepys, who frequently recorded the details of his relationship with his wife and affairs with other women.[11] There is often an outward looking focus to the details that Stonley chose to focus his diary entries on, such as dining, work and spiritual matters. As mentioned

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[8] Vol 1:4v (Friday 23 June 1581).
[9] Vol 1: 42v.
[10] One exception is the references to a barber, sometimes identified as a man named Pomfret, which occur on five occasions in volume 1 and seven occasions in volume 2. The payments occur spread out across the years, though at irregular intervals, ranging from around 1 to 6 months between appointments. This might indicate that these payments were not for simple daily grooming, but for something more substantial or complex.
[11] See for instance chapter 13 on Samuel Pepys's marriage in: Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 195-215.

above, there is just one reference to the eating of breakfast in the diaries; it seems that Stonley preferred to record the details of his more sociable dinners and suppers, especially focusing on the guests present, the time of the meal and the foods served. This may suggest that Stonley's diary-keeping habits were more concerned with outward social connections, rather than his interior observations and feelings.

Stonley's diaries reveal little in the way of a structured routine to his weeks; his patterns of working at Westminster, at home in Aldersgate Street and at his home in Doddinghurst do not appear to follow a strict weekly pattern, with the only exception being that Sunday was not generally a day of formal work. There are no references to working with agricultural labourers in Doddinghurst on Sundays. There is just one reference to Stonley attending his office in Westminster on a Sunday;

> This morning after p[ra]yer I went to Westm' valued ther the Carpintrs bill by Tho. Speight.[12]

This single reference does not appear to be a typical working day for Stonley, but rather an occasion when an additional task was required, perhaps relating to repairs or maintenance work within his office at the Receipt. Although work specifically relating to agriculture and his role as a Teller were not typical activities for Sundays, other tasks do seem to have been undertaken. There are occasional references to financial or legal business, for instance on Sunday 21 April 1594, Stonley met with a lawyer, Mr Herne at Lincolns Inn, to discuss a legal case pertaining to his grandson.[13] Other non-religious activities which Stonley occasionally recorded as taking place on Sundays include payments for goods or services, perhaps suggesting that even if he was not working, other individuals within his communities were.[14] The examples described here, however, suggest that any work undertaken by Stonley on a Sunday was quietly intellectual or consultative rather than involving physical exertion.

Annual Cycles: Dining and Shopping

As found in chapter five, dining and shopping are the two most frequently recorded social activities in the Stonley's diary, giving enough data for a comparison between the months of the year. Throughout the year there was a great deal of variation in the number of dining occasions and shopping activities that Stonley recorded. In some instances, the different volumes show strong similarities between the same months,

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[12] Sunday 26 November 1581, Vol 1:33r.
[13] Vol 2: 78r.
[14] Laquita Higgs's research into the Essex town of Colchester (which was around 35 miles from Stonley's home in Doddinghurst) found that "the people who insisted on working on or who were unruly or played illegal games in Sundays" were of great concern to the authorities, and that "Sunday work was of particular concern in the earlier Elizabethan period, with charges against such work reaching a peak in the early 1580s." Laquita M. Higgs, *Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 264.

possibly indicating an adherence to a more regular pattern of activities. Other months show great divergence from the average, perhaps demonstrating the influence of external factors in Stonley's monthly routines, and fluctuations in the time available to him to keep these records or his interest in doing so. The chart below shows the number of social interactions that took place in the context of dining activities in the first two volumes of the diary, in each calendar month. Due to the start and end dates of the diaries not matching the calendar year, each year for which there is data has been plotted separately in order to be able to compare the same months in different years;
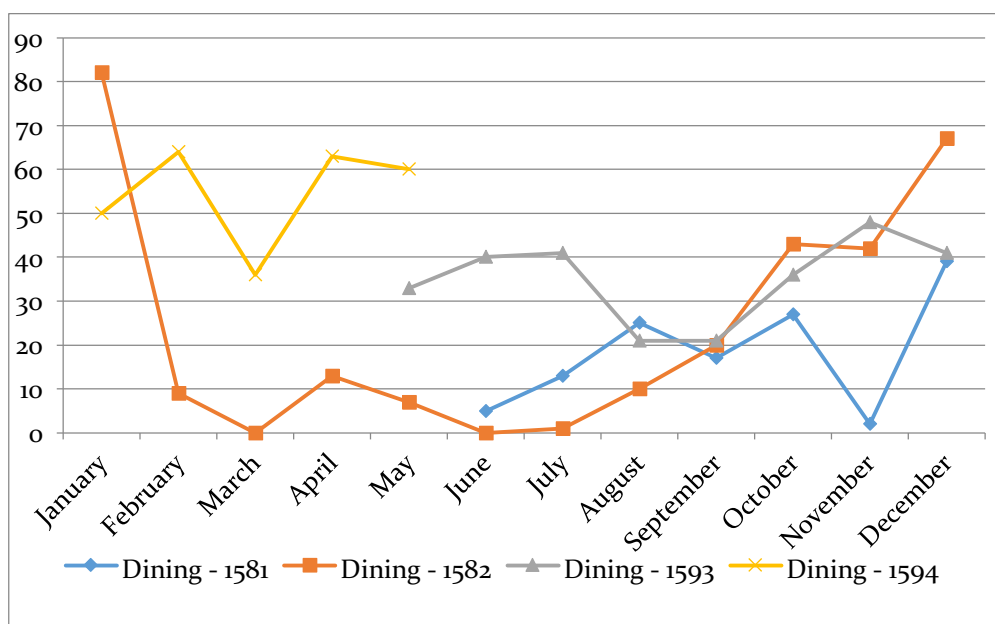
Chart 6.1: Showing the numbers of references to dining companions in volumes one and two across each month of the year.

This chart shows extreme variation in most parts of the year, however there is a clear reduction in variation during the harvest months of August, September and October. It seems that during this period the frequency of social activities involving dining that were recorded in the diary returned to a stable mean. This may indicate that these months were a time of fixed or regular dining routines, perhaps relating to the social activities connected with harvest time. The month of December also shows some consistency in the years 1581, 1582 and 1593; this is most likely related to the festivities associated with Christmas.[15] Prior to his imprisonment, Stonley had an established

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[15] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes discuss the obligations faced by landowners over the Christmas season; "By long-established medieval precedent gentlemen believed themselves obliged to provide a tenant feast at Christmas. ... In 1551 it took Sir William Petre at least five days out of the twelve of the feast cycle to receive all his tenants". Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 286-7.

routine of spending the festive season in Doddinghurst, where he both hosted meals for up to 30 guests and attended meals hosted by the Petre family.

There is a great deal of variation in the amount of shopping undertaken throughout the year, as shown in chart 6.2 below.
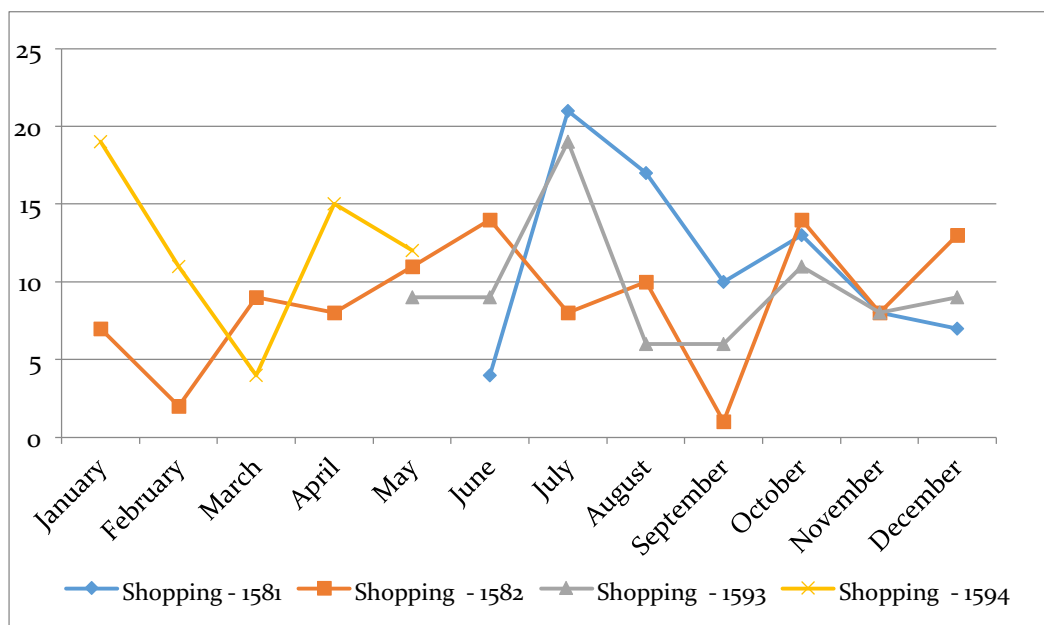

Chart 6.2: Showing frequency of shopping activities in different months of the year in volumes one and two.

Shopping activities appear to have followed a different monthly pattern to dining practices; the harvest months of August and September show a great deal of variation, from just one reference to shopping in September 1582, to 17 references in August 1581. The period with the most consistency between years are the late autumn and winter months of October to December. In terms of food purchases in particular, one explanation for this could be that in the months following harvest, Stonley's supplies were at their most predictable, so there was little need for unexpected additional purchases. This period perhaps represents the most secure period for the Stonley household in terms of food availability. The increase in references to agricultural work in and around his Doddinghurst farm which takes place in all years in August and September, may also be an indication that domestic chores and repair work were being undertaken at this time, in order to create a secure and stable domestic environment for the winter months.

There are a number of practical reasons for the differences between months for both shopping and dining activities. The peak in references to shopping January 1594 may be due to supplies running out by late winter. In contrast, the low number of shopping purchases in February 1582 and of dining activities in this and the subsequent month could be explained by Stonley suffering a significant illness which prevented him from engaging in social activities and participating in shopping activities. Research into

the diary of Lady Anne Clifford found a similar response to times of ill health, involving a withdrawal into a private space and meditating upon a biblical text.[16] Although Anne Clifford made use of a scribe for her diary entries, they are also described by Mary Ann Lund as "terse", suggesting that for both diarists, physical illnesses drew the attention away from diary keeping activities.

Annual Cycles: Stonley's work and occupational diversity

Richard Stonley participated in a wide range of work activities, including agricultural activities at his farmhouse in Doddinghurst, professional tasks relating to his role as a Teller of the Exchequer, and his own personal financial and property investments. Stonley's everyday routines point to work activities being a huge part of his life and not limited to his role at Westminster. Jane Whittle's research into the work of women in early modern rural England prefers a broad definition of the concept of 'work', utilising the 1993 UN guidelines, which classify any activity which would be substituted with purchased goods or services should be considered part of the economy.[17] Ariadne Schmidt has also shown the benefits of considering what she terms 'assisting labour', that is unpaid labour or support given to a family business or the work of a relative, when researching the work of women in the early modern period.[18] Applying a similar approach to the study of Richard Stonley's diaries has allowed different types of work activity to be taken into consideration, rather than prioritising one over the other. This is especially important since Stonley was not solely an urban professional, as he also often worked at his farm in rural Essex and pursued business opportunities in London and elsewhere.

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[16] Mary Ann Lund, 'Sickness and Writing in Early Modern England' (*Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2014) (available at: http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com).

[17] Jane Whittle, 'What is Work?' blog post, *Women's Work in Rural England, 1500-1700* (2015), https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/2015/04/29/what-is-work-2/ [accessed 30 March 2017].

[18] Ariadne Schmidt, 'The profits of unpaid work; 'Assisting labour' of women in the early modern Dutch economy', *The History of the Family*, 19: 3 (2014), 301-22. See also: Whittle, 'Enterprising widows and active wives', pp. 283-300.
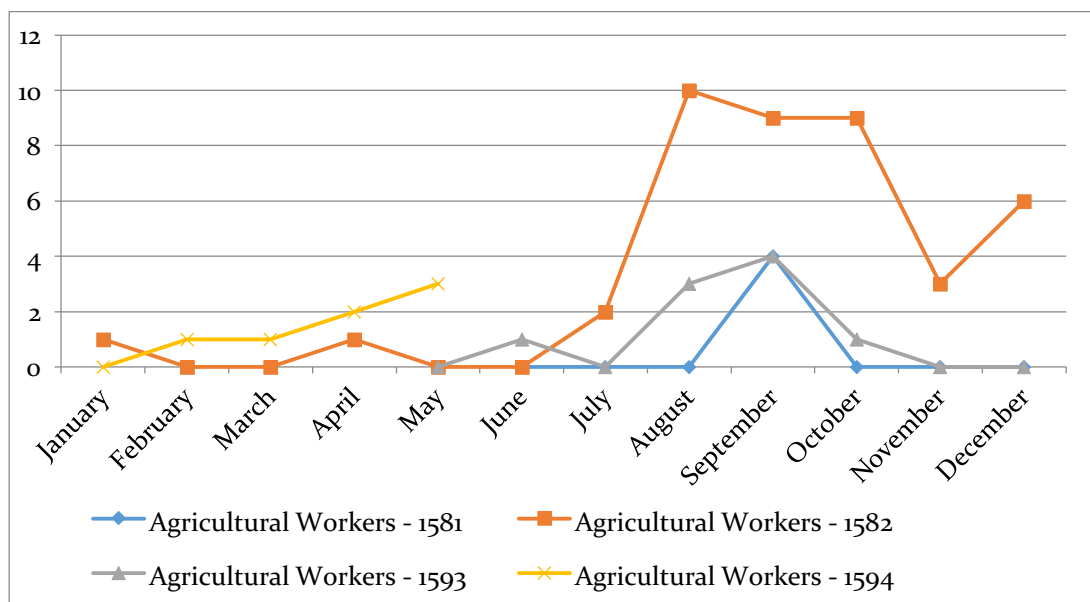
Chart 6.3: Showing Stonley's references to his agricultural workers each month in volumes one and two.

Agricultural work was referred to in a variety of ways by Stonley, including general references to farm labourers, specific details about the location and occasional notes about the particular task at hand. For instance, he noted that "This Day I occupied my self abrode in the feldes w[i]th my servants gathering frute &c".[19] Although in this example he refers to his 'servants', in other entries he describes 'workmen'; "This Day I kept home w[i]th my workmen in the orchard".[20] Stonley usually described himself as participating directly in the work, evoking a sense of teamwork and camaraderie with his workers. As might be expected, this agricultural work was extremely seasonal, as shown in chart 6.3. Very few references to agricultural work are found between January and July, but the years 1581, 1582 and 1593 all show an increase around the harvest months of August, September and October.

This strongly seasonal trend in the frequency of references to agricultural activities is different to that seen in Stonley's professional work connected to his role as Teller of the Exchequer. Stonley made frequent visits to Westminster during the first and second volumes of the diary; although he did attend Westminster occasionally during his imprisonment in the Fleet prison, the numbers are very low so they have not been included here. As can be seen in chart 6.4 below, there was a great deal of variation in the frequency of Stonley's trips to Westminster each month.

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[19] Vol 1:19r.
[20] Vol 1:74r.

Chart 6.4: Showing the frequency of Stonley's trips to Westminster per month in volumes one and two.
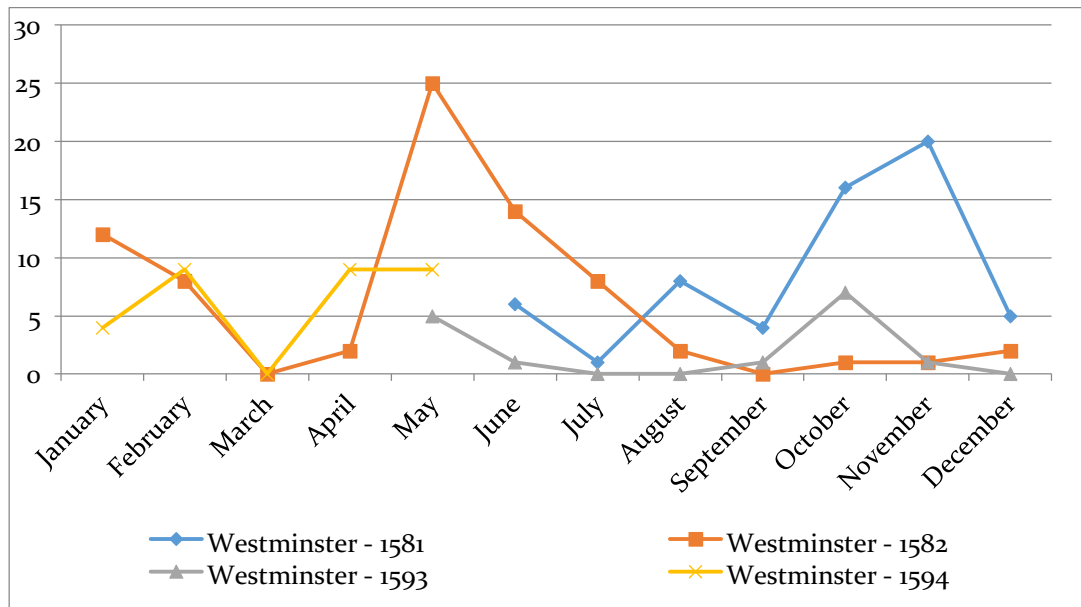
Chart 6.4 shows some subtle trends in the frequency of Stonley's trips to Westminster. The two most striking peaks occur in November 1581 and May 1582; there does not appear to be a seasonal reason for this, as these months do not have an obvious significance in the legal, religious or agricultural calendars. It seems more likely, then, that these peaks are the result of specific events which necessitated more frequent trips to Westminster. A closer examination of Stonley's diary entries for month of November 1581 contains numerous references which explain his more frequent presence in Westminster. Firstly, Stonley recorded news of the trial of Edmund Campion, including an entry noting that Campion and his co-conspirators "were brought to the Kinges Benche to have byn arrayned of Treyson".[21] The two subsequent days Stonley noted discussion in the Star Chamber about the case and on 20 November 1581 he recorded that Campion and others were found guilty.[22] Just a few days later, on 24 November Stonley recorded that the news in the court and across London was "that hir Ma'tie hath betrothed hir self to Monsieur the frenche kinges brother who as the[y] say is placed in the princes Lodging".[23] It is possible that these pieces of nationally important news drew Stonley to Westminster more frequently during this period; the potential political and financial ramifications of a royal marriage could have required the presence of the Tellers in Westminster. In addition to these political events, the diary reveals another, more mundane potential reason for Stonley's increased presence; there may have been building works at his Westminster office, since Stonley recorded meeting there with

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[21] Vol 1:30v.
[22] Vol 1: 31v.
[23] Vol 1: 32v.

