

Working Arras and Arras Workers: Conservation in the Great Wardrobe under Elizabeth I

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The article examines the arrangements for the ongoing care of the royal tapestries under Queen Elizabeth, based on the continuous series of accounts for the arras men found in the National Archives LC 9, AO 3 and E 351. Taken on 'at need', the men worked a variable number of days per year in the Great Wardrobe, south of St Paul's. The majority were émigré tapestry weavers resident in London, though a gradually increasing number of Englishmen entered service. An attempt is made to identify tapestries repaired or sent to an external firm for 'refreshing' and 'cleansing'. Transcripts of the accounts are available on the National Archives web site, Your Archives.

INTRODUCTION

The Great Wardrobe, a department of the royal household situated in the liberty of Baynard's Castle within the City of London, was both physically separate from the Court and had its own separate system of record keeping. The day-to-day running of the Wardrobe departments under Elizabeth has yet to be studied in the detail it deserves.¹ This article examines the practices of one small department within the larger unit, the section which cared for the collection of some 2,500 tapestries which Queen Elizabeth inherited.

This section was drawn from two trades: the arras workers responsible for repairs to the tapestries and the tailors (*scissores*) responsible for lining or re-lining them. By Elizabeth's reign (1558–1603), their head was known traditionally, if somewhat over-ambitiously, as the Queen's Arrasmaker (*stragulator*). The post was a royal appointment; the holder was charged to work 'at need', paid both a daily wage and a fee. Despite the title, he was not employed to weave tapestries, though he might be asked to do so, but to repair them. He was also expected to supply the materials for which he would then be reimbursed. Most of the information which follows comes from the accounts, written up by the clerk or his two under-clerks. The clerk was, presumably, responsible to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, with whom he signed the audited pages; both would have been accountable to the Exchequer. Sir John Fortescue held the title (*Custos*) from 1559 until his death in 1607.²

The department has a very long history and probably existed in some now untraceable form from the mid-fourteenth century with the introduction of Flemish weavers by King Edward III.³ Tighter organisation emerged in the late fifteenth century in the reign of King Henry VII, and its workings are more clearly illustrated in a range of documents

in the time of his son, Henry VIII.⁴ The lists of weavers engaged, which survive sporadically from 1528, rarely contain the same names, implying a readily available pool of labour, always from amongst émigré Flemings.⁵ Employed in widely varying numbers and for widely varying, but usually short, time spans, only ever on a daily basis, the evidence suggests that arrangements could be shaped to meet the need both to repair older tapestries and to line Henry's new acquisitions. Occasionally the preparatory paperwork surviving from the 1530s and 1540s reveals how tapestries were selected for repair, identifies the official responsible for their despatch and return, and, sometimes, which tapestries were chosen.⁶ Between 1547 and 1557, the reigns of Edward VI and his sister, Mary, priority seems to have gone to lining, rather than to repairing, tapestries.⁷

For the Elizabethan period, only the accounts survive; the particulars have entirely disappeared and warrants are few. The accounts are recorded in two long series of books, catalogued in the National Archives within the classes LC 9 and AO 3 and, in the form of rolls, in E 351. AO 3 was the audited set. Together they make up a near continuous run from Michaelmas 1559 to the end of 1639. Their focus is narrow, and they contain little more than a list of the tapestries received, the names of the twelve or so men taken on each year and a summary of expenditure.⁸ None of the sources from which the thread was supplied was listed while supplementary paperwork, whether purchase orders or acquittances (receipts), is no longer extant. Almost as though they were an independent unit, the Wardrobe clerks — Anthony Walker at least from 1557 until his death in 1590,⁹ his successor Robert Tyas, in service as his underling from 1559 and possibly with responsibility for the arras men, as clerk between 1590 until his death in 1620, and Edward Graveley until sometime after 1624¹⁰ — were concerned only with the days worked, the materials supplied and, very occasionally, with repair details either for the looms or for the fabric of the buildings on which there was remarkably little outlay. Wages far outstripped the other costs (Table 1).

