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Family and Childhood

'I had my first breeding and conversation with men of a suppressed and afflicted religion, accustomed to the despite of death, and hungry of an imagined martyrdom' (*Biathanatos*, 1982, 39). So John Donne wrote when, in a state of jobless despondency in his mid-30s, he characteristically responded to thoughts of suicide by writing the first defence of 'self-homicide' in English. He was an innovator in almost every genre he touched, even this: a short time earlier, Hamlet had taken it for granted that God had unequivocally 'fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter' (1.2.131-2). Donne, sometimes as much a melancholic as Hamlet, set out to show this was not always so, and he began *Biathanatos* by wondering, with some justification, if his 'sickly inclination' to suicide was due to his upbringing in a family that was notable for its stubborn adherence to the old faith, a loyalty exceptional even in an age when many Roman Catholics suffered persecution. Just over a year later in *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), he again stressed the mark his family's loyal Catholicism left on him when he blamed it for sleepless nights spent 'meditating' on how so many of his forebears had suffered or died for that faith, and wondering whether that would be his fate too: 'I have been ever kept awake in a meditation of martyrdom, by being derived from such a stock and race as, I believe, no family which is not of far larger extent and greater branches, hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes for obeying the teachers of Roman doctrine than it hath done' (*Pseudo-Martyr*, 8). So crucial was this distinguished family to the shaping of Donne's career that it is essential to consider it in detail here.

Donne wrote *Pseudo-Martyr* to demonstrate 'that those which are of the Roman Religion in this Kingdom, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance' demanded after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. His foremost targets were the Jesuits, an order formed to further the Catholic Counter-Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century, but although both his maternal uncles had been Jesuits, there is understandably

little implied questioning of those many members of earlier generations of his own 'stock and race' who had died, gone into exile or been financially punished for their refusal to accept the Protestant subjection of earlier regimes. The sufferers closest to Donne were his brother, mother, step-father and uncles, but far the most famous of those who had embraced martyrdom for refusing Henry VIII's oath was his great-great-uncle, and Henry's Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. More, still the most celebrated of the English Catholic martyrs, had been executed nearly 40 years before Donne was born, but his memory dominated subsequent generations of the family in a way illustrated by an anecdote told by More's great-grandson, Cresacre More, Donne's cousin and exact contemporary, for whom More was 'a great Saint of Christ's Church and a holy martyr of his faith' (More, 1631, 388). The story concerned Donne's two Jesuit uncles: it was 'credibly reported that two of John Heywood's sons, Jasper and Ellis, having one of the teeth of Sir Thomas More between them, and either of them being desirous to have it to himself, it suddenly to the admiration [wonder] of both parted in two'. The tooth in question had been detached from More's severed head, which had been parboiled and put on a stake at London Bridge until his favourite daughter Margaret paid a bribe to retrieve it. She is said to have been buried with it in her arms.

The dental relic probably reached the Heywood family through More's younger sister Elizabeth, Donne's great-grandmother. She had married John Rastell, a lawyer who was to become one of a small number of backsliders in the roll of stalwart Catholics among Donne's ancestors. Having flourished in More's circle as an enemy of Protestant reform, he was unexpectedly converted in 1531 to the reformist religion he had spent 30 years opposing. His activities henceforth became increasingly radical until, somewhat ironically, he was imprisoned by the Protestant Archbishop Cranmer for attacking clerical tithes: he died in prison in 1536, a year after More, a solitary Protestant martyr in this ardently Catholic family.

Another member of More's circle whose spiritual trajectory took the opposite direction to Rastell's was the lawyer William Roper, husband of More's daughter Margaret. From early in his marriage, William was 'a marvellous zealous Protestant', refusing to give way to More's arguments. Eventually, though, he embraced Catholicism wholeheartedly and remained steadfast for the rest of his life. As a shrewd lawyer, he was able to survive and keep his lands and positions under hostile Protestant regimes, staying in England while others were forced into exile. During the reign of the Catholic Mary, he helped organize the publication of More's English works and wrote the classic life of More, one of the first biographies of an individual in English, as Walton's *Life of Donne* was to be one of the first of an English poet. Preserved by the family, the manuscript was eventually published in 1626, only 14 years before Walton's *Life*.