Thomas Speight, a carpenter, on 26 November.[24] This particular month demonstrates how Stonley's actions were influenced by the interwoven nature of everyday life alongside the political machinations of the period.

The entries for the month of May 1581 reveal alternative reasons for an increased presence in Westminster. At the beginning and end of this month Stonley made two references to the legal terms of the government and law courts; he noted on Wednesday 2 May, "This morning after preyer being full Terme I went to Westm" and at the end of the month, on Monday 28 May, "This morning being the Last Day of the Terme I went to Westm".[25] In addition to this, Stonley made several references to a legal case he was involved in, which was "moved at the Comon Place Barre put over till Monday next" on 14 May; the following week Stonley recorded that he "had my cause moved" again and on the 29 May he recorded that he went to Westminster, "being a Starre Chamber Day".[26] These references do seem to indicate that Stonley's public role as a Teller of the Exchequer was not his only connection to life in Westminster; his involvement in legal cases at different courts within Westminster may also explain his more frequent trips there during this period.

Chart 6.4 shows that in March 1582 and March 1593 Stonley did not make any trips to Westminster. Similarly, the number of Westminster trips in the month of September is very low, varying between zero for 1582 and 4 in 1581. These two dips are curious because these months are the months of Easter and Michaelmas, the two points in the year when Tellers were required to submit their accounts; all of the official 'Tellers Rolls' documents are dated either Pasche (the Latin term for Easter) or Michaelmas.[27] Of course, it may have been the case that these moments of large scale accounting did not require the Tellers to be in the offices of Westminster, since they were predominantly managed by more senior officials. A further consideration is that Stonley's responsibilities at his farmhouse, particularly during the autumn harvest time, kept him away from Westminster in these months. It may also be that Stonley's contribution to the twice-yearly accounting was actually completed at other times, either before or after the points of Easter and Michaelmas; this may also explain the peaks in Stonley's trips to Westminster which occurred in May and November, since these months fall shortly after the two festivals marking the moments of accounting.

Another important area of Stonley's work was his personal financial and property investments and the associated legal and administrative issues. Chart 6.5 below shows a mixed year, particularly in the months from January to July. The second half of the year,

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[24] Vol 1:33r.
[25] Vol 1:57r and 60v.
[26] Vol 1: 58v and 59v and 60v.
[27] See for example TNA: E405/149.

however, appears to echo the trends seen in the other types of work activity, which show strong trends around the harvest months of August, September and October; as Stonley's references to agricultural activities increased around the time of the autumnal harvest, his personal financial and property work appears to have experienced a lull.
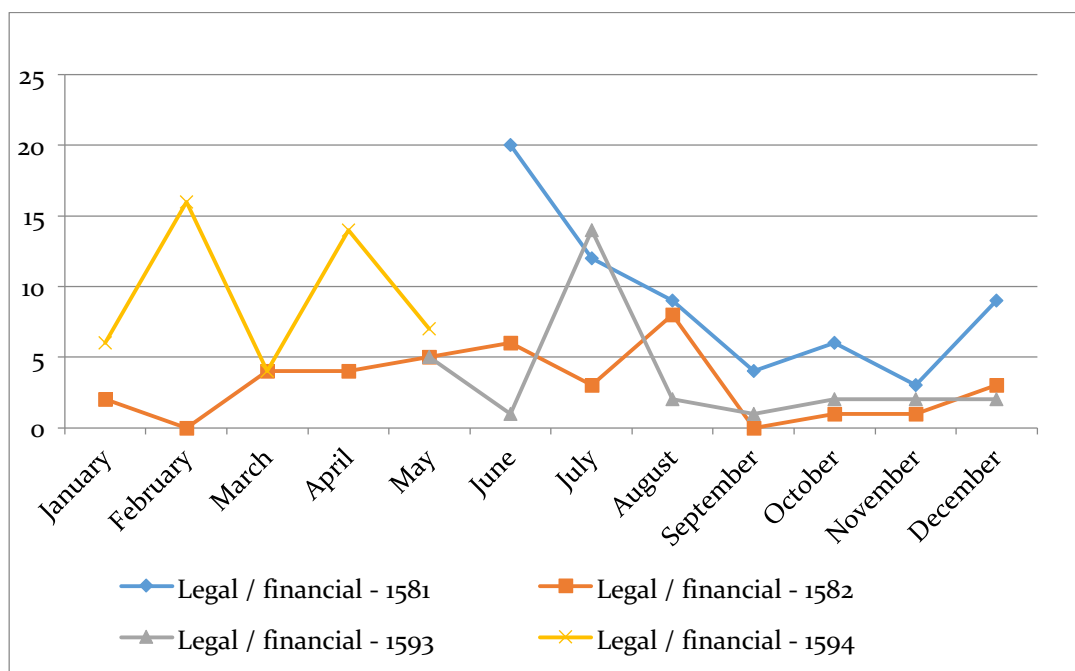
Chart 6.5: Showing references to interactions connected to legal, financial, property or administrative activities each month in volumes 1 and 2.

The data shown in charts 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 indicate which tasks most frequently occupied Stonley's time at different points in the year. The lulls in the frequency of trips to Westminster and in other business activities during the harvest months around September could be seen as a straightforward indication that he was spending more time on agricultural activities at this point. However, this data could also be interpreted as a record of which activities were upper-most in his mind and consequently recorded more carefully or accurately. It is clear from the data explored in these charts that Stonley's working life was diverse and varied as he juggled responsibilities in multiple geographic locations.

Stonley appears to have responded to the social and economic context that surrounded his working life in the late sixteenth century. Scholars have highlighted the Tudor period as being a predominantly agricultural society.[28] However it seems that

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[28] Craig Muldrew states that "the percentage of the population engaged in primary agricultural production fell from 76% in 1520 to only 36 per cent by 1801". Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: work and material culture in agrarian England 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 2. Meanwhile, Jane Whittle argues that "England was an overwhelmingly rural society in 1600, with an estimated 92 percent of the population living in the countryside...70 percent engaged in agriculture". Jane Whittle, 'The

Stonley is representative of generations that were starting to shift away from agriculture towards other types of work. Craig Muldrew describes "increased labour mobility as the young took to the road in search of work".[29] Alongside this move away from agriculture, following the Reformation there was an increase in the size of the government, as argued by Steve Hindle.[30] He identifies "the 'centralising tendencies' of the Tudor and Stuart regimes", "the quickening tempo of local administration" and "the growth of litigation, both civil and criminal" as the three main factors of the increasingly large and busy state.[31] It seems likely that men like Stonley would have been aware of the role they were playing in an increasingly professional and bureaucratic society.

In the sixteenth century English society was affected by a range of challenging factors, including famine caused by poor harvests and illnesses such as bubonic plague, influenza and sweating sickness. John Guy observes that these outbreaks were often regional in nature; urban communities were often vulnerable to illnesses passed on by poor living conditions and the influx of foreign merchants. Meanwhile isolated rural communities were more vulnerable to famine caused poor harvests and a lack of access to alternative food sources.[32] These factors may have been influential in prompting Stonley to diversify, pursuing employment in London and then just a couple of years later investing in a small farm in Essex. This domestic and professional arrangement would have allowed him to exploit the opportunities available to him in the 1550s, while also mitigating the risks of famine, poverty and disease.

Stonley's maintenance of both urban and rural homes, and his work as a professional civil servant and a farmer, was perhaps a response to the circumstances outlined by Guy. Stonley maintained the safety of his own food source from his farm in Doddinghurst, but also explored the opportunities (and in his case the pitfalls) of professional work and financial investments. The Stonley household's attempts at diversification are certainly evident in the mixed annual cycles of professional and agricultural work.

The period of Stonley's professional career correlates closely to a phase identified by John Guy which involved numerous individuals of the gentry class;

House as a Place of Work in Early Modern Rural England', in *Home Cultures,* vol 8: 2 (2011), p. 134.

[29] Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: work and material culture in agrarian England 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 2.

[30] Hindle argues that "most observers would characterise sixteenth- and seventeenth-century government as 'bigger' and 'more active' than its late medieval counterpart". Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 2-3.

[31] Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England,* p. 3.

[32] John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 31.

> From the 1540s to the end of Elizabeth's reign between 60 and 90 per cent of courtiers who were knights or gentlemen of the royal household served simultaneously as MPs in Parliament or as JPs in their counties. The overlap is so striking that it is useful to regard 'Court' and 'country' as the same people at different times of the year.[33]

The cycles of work activities analysed in this chapter clearly show that Stonley is typical of this peripatetic social group, who moved between urban and rural locations, pursuing different occupational opportunities in both locations. Exploring evidence of Richard Stonley's everyday occupational diversification demonstrates how individuals managed these social, political and economic changes on a personal level. The lives of Stonley and his household, it seems, were increasingly shaped by factors outside of the agricultural and liturgical annual cycles experienced by earlier generations.

Annual Cycles: Stonley's religious year and annual festivals

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I hard service at my
> p[ar]ishe Churche. had wth me to Dyner George
> Hockley & at Supper. Spent the After none
> reading the Scriptures wth thankes to god
> at night [34]

References to Stonley's religious worship are scattered throughout the three volumes of the diaries. For the purposes of this analysis, Stonley's routines of morning prayer and 'thanks for god at night' have not been included, since these activities took place virtually every day. The chart below focuses on references to church going, attending sermons, receiving communion, attending weddings, funerals and christenings, and reading the bible at home. These activities took place in both London and Doddinghurst. In 1580, shortly before Stonley started writing the first volume of the diary, he acquired the advowson of All Saints Doddinghurst parish church; although he attended both St Botolph Aldersgate Street church in London in the first volume, by the time of the second volume in 1593-4, his church going was focused on what he described as "my p[ar]ishe church" in Doddinghurst.[35] By the time of the third volume, Stonley was imprisoned in the Fleet and he no longer spent time in Doddinghurst; his religious activities were focused more on reading the scriptures and attending the chapel in the Fleet.

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[33] Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 389.
[34] Sunday 10 June 1593, Doddinghurst, vol 2:9r.
[35] See for example Sunday 17 March 1594, Vol 2: 7lv.
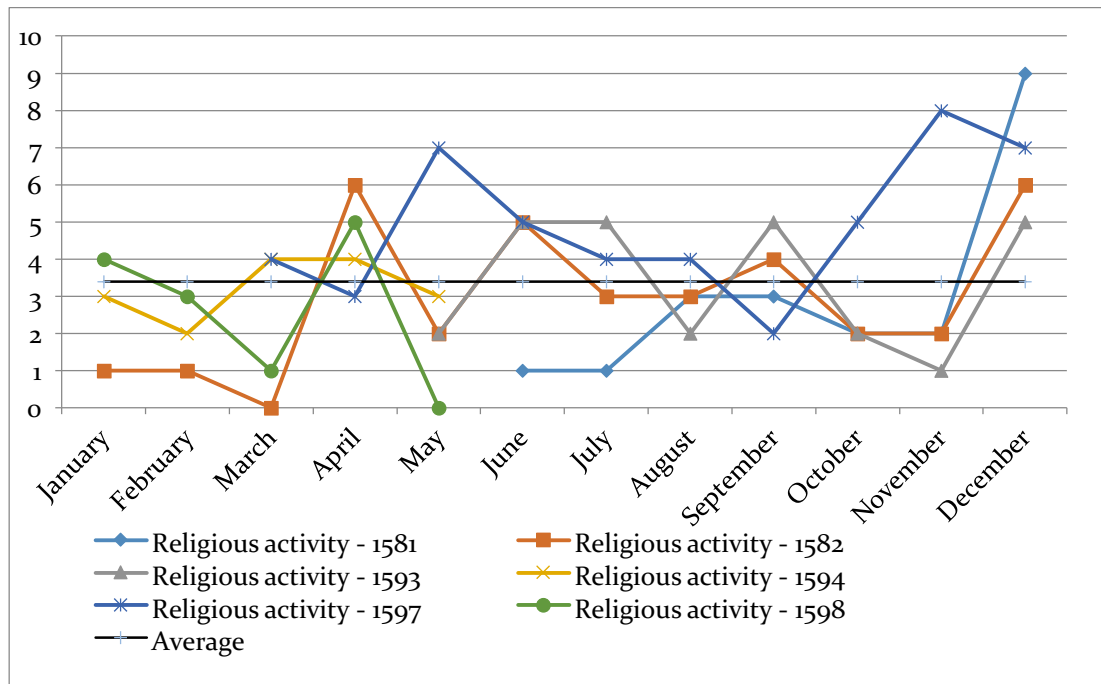
Chart 6.6: Showing Stonley's references to social interactions which included religious activities in all three volumes.

Across the three volumes (47 months in total) the average number of specific religious activities per month was 3.4 (as shown by the straight black line on chart 6.6). This is slightly below what might be expected; following the 1558 Act of Uniformity, individuals were expected to attend their parish church every Sunday and holy day.[36] However, as an upper-middling individual, Stonley was in a position to pay any small fines that arose as a result of not attending church on a weekly basis. The only month where Stonley's religious activities was always above average is December, most likely connected to the festivities of Christmas. As in other categories of activities, the months January to July appear to show more variation, with the late winter and early spring months of January, February and March particularly low. The spike in the month of April may be connected to the observation of Easter. The frequency of religious activities in the months of August, September and October consolidate close to the average of 3.4 activities per month; between 2 and 5 religious activities are found in each of these months. This may show a consistent return to a 'baseline' level of religious activities, connected to the farming activities undertaken by Stonley and his household during the harvest months.

Four Easters and four Christmases are described in Stonley's diary. A comparison of the diary entries for these celebrations reveals some subtle shifts in Richard Stonley's attitudes towards his community and lifestyle, especially since in some cases he took

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[36] John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (London: Pearson Education, 2000), p. 83.

care to record events in more detail. In 1582, Easter day took place on 15 April and

Stonley was at his London house. He noted;

> This Day I kept at service at my p[ar]ishe Church at
> morning and evening p[ra]yer with thankes to god at night [37]

He had been affected by an illness in the preceding weeks and the following day,

Monday 16 April, he recorded;

> This Day Mr Newell Dean of Paules preached in the Spittle where my
> h[e]art was but my body co[u]ld not for weaknes And therfore I served
> god at home [38]

Although prevented from actually attending this sermon, these entries imply a sense of

Stonley looking out towards London society and the large scale social and religious event

taking place in the city. Stonley's focus on the urban community of London echoes the

trend for dining in London examined in chapter five. Stonley's descriptions of his

Christmas celebrations also show signs of a shifting stage of life. Stonley always noted

the significance of the day, although the descriptions of his activities certainly change

over the years. At Christmas in 1581, Stonley meticulously detailed the large group of

guests dining with him, noting their names in two columns. The following year,

December 1582, Stonley recorded a similar occasion, again taking place in Doddinghurst;

> This morning after pr[a]yer I hard service at my
> p[ar]ishe Church had wth me to Dyner XXX p[er]sons
> besides my owne howshold making in all 4
> messe as by a Booke wth the fare for that Day
> & the rest of the holly Dayes appereth
> And So after Dyner hard a service at the
> Church & so ended that Day wth thankes
> to god at night.[39]

Stonley's descriptions of his Christmas celebrations demonstrate an interest in

accounting and recording the details of the day, including the people present, where

guests sat. The entry from 1582 also demonstrates that the food, though not recorded in

the diary, was recorded elsewhere, although sadly this account book does not survive.

Echoing the Easter celebration in 1582, Stonley's description focuses on his community

and his position within it.

In the following decade, at Christmas 1593, the tone of his entry appears to shift

away from strict formalities and hierarchy;

> This Day after service at my p[ar]ishe church
> I had wth me 24 of my neighburs to Dyner
> & so passed the Afternone some at pley
> & some reading the Scriptures wth thankes

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[37] Vol 1: 54v.
[38] Vol 1: 55r.
[39] Vol 1:97v.

to god at night.[40]

Stonley's description suggests a more relaxed and less meticulously detailed event, focusing on shared activities; the 'pley' probably refers to dominoes or a card game. Earlier in the month Stonley recorded some shopping purchases. On the 8 December he spent nine pence "for Trenshers ii Doz", which may have been the finished plates for a banquetting course, or alternatively a set of blank wooden plates or printed paper decorations required to make them.[41] On 13 December he also purchased playing cards and counters, along with a large purchase of spices and dried fruits, including pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, prunes, cloves, currents and raisins, along with "Showes [shoes] a pere for my wyf".[42] Although these items were purchased in London, it seems likely they were transported to Doddinghurst for the Christmas festivities. These entries imply a strong focus on community and the sharing of luxury foods and leisure activities.

In 1594 Easter day fell on 31 March and it seems to have been a different sort of festival for Stonley. He had travelled from London to Doddinghurst on Maundy Thursday (28 March 1594) and was spending his time "abroad in the fields" and attending church services at his parish church in Doddinghurst. On Easter Day itself, Stonley noted:

> This Day I receved the Comunion at my p[ar]ishe Church hadd w[i]th me at Dyner Mother Abell & hir sonne gatham et uxor. Went the After none to Service & so spent the After none wth thankes to god at night. Strang[e]rs at Supper George Hockley[43]

The week following Easter Sunday Stonley remained in Doddinghurst, working in the fields and receiving occasional visits from his neighbours.[44] These entries show a more social experience for Stonley, focusing on domestic and agricultural matters, his role within his rural community and relationships with neighbours. By the time of the second volume, Stonley was well established as the owner of two manor houses (and the advowson of All Saints' parish church) at Doddinghurst and appears to have settled into a more elite social position within that community.

In the final volume, two Easter days are recorded. On 27 March 1597, Stonley noted:

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[40] Vol 2: 48v.

[41] Vol 2: 45r - Victoria Jackson's research into the use of trenchers for banqueting courses suggests that the activity "was a 'performance' shaped by the materiality of the trenchers, and one which was designed to prompt and support social exchanges." See: Victoria Jackson, 'Object Study 3: 'The Persian Sibyl' banqueting trencher', in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gainster (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (Routledge, 2017), pp. 222-3. This explanation adds to the sense that this Christmas celebration was a more playful occasion.

[42] Vol 2: 46r.

[43] Vol 2:74r.

[44] Vol 2:73v to 75r.