For rather more than thirty years, however, continuity of clerkship has provided a consistent method of accounting and, more importantly, of describing the tapestries. Each entry started with a brief statement of the range of textiles entrusted to the 'arrasworkers' employed to repair 'arras, tapestrie, verdurs, carpettes and estoffes'. The first two terms denote quality: arras was woven with gold and silver thread in addition to wool and silk; tapestry might have an admixture of silk in the wool. Verdure denotes a style, usually flowered pieces, either millefleurs or, later, possibly the 'cabbage leaf' tapestries, while carpets, intended for use as table coverings, were usually woven, not knotted. 'Estoffes' was presumably intended to cover anything from a cloth of estate to the pelmets above curtains which make only rare appearances in the accounts. Details of work required are never given, though sometimes there is a despairing note about the making or repairing of borders. Once, in 1587, there is note of a 'view' or inspection of the collection's condition.¹¹ Anthony Walker followed earlier practice and, in dog-latin, saw to it that as many tapestries as possible were listed either by a distinguishing feature — 'the Cardinall's armes', 'arras of the duke of Buckingham', 'tapistre once of Charles Brandon' — or with a short name, albeit in a mixture of languages and spellings — '2 pieces of Hercules', '1 piece of Milly Ager, (Muliager, Meliager)', '1 peece obsidione civitatis Jhersulamei', '1 piece Nabugodonezer' (Appendix I). It is possible that his entries were copied from the warrants which almost certainly preceded the tapestries' removal but which no longer survive. The Wardrobe in which the tapestry was usually

TABLE I. THE ROYAL ARRAS MEN: EMPLOYMENT AND COSTS.

Date	Men	Max days	Weaver days	Total days	Weavers' wages £.s.d.	Wages total £.s.d. clerks incl.	Materials bought £.s.d.	Grand total
1559-60	11	203	1452	1625	72.12.0	81.5.6	9.2.6	90.10.8
1560-61	11	232	1708	1942	85.8.0	97.2.6	11.2.10	108.5.4
1561-62	10	189	1652	1902	82.12.0	95.2.0	19.6.7	107.17.5
1562-63	14	180	1734	1915	86.14.0	95.15.0	9.11.9	105.7.3
1563-64	13	220	1946	2366	97.6.0	118.6.0	13.10.0	131.17.2
1564-65	11	218	2349	2349	117.9.0	128.6.0	14.4.6	143.6.0
1565-66	12	247	2464	2958	123.4.0	147.18.0	11.18.7½	166.14.1
1566-67	12	202	2358	2560	117.18.0	128.0.0	18.4.2	146.4.2
1567-68	13	210	2714	2904	135.14.0	145.3.0	15.8.2	160.11.2
1568-69	13	182	2348	2348	117.8.0	126.10.0	16.4.6	143.0.6
1569-70	16	265	3540	3540	177.0.0	177.4.0	20.1.8	198.5.4
1570-71	12	244	2389½	3071½	141.19.6	152.11.6	19.12.10	172.14.4
1571-72	11	236	2552	3088	126.2.0	139.8.0	20.16.4	159.12.7
1572-73	11	230	2485½	2778	124.5.6	138.18.0	19.7.8	158.6.2
1573-74	13	233	2385	2619	119.5.0	139.19.0	20.3.6	151.2.6
1574-75	12	217	2511	2688	125.11.0	134.8.0	18.16.2	155.16.2
1575-76	11	214	2354	2354	117.14.0	128.5.0	23.3.10	153.8.10
1576-77	11	225	2437	2437	126.17.0	133.2.0	19.19.0	153.19.0
1577-78	11	183	1970	2336	98.17.0	116.16.0	17.13.2	134.9.2
1578-79	12	227	2528	2928	129.8.0	137.15.0	19.18.0	157.12.10
1579-80	13	225	2657	2657	132.17.0	144.3.6	20.9.0	165.2.6
1580-81	12	232	2747	2979	137.7.0	148.19.0	20.2.8	168.16.8
1581-82	13	238	2799	2799	139.19.0	151.17.0	20.11.2	173.2.10
1582-83	14	243	3395	3656	169.15.0	183.11.8	26.1.10	209.13.6
1583-84	13	245	3178	3178	158.18.0	171.14.0	29.6.6	200.9.6
1584-85	16	244	3436	3700	171.16.0	184.0.0	32.7.0	217.7.0
1585-86	15	250	3344	3594	167.4.0	179.13.0	24.17.8	204.10.8
1586-87	14	250	2827	3577	141.7.0	166.5.0	23.4.6	189.9.6
1587-88	16	256	3289	3393	164.9.0	177.5.0	25.13.8	202.13.8
1588-89	13	263	3153	3416	157.19.0	157.16.0	26.11.10	184.7.10
1589-90	14	234	2936	3270	146.16.0	163.10.0	29.9.4	190.3.4
1590-91	11	239	2629	3346	119.10.0	187.6.0	37.11.0	196.17.9
1591-92	14	238	3332	3332	166.12.0	166.12.0	30.19.4	197.11.4
1592-93	14	184	2990	2723	136.3.0	136.3.0	21.7.3	157.10.3
1593-94	13	233	3021	3254	162.14.0	162.14.0	26.10.6	189.4.6
1594-95	14	244	3344	3334	167.4.0	167.4.0	25.2.0	192.9.2
1595-96	14	244	3352	3392	167.12.0	169.12.11	31.7.5	201.0.4
1596-97	14	245	3367	3367	168.7.0	168.7.0	25.12.5	193.19.5
1597-98	14	243	3395	3390	169.15.0	169.5.0	28.0.61/4	197.5.6½
1598-99	14	244	3408	3408	170.8.0	170.8.0	31.19.3½	201.7.3½
1599-1600	14	244	3408	3416	170.8.0	170.16.0	36.11.5	207.7.5
1600-01	14	243	3402	3402	170.2.0	170.2.0	36.19.9½	207.1.9½
1601-02	14	242	3388	3388	169.8.0	169.8.0	39.1.7½	208.9.7½
1602-03	16	246	3426	3427	171.6.0	171.7.0	42.13.0½	214.0.0½