Another of this circle who was closely involved with Roper in the publishing of the *English Works of Sir Thomas More Knight* in 1557 was William Rastell, son of John Rastell and Elizabeth More. Like his father, Roper and More, William was a lawyer, and like them, and most of his family, including John Donne 60 years later, he was a member of Lincoln's Inn. He was also, like his father, a printer and writer: he too wrote a biography of More, now largely lost, and published several of his works. He also printed his brother-in-law John Heywood's interludes *The Play of the Weather* (1533) and *The Play of Love* (1534), and 'left posterity the vast Statutes of the Law of this nation most exactly abridged' (*Life*, 23), a much-reprinted work of reference. He prospered as a lawyer, but in 1549 went into religious exile in Louvain, following his father-in-law John Clement, More's 'pupil-servant' (*Utopia*) and tutor to his children. Like Clement, he was able to return under Queen Mary, but with the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, he left again for Louvain and died there in 1564. By then his nephew, Donne's uncle Ellis Heywood was also in exile with him, and Rastell made Ellis, as his eldest male descendant, his heir, a bequest that perhaps included the miraculous tooth. Donne's mother Elizabeth Heywood was Ellis's youngest sister, and it could have been through her that a more conventional memorial passed from William Rastell to Donne's family: this was a gold locket with a miniature of More (presumably by or after Holbein) which Rastell left to Ellis, and which may have resurfaced as the picture of 'Sir Thomas More's Head' which Donne's eldest son (also John) bequeathed to a friend nearly a century later.¹

If More's decision to choose death rather than take the oath did not make him a 'Pseudo-Martyr' for Donne, it was because his loyalty had been to the old Catholicism which preceded the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Understandably, Donne had the highest regard for his ancestor: in *Pseudo-Martyr*, he is a man 'of whose firmness to the integrity of the Roman faith, that Church need not be ashamed' (94); in *Biathanatos*, he is 'a man of the most tender and delicate conscience, that the world saw since Saint Augustine' (74). Donne cites *Utopia* in support of this, and much later, not long before his death, he annotated his copy of *Utopia* with comments relating More's text to the personal rule of Charles I.

More was only the most famous of Donne's many forebears who 'endured and suffered ... in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the teachers of Roman Doctrine'. Another who was executed – hanged, drawn and quartered – was More's ward and son-in-law Giles Heron; a third was Donne's own brother Henry, who caught the plague in 1593 while in prison for harbouring a priest. Henry's namesake, the Henry Donne who was executed for his part in the Babington plot, was probably another relative. Many other members of this family died in exile or in prison. Margaret Giggs, More's adopted daughter, died in Mechelen in 1570, her husband John Clement in Louvain two years later. Donne's grandfather John Heywood and his uncle Ellis both also died in Louvain in 1578, and his other uncle

Jasper in Naples in 1598. Donne's mother Elizabeth Heywood herself spent over ten years of self-exile in Antwerp, but returned in 1606 with her third husband, Richard Rainsford, who was promptly imprisoned for not taking the oath and, on release, fined for failing to attend church. After Rainsford's death, Elizabeth, still a Catholic, went to live with her son John, now a very senior Church of England minister, in the Deanery of St Paul's Cathedral. In one of his most moving letters, written around 1616, Donne comforted his mother on the death of her daughter Anne, his last surviving sibling. He looked back over a life of tribulation that was not only caused by her faith, but by personal losses: 'When I consider so much of your life, as can fall within my memory and consideration, I find it to have been a sea, under a continual tempest, where one wave hath ever overtaken another' (*Matthew*, 323–327). The life Christ has chosen for her has been 'strait, stormy, obscure, and full of sad apparitions of death ... and it hath pleased Him that one discomfort should still succeed and touch another'. Elizabeth had by then lost two husbands, Donne's father and the physician John Syminges, whom she married soon after John Donne senior died. Of the six children of her first marriage – the only ones she had – three daughters had died as infants, while Henry had died in prison. Anne's death now left Donne as the only survivor, and Elizabeth almost outlived him, dying in 1631 at about 90, just two months before him.