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer in the Chappell I kept at my Chambr
> w[i]th p[ra]yer & thankes to god at night.[45]

The following year, on 16 April 1598, he recorded the following:

> This Day after morninge p[ra]yer I receved the Comunion
> after the hearing of Mr Lyllies S[e]rmon & so passed that Day reading of
> the Scriptures.[46]

Of course by this stage Stonley was imprisoned in the Fleet and his experience of Easter appears to have been very different. His life was smaller in scale and appears more inward looking and perhaps isolated; there are no references to visitors or other prisoners, as there are in other parts of this volume of the diary. Stonley's focus on prayer and hearing a sermon in these years indicates an increased focus on his own personal spirituality, and less interest in his social relationships in the wider world. The final Christmas recorded by Stonley took place in 1597 and it shows a markedly different experience to that of 1593. On this date he simply notes;

> This Day after morninge p[ra]yer & Mr Lyllies
> S[e]rmon in the Chappell I kept my Chambr
> readinge the Scriptures with thankes to god at night[47]

Like the Easter celebrations, this description appears to show a much reduced social life and a sphere of experience that was limited to the Fleet and more focused on personal spiritual matters.

The constants in Stonley's daily experience of religion appear to have been his morning prayers, his 'thanks to god at night' and his desire to keep accurate records. However, comparing the cyclical religious festivals brings into focus some clear developments in Stonley's life. Although he did not experience any dramatic changes in his life-cycle phases between 1581 and 1597, such as marriage or being widowed, some subtle shifts are evident, demonstrating Stonley's slow journey into a period of old-age. Considering the transition, or development, of an individual through the phases of their life, Deborah Youngs observes that "Each stage marked a phase in an individual's physiological, psychological, social and spiritual development."[48] In the case of Richard Stonley, the first volume of the diary appears to show an outward looking life, with particular interests in elite society and a wide array of activities; during this period Stonley acquired the advowson of Doddinghurst parish church, firmly establishing his family as being part of the gentry class. In the early 1590s, during the second volume of

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[45] Vol 3: 5r.
[46] Vol 3: 72v.
[47] Vol 3: 58r.
[48] Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 22. Youngs continues by explaining that "childhood and adolescence were characterised by the gradual acquisition of maturity, power and substance", while "elderly individuals were characterised as losing their physical and mental capacity, and thereby their substance and power."

the diary, Stonley appears to have become slightly more inward looking, focusing on his close family, friends and neighbours. By the time of the late 1590s, Stonley was imprisoned and his life appears to have shrunk again around him, this time in the Fleet prison. Anthony Petti, writing about the death of Stephen Vallenger, another inmate of the Fleet prison, cites a letter written by Henry Garnet, a Jesuit priest executed for his role in the Gunpowder plot in 1605. The letter was written four years after Vallenger's death, which notes that he "ended his prison days in a pious manner", which seems an apt description for Stonley's final years too.[49] Increasing frailty may have been the cause of Stonley's reduced diary writing, his reduced contact with his social network outside of the prison, and the increase in his expressions of spiritual devotion.

Life Cycle Events: Births, marriages, deaths

The rituals associated with life-cycle events have been the focus of historians in different fields. Historian and anthropologist Alan Macfarlane, for instance, highlights the importance of life cycle events for historians of domesticity, since "domestic life centres around the three basic facts of birth, marriage, and death" and consequently "social anthropologists have often used this three-fold division of the 'life-cycle' as one method of presenting their material."[50] Macfarlane particularly advocates this method of focusing on the key life-cycle stages of an individual's life for a study of "biographical-type analysis of...domestic life."[51] Macfarlane's methodological approach in the study of the seventeenth-century diary of Ralph Josselin, a minister and farmer in Essex, centers around the key life-cycle changes of birth, marriage and death.

While Macfarlane focuses on three main stages, other scholars identify a longer list of 'milestones'. David Cressy's 1997 volume, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* primarily focuses on the three main stages, however he expands his study to include more complex themes such as mid-wifery, baptism, the churching of women, courtship and burial.[52] More recently, Deborah Youngs has devised a longer and more nuanced list of life-cycle stages in her research on late medieval society;

> Life for late medieval people was punctuated with milestones of varying degrees of significance: birth, starting work, marriage, parenthood, widowhood, inheritance, leaving home, becoming knighted, becoming a master craftsman, withdrawing from work, death.[53]

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[49] A. G. Petti, 'Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)', *Recusant History,* 6 (1961), p. 261.

[50] Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: a seventeenth-century clergyman: an essay in historical anthropology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 81.

[51] Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin,* p. 81.

[52] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[53] Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500,* p. 5.

While Macfarlane and Cressy particularly focus on the biological stages of life, Youngs appears to incorporate the role of work in particular, both in the form of household work (including child rearing, domestic tasks and agriculture) and 'professional' work, including mastery of a trade and retirement. While Youngs' list incorporates activities which were commonly performed by both men and women, the biological nature of Cressy's list produces a focus on the female activities of pregnancy and child-birth. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the survival of archival sources can limit the extent to which it is possible to explore life-cycle events beyond those for which legal records (in the form of wills or marriage records for example) may have survived.

An important feature of both life-cycle rituals and the everyday routines of religious worship is the way in which they allow for appropriate and sanctioned contact across boundaries between individuals, families and social groups. Cressy observes that;

> Routine religious observances - the weekly and seasonal round of services and the life-cycle offices of baptisms, weddings, and funerals - served as primary points of contact between family and community, centre and periphery, and between men or women and God.[54]

Cressy here appears to think of quotidian routines and life-cycle phases as functioning in the same way, with established routines acting as a means to ease interaction between individuals and groups. Considering the development of rituals and routines as a means of responding to adversity, it seems that Cressy is particularly focusing on the challenge of social interaction. The establishment of mundane or quotidian routines in the early modern period may have been a response to other types of challenges too; poverty, the avoidance of illness or adherence to religious or political protocols may all have contributed to the development of patterns of behaviour.

The functions of the rituals associated with life-cycle events help to illuminate their role in society; David Cressy argues that life-cycle rituals "exposed society's raw nerves" since "[e]ach of the major rituals of baptism, churching, marriage, and burial was potentially an arena for argument, ambiguity, and dissent."[55] Having lived through the turbulent times of the mid-sixteenth century, including major political and religious shifts, it is understandable that people like Stonley experienced some anxiety about the performances of these life-cycle rituals. Concern about the proper performance of ritual activities may have motivated Stonley's detailed recording of some of these details, as will be seen in the examples discussed below.

A particularly moving section of Stonley's diary is the record of the birth of his grandchild; two shillings was given to Thomas Trotter, "for bringing me good newes of

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[54] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death,* p. 2.
[55] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death,* p. 2.

my Daughtr Highm's bring to bedd of a Sonne" on 28 August 1581.[56] The following day

Stonley recorded several payments related to the birth, including the gift of a silver bowl

to his daughter, five shillings each to the nurse and midwife. He also attended the

christening:

> This morning after p[ra]yer I rode to Estham
> to my Sonne Heighams mette ther
> Mr Frauncis Spinard & My[stre]s Mosley
> to be gossips w[i]th my self to the
> Christening of his Sonne named
> Richard Heigham. At w[hi]ch Christening
> was my wyf my Daughtr ~~Heighm~~ Dawtrey,
> My[str]es Stodd w[i]th other howse wyves
> of th p[ar]ishe & afterwardes I rode
> to London to bedd w[i]th thankes to
> god for that Dayes worke.[57]

In the margin there is a manicule, in addition to a note confirming that "This child was

borne on Barth Day a bowt", probably St Bartholomew's day, 24 August.[58] Although

Stonley was vague on the exact birth date of the child, the event was clearly important

enough to be described in some detail. Stonley's choice of the phrase 'that days' work'

underlines the seriousness and exertion of the activities, rather than their pleasant,

leisurely or sociable nature. Whether his intention was to focus on this new arrival as

the work of god, the work of Anne Heigham's labour, or the work of the family and wider

community in welcoming his grandson is unclear. This example correlates with Cressy's

explanation of childbirth as "a private event with public significance, a domestic

occurrence of which the commonwealth took note."[59]

Stonley's gifts and payments to commemorate this occasion were impressive; he

made equal payments to his daughter's nurse and the midwife of five shillings each.[60]

Later that year Stonley paid 30 shillings to Agnes, the maid, for her whole year's wages,

which gives an indication of the value he placed on the nurse and midwife for their work

and expertise.[61] Stonley's appreciation for the work of the women is also echoed in the

expensive gift purchased for his daughter, a silver bowl worth more than 50 shillings.

Stonley draws our attention to the silver bowl; its value is noted in his account of

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[56] Vol 1:72r.

[57] Vol 1: 72v.

[58] The approximate date of the birth reflects Deborah Youngs' argument that accurate birthdays were not commonly celebrated or recorded in the late medieval and Tudor periods. "There is no evidence that these birth dates were annually celebrated, but scattered references do indicate that age milestones among the elite were marked" and that the "word 'birthday' was known in Middle English, but it was not in common usage." Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe,* p. 14.

[59] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 15.

[60] Cressy suggests that after the birth, the nurse attended to the mother while the midwife attended to the baby. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 80.

[61] Vol 1:81r.

attending the christening day on 29 August and the purchase of the bowl and its weight is also accounted for separately on 27 August; "To Mr Clarke gold smyth for a Bole of Silver all Whit... at [5s 7d] the [ounce]...[54s 3d]".[62] Jacqueline Musacchio's study of Renaissance child birth gifts focuses on painted trays, wooden bowls and ceramics rather than items like silver bowls. In fact, she suggests that "metalware was almost never described as childbirth-related" in Renaissance Italy.[63] In contrast, Felicity Heal's study of gift-giving in early modern England suggests that "plate was regarded as *de rigeur* by any godparent of means."[64] It seems, therefore, that Stonley's gift was a deliberate and culturally specific choice, deemed appropriate for his social group in late sixteenth century London and Essex.

Stonley carefully noted in this entry of the diary that Mr Francis Spinard and Mistress Mosley, along with himself, were the 'gossips'. Scholarship on birthing rituals in early modern England tends to highlight the female nature of the events, for instance Bernard Capp suggests that "once the delivery was accomplished, the helpers usually celebrated with merrymaking and drinking at the new mother's house"; it was, Capp argues, "a traditionally ribald occasion from which men were firmly excluded."[65] However, Capp also acknowledges the shifting meaning of the terminology during the early modern period;

> The word 'gossip', for example, originally meaning a godparent of either sex, gradually lost its value-free character and took on predominantly negative and female connotations.[66]

Stonley's use of the earlier meaning of the word correlates with the OED's definition, which suggests that 'godparent' was the more common definition from the medieval period to the sixteenth century. The use of the word as a negative means of describing a garrulous woman (either present at a birth or generally) only appears to have become common after 1600. Capp's description of an early modern christening as "another primarily female affair" does seem slightly at odds with Stonley's description of his own participation and the presence of Mr Francis Spinard at this christening.[67] The other guests included his wife, their daughter Dorothy and 'other housewives of the parish'; Stonley's description of this event perhaps suggests that for the inner circle of family and

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[62] Vol 1:72r.

[63] Jacqueline Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 153.

[64] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 64.

[65] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 50-51.

[66] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p. 7.

[67] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p. 51.

godparents, the occasion was more inclusive of both men and women, while for the wider community this event was a gendered experience.

On Saturday 9 February 1593/4, another child was born to Anne Heigham;

> This after none my wyf rode from here [*London*] to Anne Heigham at Lying in Childbedd at E[a]stham & so rideth from thenc to Duddingherst on Monday.[68]

On this date Stonley makes an astrological observation; "sol in pisses" (the sun was in Pisces). This is an unusual note for Stonley, but it was perhaps relevant for the horoscope of his new grandchild. This reference to his daughter giving birth occurs on the same day as the payment for several large purchases, including for spices (11s 3d), food (16s 9d) and linen (5s 2d). These items may have been taken by Anne Stonley her daughter's childbirth.[69] The spices and foods may have had practical uses for Anne Heigham's labour; the new linens were hygienic for the recuperating mother and infant, while the spices (including pepper, cinnamon, ginger and nutmeg, along with dried fruits, almonds and rice) may have had health benefits. There may also have been a ritual element to these purchases though; Musacchio describes the ritual serving of sweetmeats in a metal goblet in the birthing rooms of elite families in Renaissance Italy.[70] However, she notes that these metal goblets "were primarily dynastic objects, given to a certain woman when the occasion demanded it, kept for a period of time, and then given to the next woman in the extended family who gave birth... They were only temporary gifts."[71] Stonley's gift of a silver bowl to Anne Heigham may have been intended as an item that would be circulated among different women within the family at all future births, thus symbolic of the family's attempts to acquire gentry status. These customs are clearly ritualistic, but with a practical edge, showing the complex intermingling of religious faith, folklore, everyday life and socio-cultural identity. Sadly, the entry in February 1594 does not appear to have been followed up with celebratory gifts or a christening, possibly indicating that the child did not survive.

Stonley's own marriage and the marriages of his daughters are not covered by the surviving diaries and Stonley's grandchildren were too young to be married in the 1580s and 1590s. However, Richard, often accompanied by his wife Anne, frequently attended

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[68] Vol 2: 63r.

[69] Cressy discusses the role of the mother of the woman in labour; "Most women gave birth at home in their own parlour or chamber. But some, especially those expecting their first child, arranged to be delivered in their parents' home rather than in the matrimonial establishment. There they might find supportive female relations and comfortable surroundings, as well as domestic arrangements uninterrupted by the temporary disability of the principal housekeeper." In the case of the Stonleys, it seems that Anne Stonley travelled to be with her daughter, rather than her daughter travelling to either of Richard and Anne's homes. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death* p. 54.

[70] Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy,* p. 153.

[71] Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy,* p. 153.

the weddings of other people, including his household servants. On Sunday 13 August 1581, Richard and Anne attended the wedding of Thomas Fysher "my cooke" and Rose "that had byn my wyves s[e]rvant".[72] Thomas and Rose were presumably highly valued household servants, as they were given significant gifts; 20 shillings from Anne, 40 shillings from Richard, 10 shillings from Lady Petre (probably the widow of Sir William Petre), 10 shillings from Sir John Petre, and 6 shillings each from Mr Robert Petre, Mr Talbote and Mr Clyf. After the morning ceremony they dined at the house of a man named Barrett, also in the parish of St Botolphs's Aldersgate, whilst Stonley himself "p[ro]cured for ther offerings wth my owne benevolence above sayd the Some of [£15] & odd money & pre[y]ing god to blesse them and send them moch encre [*increase*] aft[*er*] I dep[*ar*]ted wth my c'mpany".[73]

The accounts indicate that Stonley made the financial gifts on behalf of individuals who were perhaps unable to attend the London wedding, being based in Essex; as a former employee of the Petre family he was perhaps permitted, or accustomed, to make payments on their behalf. Although the wedding took place in London, the community around Doddinghurst and Ingatestone seems to be the focus of Stonley's description of the gifts. As discussed in chapter five, Thomas and Rose Fysher seem to have resided in Doddinghurst after their marriage in London, perhaps indicating that they had other family connections to this area, which may account for the generous gifts. The following year, on 20 May 1582, Stonley and his wife attend the wedding of "Taylers man that marryed my neighbur Beche's sister" where he "Dyned [*with*] my wyf at Trinite Hall with the bride afore seyd".[74] On this occasion, Stonley gives a monetary gift of 10 shillings. The sum of 10 shillings to a neighbour, whilst still generous, highlights the generosity of Stonley's support of Thomas and Rose Fysher at their marriage.

Another wedding takes place on 19 Febraury 1593/4 when a household servant, or perhaps tenant, of Stonley's, William Pole (or Poole) marries Johanne Ray who is also described as "my srvant". On this occasion Stonley "Dist[c]harged ther Dyner" copying out the bill that he had paid in the White Horse in Friday Street in London.[75] After listing the bread, beer, wine, pottage, fish, salad, fruit and cheese (totaling more than 16s), Stonley observes that a further 6 pence was paid "for more wyne & claret", suggesting that the festivities were extensive and lengthy, despite the wedding taking place during the period of Lent. These examples show Stonley in the capacity of benefactor, supporting the wedding celebrations of individuals connected to his

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[72] Vol 1:14r.
[73] Vol 1:14r.
[74] Vol 1 : 59r.
[75] Vol 2 :66v.

household or community. According to Felicity Heal, "[o]ne of the commonest patterns that can be identified in diaries and accounts is that of masters giving at the marriage of their servants, and sometimes also to the servants of kin and friends."[76] In two of the examples mentioned above Stonley dined with his servants and their friends and families as part of the wedding festivities, and in the case of Thomas and Rose Fysher's wedding, Stonley made liberal gifts on behalf of his social superiors. This indicates a transference of trust and emotional regard across boundaries between different social groups, both above and below Stonley's position. Indeed, the entries clearly demonstrate the deliberate decisions that Stonley was making in choosing to support the weddings of these individuals.

A sense of community is also evident in Stonley's references to the weddings of those who he did not appear to have a close personal relationship with; volume one contains four references to weddings. On Friday 1 September 1581, Stonley paid 12 pence "To the L[ord] Mayers officer for a maydes marriage" and on Sunday 10 September, he paid 5 shillings "To Younge Makyn at his marryinge this Day". Later that year, on Thursday 23 November, Stonley paid two shillings "To Mr Morley towards the marriage of his two maydes" and 12 pence "To Mr Gadburnes man towards his marriage". On Sunday 14 January 1593/4, perhaps during or after the service at St Botulph's Aldersgate church, Stonley paid 4 pence "To a pore marriage".[77] The second volume of the diary contains a further three examples of Stonley offering small sums of money for marriage gifts.[78] In none of these examples does Stonley appear to have attended the wedding celebrations and in some cases he does not seem to be familiar with the couple marrying. Instead Stonley's records evoke a sense of his position within his wider community and of his willingness to assist other individuals to progress into the next phase of their own life-cycle.

These shorter references to weddings do not necessarily indicate that a shared interaction between Stonley and the recipient of his gifts took place. Felicity Heal refers to a practice of "putting money for the married pair into a cup of plate left out in the church", which may explain how these small payments were made by Stonley.[79] Regardless of how they were made, the small wedding gifts bestowed by Stonley highlight his connection to his wider community, regardless of whether the payments were the result of chance encounters or of a regular practice of contributing to a collection. Stonley may not have been emotionally invested in these transactions, but these sums of money could instead demonstrate his sense of duty in the support of

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[76] Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England*, p. 66.
[77] Vol 1:17v , Vol 1:19r, Vol 1:32v and Vol 1:42r.
[78] Vol 2:12v (the brother of Thomas Fysher), 63v (Goodyere's son) and 82v (Ellen Leewes).
[79] Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England*, p. 66.

young couples, his awareness of his own social position, or perhaps even his own romantic nature.