Figures are based on those given in the series LC 9, except where the volumes are missing. Weaver days worked have been calculated by adding up the individual days worked; the total days worked is the figure given in the accounts. It probably included wages for a clerk, while another was included in the weaver days.

Addition is shaky and there are also discrepancies between the three series of accounts. Total days worked, total wages, materials only add up correctly to the Grand Total after 1590/91 – a year which marks the change in the clerkship. To reach a modern equivalent, multiply by 1000.

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stored was also given. Soon after Walker's death, the practice of providing a tapestry title was largely discontinued and only the number of items sent for repair was recorded. However, the practice of distinguishing between arras and tapestry, conscientiously followed in Walker's time, continued.

There followed the names of those employed, the majority Flemish, together with the number of days worked by each man, regularly over two hundred. Names and days — though not the exact dates — were listed individually because not everyone worked the same number of days within the year; the days were subsequently recorded as a grand total, in Roman numeration. Then came the materials purchased by the Arras-maker or his deputy. Finally, two totals were entered, that for wages in the right-hand margin, and, below the listing of materials purchased, a Grand Total (*Summa Totalis*). Figures were usually Roman, so that the total of days worked reaches lengthy combinations, while the sums entered against thread bought may be a mixture of pounds, shillings and pence or a total in shillings, or indeed pennies, disregarding the larger divisions of the coinage. They were rarely totalled up. When this is done, it becomes clear that clerical accuracy was not a strong point and there are frequent, if small, discrepancies between the true total cost of materials and the *summa totalis* minus that figure. Moreover, at least one clerk was listed amongst the weavers while the total figure for wages conceals a claim for an equal, or even a higher, figure than the calculable number of days worked by weavers. Apparently meticulous, the accounting was, in fact, deceptive.

The department had the regular assistance of the *scissores* who lined the tapestries or, presumably, sewed up slits between warp threads parting company as a result of lengthy hanging. Their head seems to have been subordinate to the Arras-maker, not a separate appointment, although he was in charge of a much larger number of men. The tailors' accounts, only summarised in the LC 9 series, are recorded in more specific detail in AO 3 and in the earlier rolls in E 351, and always appear after those for the arras men. Their expenses were regularly higher than those of the arras men, partly because tailors were employed in greater numbers, partly because the cost of materials needed was entered against that section. The tailors were listed by name and, in contrast with the weavers, were predominantly English. The total of their working days was also recorded; they were paid 8*d* per day. On occasion they seem to have been divided into teams to work in different residences; a team of twenty-four men was sent to Woodstock in 1574–75.¹² The materials required, very different from those needed by the arras men, were accounted for item by item, and, for two decades, the names of the suppliers of canvas, and its quality, were recorded. Stock carried over (*in stauro*) was listed until 1568–69, after which new purchase (*nova emptio*) of canvas, thread and lyor (binding tape) seems to have been made on an annual basis. Few details of their work were recorded; as the account for 1561–62 expressed it, 'the materials are for work on the before written tapestries, arras and verdures'. Possibly only where the jobs differed was a note made; for example, an entry in 1576–77 recorded the lining of eight pieces of tapestry of *Poetry*, eight pieces of *Alexander the Great* and eight pieces of *Massimisan* (Maximianus?), and twice there is mention of cloths of estate.¹³ From 1602, very large numbers of tapestries, never identified, began to arrive for the tailors, far exceeding the numbers sent to the arras men, so that the work of the two sections diverged.¹⁴