Elizabeth Heywood was descended from the Mores, probably named for her grandmother Elizabeth, Thomas More's sister. Her father, John Heywood, was himself close to More: not only had he married More's niece Joan Rastell, but his humanism, his religious beliefs and his wit ensured he became another member of the intimate circle around More, writing for the entertainment of that group, and possibly being introduced by More to the Royal court. He was a prominent Catholic, a musician and leading writer of interludes for the courts of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and, for a while, Elizabeth. He was also famous as a writer of epigrams, one of the first genres his grandson was to practise. Heywood's strong but as it transpired less than staunch Catholicism led him to take part in a plot, in which several surviving members of More's circle were involved, to overthrow Archbishop Cranmer. Heywood was sentenced to death in 1544, but in a cruel Dostoyevskian hoax the preliminaries of the sentence were carried through, and at the last minute Heywood was allowed to recant his beliefs and receive a pardon in a scene of public humiliation at St Paul's Cross, where he provided the curtain-raiser for an anti-Catholic sermon. It was on this very site that his grandson was later to preach with such acclaim. Though he was able to resume his court career, especially under the Catholic Mary, pressure on Catholics increased under her successor Elizabeth in such a way that, unwilling to betray his faith a second time, Heywood went into voluntary exile in 1564 with his wife Joan. Their eldest children Ellis and Jasper had both become Jesuits by then, Ellis joining the exiled Cardinal Pole, and Jasper, after being brought up in the households of the young

Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth, and then distinguishing himself as a poet and translator of Seneca, returning to England as a missionary. He soon quarrelled with his Jesuit superior Robert Persons whom he plainly did not regard as a gentleman. Jasper's acquaintance with the Queen may have saved his life when he was captured in late 1583 and indicted for treason. He was by then leading the mission to England alone. Kept in the Tower for a year, he was racked and otherwise tortured, but instead of the usual gruesome death of the kind Giles Heron had suffered, he was deported. Just before this, Donne's mother had bravely taken Jasper's Jesuit replacement in England, William Weston, to meet him in the Tower under cover of a family visit, she being allowed to 'attend to his needs and nurse him' (Weston, 1955, 10–11). The 12-year-old Donne, down from Oxford after his first term for the Christmas vacation of 1584–1585, accompanied them. That at least is the best explanation of his later statement that 'at a consultation of Jesuits in the Tower in the late Queen's time, I saw it resolved that in a petition to be exhibited to her she might not be styled Sacred' (*Pseudo-Martyr*, 56). Weston's account was much less terse and captures the stress: 'I accompanied her to the Tower, but with a feeling of great trepidation as I saw the vast battlements, and was led by the warder past the gates with their iron fastenings, which were closed behind me. So I came to the cell where the Father was confined. We greeted one another and then, as was natural, exchanged the information we had about the affairs that concerned us ... when I had finished talking to Father Heywood – we spent almost the whole day together – I embraced him and said goodbye. Then I returned the same way that I had come; and the moment I reached safety outside the walls I felt as if I had been restored to the light of day' (Weston, 1955, 10–11). After his deportation four weeks later, still proclaiming in the boat his right to a trial in England, Jasper never returned. He must have been a formidable influence on his nephew, this apparently fearless, learned, proud but neurotic man (he was visited by a night-time 'demon'), 'in Jesuit's weed, so grave a man as ever I set my eyes on'.²

Elizabeth's husband, the elder John Donne, also belonged to a Catholic family. Their marriage in 1563 must have been arranged, or at least approved, by her parents John Heywood and Joan Rastell, both still then in England and still in favour at court. This suggests they accepted the claim to gentility for the Donnes which the poet emphasized. That he was a gentleman was always important to Donne, and he made his Donne heritage the foundation of his status. Walton, probably relaying what Donne had told him, opened his biography by saying that 'his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve, and have great reputation in that country' (*Life*, 23). This rather vague assertion has been received sceptically by some, partly because of the lack of a reliable genealogy, and probably also because of a belief that since Donne's father was a London ironmonger he is not likely to

have come from genteel stock. But the image of Donne senior as a horny-handed blacksmith can be dismissed: the Ironmongers were one of the Great Twelve City livery companies, and many, including Donne's father, became wealthy citizens.

Heraldic evidence identifies the 'ancient family' as the Donnes or Dwnns of Kidwelly in south-west Wales. The problem is that because Donne's father appears as from nowhere in mid-sixteenth-century London, no direct link can be established between him and the Welsh family. His will of 1574 has no significant reference to anywhere beyond London, but the heraldic evidence of a line from the Donnes of Kidwelly to the poet is compelling. If Donne's father was entitled to bear arms, it is likely that he did so as a younger son who had been apprenticed while an elder brother inherited the family estates. Donne was proudly consistent in using these arms throughout his life, and they lead back to two major works of art of the late fifteenth century, both commissioned by his namesake, Sir John Donne of Kidwelly.