No deaths in Stonley's immediate family occurred between 1581 and 1598, the one exception being his son-in-law, William Dawtrey, who died in 1589, in-between the first and second volumes.[80] Stonley does seem to have been significantly affected by deaths which occurred in the Petre family, as evidenced by the length and detail of these diary entries and the descriptive language chosen. Perhaps the most extensively described death and funeral is that of Robert Petre, auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer and brother of Sir William Petre, who must have been close to Stonley for many years, both socially and professionally. On 13 September 1593 Stonley noted that he "rode to Mr Robert Petre at Thorndon whom I found very weeke god helpe hym".[81] Just three days later, on Sunday 16 September, Stonley recorded in the margin of his diary with a manicule, "This Day Mr Rob[e]rt Petre of Westm' Dep[ar]ted to god at West Horden S[i]r Jo[hn] Petr[e']s howse".[82] On the 30 September, Stonley recorded a meeting with Sir John Petre (the nephew of Robert and son of Sir William) to discuss the will and make arrangements for mourning gowns.[83] The intertwining of Stonley's professional and personal lives becomes evident in an entry on 12 October, where he made reference to his financial difficulties;

> this Afternone my L[ord] Treasorer sent Mr Skynner & Edward English to confer with me towching my Charge in my office whereof I made my Lord a Declaracon this Day before & p[ro]mised to [resolve the issue]... upon my returne from the funerall of Mr Ro Petre after Tewsdey next[84]

Stonley was able to postpone answering his superiors until after the funeral suggesting that the death of Robert Petre was significant in both the familial and neighbourly sphere of rural Essex and the professional sphere of the Exchequer. Indeed, Stonley's description of the event itself further demonstrates this;

> I rode [with] D[r] Daniell Donne to the Burial...
> Wm Petre[,] Mr Tayler & my self Chef mourners w[i]th others
> ?diverse gentlemen besides as S[i]r Hary Grey... et uxor
> S[i]r Tho Myldmay[,] Mr Warren[,] Mr Suliard et uxor w[i]th others a long table full in the gallery[85]

The William Petre referenced here was probably the son of Sir John Petre, aged just 18 years old at this time, perhaps representing the family as he was the great-nephew of

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[80] The History of Parliament entry for William Dawtrey senior (Dorothy's father-in-law) notes that his son pre-deceased him, so it must have been after 1582 and before 1591. HoP: DAWTREY, William.
[81] Vol 2 : 26r.
[82] Vol 2 : 27r. The location 'West Horden' is a variant name for Thordon Hall, the second manor house belonging to the Petre family in the Essex area.
[83] Vol 2 : 28v.
[84] Vol 2 : 32v.
[85] Vol 2 : 33r and 33v.

Robert Petre. Sir Henry Grey (1547-1614) was an MP and Justice of the Peace for Essex. Sir Thomas Mildmay was either the brother or nephew of Sir Walter Mildmay, who was chancellor of the Exchequer from 1559 until his death in 1589; both Thomas I and Thomas II served as Justice of the Peace and sheriff for Essex in the 16th century. Likewise, "Mr Suliard" may be Edward Sulyard (d.1610), another Justice of the Peace and sheriff for the county in the late sixteenth century.[86] Clearly there was a preponderance of civil servants and local officials in attendance at this funeral, demonstrating the overlap between the worlds of Westminster and rural Essex.[87]

The death of Lady Petre, widow of Sir William Petre, also appears to have been felt keenly by Stonley. She died on Saturday 10 March 1581/2, when Stonley recorded the following;

> This night my good Lady Anne Petre Wydow
> Dep[ar]ted to god at Ingatestone [at 11] god I trust hath
> receved hir sowly in to his mercifull handes
> *She was a good almes woman lyved all hir lyf*
> *vertuously and so ended the same.*[88]

Generally in the diary entries an italic script was reserved for biblical and philosophical quotations that were copied out as part of Stonley's daily reading habits.[89] By writing his description of Anne Petre in the same style, it not only highlights his regard and respect for her, but evokes a sense of this as a formal or publically sanctioned view. Although these lines are not a direct biblical quotation, their language and writing style highlight his reverence for his friend. The presence of italic text in this entry also reminds the reader of a possible overlap between Stonley's writing and spiritual practice; his daily philosophical quotations may have been the subject of contemplation or spiritual meditation, indicating that he also spent time considering Anne Petre's virtuous life in a similar manner.

A month later, on 10 April 1582, Lady Anne Petre was buried;

> This Day was the Lady Anne Petre wydowe
> buried at Ingatestone & leyd in the vault ther
> by hir husband Sr Wm Petre to whom I wyshe
> a Joyful resurection being in ther Lyves time

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[86] See HoP: MILDMAY, Thomas I (bef.1515-66), MILDMAY, Thomas II (c.1540-1608), 'SULYARD, Edward (?1540-1610) and GREY, Sir Henry (1547-1614).

[87] John Guy observes this overlap: "From the 1540s to the end of Elizabeth's reign between 60 and 90 per cent of courtiers who were knights or gentlemen of the royal household served simultaneously as MPs in Parliament or as JPs in their counties. The overlap is so striking that it is useful to regard 'Court' and 'country' as the same people at different times of the year" (Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 389).

[88] Vol 1 : 50v.

[89] Alan Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing: The Case of Richard Stonley' in Zachary Leader (ed.), *On Life-Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 175. Stewart identifies Stonley's bible as a Geneva bible, published in the mid-sixteenth century.

my singular good Mr & lady.[90]

Both of these entries are highlighted with a manicule, indicating again Stonley's intention of marking out these facts, potentially to be re-read in the future. This death took place while Stonley was suffering from an illness, which perhaps prevented him from attending the funeral. As in the case of Robert Petre, Stonley's description of Lady Anne Petre highlights her role as wife of his former patron and employer, again highlighting the overlap between the emotions of friendship and his professional career.

The theme of a virtuous female life occurs again in Stonley's entry noting the funeral of Dame Helen Branch, the wife of his brother-in-law. Stonley notes on the 28 April 1594 that "This Day was my Lady Branches funerall at Abchurch London".[91] Less than two weeks later, on 8 May, Stonley records buying "a Book in comendacon of the Ladye Branche".[92] The 'book' in question was a lengthy poem highlighting Helen Branch's virtuous life. Three different published versions survive of the poem, each with slightly different titles and produced by printers Thomas Creede and John Danter, suggesting that the publication was popular.[93] The poem is credited to John Phillip, a poet and dramatist known for authoring commemorative poems of this sort. Lorna Clymer's research on early modern elegies highlights the potential for this sort of text to be "close in time or space to the funeral and corpse", accounting for the quick production of the text by the printers.[94] The elegy may even have been performed or sung as part of the burial, especially an elegy described as an epicedium, as one of the publications of the Helen Branch elegy seems to have been. The Helen Branch poem is not listed in the inventory of Stonley's library made in the late 1590s, during his imprisonment, but the list includes several 'bundles of pamphlets', which may have included a publication of this sort.[95] Alternatively, since Helen Branch was actually the wife of Anne Stonley's brother, it is feasible that Anne Stonley kept the poem and it was not included as part of the sale of the Stonley's London property.

Other deaths or funerals are recorded in less detail; for instance, Stonley records a payment of ten shillings to an unnamed servant, "Mr Worsleys man for the Burial of his

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[90] Vol 1: 54v.

[91] Vol 2 : 80v.

[92] Vol 2 : 82v.

[93] Refer to: British Library C.40.e.67: *Epicedium, A Funeral Song upon the virtuous life, and godly death, of the right worshipfull the Lady Helen Branch*, printed by Thomas Creede, 1594, and Huntington Library, California, Rare Books 81089 and 81090: *A commemoration of the life and death of the right worshipfull ladie, Dame Helen Branch*, printed by John Danter, 1594, and *An epitaph of the virtuous life and death of the right worshipfull ladie, Dame Helen Branch of London,* by S.P., printed by Thomas Creede.

[94] Lorna Clymer, 'The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History', in Karen A Weisman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 171-2

[95] Leslie Hotson, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 2 (1949), 49-61.

M[aste]r".[96] The funeral of Christopher Darrell, described as a cousin, was attended by Stonley on 4 December 1581 and the burial of Sir William Damsell on 30 July 1582.[97] In the cases of Darrell and Damsell, Stonley highlighted the entry with a simple manicule and his descriptions of the events include specific references to sermons having been preached as part of the ritual activities. Whether he was impressed or anxious about the way the services were conducted is not clear, but Stonley's preoccupation with the sermons certainly indicates the importance he placed on the performance of these life-cycle rites.

A particularly anxiety-inducing period took place in November 1582, when there was an outbreak of plague in London, requiring the court, including the Exchequer, Stonley and his colleagues, to relocate to Hertford Castle. After spending much of October in Essex, Stonley recorded on 28 October, whilst on a necessary trip to his London house, that he "kept home... and occupied myself in p[ra]yer ther by cause of the Danger of the Plagge". The following day he recorded that he had "set forward my Lodging & carriage to Hartford", along with the rest of Elizabeth's court.[98] The following week, Stonley recorded some particularly harrowing news;

> Yt was tolde me this morninge that Mr Wylkynson o[u]r ministre was Sicke of the Plage[,] had Buryed a mayd & his wyf being brought to bed of a Sonne he Christened the same & Buried one of his Daughters in one Day god comfort hym.[99]

A few days later, whilst with the court at Hertford Castle, Stonley recorded that Mr Wentworth, the son in law of Lord Burghley, "was Departed to god at Theobalds And two Dead at Ware in New Howse".[100] In the careful recording of the deaths of individuals who seem to be peripheral members of Stonley's social network, there is a sense of Stonley's anxiety over the plague encroaching into his everyday life and the interruption of the natural life-cycle.

Conclusion: Stonley's Journey into Old Age

The surviving volumes of the diary, written when Richard Stonley was in his sixties and seventies and this factor must be considered in interpreting the diary entries. When Stonley was born in 1520, his parents and grandparents may have considered it extremely unlikely that he would live to the age of 80, given their own experiences of the late fifteenth century Wars of the Roses, the bad harvests of 1519 to 1521 and regular

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[96] Vol 1: 11v.
[97] Vol 1:34v, vol 1:69r and HoP: DAMSELL, Sir William (by 1521-82).
[98] Vol 1 : 83r.
[99] Vol 1 : 84r.
[100] Vol 1 : 85r.

outbreaks of famine, plague and influenza.[101] Knowledge of the brutal effects of these events on life expectancy in the late medieval and early modern periods must have impacted on individual experience. It is also likely that these factors influenced the way an individual experienced old age; with so many factors likely to prevent an individual from working due to death or illness, a person in good health would have been expected to work, regardless of age. As Deborah Youngs points out, "For good or ill, there was no sense that the able-bodied were exempt from working" and the concept of 'retirement' may not have been familiar to Stonley.[102] The diary clearly provides evidence of this, as there are references to work throughout all three volumes and very few mentions of leisure activities. Youngs in fact suggests that age brought certain advantages:

> More positively, longevity could bring men to the pinnacle of their careers. This was especially so for merchants or professionals whose business and wealth rested on years of experience.[103]

Stonley himself may have benefitted from his advancing years; he was born the same year as Lord Burghley and may have relied upon Burghley's influence and their shared reputations as experienced and wise civil servants, in order to retain his position as Teller, despite his financial difficulties. It was likely not seen as unusual that Stonley was professionally and physically active so late in his life.

Analysis of Stonley's daily routines is possible due to the meticulous detail of his diary, sometimes recording activities to specific hours of the day. Stonley's more detailed descriptions of his daily routine often appear to have been motivated by specific activities or events which required a modification to his habits; the small variations to his daily life in particular help to bring the 'invisible frame' into focus, allowing a fuller understanding of the ways in which he organised and recorded his life. Analysis of the cycles of work, agriculture, shopping and dining show evidence of the areas that held his attention and focus during different times of the day and year. Stonley's anxieties about the proper performance of the routines and rituals of his life may have been alleviated by recording them in his diary. The subtleties of his diary entries may show examples of ritual activities being used to smooth over areas of contention, or avoiding disagreement or dissention. Meanwhile, adhering to routines connected to agriculture and professional work may have alleviated more practical concerns relating to money and food sources.

The themes discussed in this chapter are not limited to a single man, but show evidence of issues that were affecting society at large. Stonley was born into a yeoman

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[101] Guy, *Tudor England,* pp. 31-2 and Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500,* pp. 23-8.
[102] Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500,* p. 171.
[103] Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500,* p. 171.

farming family, but during a period renowned for unprecedented levels of social mobility; the dissolution of the monasteries, which occurred during Stonley's youth, allowed for the advancement of professional civil servants such as Thomas Cromwell and Lord Burghley. Despite his lengthy professional career at Westminster and marriage into a well-connected London family, Stonley maintained a strong connection to his agricultural background and a seasonally driven life-style. The second half of the sixteenth century saw medieval methods of food production sitting alongside a rise in professional careers and the beginnings of the industrious revolution; Stonley may not have intended to record these issues specifically, but they are clearly evident in the annual, monthly and daily patterns of everyday life that he noted in his diary. This diversification may have served him well, mitigating risks of famine and disease and allowing him to establish his family on the edges of lower gentry society. Stonley's choices and experiences in this respect are perhaps representative of the middling section of society that was on the cusp of significant changes.

From Archive to Field: the hunt for evidence

Evidence of early modern everyday life is found in a number of different settings, from libraries and archives to modern streets, historic buildings and museums. My research into Richard Stonley took me to many places that Stonley inhabited, and some places that he certainly never visited. As I have undertaken this research into everyday life, I have found sources of evidence which are curated, mediated, interpreted and sometimes overlooked. My interactions with this evidence have been shaped by various factors, including the physical form of the evidence; whether it is archival, textual or material in form naturally impacts on the way that the sources are approached and handled (and of course an item may be any combination of these). I have been mindful of medievalist Stephen Kelly's account of studying and then going to view a collection of medieval shoes;

> I had already made a study of the shoes... I had no real reason...to see the actual shoes. But some obligation to see the *thing itself* sent me to the Museum.

Kelly continues by observing that "[h]umanities scholarship has studiously excised the affective dimension of the experience of cultural artefacts from its intellectual purview."[1] For those of us studying the lived experience of everyday objects (such as shoes), acknowledging the effects of interacting with the material may have a role to play in the development of our research methods. In my experience, the context in which I encountered a piece of evidence (whether an archive search room, a historic house or a digital portal) generated a sort of lens through which I viewed that evidence. Through an exploration of the ways in which I responded to different research scenarios, this section will consider some of the challenges and opportunities found in sources of evidence of early modern quotidian life.

Original Contexts?

Shortly before travelling to the Folger Library in Washington DC, to view the diary manuscripts, I made my first journey to Doddinghurst in Essex. As discussed earlier, there are no remains of Kensingtons or Doddinghurst Hall, Stonley's two homes in the village. In All Saints' parish church, however, I discovered not only a building which Stonley himself visited, but also artefacts that he may have used. The church is a place of worship and focal point for the community today just as it was in the early modern period; I was conscious that this building retained a function which Stonley himself

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[1] Stephen Kelly, 'In the Sight of an old Pair of Shoes', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-70 (pp. 57-8).

experienced. This is, of course, very different to viewing a historic document in an archive or an object in a museum, where the object has become disassociated from its original use and function, through its curation and storage. At All Saints church, the environment and materiality that Stonley experienced is still connected to functions that one assumes he would understand.

All Saints parish church is a small medieval building with flint walls, a tiled roof and timber belfry tower. It is set back slightly from the main road in the village of Doddinghurst, opposite a community centre and along the road from a pub and small parade of shops. The village retains a sense of being a small community, however throughout the village fragments of different historical periods appear to elide together; the church, renovated and partly re-built in the nineteenth century, but retaining medieval and Tudor features, sits alongside modern buildings, including housing, shops and a pub.

From the main road, a path leads in a north-easterly direction into the church yard. Visitors enter the church through an impressive timber porch, which is open to the elements on three sides. The size of the porch makes it a social space, ideal for meeting and greeting people outside the church. As a liminal space, the porch also provides shelter on the boundary between the church and the outdoors. Indeed, the church's website reveals that a gate and window grills had to be installed in the late twentieth century to prevent local youths from gathering in the porch.[2] Within the church is the original medieval baptismal font, octagonal in shape and decorated with carved floral motifs on seven sides; the eighth side has the face of a small greenman cheerfully peering out. Unsurprisingly for a medieval object, some of the finer details of the decoration are worn now; but again it struck me that the use of this object has remained broadly unchanged, since Stonley attended christenings there in the sixteenth century.[3] While visiting the church, I was also given the opportunity to view the sixteenth century silver communion cup, which the church still holds in its collection. The cup is rather elegant and, despite its age, it is a bright silver colour and in good condition, although some small dents and worn patches suggest that it was used extensively for many years.

Although I approached these objects as a researcher, these items prompted a response from me that was different to a typical museum or archival object. The communion cup was particularly striking; it is no longer in use today, instead securely stored out of sight. However, this does not make the cup a straightforward artefact; it

[2] See: <http://www.all-saints-doddinghurst.co.uk/history.shtml>.
[3] Stonley recorded witnessing christening ceremonies in Doddinghurst parish church on Sunday 6 August and Sunday 12 November 1581. (Vol 1: 12v and 30r).

appears to be neither a 'living' object in regular use, nor an artefact that has been curated or studied. Instead it reads as something in-between, not far removed from its own everyday function but no longer a part of the routines of quotidian worship within the church. The cup and the font could be seen as communal heirlooms which have been passed down through the centuries, gaining special meaning to those who use the objects, due to their age.[4] Considering this anthropologically retains a sense of continuity between Stonley's community and the community of contemporary Doddinghurst.

From the church I explored the surrounding woodlands. Kensingtons, Stonley's original home in Doddinghurst, was located to the north of the church, in an area that now includes overgrown woodland and meadows, and privately owned property. In the woods I came across a number of earthworks which may be remains of structures from the pre-modern period that are now hidden from view. The area where Kensingtons stood is not far from the church and main roads of the village, but walking through the village, I was struck by the sensation that it felt somewhat outside the heart of the village. This reinforced a view of Kensingtons as an outlying farmstead rather than a village landmark, and perhaps explains why Stonley chose to purchase another manor house in the heart of Doddinghurst as his career and social standing progressed.