CONDITIONS OF WORK

At the start of 1571, the arrival of a new Arrasmaker, Richard Hyckes, a man without previous experience within the department, provided the opportunity to set down regulations on paper. They make interesting reading.¹⁵

Articles Touching the Arrasmakers and Taylours working in the Great Wardrobe made by the Master of the same Wardrobe, Feast of St Michael anno 13 (1571).

First that there be not above the number of tenne in worke at any tyme of arrasmenders, overseers and other officers at any tyme.

Item that order be taken that the crule and yarne do not monthly exceed the chardges of labor or lx s.

Item that the said workmen do not begynn before the fyrst of March and finish at St Michael Archangell.

Item that they keep their houres without loyteryng and runninge abrode upon paine of every man in whom fault be found of one daies wages the fyrst time. And if no amendment ensue at the third tyme puttinge out of worke.

Item that idle errands and running for drinke and to places necessary be lefte utterly and not used but when necessity requireth.

Concerning Taylours

In primis that the said worke do not begynne before June at any tyme and finish by the last of September

Item that the number do not excede 26 at any tyme, cutters, menders and overseers is to be included in the same number.

3. Item that thred and lyor be dyligently loked into that no waste or embestlinge of the same be made So that the same do not surmount the some of 36 li or 40 li at the uttermost during the whole tyme.

4. Item the same ordered to be kept in the Taylours who are appoynted for the arrasworkers.

Concerning the Receipt of Hangings for the Wardrobe

1. Fyrst that no cloth be receyved if the lyors and canvas be cut of but that it be brought with all that it may be sene what default is and how much shall nide to be rapayred.

2. Item that such canvas and lyor as shall seme unserviceable shall be delivered unto the kepers of such places from whome such stuffe be brought.

3. That all spoyles and wilfull cutting and unlyned of hangings be avoyded. And if any like knowledge be given to the Master of the Wardrobe that remedy may be had and punishment of the parties so offending.

It is instantly clear from the accounts that there were regularly more than ten men, whether weavers or officials, being paid and that the monthly cost of labour exceeded the permitted 60s (Table 1). It is also obvious that the total of working days envisaged, 182 if Sundays are subtracted from the 213 days in the period specified, and still fewer if the statutory holidays were observed,¹⁶ was exceeded, sometimes by a wide margin.

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Presumably the intention that work should be carried out only between 1 March and 29 September was to take advantage of the best light and the easiest conditions in which to transport the tapestries to London; there is no evidence that the weavers worked elsewhere than the capital. Men were being taken on just before the summer progresses began, perhaps so that the more distant palaces could be prepared, while those in London would be uninhabited, at least by members in the upper levels of the Court. It looks very much as though the conditions were an attempt to introduce closer regulation, intended to control the changed situation existing under his daughter rather than simple reiteration of the older practices prevailing under Henry VIII. The limit set on numbers to be engaged certainly does not accord with the much larger numbers of weavers employed by Henry. The attempt to ban idle errands and over frequent visits to the 'necessary house' may reflect excuses for absenteeism; at least two team members in 1571 were heavily involved in the administrative affairs of the Dutch church in London and two, perhaps three, others had their own workshop to run. John Soillot's behaviour, about which two of his colleagues complained, suggests that he had no compunction about doing other business in working hours.

THE ARRAS MEN'S WORK

Even patient study would not establish exactly where and what sort of work was carried out on which tapestry. In theory it should be possible to deduce some details; in practice this is less easy. Two approaches are possible. The first is to attempt conclusions based on the quantities of thread purchased; the second is to attempt identification of the tapestries, although it is difficult in the majority of cases to establish exactly what piece was being worked on. Neither approach is entirely satisfactory.