Donne's first known portrait, painted in 1591, survives only as an engraving placed opposite the title page of the second, 1635 edition of his poems (Figure 3.1). Part of the blazon in the top right-hand corner is the coat of arms of the Donnes of Kidwelly, azure, a wolf salient (leaping) with a crest of six snakes bound above a wreath with a rose at its centre. The wolf salient is found again at the end of Donne's life, atop the monument in St Paul's (Figure 13.1), where it is impaled (divided vertically) with the arms of the cathedral. Donne also used the crest on the seal he used before he took orders, and wrote a poem on it for George Herbert beginning 'A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, the crest of our poor family' (*Poems*, 567). The same coat of arms is found over a century earlier in a major painting, the Donne Triptych by Hans Memling, commissioned in the 1470s by the leading Yorkist soldier, courtier and administrator Sir John Donne, now in the National Gallery, London. The painting is one of the earliest to show the realistic features of three English figures, Donne, his wife and their daughter, with Sir John's likeness being especially convincing. The Donne arms used later by the poet appear prominently at different points in the triptych, as they do in another art work Sir John and his wife commissioned, the superb Donne Book of Hours (Dubois, 2014, Fig. 1).

One of Sir John's roles was as deputy governor of the 'Calais Staple', the English trading outpost which controlled the export of wool and other goods. There too was Angel Donne whose relationship if any to Sir John is not clear. Angel, however, was a London grocer and alderman, and he, as well as Sir John, may provide a link to the establishment of the Donne family in the City. Sir John died in 1503, and his direct line died out in the next generation, so Donne's patriarchal descent cannot have come directly from him; but he had two brothers, Robert and Harri (Henry), and many more male members of the Donne/Dwnn family are recorded in Lewis Dwnn's *Visitations of Wales* (1846, 1.20–21, 91). This herald

wrote between 1586 and 1613, so would probably have been aware of any misappropriation of the family arms by a young Londoner in the 1590s.

The first that is heard of Donne's father is of his apprenticeship in the 1540s to a wealthy London ironmonger, Thomas Lewen, another resolute Catholic and the last man in England to leave money for the prospective refounding of a suppressed monastery.³ This apprenticeship indicates two things about Donne's father: first, that his family was wealthy enough to place him under the tutelage of a former Master of the Ironmongers Company, a Sherriff and Alderman of London; and second, that by placing him with Lewen during the strongly Protestant Edwardian regime, his parents showed themselves to be committed Catholics. Further support for the proposition that his was a Catholic family comes from the careers of two men who may have been slightly younger relatives of Donne senior: Henry Donne, a clerk in the first fruits office, a secretary to Lord Chancellor Hatton, and 'part of the cluster of young Catholic gentry moving in court circles' (*ODNB*, s.v. Sir Christopher Hatton), was hanged, drawn and quartered in 1586 for playing a leading part in the Babington plot; he 'was probably an older relative of John Donne, the poet' (*ODNB*, s.v. Anthony Babington). This is half-confirmed by the fact that Henry came from Addington, Kent, where the Lady of the Manor was Thomas More's great-granddaughter Martha Roper. Another John Donne (Henry and John both recur as family names) was 'stayed in Canterbury' in May 1579 'for certain lewd speeches by him uttered in the defence of the Romish Religion' and planning to flee abroad (*PC* 2/12 f.475).