While Stonley's own homes in Doddinghurst have not survived, the nearby house and gardens of Ingatestone Hall are still owned by the descendants of Sir William Petre, the builder of the house and Richard Stonley's original employer and patron.[5] The house is a large, red-brick courtyard manor house, regularly open to visitors in the spring and summer months. Despite partly functioning as a small-scale tourist attraction, the house retains a sense of being a domestic dwelling and a family home; it is a large building, but not grand in the manner of a castle or palace. As a researcher of Stonley, visiting Ingatestone Hall provided me with a rare opportunity to experience a domestic building that Stonley visited in multiple occasions. The site has, as might be expected, been modernised with electric lighting and renovated to include the obligatory gift shop and tea rooms. However, the authenticity of Ingatestone Hall as a family home made it easier to imagine Stonley visiting that building; he saw those rooms, considered their size, layout and the views from the windows. He could have been influenced by their

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[4] As Daniel Miller argues, "Temporality is intrinsic to objects in the sense that there is always a period of time between their creation and the moment they are being considered, but this temporal quality may be either entirely inconsequential or, as with an heirloom, the element which endows the object with meaning." Daniel Miller, 'Artefacts and the meaning of things', in Tim Ingold (ed), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (Oxon: Routledge, 1994), p. 409.
[5] See: <http://www.ingatestonehall.com/index.php>.

design when he made choices relating to his homes in the area and his personal and social aspirations.

The material remains connected to Stonley are generally housed in archives, or in the case of his diary accessible digitally via the Folger's website. Consequently, my visits to Doddinghurst and Ingatestone revealed some especially valuable glimpses of Stonley's everyday environments. Broadly speaking, Stonley's parish church and his neighbour's house function in the same way now as they did in the sixteenth century; consequently, during those visits, I experienced less mediation or interference from the modern world, than when viewing evidence in an archive setting. Having the opportunity to make this more direct connection to material evidence pertaining to Stonley's life, helped to highlight specific activities which made up his everyday life, from visiting a neighbour's home to taking communion.

Here and Now, There and Then: The Lens of the Modern Institution

Face doodle in TNA: E405/501
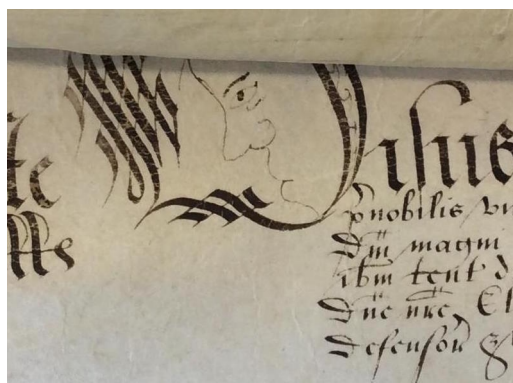
Face doodle in Essex: D/DLa M79

Richard Stonley's role as an Exchequer official meant that I was bound to find material related to his government work at the National Archives in London. A striking, and unexpected, quality of this material is the way that deeply human, quotidian information sits alongside official or institutional information. Of course, this is perhaps due in part to pre-modern records being written by hand.   In a Teller's account book I discovered a face drawn in profile, decorating the letter N of the word Nottingham, the title of the sub-section; this was not a formal illustration, but a casual drawing, almost like a doodle.[6] I found a similar face drawn into the title of a court roll from Doddinghurst Hall, held at Essex archives.[7] The co-incidence of these findings brought me tantalisingly close to linking two very different elements of Richard Stonley's work, via the deeply human action of sketching a decorative face. Small, unexpected findings like this can

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[6] TNA: E405/501 - Issues from the Exchequer, arranged by county, 1554-55.
[7] Essex: D/DLa M79.

disrupt the lens of the modern institution enough that it creates a link to the everyday experience of the historical subject.

Evidence of personal choice and individuality were surprising finds in records of sixteenth century government finances. One example is the notebooks of Nicholas Brigham.[8] Brigham was a senior Teller of the Exchequer in the 1550s, when the young Richard Stonley began working in the department. Brigham was perhaps involved in the selection of Stonley for the role and the subsequent training that he would have undertaken. Brigham is known to have been a literary man, who was responsible for the installation of the marble tomb of Geoffrey Chaucer in Westminster abbey and the Latin epitaph written on it. Brigham's interest in history and literature is perhaps reflected in two of his accounting notebooks contained in the National Archives, which are bound with recycled medieval illuminated manuscripts; one (E405/509) is a sheet of music, with black notes and text in black and red ink; the second (unnumbered part of E407/60) is bound in a sheet with brown and red text and blue illuminated capital letters.

A history of the Brigham family, written in the early twentieth century, argues that there must be a case of mistaken identity, that the Teller could not also be the poet and literary man, who was so keen to celebrate the work of Chaucer. The author, Willard Irving Tyler Brigham, insists;

> Do not confound this Nicholas with the one spoken of elsewhere as "Teller of the Exchequer" to Queen Mary. The fact that they both bear the same name, are prominent and in London at the same period makes it a question of easily mistaken identification.[9]

Unfortunately, I believe this to be an error on the part of Tyler Brigham; recent biographers have certainly concluded that Nicholas Brigham was a Teller as well as an antiquarian and a poet.[10] The error perhaps springs from a tendency to regard the professional identity of a historical subject in narrow terms, rather than considering a broader range of identities and socio-cultural activities. The reluctance of Tyler Brigham to accept that Nicholas Brigham could be a renowned writer and intellectual, whilst simultaneously being an ordinary Teller of the Exchequer perhaps indicates a discomfort with the idea that famous and exceptional individuals also have quotidian lives. Examining the materiality of Brigham's everyday life and work, in the form of his notebooks, clearly shows his professional identity and his interest in medieval culture

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[8] TNA: E407/60: Twelve small account books of Nicholas Brigham, a teller, and other books in E405.

[9] Willard Irving Tyler Brigham, *The History of the Brigham Family: a record of several thousand descendants of Thomas Brigham the emigrant, 1603-1653* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1907), fn. p. 23.

[10] ODNB: 'Brigham, Nicholas (*d.* 1558)' and James Alsop, 'Nicholas Brigham (d.1558), Scholar, Antiquary, and Crown Servant', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 12: 1 (1981), 49-67.

sitting alongside each other, despite the digital catalogue of the National Archives in some ways obscuring this duality.

I occasionally found the setting of the twentieth century National Archives search rooms to be incongruous with the physical form of the evidence I was examining. Some of my experiences echoed Stephen Kelly's description of the disorientation he felt when viewing the medieval shoes he had been researching; he first suggests that this response "has no place, of course, within an academic essay", though subsequently observes;

> And yet there seems to me a clear relationship between my disorientating experience at the Museum…and the discourses used to discuss materiality in general, everyday objects in particular[.][11]

One of the stranger experiences I had was examining two wooden cupboard doors.[12] These doors are archived in the collection of the National Archives, as though they are documents and although they have in the past been on display in the Keeper's Gallery, they are now in storage. Arriving to view the doors, I had to be escorted into the conservation department, where several members of staff were carefully unpacking the doors from their custom built boxes. The modern packing materials and the bright, almost clinical, atmosphere of the open plan conservation department felt extremely distant from the historic location I was trying to reconstruct in my mind's eye. However, gradually the dark timber, ornate hinges and grand scale of the doors began to hint at the physical appearance of the room where these doors were originally installed. The painted inscription on one of the doors, meanwhile, focused my attention on the bustling activity that likely surrounded these doors during their life at the Exchequer offices in Westminster Hall. The sense of alienation between myself (a part of the modern world of the conservation department, within the National Archives) and the cupboard doors (that were a part of the Tellers' everyday working experience), was alleviated with a conscious decision to focus on both the physical appearance and everyday function of the objects.

Interpreting and Curating Early Modern Everyday Life

Across the cultural heritage sector there are a variety of ways in which evidence of early modern everyday life is being curated. National museums have large collections of fine, often elite goods, and are able to construct broad narratives showing the stylistic evolution and cultural similarities and differences of material objects. Reconstructions of historic spaces, for instance at The Geffrye Museum of the Home in London, place

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[11] Kelly, 'In the Sight of an old Pair of Shoes', p. 58-9.
[12] TNA: E409/1.

objects within a specific hypothetical environment reflecting their use and function for historic people.

Social history based collections and special exhibitions may include everyday objects, but may not be in a setting that reflects the original activities. Indeed, in some buildings, different phases of history can be tangled and hard to visualise for the visitor. As a volunteer tour guide at the Bruce Castle Museum, the local history museum for Harringey in North London, it is hard to show visitors the sixteenth century roots of the building, due to the numerous architectural adaptations which took place in later centuries; the view of the Compton family's Tudor manor house is obscured by evidence of the seventeenth century Coleraine family and the building's conversion into a school in the nineteenth century.

Converging layers of history can often be seen at historic house museums, such as the National Trust's Sutton House, which was the home of Tudor courtier and diplomat Ralph Sadler.[13] This site in particular relishes the juxtaposition of different time periods; in one room a later timber staircase sits squarely across a Tudor stone fire surround. In the front parlour of the house, sections of late sixteenth-century linenfold wood paneling and hinges and can be opened up by visitors, revealing earlier wall paintings, which, curiously, also depict linenfold paneling in painted form. By contrasting different periods of history, the visitor may find themselves travelling so fast that the details of everyday life, as it was undertaken by the residents of the site, blur into obscurity.

Like many cultural heritage consumers, I enjoy the authenticity that comes with visiting an exhibition or historic house. Cultural sociologist Gaynor Bagnall has researched how visitors to cultural heritage sites interact with live interpretation, or re-enactment; her research has identified a particular relationship between authenticity and emotional engagement for audience members at heritage sites. She argues that "[i]t is vital to recognize the significance of authenticity to the consumption experience...this notion of authenticity was related as much to the context of everyday life as it was to notions of high culture".[14] It seems to me that this is an area where documents such as the Stonley diary could play a meaningful role; account books, diaries and journals provide that mix of historic fact, authenticity, human emotion and everyday detail which so intrigues visitors at cultural heritage sites.

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[13] The National Trust, Sutton House and Breaker's Yard, Hackney, London; the house was built by Sadler in 1535 and was originally known at the Brick House. Sadler and Stonley may have known each other; N.M. Fuidge's biography of Stonley suggests that "he may have owed his [parliamentary] seat to Sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to whom he must have been known through the Exchequer". See HoP: Stoneley, Richard (c.1520-1600).

[14] Gaynor Bagnall, 'Performance and performativity at heritage sites', *Museum and Society,* 1: 2 (2003), 87-103 (p. 88).

Whether the modern institutional lens of the archive, museum or digital portal helps to illuminate or obscure the personal, quotidian elements of these documents perhaps differs between researchers and between audience members. Nevertheless, it is clear that for me, coming into contact with a full range of archival and material evidence has resulted in some powerful experiences. I have been aware of subtle differences in the ways I experienced engagement with this material, depending on the type of location I was situated in, and on the type of evidence. Over the course of my research into Richard Stonley, I have been struck by the opportunity and necessity of developing methods of interpreting and curating his everyday life which will fulfill the needs of both academic and non-specialist audiences, as will be discussed in more detail in the final concluding chapter.

Conclusion

> This Day after morning p[ra]yer I kept
> home emonge my wookmen And
> at evening came my brother
> Uvedale to Supper And so ended
> this Day And the yere wth
> thankes to Almighty god for
> for *[sic]* p[re]servinge me to this Day
> And humbly besech hym to graunt
> me grace to p[ro]cede in this next
> yere in his feare & Love
>   - finis -
> Looke the next Booke of
>   A.A.[1]

Richard Stonley did not only write his diary looking back on his recent past, he also looked to the future. As the quotation above shows, in the final entry of volume one, he signaled to the next book.[2] This volume is the only one of those surviving that finishes with the end of the calendar year; volumes two and three start and finish mid-year. Furthermore, since the three surviving volumes are not consecutive, the ending of each book of the diary can feel abrupt, interrupted by passages of blank time between each volume. The final surviving volume finishes in mid-May 1598, during Stonley's stay in the Fleet prison. He died about a year and a half later, in early 1600, but even by 1598 his entries in the diary were increasingly brief, perhaps showing the impact of old age, poor health or imprisonment. Unlike the above quotation, human lives and manuscripts do not necessarily end cleanly, with all the loose ends tied up with a neat statement.

Throughout this thesis I have drawn together interdisciplinary theories in order to develop a new methodological approach for the study of manuscripts relating to early modern daily life. The case study into Richard Stonley has revealed quotidian locations and daily activities which give insight into the ways in which he organised his life and work. Exploring his social networks and the cyclical elements of his life has revealed his complex and constant renegotiations of the social and cultural identity he experienced and created. This concluding chapter will consider some avenues for future scholarship relating to Stonley's diaries and objectively consider the methods utilised in this project, and their suitability for improving accessibility to complex early modern manuscript sources, like diaries and account books. Considering the study of everyday life as a lens that can be applied to different areas of historical study demonstrates the potential for this field to contribute to wider historical and cultural scholarship.

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[1] Vol 1: 99r (Monday 31 December 1582).
[2] Stonley's system of labelling his diaries is explained in the *Examination of the Diaries*.

In the first four chapters of this thesis I explored the quotidian locations which Richard Stonley inhabited on a daily or very frequent basis; his two homes in Aldersgate Street and Doddinghurst, his place of work in Westminster and the Fleet Prison. By avoiding limiting 'the everyday' to activities which happened in the home, it was possible to retain a focus on the full breadth of Stonley's lived experience. It also allowed for a balanced view of Stonley's identity, avoiding labels such as 'urban professional', 'Londoner', 'yeoman farmer' or 'country gentleman', which may have been over-simplistic or inauthentic to the period.

The opening chapters made use of a range of archival evidence to support and unlock meaning from the diary entries. In chapter one, the inventory of the Aldersgate Street house revealed details of Stonley's material possessions in London and hinted at the layout of rooms. This allowed for a deeper understanding of the routes into and around the building that would have been taken by Stonley, his household and visitors. The second chapter showed a very different sort of life in rural Essex, where Stonley's focus shifted to agriculture and food production, and where he took an increasingly prestigious position in the community of Doddinghurst. Moving to consider Stonley's professional employment as a Teller of the Exchequer, the third chapter explored archival evidence of the material culture of the Westminster offices, particularly considering the daily working customs of Stonley and his colleagues. The fourth chapter examined another very different environment, the Fleet prison, for which very few archival sources remain. This chapter made use of comparative sources, in the form of an inventory of another Fleet prisoner, exploring how Stonley's life changed in response to his imprisonment.

The final chapters, exploring the social interactions and cyclical routines of Richard Stonley, added a further dimension to the earlier chapters on specific locations; chapter five showed the extent of the social network that he recorded in his diary, while chapter six showed the cyclical routines that were associated with these social interactions and activities. Both chapters demonstrate the importance of actions and behaviour in the study of everyday life, rather than taking a static view of quotidian lived experience. This is, of course, one of the great advantages to studying a diary, which records multiple events over a period of time, giving a stronger sense of narrative; sources such as inventories tend to capture a single moment in time recording material items in greater detail, but with less sense of on-going use or transactions. Considering both types of sources together is particularly helpful for identifying the lived experience of a quotidian location, since it allows for analysis of the environment and materiality of a space, whilst also illustrating the ways in which spaces were inhabited. Patricia Fumerton advocates a "layering of individual accounts with multifarious supporting

details."[3] By combining impersonal, quantitative sources with more personal, authorial or narrative-driven sources, a more detailed picture of the everyday lives of historic individuals can be developed.

A number of themes have been returned to throughout this thesis. Evidence of dining activities in particular, and the social interaction and consumption that those activities incorporate, has been explored in multiple chapters. Shopping activities have been revisited numerous times, since they are a manifestation of the movements of objects and people, underpinning the consumption of goods and interaction between individuals. Several chapters have also explored the overlapping nature of professional and domestic activities, questioning the extent to which early modern individuals experienced boundaries or differentiation between the spheres of home and work. Finally, this thesis has repeatedly returned to issues connected to Richard Stonley's identity and social status. These overarching themes demonstrate Stonley's personal areas of interest and reflect subjects which were prioritised in society generally. They also indicate the subjects which Stonley himself considered would be deemed important by his communities; these themes form the basis for the following section of this concluding chapter.

Richard Stonley: Appearance and Personality

The findings of this case study into the everyday life of Richard Stonley hint at the personal characteristics which were a part of his identity. As sociologists David Newman and Jodi O'Brien observe, "our everyday feelings, thoughts, and actions are the product of a complex interplay between massive social forces and personal characteristics."[4] In terms of his physical characteristics, since no portrait of Stonley is known to survive, the diaries are the best source of information; there are occasional references to grooming habits and clothing purchases which give a sense of Stonley's appearance.

As mentioned in chapter five, a barber named Pomfret was a part of Stonley's social network; Stonley made seven payments to a barber in the second volume of the diaries, though the payment of 12 pence on Thursday 21 June 1593 was the only one specified as being paid to Pomfret. These payments may have been for haircuts or for beard grooming. Will Fisher's research into the representation of beards in English Renaissance portraiture found that "...virtually all of the men depicted in portraits...have beards" and that "starting in about 1540 and continuing for at least a century after that, males over the age of twenty-one are almost invariably represented with some sort of

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[3] Patricia Fumerton, 'Introduction: A New New Historicism', in Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 4.
[4] David M. Newman and Jodi O'Brien (eds.), *Sociology 9: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life: Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2013), p. 3.

facial hair."[5] The surviving portraits of Sir William Petre and Sir John Petre, Stonley's patron and neighbours, show that both men had facial hair. Since the trend identified by Fisher coincides almost perfectly with the years of Richard Stonley's adulthood, it seems likely that he too wore some kind of facial hair.

The detail with which Richard Stonley recorded payments for 'apparel' suggests that he took clothing seriously. He frequently listed not only the garments, but also the tailors he was purchasing from. The majority of purchases relating to clothing were actually for repairs, rather than new garments.[6] As discussed in chapter five, Stonley's tailors are some of the more frequently named tradespeople noted in the diary, suggesting that he valued their expertise and the relationships he had with them. He also appears to have developed a personal friendship with his tailor Peter Wensing and his wife in the 1590s, dining with them in both the Aldersgate Street house and the Fleet prison. Of course, as mentioned in the Introduction, Anne Stonley's brother and first husband were both members of the Drapers' company; this may account for an interest in clothing and textiles amongst the extended family.