Thread purchases

The accounts for materials supplied never state where, or from whom, they were bought, but only itemise each type of thread, always in the same order. Some were apparently paid for at the same price per pound every year from 1559 until the cessation of the accounts in 1639, demonstrating a splendid disregard for inflationary price rises! The quantity was stated in pounds and ounces, the quality indicated by price per pound weight; for example, whole yarn came in two grades, red thread was more expensive than black and was less often purchased. Purchase of black was a consistent entry, perhaps because of the already existing need to replace oxidised threads in figure outlines. The amounts of thread claimed for increased steadily. Was this the true state of affairs or were purchases inflated in order to account for rising costs or even to make a profit? Gold and silver thread was first bought only in 1611–12, and again only in 1619–20, after which its purchase became common.¹⁷

In the 1560s, four grades of crewel were used. Crewel *bon* ranged from 4s to 3s 4d; crewel *grose* cost 3s 4d or 2s 8d. The cheaper crewels seem to have been replaced by yarn, also priced at 3s 4d in the 1560s, while crewel *bon* rose from 5s the pound in 1571 to 6s from 1584 onwards. However, throughout the period, the price remained steady for *fil negr et grsh* ('black thread and ?') at 2s, thread of various colours — apparently irrespective of shade — at 4s, as it did for packthread at 16d. Most thread used was crewel *bon*. Whether it was dyed or undyed is unclear; it is only occasionally described

as being of *diversibus coloribus* ('various colours'). Overall, however, purchases of coloured thread are rare and red is the only colour specified. It is not stated in the accounts whether any of these threads were silk or linen or if all were woollen.

There is no way of relating the thread purchased to its use in any particular tapestry listed. Taken together, the quantities and quality of raw materials do not suggest that large areas were re-woven but that work focused on the repair of torn borders, ripped from the hooks on which the tapestry had hung or trodden underfoot. Nor is it possible to tell whether or not patches cut from older tapestries were used.¹⁸ Numbers of tapestries requiring repair varied widely; in an average year the arras men dealt with around 60 pieces, but in 1563 they dealt with 103, in 1563–64 with 110 and in 1584–85 with 128. Thereafter, numbers dropped and rarely exceeded 40 pieces a year. Weaving new items for the household seems to have been a responsibility reserved for the Arrasmaker or his deputies. There are regular payments to them in the Stables accounts for weaving 'hamber cloths' to cover and decorate the seats of the wagons which accompanied the Progresses; only twice were such items paid for in the arras men's accounts. 'Badgiis' (badges) were mentioned in the arras men's accounts in 1562–63 and 'tappets and trappings for the mules' in 1562–63 and 1573–74; tappets — possibly a covering for the beast — were always woven with 'our colours, armes, bestes, badges and cognizaunces in colours' and might vary from 8 to 14 ells in size.¹⁹ If any more ambitious external commissions, whether for the Queen or for private individuals, were ever undertaken, as has been suggested and certainly was done earlier, the accounts have very carefully been kept separate.²⁰

THE TAPESTRIES

Under Henry VIII the order to repair tapestries, counterpoints, window pieces and carpets had been signed by the Lord Chamberlain, directed to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and by him to the keepers of the Wardrobe attached to each residence. The practice probably continued under Elizabeth, but none of the warrants has survived, though the continuing practice is hinted at in 1588/89, 1590/91 and 1591/92.²¹ It is seldom possible to be certain about exactly which tapestry the arras men were concerned with; although the place at which it was kept was noted, no record was made of which scene from any particular set was despatched and only rarely does a complete set seem to have been sent. There are occasions when it looks as though a set's separate pieces may have been treated over a consecutive period of years. Moreover, since many of the themes named belong to duplicate examples of the same subject, sometimes even kept in the same place, identification is now almost impossible. Nevertheless, using the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII's possessions, supplemented by that for Whitehall in 1542, it is possible to arrive at a few identifications, usually tapestries represented by examples of a single theme or where a specific scene was noted.²² Some reappear in the workshop more than once, suggesting perhaps that they were on permanent display or hung in a vulnerable position. The subjects identified suggest that a wide range of themes, in their older rather than their more recent presentation, together with verdures and hunting scenes, passed through the workshop, testimony to the value put on them as a means to enhance the Queen's status (Appendix I).