Lewen died before Donne's father had finished his apprenticeship, which he did in 1556–1557 under Lewen's widow Agnes in her 'great capital house' on Bread Street Hill. Since the mean period for an ironmonger's apprenticeship at this time was 7.6 years, he had probably begun around 1548–1549 aged 16–17, which in turn suggests he was born in the early 1530s.⁴ The birth date of Elizabeth Heywood, Donne's mother, is unknown, but it was probably in the late 1530s, following that of her brother Jasper in 1535. Agnes Lewen bequeathed the lease of a house in the prosperous, convivial and distinctly Catholic Bread Street to Donne's father in 1562, and he and Elizabeth Heywood began business there soon after in a house described in Agnes's will as a 'great messuage [house] with a garden attached'. Only the northern part of Bread Street, running south from Cheapside, survives in modern London. No longer the dedicated domain of bakers, it was a fine place to live and open a new business. It was 'wholly inhabited by rich Merchants, and divers fair Inns ... for good receipt of carriers, and other travellers to the city'.⁵ Agnes added a bequest of £30, and in a tantalizing codicil the wish that 'if it please God to send home my ship safe' a third each of the proceeds would go to her two executors, John Donne and Richard Chamberlain, on condition that they each paid 'half of the just value of the same'.⁶ Such anxious real-life anticipations of the *Merchant of Venice* must have been common in the City, but

there is no way of knowing whether Donne's father ever benefited from the ship 'safely come to road' in the Thames. Whether he did or not, Agnes Lewen had already helped him on the way to a prosperous if rather short career as an ironmonger. In the 14 years left to him, Donne became a prominent member of the Ironmongers' Company: he enlarged his work premises in Bread Street, became a Liveryman of the Company, and in 1574, the year he died, a Warden, a member of the Company's governing body.

John Donne, the eldest son, named for his father, and perhaps for John Heywood and the distinguished Sir John Donne, spent his earliest years in a house that included a busy workshop. That his father was not just a retailer is confirmed by an unfortunate lapse in 1570 when he was caught failing to pay the due tax on seven tons of coal and an unspecified amount of iron (Whitlock, 1959, 261). These are volumes which indicate substantial activity in his shop: seven tons of coal would occupy 280 cubic feet. He would have bought the iron in the form of pig or bar iron, forging it into materials for construction, farming, household use and crafts. Given his claim to gentility, Donne's father may have avoided labouring at the forge and selling at a street stall, leaving that to journeymen and apprentices. Commodities were often imported, including high-quality steel goods. London ironmongers had long bought steel from Europe via Antwerp, especially from the Bilbao area, famous for its swords and daggers. As Ben Jonson wrote: 'An honest Bilbo-smith would make good blades' (Jonson, 2021, 730). In May 1568, the ironmonger Edmund Burton imported '9 cwt iron thread, 8 gr[os]s small files at 10s, 6 doz. dog chains, 60 lbs counters, 16 cwt frying pans, 48 doz. coarse sword blades' (540).⁷ Donne's father would have traded in such goods, like other English merchants exchanging cloth for them, and perhaps like Agnes Lewen chartering ships to do so. Some ironmongers went far afield: Agnes Lewen's other executor Richard Chamberlain was described on his tomb as an Ironmonger, Alderman and Sheriff of London, but also as a 'Merchant Adventurer, and free of Russia'.⁸ The fact that in 1568 Chamberlain was importing Spanish oil shows how diverse an ironmonger's trade, including that of Donne's father, could be.

John Donne was born in the house in Bread Street sometime between 23rd January and 19th June 1572 (Shapiro, 1952, 310–313). For his first four years, he was living above a busy shop in which Spanish daggers and swords, possibly even Spanish olive oil, alongside homemade items, were on sale on the ground floor of the house, and on a bench erected by apprentices outside each morning. The workshop, forge and shop would have been further back on the ground floor, together with a warehouse whose contents, when they included 280 cubic feet of coal, may have spilled over into the garden. The main family rooms, including the hall or similarly large room, possibly along with a smaller 'parlour', and a kitchen and buttery would have been on the first floor, with bedrooms above. Donne was

not yet four when his father died in 1576 and he left this house, but his letter to his mother witnesses an affectionate memory which, given his age, must have been nurtured by her:

the happiness which God afforded to your first young time, which was the love and care of my most dear and provident father ... God removed from you quickly. And hath since taken from you all the comfort which that marriage produced. All those children (for whose maintenance his industry provided and for whose education you were so carefully and so chargeably diligent) he hath now taken from you' (*Matthew*, 324).