Considering Richard Stonley's appearance is not a trivial curiosity; physical characteristics had strong cultural meanings which can aid our understanding of Stonley's identity. For instance, Will Fisher particularly highlights a connection between beards and the masculine identities of being a father and a soldier.[7] This relationship is also evoked in William Shakespeare's *Seven Ages of Man* speech; the soldier is "bearded like the pard", while the justice wears a "beard of formal cut". The next stage, the "lean and slippered pantaloon", is described as wearing spectacles, rather than facial hair.[8] We know too that Stonley purchased pairs of spectacles on multiple occasions, for instance on Saturday 9 February 1593/4.[9] It seems likely that Stonley adhered to the physical conventions that were typical for middle-aged and older men in late sixteenth century England.

The diary entries also convey a sense of how Stonley embraced the emotional conventions associated with masculinity. Alexandra Shepard identifies a range of qualities deemed vital for early modern men;

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[5] Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol 54, No.1, (2001), p. 158.

[6] See for example, a large payment made on Wednesday 9 August 1581, to "Mr Ludwell the Taylor for [2] Yardes of Spanishe Taffata to new face my black gowne...". The total payment for repairs to this garment exceeded 20 shillings (vol 1: 13r).

[7] Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard', p. 172. Fisher argues that "to be a 'man' meant not only having facial hair or a particular genital morphology, but also performing activities such as fighting in battle and begetting children. ...beard growth was consistently associated with the 'masculine' social roles of soldier and father."

[8] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* 2.7.142-69.

[9] Vol 2: 62v.

> Strength, thrift, industry, self-sufficiency, honesty, authority, autonomy, self-government, moderation, reason, wisdom, and wit were all claimed for patriarchal manhood, either as the duties expected on men occupying patriarchal positions or as the justification for their associated privileges.[10]

The diary shows evidence of Stonley's attempts to express these qualities. The opening chapters all discussed evidence of his industrious lifestyle; in London and Westminster he prioritised professional work, while in Doddinghurst he focused on agriculture. A concern over reputation and a sense of honour have been identified as qualities which "had to be continually monitored, cultivated, and maintained" in early modern England.[11] For Stonley, the meticulous nature of his accounting for purchases and his time demonstrates the importance he placed on honesty and self-government. The inclusion of philosophical and biblical quotes in the diary (alongside references to religious practice) highlights Stonley's expression of the qualities of wisdom and spiritual understanding. These qualities are implied by the choices Stonley made as a diarist, and drawing on Shepard's suggestion, the diary may have been used as a justification for retaining his patriarchal position in society, especially following his financial difficulties.

Although the diaries frequently illustrate Stonley's position as a respectable patriarch and head of his household, his marriage with Anne is mentioned relatively infrequently, perhaps indicating that they lived somewhat separately. That said, there is no reason to suppose the marriage was unhappy or not loving; early on in Stonley's imprisonment, following a visit from Anne, he recorded that "this Day my pore wyf returned to [Essex]".[12] Shortly after this, in May 1597, he recorded that his wife had experienced a period of sickness, noting "This morning I hadd word that my wyf continewed still Dangerously sick... for the which medesines were sent from D[r] Foster & D[aniel] Done gone to hir".[13] Although entries like these do not demonstrate an overt romantic love between Richard and Anne, they do evoke a strong sense of intimacy, affection and concern; this and other entries, particularly those relating to their daughters Dorothy and Anne, and their grandchildren, highlight a close family bond within the blended family. Since people's lives are intertwined in this way, diaries written by upper middling or elite men can be potential sources of evidence for the everyday lives of women and lower status individuals.

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[10] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford Studies in Social History, 2003), p. 247.
[11] Courtney Thomas, "The Honour & Credite of the Whole House': Family Unity and Honour in Early Modern England', *Cultural and Social History*, vol 10:3 (2013), p. 329.
[12] Vol 3: 3v.
[13] Vol 3: 25v.

Richard Stonley: Dining and Hospitality

The themes of neighbourliness and hospitality have recurred throughout this thesis; as Matthew Johnson observes, "the repeated patterns of everyday life, such as the mealtimes hosted in the hall, had a spiritual and symbolic significance that went far beyond the mere action of eating."[14] Different aspects of dining have included the materiality and locations of food production and consumption in the opening chapters. Meanwhile, the later chapters explored the interpersonal aspects of sharing meals with other individuals, and the routines associated with such activities.

Dining and food preparation activities took place in all the main quotidian locations, as evidenced by a range of source materials; inventories listing cooking and dining equipment and furniture, and accounts of food purchases, add to our understanding of the diary entries themselves. London was the site of the majority of food purchasing, while Doddinghurst was primarily a site of agriculture and food production. The diary is not explicit about the precise details of Richard and Anne's management of their homes; it is certain that residences in London and Essex were inhabited and maintained simultaneously and the impression from the diary is that the houses were staffed by teams of servants who may or may not have been interchangeable. It is likely that some of the items purchased in London were destined for Doddinghurst and some of the foodstuffs produced in Doddinghurst were transported to London for consumption at the Aldersgate Street house and at the Fleet prison.

As discussed in chapter six, seasonality was clearly an important factor for agricultural activities in Doddinghurst, but it also likely affected life for the Aldersgate Street household, if the management of the two households tended towards the synchronous. The recurrence of themes related to food and dining throughout different chapters of this thesis suggests it was a subject which particularly interested Stonley. It also demonstrates how central it was to daily life in the early modern period; food production and consumption included both mundane and practical considerations for historic individuals and communities, alongside more meaningful and cultural factors.

Richard Stonley: Boundaries and Bridges Between Places and People

Throughout this study it has been clear that Richard Stonley was accustomed to crossing conceptual boundaries. His socio-cultural background combined a yeomanry heritage with professional middling and gentry lifestyles. In maintaining a divided household, he was exposed to both urban and rural cultures. Furthermore, his diaries provide evidence

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[14] Matthew Johnson, *English Houses 1300-1800; Vernacular Architecture, Social Life,* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), p. 71.

of significant overlaps between his home and work lives. Indeed, the diaries show evidence of a specific model of working and domestic practice; the field of everyday life studies would benefit from further research into divided households in the early modern period.

Sociologist Christena Nippert-Eng, whose research focuses on domestic and working practices in contemporary society, uses the terms 'integrated' and 'segmented' to discuss different types of arrangements, stating;

> I have found it useful to see the myriad ways we conceptualize and juxtapose "home" and "work" as a continuum...[ranging] from "integration" to "segmentation"[.][15]

Applying this terminology to the case of Richard Stonley leads to some interesting distinctions. There are clearly overlaps between Stonley's Exchequer colleagues, neighbours, friends and family members, whom he interacts with in multiple contexts; to use the terminology of chapter five, multiple interconnected relationships were found between actors. For instance, he dined frequently with his brother-in-law, Sir John Branche, who was also the Lord Mayor of London and therefore an important contact in the business circles of the city. Similarly, his brother Edward was both a family member and a work colleague at the Exchequer, while his two daughters both married the sons of MPs who were probably known to Stonley through his contacts at Westminster. On an interpersonal level, his work and home lives appear to have been strongly integrated. However, in a geographic sense, there is evidence of segmentation; Stonley's identity as a farmer was naturally tied to the specific location of Doddinghurst, due to the nature of the work involved. Stonley's other professional activities, as a Teller of the Exchequer and his private financial investments, were certainly loosely tied to the locations of Westminster and London. However, as earlier chapters have shown, this work could, and did, take place in multiple locations; for instance, when there was a risk of plague in London in November 1582, the Tellers moved the work of the Exchequer to Hertford Castle, along with the rest of the court. The study of historic everyday life could benefit from awareness of different models of integration and segmentation between domestic and occupational activities.

Throughout this thesis, Richard Stonley's status within his society has been shown to be a complex, shifting and relational thing. Stonley's descent from a

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[15] Christena E. Nippert-Eng, *Home and Work: Negotiating Boundaries through Everyday Life,* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 5. Nippert-Eng's research explores the ways in which space and time is used, and the ways in which individual and social needs and responsibilities are balanced; "I not only want to find out more about wage work and its varied roles in people's lives, but about broader principles of social organization and interaction, how we use space and time to support these principles and how we balance the remarkable tension between what is personal and social" (p. xiv).

Warwickshire farming family and his subsequent professional occupation and moves towards the landed gentry class, defy any simplistic categorisation of his social class. As the findings of chapter five demonstrate, it seems that on a daily basis, Stonley was accustomed to having contact with individuals of widely different statuses and backgrounds, from fellow professional elites and nobility to agricultural labourers and tradespeople, including men and women. The extensive recording of social interaction with lower status individuals indicates that this formed a significant part of Stonley's experience of his communities; naturally, as an older, professional man and landowner he was in an elite position. The diary entries suggest that he enjoyed this status, since he took care to record instances where he played the role of patron; inviting tenants and neighbours to his house at Christmas or inviting his tailor for supper, for example. Notably, Stonley does not seem to have socialised with his fellow Tellers, pointing to a model of vertical social contact between people of different levels within society, rather than horizontal contact between social equals. For upper-middling men like Stonley, this may have resulted in reduced integration between social equals (and competitors) but increased integration with social superiors and inferiors. This finding suggests that historians looking for evidence of social status might just as profitably look at an individual's relationships of patronage and employment, as attempting to place their subject within a circle of social equals.

The Study of Everyday Life: New Approaches and Insights

The central aim of this project has been to develop nuanced methods with which to approach early modern diaries, accounts and other forms of evidence. My research demonstrates the benefits of a method which facilitates deep and accurate analysis of quantitative information alongside clear interpretation of more qualitative material. Using data analysis to ascertain a sense of the routines and cyclical nature of quotidian behaviour can reveal how pervasive a particular event or task was; this in turn leads to a more accurate understanding of wider patterns of behaviour, which may contrast with or strengthen the impressions gleaned from qualitative analysis. The combination of these modes of analysis makes use of all aspects of a multifunctional source like a diary or account book.

The cornerstone of the approach utilised in this thesis involves starting with quotidian locations and engaging with evidence of the materiality and physical environment of places. My understanding of quotidian locations draws on theories of material culture, in that they are frequently inhabited spaces which form part of the 'invisible frame'. Analysis of the backdrop of daily life ensures that routines and activities are understood within specific contexts. Focusing on lived experience reveals

the subtle changes and nuanced meanings that individuals expressed, understood and reacted to.

It is important to acknowledge the potential for overlaps and bridges between quotidian locations. For instance, this study on Richard Stonley has shown that in early modern England, even middling households may have been divided across multiple domestic residences. Ultimately, the identification of quotidian locations will also depend on the type of evidence available. The kind of in-depth analysis I am advocating prevents 'rifling for data' and a reliance on stereotypes or convenient categorisation. The holistic and interdisciplinary approach also prevents the artificial slicing up of archival manuscript sources, in a way that disrupts the methods of writing used by the original author of the manuscript. Understanding the material and functional nature of a historic document before analysing it for content and data encourages forms of analysis that are sympathetic to the intentions of the author and would have been recognisable to the subjects of the research.

Social network analysis has proven to be extremely helpful to the study of everyday life; building on material culture studies, it encourages a focus on interpersonal relationships as well as interaction between people and objects. This project demonstrates that evidence of transactions and networks can be particularly illuminated by examining what people actually did, and what activities were shared; in this area I have also drawn on the verb-oriented method, an approach which has been utilised in the study of pre-modern working practices in particular. Within all these modes of analysis, searching for evidence of the movements of objects and people within networks, over periods of time and across boundaries, has been particularly beneficial. This approach has revealed complex concepts such as personal identity and choices relating to the ways in which individuals organised and navigated their interpersonal relationships and domestic, professional and community responsibilities.

Considering the material evidence of specific quotidian locations one by one has certain benefits; since a person can only be in one location at a time, considering the evidence of a quotidian location through the eyes of the subject helps to maintain a focus on lived experience. This echoes an approach described by sociologists David Newman and Jodi O'Brien, which they term 'a sociological imagination';

> When we develop a sociological imagination, we gain an awareness that our lives unfold at the intersection of personal biography and social history.[16]

Of course, small fragments of biographical evidence pertaining to the quotidian experiences of a single person should not be taken as fact for a whole society or for a

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[16] Newman and O'Brien (eds.), *Sociology 9: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life,* p. 3.

whole time period.[17] Details of quotidian locations and daily activities can, however, add to our understanding of the interplay between individuals and broader society. The diaries of Richard Stonley provide evidence of the ways in which activities were undertaken and perhaps have the added benefit of being able to prove or disprove ideas about life in late sixteenth century England. There are some aspects of social history which are particularly illuminated through the study of known individuals, including the emotions and opinions of people, as opposed to facts and events. For instance, although the birth of Richard Stonley's grandson Richard Heigham may have been recorded in a church register, Stonley's feelings about the event, that it was 'good news', that warranted the giving of expensive celebratory gifts, is evidenced by his diary.

The methods developed for this thesis should, of course, be applied to other archival sources and case studies. Modifications would be required, not least due to the very nature of diaries and account books as highly personal and subjective forms of writing. Different source materials will consequently have their own sets of risks and opportunities. The approaches taken in this thesis will provide a constructive method with which to access challenging sources which are idiosyncratic and easily overlooked as mundane or trivial, in order to draw out information about the lived experiences of historic individuals. Crucially, an approach that seeks details of quotidian locations, material culture and activities (rather than occupational or social titles) enables subjects to be understood within a context rather than in isolation.

Opportunities for Future Stonley Scholarship

Undertaking this research has provided an exciting opportunity to explore an unpublished manuscript which has historically been overlooked by scholars. Further research into Richard Stonley and his diaries could benefit numerous fields of historical scholarship. Unpicking Stonley's personal and professional debt problems would be extremely helpful for our understanding of how he managed his work and how his position as a Teller unraveled; this would require deep and highly skilled analysis of the Exchequer records and references in the diary which relate to financial transactions. The wider knowledge gained would add to our understanding of the ways in which work was undertaken by Exchequer officials. My findings on Stonley's occupations could also contribute to wider work being undertaken on early modern working practices; further research on Stonley could help to generate a context or contrast with projects such as

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[17] As Patricia Fumerton observes, "the idea that a whole culture can be represented by just one of its parts is, indeed, very problematic." Patricia Fumerton, 'Introduction: A New New Historicism', in Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 4.

Jane Whittle's *Women's Work in Rural England 1500-1700*. Future work could particularly draw out the 'divided household' model employed by middling professional workers in and around London. The findings of chapter five particularly point to the opportunity for more investigation into the named individuals in Stonley's diary; this could add significantly to our knowledge of the inhabitants of late-sixteenth century London and Essex. Comparing Stonley's diaries to other account books of the same location and period could particularly increase our understanding of the clerks, tradespeople and servants in London, building a clearer picture of these middling and lower status workers, such as George Strange, the sadler at Pye Corner.

In addition to document-based analysis, there is an opportunity to improve accessibility to the Stonley diaries via new technologies. Although publishing a full transcription of the diaries would certainly improve their readability, hopefully reaching new audiences, there are risks to this sort of publication. Alan Stewart is cautious of relying on edited and printed editions of early modern diaries, warning that "editorial intervention [can]... lure and confuse us".[18] It is certainly true that many of the quirks and subtleties of Richard Stonley's writing, such as page folding, corrections and the qualities of the handwriting, could be difficult to transfer to the typed and printed page. A web-based and fully searchable digital edition that sits alongside the Folger's high-resolution images may be preferable. A similar project can be found in Alison Wiggins' *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c.1550-1608*.[19] This web-based database of the letters of Bess of Hardwick includes transcriptions of 234 letters, images of 185 letters and commentaries.

An alternative opportunity, although still utilising web-based technology, could include reconstructions of Richard Stonley's quotidian locations; a similar project has reconstructed the environment of the early seventeenth century St Paul's cathedral and Paul's Cross churchyard, including navigable images and soundscapes.[20] Archival records allow a generalised picture to be developed of Stonley's physical environments and material culture; however, the scenes depicted in the diary could give detailed information about very specific occasions, revealing more about how people engaged with each other and their material surroundings.

An exhibition (whether web-based or museum-based) could unite the diverse range of evidence that survives for Richard Stonley's daily life. In addition to the diaries

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[18] Stewart, 'The Materiality of Early Modern Life-Writing', p. 165. Stewart continues; "But to date, there has been no work on what we might describe as the 'materiality' of the volumes, their physical characteristics - precisely the kind of information that got lost in many editions of early diaries" (p. 166).
[19] See: <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/home.jsp>.
[20] The Virtual Paul's Cross project and the Virtual St Paul's Cathedral Project, See: <https://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu> and project blog: <http://virtualpaulscrossproject.blogspot.co.uk>.

themselves, there are numerous records in various archives, including letters, Teller's account books and evidence of legal cases. The objects described in this thesis include the cupboard doors from the Exchequer office where he worked and the silver communion cup from his parish church in Doddinghurst. Furthermore, a number of books from Stonley's library, and complete with his signature, are known to survive; a religious text now in the collection of the Folger and a group of eleven of books on health now held in the Hunter Library of the University of Glasgow.[21] Uniting these physical anchors to Richard Stonley's everyday life, and having the opportunity to link them to scenes depicted in the diary, would encourage exhibition visitors to explore the world as Richard saw it. The diary entries also add a valuable sense of authenticity, which is particularly important for visitors' engagement with cultural heritage. An exhibition or large scale project could also have the added benefit of raising the profile of Richard Stonley, allowing more documents and objects to come to light, which are currently hidden within museum, library and archive collections.

The Enigmatic Everyday

The findings of this thesis demonstrate that 'the everyday' is much more than a simple category of objects or activities. Everyday life is concerned with the myriad tasks which take place in between people, places and objects; not so much the raw materials, nor a 'finished product', but what happens in the middle. In the study of historic everyday life, scholars search for evidence of the routines and customs which were in progress, or the tasks which were underway, at specific moments of time, and attempt to build a picture of the context for those activities. As numerous historians have observed, a close examination of everyday activities can reveal them to be surprisingly alien and obscure; "the everyday practice of another period (as also our own) can be charged with strangeness even to its practitioners."[22] While Fumerton is struck by the strangeness within the everyday, Angela McShane and Garthine Walker see a relationship between the quotidian and the exceptional. Their interest is in exploring "how the extraordinary and the everyday each informed the other".[23] Understanding the everyday elements of

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[21] Further information about the books held by the Hunter library can be found on their blog: <https://universityofglasgowlibrary.wordpress.com/2013/01/11/the-property-of-an-embezzling-elizabethan-shakespeare-fan/> One of the books actually contains the signature of Anne Stonley, indicating that they both kept books within their homes.

[22] Patricia Fumerton, 'Introduction: A New New Historicism', in Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 6.

[23] Angela McShane and Garthine Walker (eds), *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England: Essays in Celebration of the Work of Bernard Capp,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 4.

an individual's life enables a more nuanced comprehension of their responses to extraordinary occurrences.

A startling example of the interplay between the quotidian and the extraordinary can be found in the first volume of Richard Stonley's diary. In this instance, understanding that Stonley dining with the Lord Mayor, who was his brother-in-law, was a regular and routine occurrence in 1581 and 1582, provides a helpful contextual frame to an extraordinary event; on Sunday 18 June 1581, Stonley recorded that while at dinner at the Lord Mayor's house, "where was brought in after Dyner a Dwarf born in [blank] of 2 fete [demi] in heyte wthowt Armes" who could also "Dance" and "blowe a Trumpet very well".[24] After the meal, Stonley went to the Royal Exchange and saw a man from Antwerp who was seven feet and seven inches tall, and he also reports a story of a one-year old baby with a head twenty-eight inches in circumference. Stonley noted in his diary "Thes sights may gyve us cause to gyve god thankes for o[u]r creatsen" and marked the entry with three manicules, making it stand out as one of the most extraordinary passages in the diary. Understanding the everyday routines which surrounded this event, allows the reader to appreciate Stonley's own sense of wonder more fully.

In focusing on the relationship between the everyday and the extraordinary, McShane and Walker aim to "demonstrate that any characterisation of the normative, indeed the concept of 'everyday life' is itself essentially unstable."[25] This thesis upholds this view, finding that even irregular and exceptional occurrences, such as the birth of a grandchild or the recording of a new prison lifestyle, could potentially be made a part of the quotidian by Stonley's everyday practice of writing his diary. The shifting nature of 'everyday' and 'extraordinary' occurrences is perhaps a result of how they are responded to; bringing 'the everyday' and 'the extraordinary' into a dialogue with each other certainly helps to generate an awareness of the broader context of the choices and actions of historic individuals. The very act of writing things in his diary was perhaps part of a process for Stonley, of understanding, balancing or controlling the events and choices that he encountered. Although the three volumes of the diary are inherently quotidian, having been written on a regular or daily basis, they incorporate unusual and irregular aspects of late sixteenth century life. For Richard Stonley, the activity of writing his daily accounts enabled him to situate extraordinary occurrences within his everyday life.

Instead of treating the everyday and the extraordinary as polar opposites, the everyday could be seen as the baseline behaviour and routines which underpin that which is stable and, crucially, affects the ways in which individuals process and respond

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[24] Vol 1: 3v.

[25] McShane and Walker (eds), *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England*, p. 4.

to that which is unstable or disruptive. In the case of Richard Stonley, understanding his daily life in the early 1580s and early 1590s, particularly shows more clearly the ways in which he responded to the unsettling event of his imprisonment; the adoption of new diary writing techniques in the final volume of the diaries, as discussed in chapter four, suggests that he had new concerns about his security and his social identity. In this way, it is clear that a focus on lived experience and daily life not only reveals the stability of the everyday, but also allows for a deeper understanding of exceptional or unusual occurrences.

Rather than viewing everyday life as a category of objects or activities, this thesis demonstrates the value of a methodological approach which prioritises lived experience as a way to open up dense and nuanced archival sources. A focus on quotidian lived experience can be utilised as a mode of analysis with which to approach challenging sources of evidence. Looking through the lens of everyday life, and questioning how the author of a document experienced the writing of it, helps to retain a sense of early modern manuscripts being material objects, rather than merely receptacles for words and data; questioning how an individual experienced or used the locations and objects that connected them to the documentary evidence they created retains a focus on context. Archival documents can also prove social interactions between the subject and other individuals, while examining similar types of documents over a period of time can reveal patterns to the ways in which different types of social interaction took place. Dense, personal and idiosyncratic sources, like diaries and account books in particular, can be made more accessible by questioning how the places, objects and people recorded in the source material were experienced by the author. When the relationships between people and things are not overtly articulated, a focus on quotidian locations and lived experience provides scholars with a tangible method of drawing out meaning.

For the period of time between the Reformation of the 1530s and the civil war of the 1640s, individuals experienced significant political and religious changes; a more nuanced understanding of the everyday socio-cultural practices of these decades helps scholars to understand the ways in which individuals understood and responded to these changes. Although the diaries of Richard Stonley reflect a constant and seemingly heartfelt loyalty to the monarch, and perhaps to his former patron Sir William Petre, it does not seem that Stonley occupied a single or stable social status between 1581 and 1598. Instead, the diaries suggest that Stonley developed an acute sense of his different roles within his communities; dining activities appear to have played a particular role in clarifying or illustrating different social positions, which may account for the frequency and detail with which these events are recorded. The religious turmoil of Stonley's youth is reflected in the apparent anxieties he had over religious practice later in life and his

careful recording of spiritual matters, particularly in the final volume of the diary. Stonley's model of maintaining a divided household and pursuing multiple occupations suggests cultural diversification, rather than the expression of a single identity or upward-looking social aspiration.

My research methods placed lived experience centre-stage, thus maintaining a focus on activities and social interaction in order to reveal the everyday lives of a historic individual and his communities. A focus on daily experiences and material culture helped to preserve the integrity of the manuscript sources, reminding me that these volumes which are now highly valued archival objects, were once everyday objects, serving everyday functions. For Richard Stonley, writing his diary was perhaps the epicentre of his daily life; carrying the diary volumes with him on his travels, the notebooks may have blended into the background of his daily tasks and routines. The diaries do not provide an external perspective on his life, but were embedded within a complex web of daily locations, activities and routines. The methods of analysis developed in this thesis could benefit a wide range of historical fields, from an improved understanding of how individuals lived and worked together, to the ways in which identities were developed and expressed in response to political, economic and religious changes across the period. The study of everyday life sees primary sources not merely as descriptive of their historical periods, but as intrinsic parts of the moments in time they record.

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Virgoe, Roger, 'DAMSELL, Sir William (by 1521-82), of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London and Wye, Kent'

J.E.M., 'DAWTREY, William (d.1591), of More House, Petworth, Sussex'

W.J.J., 'DUNNE, Daniel (David) (c.1550-1617), of London and Essex'

J.H., 'GREY, Sir Henry (1547-1614), of Pirgo, Essex; later of Groby, Leics.'

J.H., 'HEIGHAM, Sir Clement (d.1634), of Barrow, Suffolk'

Muriel Booth, 'MARVYN, James (1529-1611), of Fonthill Gifford, Wilts.'

Irene Cassidy, 'MILDMAY, Thomas I (bef.1515-66), of Moulsham, Essex and London'

N.M. Fuidge, 'MILDMAY, Thomas II (c.1540-1608), of Moulsham, Essex'

N.M. Fuidge, 'STONELEY, Richard (c.1520-1600), of Itchington, Warws., Doddinghurst, Essex and London'

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Virginia C. D. Moseley & Rosemary Sgroi, 'FORTESCUE, Sir John (c.1533-1607), of Salden House, Mursley, Bucks.; Westminster and Hendon, Mdx'

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Appendix A:

Transcription of TNA: E159/412/435

An Inventory of
the goodes of Richard Stonley Esquier remayyninge in his howse in
the p[ar]ishe of St Botolphe Without Aldersgate in the Suburbs of the
Cittie of London.

Viz in Mr Stonleys Bedchamber. A case
of boxes of Wallnuttree with a Frame Sm XXs. A table of Wainscot
With a frame Sm IIIs IIIId A lether chare Sm Vs. A Wallnuttree chaire
and cusshen Sm VIs VIIId. A lyttle case of small boxes Sm IIs In
the same case in the boxe p' XI prints for pastery Sm IIIId A nest
of XV boxes under the table Sm XIId Gold weightes Sm VId   A candlest[ick]
of bone Sm VId   A conthe stone Sm VId   A slighte castingbottle garnishe[d]
With a little sylver Sm VIs VIIId A picture with a frame Sm IIs VId A -
battle Axe with a milt Sm IIs VId Tonges a paire an Iron back for
A chymney A paire of creepers and a slice Sm IIIIs. A lampe of latte
Sm IIIId Twoe sulde curtens of greene saye and curten Roddes Sm XIId
A deske covered with red lether Sm XIId
                                                 hollingesheds chronicles, the 1
2 and 3 columes in twoe books Sm XXs >>> [*long list of books*[26]]

In the Galery next the bedchamba
A joyned table with a cupboard Vs A greate case of - -
boxes with gilt lock and keys and a frame Sm XLs. A case of
boxes with Iron lock and keys ungilt and aframe XXs Twoe
smale chestes to cary mony in ??? VIIId a small case of
boxes of Joyned worke Vs. A case of boxes covered with
black lether XIIIs IIIId A greate ?bard Flannders covered With
        plus in ?ventre Both pendan' sequen'.

        [*heading*] Adhuc tenore comissions & Inquistic tangen' bon & cat
        Ric Stonley intipien' in ventre Both ptipien'
tand lether, Anither of the same Sm XXVIs VIIId. A Flannders Iron
chest Sm XIs. Three lyttle stone jugges, Whereof twoe are covered
With Sylver and guylt and the third with sylver in the same
chest XXs. A chest for lynnen covered With black lether Vs. A
Waynscot little chest VIs VIIId. A greater lether chaire VIs VIIId
A lesser lether chaire IIIs. A christall salt garnyshed With
sylver and guylt with a cover XXXIIIs IIIId. A little bett Xd A
Standishe of Wood and Irom garnyshed with silver in a lether
boxe XLs. A square standine combercase with thinges belonging
to it covered With greene velvet VIs VIIId A standishe of
red leather guylt Vs. A faire square standinge combrcase
with boxes covered with redd lether guylt, and greene velvet
in a boxe covered with black lether XXs. A wainscot box with
A lokinge glasse in a broken frame IIIs IIIId. The celestiall and

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[26] For full listing of the books included in the inventory refer to Leslie Hotson, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 2 (1949), 49-6l.

terrestiall globes Xs. A seller for wyne havinge but three
glasses IIs VId. Playenge boules III paire XVIIId. A little deske
covered with greene velvet on the toppe IIs VId. A greate presse
for lres VIIId. A set of chessemen and a chessebord with ffoxe &
gesse Xs. A threesquare glasse in a case of ii ynches broade IIs VId
A nest of boxes of wainscot conteininge IIIIs. A walnutree
table VIs VIIId. A lokinge glasse in a frame Vs. A small readinge
deske of joyners worke VId. A joined stoole VIIId. A paire of
latten skoles XVIIId. A littel latten ymplement belonginge to
a standishe to putt bodkin in compasses &c in VId. A litle picture
of her maty Xs. A little picture of Sr Chistofer hatton late lord
channcellor Vs. A picture of the lord Dyer Vs. An olde picture
of a m'rchant called Mr Branche as is saied Vs. A picture upon
clothe of twoe ffiers a banquet XXd. A olde picture of a m'chant
as it should seeme Vs. The ten comanndem'ts in a frame XIId.
VIII small mappes in frames colored of div'se forren countries IIs
VIIId. A small picture of fflora covered with glasse IIs. IIII picture
in clothe of the VII deadly synnes IIIIs. XI little pictures in
frames of the fashions of strange countries Vs. Twoe olde
pictures of Sr Walter Mildmay and the lord trer' that nowe is
Xs. XIIII small mappes of divse countries in paper put in frames
White and uncolored VIIs. Twoe large mappes in frames uncolored
IIs. foure small pictures in oyle colors in frames IIs. A picture
in oyle colors discribinge the ages of the world IIs VId. A boxe
of div'se printed portratures in paper and pastbord some colored
and some uncolored IIs. Coopers dictionary latine and Englishe
VIs VIIId Virgill in Latine cu[m] >>>
[*long list of books*]   the historie of Cambria XIId.

The Greene Chamber. A standinge
bedsted of Joyners Worke oulde grene velvet testerne
iii [3] old curtens and iii curten Roddes XXXs
plus in ventre Roth p X penden sequen'
Abhut de tenore comissionis tanger'
bouth & catt Rici Stoneley incipien' in ventre Roth
p'ceden'.
A fetherbed, A wulbed, A bolster, a pyllowe, twoe course blanketts
and a courte coveringe Sm IIIIli [£4] chayres iii of walnut tree frames
with seats and backes of oulde black clothe imbrodered Sm XXs.
Twoe lowe stooles covered with olde red velvet Sm IIIs. A lowe
Wainscott settle IIs VId. A little courte cupbord covered with
an oulde greene carpett Vs. An oulde peece of portrature
in a aframe IIIId. curtanes olde, ii of greene bay lynes with
courte [cource?] canvas and ii curten roddes IIs. In the chymney Iron
olde crep[er]s XIId. Andirons of lattine and Iron a paire XXs.

The Chamber betwene the grene chamber and the Iackhouse
A fflannders Iron chest XXs. An oulde wainscote chest IIIs IIIId
A lyvery bedsted with matrice, fetherbed, bolster and a matt XXXs
III d. Three olde cusshions of tapestrye in the Wainscote chest
Xs. An oulde turky carpet XIIIs IIIId.

The Iackhouse. / A candle chest XVIIId

The oulde Galery. An olde ?danske chest
VIs. foure paire of cource sheetes XXIIIIs. VIII payre of fyner
sheetes LXIIIIs. VI paire more and a sheete XLIIIs IIIId. An oulde
?danske chest IIIIs. In the same chest a dozen o frute trenchers
IIs VId. Twoe Rapiers, ii swordes, iiii hangers and iiii daggers XXs.
A guylte case with a dozen of knyves XIIs. A boxe with dyvers
knyves VIs VIIId. A greate red bard chest for lynnen XIIIs IIIId. In
the same chest / A dozen and a half of olde damaske napkyns
XVIIIs. Another dozen of damaske napkyns XIIs. Damaske napkyns
of another sorte xv XVs. Plde playne napkyns xvii VIIIs.
Playne towells iii IIIIs. Courte cupborde clothes iii Vs. A
longe fyne tablecloth plaine Xs. A Damaske cupbord clothe
Vs. Damaske towells iiii XXVIs VIIId. A damaske tableclothe
square and iiii longe tableclothes Cs. A chest bare with
plate covered with blacke lether Vs. In that chest sheets
of fflaxe ii payre XIIIs IIId. Cource canvas sheets vi paire
XXs playne table clothes of dyvers sortes x XXs. Cource
oulde towells iii IIs. Cupbord clothes cource ii IIs. Napkins
cource a dosen Vs. Napkins cource one dozen D'
 VIs. Olde
Diaper napkins vii XXd. Dresser clothes cource ii XVIIId. Tal???[illeg]
course ii VId. A wainscote little case with glasses Xs. A
mappe of the creacon' XIId. A mappe of london XIId.

Mrs Stonleys chamber. A fielde bedsted of Joyners worke
and an olde testerne and vallance and V curtens of grene
saye and curten roddes XXXs. A mattresse, a ffether bed, a
bolster, a pyllow, twoe olde blanketts and an oulde greene
Rugge LIIIs IIIId. / A lyttle wainscott presse and cover Vs.
In the chymney a payre of Iron and laten Andirons with
tongs and ffyershovelt XXs. An oulde lyttle chayre and a
ioyned stoole XVIIId. An oulde chest IIs. In the same che[st - illeg]
A course sheete and div'se peeces of oulde course lynnen [illeg - IIs?]
VI d. A little chest XVId. In the same chest / xviii peeces of lynnen
clothes of dyvers syzes, and viii smale clouts IIs
Olde hanginges of paynted clothe VIs VIIId.

The maides Chamber. / An oulde broken bedstede, a ffetherbed, ii bolsters
olde blanketts, a coverlett and a tawny Rugge XLs. holver [illeg]
XII d. Paynted clothes Vs.

In the Entry at Mrs Stonley
Chamber Dore / A greate chest covered with Iron XX s. A - -
warmynge pan IIs.

Eostwikes chamber. / A wainscott - -
ioyned bedsted with a testerne of the same and iii curten
Rodds X s. A ffetherbed, a boulster, a payre of sheets, one
blankett and ii olde coverings LX s. A holberd XVIII d. An Iron
chest upon a foote of wood, an other Iron chest LXXs. An
olde dauske
 chest Vs. vi paire of olde cource sheets

XVIII s. Cupbord clothes iii IIIs. A diaper cupbord cloth XVI d.
Tableclothes cource ii IIs. Smale syde bordclothes v IIIs IIII d.
Pillowberes v IIIs IIIId. Table napkyns xx VIs VIIId. Diaper
napkyns vi IIIs IIIId. Towells cource vi IIs. Paynted cloth
IIs VId.

Brusshinge Chamber. / A presse of wainscote XXs.
In the same presse. / A turkie carpett LIIIs IIIId. Twoe tapestri[illeg]
coveringes lyned with canvas VIII li [£]. A greene carpett of brodeclothe X [illeg]
iii cushens of tapestry worke XIIIs IIIId. A cupbord of wainscot [illeg]
Xs. An oulde ?furre chest Vs. In the same chest vi greatte
pewter candlesticks, ii lesser pewter candlesticks VIs. ii border
viii pewter platters, xi pewter dishes xxs. ii pye plates II [illeg]
                    plus in dorss
          Adhuc d? p[er]cessu ?infristripto./
vi shallowe porringers, xi sallet dishes, ii dozen pewter plates. -
xii sawcers Sm XIIIs IIIId. A coffyn for A custard XII d. ii pewter
pottes IIs VId. A little p[er]fumynge panne of brasse XVIII d. / iii
downe pyllowes of fustian IXs. Twoe olde pillowes IIIs. -

In the Hall. / A longe table of wainscote with a fframe
Vs. / A square table of wainscote Vs. A chaire of Walnuttree
IIIs IIIId. / iii formes of wainscote IIIs. Twoe oulde pictures
in frames of the storie of the iii children and of hamon and
mordobay IIs VId. An oulde table of cebes VId. A table of
the kings of this lande in a frame of wainscote IIs. An Iron
Backe in the chymney cracked IIs VId. Olde painted clothes
about the hall IIIs IIIId.