The maintenance Elizabeth's husband provided, posthumously at least, was a bequest to her of £1,500, and a further £1,500 to be divided 'portion and portion [a]like' between Donne and his five siblings, £250 each invested until they came of age. This sum increased proportionately as over the years four of the children died, so that when he reached 21, Donne's legacy was in the region of £750. His father's will confirms that he had been a 'Church Catholic', one who escaped prosecution by observing the minimum commitment to attendance at his parish church, while remaining privately true to his faith. He left the large sum of £300 to be distributed 'in works of charity and relief of poor people' by three men, two of whom were probably former Marian priests and one a Catholic lawyer (Flynn, 1995, 73), while giving only £3 to be distributed to the poor by the parish priest and churchwardens of St Nicholas Olave (Bald, 561–562).

Though he was only four when his father died, the impressions of Donne's early environment resonate in his work, most famously in *Holy Sonnet 10* where his degraded heart, like one of the kitchen vessels his father's journeymen would have 'made new' in the Bread Street shop, needs to be heated and beaten on the anvil, made malleable and rebuilt rather than tinkered:

Batter my heart, three-person'd God, for you
As yet but knock, breathe, shine, and seek to mend;
That I may rise and stand, o'erthrow me, and bend
Your force to break, blow, burn, and make me new.

God the metalworker is similarly invoked in the closing lines of *Good Friday*, where it is the whole man who has to be renewed in the forge:

O think me worth thine anger: punish me,
Burn off my rusts and my deformity;
Restore thine image so much by thy grace
That thou may'st know me, and I'll turn my face (39–42).

It is, however, in the sermons that the work the infant Donne would have witnessed in his father's shop is recalled most often. The noise and smells of forges would have been very familiar in early modern London, but Donne turns to them more often than might be expected for analogies striking in their particularity; their sensory detail suggests they arise from specific memories rather than imagined ones. As in *'Batter my heart'*, he 'can admit any weight of His hand, any furnace of His heating; let God mould me and then melt me again ... to make me a vessel of honour' (*Sermons*, 5.335). He told his congregation at court in 1629 that casting iron (melting it and pouring it into a mould) could be difficult because 'Metal may be soft, and yet not fusile [molten]; iron may be red hot, and yet not apt to run into another mould' (*Sermons*, 9.177). You had to get the timing just right, as God had with St Paul who was perfect cast iron, 'a fusile Apostle ... poured out, and cast in a mould' (*Sermons*, 6.207). A small boy's experience of a workshop may lie behind the observation that to look for the dust of the dead is as fruitless as to 'ask where that iron is that is ground off of a knife, or axe' (*Sermons*, 3.105). The start of the ironmonger's manufacturing process is remembered: 'If I have a bar of iron, that bar in that form will not nail a door' (*Sermons*, 9.61). In 1609, he notes that in religious controversy, 'everybody's hammer is upon that anvil' (*Letters*, 161); one such argument, over how the name Jehovah should be pronounced, 'is now upon the anvil, and everybody is beating and hammering upon it' (*Essays*, 25). Investors in the Virginia Company must act like patient smiths, shaping their metal slowly on the anvil and not hoping to match the cast-iron certitude of kings, for 'actions which kings undertake are cast in a mould, they have their perfection quickly; actions of private men, and private purses, require more hammering, and more filing to their perfection' (*Sermons*, 4.271). The ironmonger's art provides a telling metaphor for one of his recurrent themes, that all humanity is one 'Because all creatures were as it were melted in one forge, and poured into one mould when man was made' (*Sermons*, 5.253).

Notes

- 1 *Dr. Donne's Last Will and Testament* (1 page, 1657).
- 2 Anon, printed in J.H. Pollen, *Documents Relating to the English Martyrs* (Catholic Record Society, 5 (1908), 60).
- 3 For Lewen's deeply pious Catholic will, see *A Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Hustings London 1258-1688* (1890).
- 4 Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989), 320, 297.

- 5 Stow, John, and William fitz-Stephen, *Survey of London* (1598): Breadstreet Ward. https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/stow_1598_BREA3.htm, accessed 22nd May 2025.
- 6 Will PCC 33 Streat, proved 22nd December 1562, partly transcribed in Bald, 28. The codicil is unfortunately not dated.
- 7 'London Port Book, 1567-8: Nos. 500-599 (May-June 1568)', in *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents*, ed. Brian Dietz (1972), 79-97. British History Online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol8/>, accessed 22nd May 2025.
- 8 Stow, John, Anthony Munday, and Humphrey Dyson, *Survey of London* (1633), https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/stow_1633_COLE2.htm?showDraft=true#CHAM13, accessed 25th May 2025.