In the parlor. / A drawinge
table of wainscott XIIIs IIIId. Stooles to the same Vs. An olde
cupborde of wainscott to sett plate on with cupbordes in it - -
VIs VIII d. A little fouldinge table IIs VId. A greate olde chaire
of Wainscot IIs. Another lesser wainscot chaire XVIII d. A little
stoole of wainscott with a backe XIId. Twoe little olde stooles
covered with redd velvettIIs. An olde paire of virginalls
with a fframe to it VIIIs. A paire of andirons of brasse XXXs.
A paire of olde Iron creepers VIIId. A paire of tonges and
ffiershovell XVIII d. A little olde picture of the late lord Trer', ii
pictures of armes in glasse, a little picture of St Jerome, a
little picture in glasse of Jospeh and Mary Vs. A little olde
clocke with plometts VIs VIIId. A little picture of moulde
worke VIIId. An olde cupborde clothe of ?Bornyx XIId. An olde
smale turkie carpet, iii olde cushions of tapestrie IIIs IIIId.
An olde ffrenche bible Vs. A paire of tables IIs VId. iii olde
greene saye Wyndowe curtens and ii curten Roddes XVI d.

The Study beneth.   three volumes of the bible VIs VIIId.
The goulden epistles of Enyvarra IIs [>>> *further list of books*]
[>>>]   A tretize againste the feare of beathe IId.

In the office. / A countinge table of bords covered with olde
greene cloth Vs. /

In the Under gallery by the offyce. A drawinge
table of wainscott Xs. The office yarde. Twoe greate and ix
small peeces of purbeck stone XXs.

In the Buttery.
A cubberd for meate IIIs. In the same cubbord. latten candlesticks
v viz iii greate, ii small IIIIs. A ?dausbe quarte pott, a wyne
quarte pot, a half pynte pott IIIs. A cullender and a porrenger
XVIII d. Sawcers vi, platters x, a ?voyder and a pye plate, dishes
viii, viz ii bigger, vi smaller XXII s. An olde bredbinge and a beere
Joyst XII d. A presse for tableclothes and napkyns XIId.

In the kychen,
one backe and iii creepers IIIIs. A payre of tonges &
a ffiershovell XVIII d. Spittes geatre and small viii IIII s VI d. ii
pothangers and ii pothooks XIId. Jacke and iii leades VIs VIIId.
Brasse potts iii Xs. An Iron pott VIIId. Drippinge pannes iii
IIIIs. A chaser to heate water IIs VId. Skylletts ii XVId. Kettles
of latten iii and a brasse pan VIs. One copper kettle IIIs IIIId.
A chasingdishe with a garland of latten IIs. Candlestickes of
latten iii IIs. A pottle pott, a quarte pott, and a pynte pott
of pewter all oulde IIs VId. Basons iii IIIs. Platters iiii dishes
ii Sawcers iii, porringers twoe & a chamber pott VIs VIII d. /
  plus inventre roth p[er] X' penden' bequan'.
  Adhuc de tenore comissionis & Inquisicois tangen' bouct &
  catt Rici Stoneley incipien' in ventre Roth p'teden'
A skymmer XIId. A wasshinge bowle VIIId. A slyce and twoe potlydds,
and twoe oulde clevers Sm XVI d. An oulde brasse morter and a pestell
Sm XII d.

The little Backhowse. Racks a payre Sm IIIs IIIId.

The little howse. / A lytle table XII d. The firste courte / a cesterne of
leade under the pumpe Sm XXVI s VIII d. Another lesser cesterne of leade
Sm XX s. Twoe peeces of purbeck stone Sm XVIII d.

In the Garden. A lyttle cesterne of leade Xs.

In the backe yarde. / Wode and cole Sm XXs.

**Suma totall of the value of all the foresaid goodes
Sm CXLII [£] IIs.** /   [£l42 2s]

Appendix B:

Partial transcription of Essex: D/DFa M15

[Front cover:]   Of the man[or] of Kinsington Alias Giles also
                    [?unclear] yn the p[ar]ishe of Dodinghurst made } A[nn]o 1556

[Inside:]   The Man[or] of Gyles

                Richard Stanley gent holdithe the ma[n]cyon & farme
                place being 45 fete long 14 fett wyde 15 storye tyled
                1 kechyn adyoning 30 long 14 wyde 15 storye tiled
                1 bakehouse 36 long 15 wyd 9 storye tillyd
                standing w[ith]in A mote

                And w[it]howt the mote 1 barne 63 long 21 wyde 12 storye tilyd
                1 stable [3 or 111] long 12 wyde 7 storye tilyd
                & 1 ?shede 30 long 12 wyd 7 storye tilid

                w[i]th Orchardes gardins yeardes [?mustilage?]
                …

                9 [t? f?] . 47 ac[res] . 1 rood bownding on the highewaye
                northe & west th[e] erle of oxforde['s] Landes & Hockleis Landes
                holdyn of this man'[or] suthe & est

                The same holdithe one feld & 3 ac[re] copis called
                Grovefyelde 9 t . 21 ac[re] bownding on ?mardens Landes
                of this man[or] est. the churche mede northe the
                highrwaye west & suthe

                The same holdithe 4 field & ?croftes callid Dagwoodes
                9 t. 44 acres d[em]i bownding on the copyehold
                Landes of this man[or] est & suthe Dagwoode hay
                west. & the highe waye northe

                The same holdithe 2 fieldes callyd ?Erddys 9 t. 19 ac[res] bownding
                on the highewaye suthe the Lordes cony wood northe th[e] erle of Oxfordes west
                ?fayle est.

                S[u]m of the acres} 131 ? ? Roodes

                S[u]ma £10 13s 4d

Appendix C:

Partial transcription of Essex: D/DFa T29

This Cedule Indented to the Indenture ?annexed? makethe mencon' of
all the said corne, cattell, stock [?illeg] and hushold stuff as be remaynyng
in and uppon the said manor or ferme of kynsyngton withe th[e] app[ur]ten[ences]
as followethe that is to say

Sh??? ?for ?enyjarie of
wheate or Rye   } [30s]

Item for ?enyjarie of barley   } [17s]

Item for ?enyjariee of otes   } [13s 4d]

Item vii [7] kyne ?price
Item one bull   } [£17]

Item ii Geldyngs and iii mares
for ploughe and carte   } [£6]

Item ii mare colts the one
Two yeres olde and the other   } [13s 4d]
under a yere olde

Item Syxe [6] Ewes at vs viiid [5s 8d]
a pere   } [34s = £2 10s]

Item a Sowe and fower [4]
yonge pyggs   } 10s

Item Syxe shetes pure   } [13s 4d]

Item a Carte shodd withe
Yron   } [33s 4d]

Item a donge [?] very shode
withe Yron   } [20s]

Item ii [2] payre of Yron harrons }   [13s 4d]

[Second Column]

Item Carte harnes and plough
harnes for ffyve horses at
[3s 4d] the pere   }   [16s 8d]

Item ii ploughes and ??
Yrons belongyng to or [our?] plough   } [15s]

In the Mylke Huse
Item a powderyng trughe

a bultyng ?ton', a tubb for
meale or malte, a greate
plonke [?plank], ii trestylle[s] & under the
[?dryers / ?tryers] aton' ?for ??mes   } [8s]

In the Kytchyn
Item a thick plonke [plank?] w[i]th iiii [4]
feete, a chese presse, a malt
querne & one other plonk   } [10s]

In the greate Chamber
Item a longe Table
a payre of trestylls
and Two fformes   } [4s]

Inrolled in my boke by Petre Lyd

        P[er] me Edwarde' Coltherst

            Sigillat et lib[er]at p??ia mei
            Thom' Atkynson notary pu[blic]

Transcription of TNA: E178/2978

A Scedule of the goods and chattels
Which were Steven Vallengers at the
tyme of his death *viz*

In his Chamber in the Fleete

Inprimis a bedsted of wainscot & a settle there to	13s 4d
Item a table and a deske	16d
Item a wynd table and sixe stooles	10s
Item a deske with a locke Item an old deske	12d
Item a large chayre	2s 6d
Item five boxes	10d
Suma 29s	

Item a fetherbed and ?boluster	13s 4d
Item six pillowes 3 bigger 3 lesser	4s
Item a paire of Blankettes	3s
Item a greene rugge coverlet	6s
Item a paire of andirons, a fire shovell, a pair of tonges	2s
Item 4 old ?do??? curtens and 5 curten roodes	2s 6d
Suma 30s 10d	

His Aparrell.

Item a black gowne furred with Cony	10s
Item an old ?turnd gowne	5s
Item an old cloack	2s
Suma 17s	

Bookes of the sayd Stephen Vallenger.
[list of Latin books including bibles - around 60 books]

English Bookes.
[list of books with English titles - around 25 books]

Frenche, Spanish [???] Bookes
[list of around 10 books]

Greeke Bookes
[list of 2 books]

Plate and Pewter [some damage and fading to document]

Inprimis one silver spoone	3s
Item 6 pewter spoones	3d
Item 2 pewter [illegible]	[illegible]
Item 4 pewter [illegible]	[illegible]
Item ?18 pewter plate ?trenchers	?3s 5d
Item 7 sawcers	
Item a Caullender	
Item 2 candle stickes	} [illegible]
Item a bason and a ?laver	
Item 3 porengers	9d

Item 4 saltes
Item 3 bottells   2s
Item 3 ?tunes
Item one ?quarte [illegible]
Item a chamber pot
Item a ?quart ?? pinte and ??olde   } [illegible]
     ? in the ?
Item a brasen ladell
Item a brasen morter and a pestell
    Suma [illegible]

Aparrell
Item a black cloke   [illegible]
Item a doblet and a paire of hose
    of ?durente   10s
Item a dooblet and a paire of hose of ?cursey   10s
Item an old gowne of silke say   8s
Item a gowne of ?durance   20s
Item foure old night caps   2s
Item an old bever hat   2s
Item 2 trunkes   4s
    Suma 62s 8d

Linnen
Item 2 paire of flexen sheetes   16s
Item 3 old sheetes   5s
Item 2 table clothes   6s 8d
Item one course table cloth   16d
Item 2 shertes   2s 6d
Item 4 paire of Linnen stockinges   2s
Item ?bue pillovere   [illegible]
Item certen linnen which was remayning
    with Mr Richard Southwell prisoner in
    the Fleete to the value of   30s
    Suma 64s 2d

Brasse.
Item a Skellet   10d

Redy mony & Juells
Item in Mr Newtons hand Deputy Warden
of the Fleete taken of a red boxe   10s
In silver   42s 6d
In thirty ???? peeces   £4 10s
Item two ???? Royalls   30s
Item in other gould   £16 10s
Item a gould ringe in value   30s
Item a broken half ?crowne valued at   2s 4d
Item two twenty shilling peeces of gould   40s
    Suma £28 ??? 10d

      Suma totalis £41 ???

And further we finde that the sayd Stephen Vallenger at the
tyme of his decease was possessed of a gowne a cloack Divers
course sheetes & other thinges ?pawned unto the said Stephen
Vallenger for the some of 70s by a bill of sale made in
the name of [illegible name?] & handler dwelling ageinst
St Sepulchers church which goodes and bill of sale came to
the handes of Richard Southwell, gentleman, prisoner in
the Fleete [?which] value to the said somme of 70s.
And further we finde an obligation dated the 17th of October
a[nn]o 28 Elizabeth Re[gina] wherein Edward Fisher of Fishers
St[?]hington in the county of Warwick ?Eliz and Richard
Stephens of Westbury in the county of Wiltshire esq[ui]re
were bound to Henry Lee of London, Mercer in £40
for the payment of £20 where of £10 was due to the said
Lee as he deposeth of the [illegible] himselfe
satisfied. ?Also the said Lee confesseth upon his othe
that the other ?£10 was due unto Vallenger w[i]th ????
was found in a box of Vallenger in the Fleete and
was ?annexed to this inquisition therwithe
?returned and delivered:

     [very faded and damaged]
Also we fine that the said Vallenger had at the day
of his death one boxe contayning diverse ?writinges
and ?papers of ?certain matters *[illegible]*
[illegible] whether eny proffess *[illegible]*
     ...[6 lines illegible due to fading and damage]...
and possession of Richard Southwell gentleman
[and prisoner?] in the Fleete except only [illegible]
[illegible - which remain in the
possession of Mr Newton Deputy Warden of the Fleet?]

Appendix E: Locations and Activities

Dining Locations

	Volume 1	Volume 2
DINNER		
Aldersgate St (Host)	75	151
London (Guest + Dining out)	44	14
Doddinghurst (Host)	41	65
Essex (Guest)	13	5
Westminster	12	2
East & West Ham / Bethnal Green	29	6
Other (outside London and Essex)	1	6
No location given	349 / 564	126 / 375
SUPPER		
Aldersgate St (Host)	15	30
London (Guest + Dining out)	5	
Doddinghurst (Host)	3	8
Other (outside London and Essex)		2
No supper location recorded	541 / 564	335 / 375

Specific Shopping Locations in London

Standardised Name	Location	Trade / Item	Frequency	Area
Lodge, Geoffrey	?The Exchange? London	Haberdasher (hat trimming)	1	Central City
Parnell, Edward	Bucklersbury, London	Founder (brass fittings)	1	Central City
Osbourn, Andrew [draper]	The Boobuck's Head, Watling Street	Draper (linens?)	1	Central City
Nashe, Edward	Aldgate	Builder (paving the well?)	1	City - East
White, Edward, Mr	[Sign of the Gun, Paul's churchyard]	Printer / bookseller	7	City - West
Barnes, John, Mr	the Bear in Paul's churchyard	Textiles / clothing / trimming a hat	5	City - West
Hutchinson	The Crossbow in Paul's churchyard	Leather bags (portmanteau? Travelling?)	2	City - West
Boyes, Edmond	Kings Head, Ludgate	Clothing (nightcap)	1	City - West
Gryffyn	near Paul's churchyard	Brush maker?	1	City - West
Borys, Peter	St Martins	Clasp for purse?	1	City - West
Stonehouse, John [paintmaker]	St Martins	Paintmaker (paints)	1	City - West
Barrows [haberdasher]	St Paul's church yard	Haberdasher	1	City - West
Leche, John	The Lamb near Ludgate Hill	Girdler (velvet girdle)	1	City - West
Clarke, Thomas	the Peacock in Paul's Churchyard	Quiver of arrows	1	City - West
Stone, Harry	Pedlers Wharf	Porter	1	East of the City

Gyking?	The Ship in St Katherine's [dock?]	Vintner's clerk (beer)	1	East of the City
Kerwyne, George	Three Cranes Wharf	Carriage and storing of timber	1	East of the City
Bolt, Edmond	Red Bull at Finsbury	Fletcher (arrows, stave)	1	North of the City
Gipkyn, John [picturemaker]	Shoreditch	Picturemaker (picture of Queen)	1	North of the City
Bywell, Richard	Barbican	Sadler (pillion)	2	NW of the City
Yevers[?], Griffith	Aldersgate Street	Upholsterer	1	NW of the City
Ta?seld, John	Holborn Conduit,	Paper maker?	1	NW of the City
Yardley, William	Holborn	Legal fee / fine	1	NW of the City
Garett[?], Thomas	Long Lane	Shoemaker (brothers?)	1	NW of the City
Garret, William	Long Lane	Shoemaker (brothers?)	1	NW of the City
Bygrane, John	near the Bell at Bishopsgate	Carpenter	1	NW of the City
Diche, Richard	Pye Corner	Ironwork (smith / ironmonger?)	1	NW of the City
Strange, George	Pye Corner	Sadler	1	NW of the City
Saunders, Humfrey	Smithfield	Scrivener	1	NW of the City
Greves, Mr	The Half Moon, [Aldersgate Street]	Vintner (sack)	1	NW of the City
Rod?fye, Thomas	Three Crowns in Grub Street	Fletcher (Bow & arrows)	1	NW of the City
Lloyd, David	White Cross Street	Cloth worker (frieze)	1	NW of the City
Barker, Thomas	Blackman Still above St George's, Southwark	Aqua vitae - brandy?	1	Southwark
Perkins, Richard	The Hart Horn, Southwark	Milliner / clothing (hat)	1	Southwark
More, Walter	Westminster	Food	2	Westminster
Bettes, Nicholas	Kings Street	Glazier (repair window at Westminster)	1	Westminster
Dale, Mr	Westminster?	Gunpowder	1	Westminster
Steven	Westminster	Cook (cookshop?)	1	Westminster

Other Specific Locations in London (volumes 1 and 2 only)

Location	Frequency	Area
St Botolph Aldersgate Street Parish Church	8	NW of city
St Paul's Churchyard (usually for sermon)	7	City - West
Home of Sir John Branche (usually dinner or supper)	22	? Central city

Volume 3 and the Fleet Prison

Location	Frequency
'ABROAD'	
Aldersgate Street house	33 days (5 days including dinner)
Westminster	10
'Abroad in the city'	6
'Court' [Westminster?]	3
Mile End	1
Peckham Rye	1
Servants Inn	1
FLEET	
Chapel (service / sermon)	63
Parlour / 'commons'	41
Garden / 'the garden walkes'	5
Bowling Green	4
Yard / Courtyard	2

APPENDIX F: Description of the spreadsheets (see attached disc)

My analysis of the three volumes of Richard Stonley's diaries involved creating several large spreadsheets, recording large amounts of information in note form. This had several advantages; firstly, it allowed me to record names both as they were written and then also in a standardised format; and secondly, it allowed the information to be manipulated, using various filters and methods of sorting, and also to be searchable. The first spreadsheet, 'Locations Vol 1', records each daily entry from the first volume of the diary, including details of different activities and locations visited by Stonley. The second spreadsheet, 'Locations Vol 2', records the same information but for the second volume of the diary. The next two spreadsheets record Stonley's social network, by listing all of the individuals he mentioned by name and the activities associated with those individuals. For the third volume, the prison diary, it was possible to record both the individuals and the locations on a single spreadsheet (because fewer locations and activities were recorded, both as a result of Stonley's imprisonment and changes in diary keeping methods). From these spreadsheets it was possible to generate a complete list of all the individuals that Stonley interacted with and another list of all the individuals who were referred to indirectly, whose names were noted but did not interact with Stonley.