Though it is hard to know exactly what the men did, it is easier to discover who they were, although the accounts do not themselves contain any personal information. Their backgrounds have to be reconstructed from external sources.²³

In the absence of a strong indigenous tapestry weaving tradition in England, men employed in the Wardrobe were usually Flemings. It was certainly predominantly Flemish in make-up in the middle of the sixteenth century, though by the end of the century several Englishmen can be identified. Its head had also long been a Fleming, but, like the composition of the workforce, this would also change. Five men occupied the post of Arrasmaker between 1559 and 1639: Thomas White, Richard Hyckes and his son Francis, Ralph Canning and his son William. White was appointed in 1557 in succession to Cornelis Mostink.²⁴ White died in October 1570, a year and a half after the appointment of Richard Hyckes who was also in charge of William Sheldon's possibly not very successful attempt to introduce tapestry weaving at Barcheston, Warwickshire. Hyckes was without any apparent previous connection to the Wardrobe and there is no indication, as there sometimes is for earlier appointments, how he obtained the post.²⁵ His privileges at first were fewer than those accorded to his predecessors, though he received a daily wage of 1s, an allowance for materials purchased and was permitted to appoint deputies. A second grant in 1575 gave him the right to pass the office to his son Francis, then aged nine, and, like his predecessors, to have six men working for 'his own profit'; there was, however, a significant difference.²⁶ He was allowed only to employ *sex famulos natos in Anglie* ('six servants born in England') where earlier it had been possible for the Arrasman to employ denizens and thus probably men born and trained abroad. Where that workshop was, who it employed and its relationship to William Sheldon's intentions is discussed elsewhere.²⁷ The records appear to indicate that Hyckes served actively for only four years, 1584 to 1588, but payments in the Stables accounts for work in the 1570s reveal that he was weaving 'hamber cloths', badges and 'tappetts' in alternate years, the regular duties of office deputed to various individuals, two of them, Denis van Alsloot and Mighel Otes, employed by the Earls of Sussex and of Pembroke respectively.²⁸ He was succeeded by his son Francis, who in 1602 also seems to have decided to appoint deputies. Amongst these were apprentices of Peter Wallys who was contracted in 1574 by Christ's Hospital to train two of their boys every four years over a period of sixteen years.²⁹ The Hyckes were relieved of their post in 1609, for reasons unspecified.³⁰ Thereafter Ralph Canning, possibly born at Beoley, Worcestershire, and certainly an apprentice from Barcheston, was at its head until his death on 23 August 1631; he was followed by his son, William, born in London in 1611.³¹

These five men directed the work of a largely émigré team, the Great Wardrobe being the largest single employer open to the Flemish émigré weaver in London. Seventy-one of the 110 arras or tapestry weavers who can be found at work in London between 1558 and 1603 were at some point working for the Queen.³² Nevertheless, the Wardrobe employed only some twelve men, a small fraction of the 'stranger' weavers resident in London, though even twelve always exceeded the number permitted in the 1571 regulations.

Theirs was not regular employment; men were taken on early in the year to work a variable number of days paid at a daily rate of 1s.³³ Three men served for periods of

more than fifty years each; twenty-two stayed for two years or less. A common length of stay was around twenty years, but others served for only a year, while a few came and went over short periods which possibly suggests they could find employment elsewhere. Others left to set up for themselves; amongst these are Anthony van der Vynnen, Henry Wells and Arnold Baerd. Anthony van der Meulen drew a Wardrobe wage while also successfully running his own workshop.³⁴ Only one, John Nightingale, left complaining bitterly about the absenteeism of his colleagues; he subsequently worked independently.³⁵ For a few, including Gerard van der Linden (later discovered to be wanted for murder in his own country), it is possible to produce a biography.³⁶

When, in 1559, we catch a first glimpse of Queen Elizabeth's repair shop, both the arras men and the tailors were under White's direction, who was recorded in service amongst the *scissors* from at least 1535–36³⁷ and died in office in October 1570. A man of this name had had accommodation within the Wardrobe at least from 1534 and was assessed for tax on £20 in the parish of St Andrew's in 1541. Between 1559 and 1570, twenty-six men worked under White. At least five had been employed in King Henry's time: Henry Wells, Henry Morrells, Arnold Baerd, Nicholas Van Cam and Francis Beaver. Twelve men stayed for less than three years and one for four, so that only about half can be regarded as a core of 'regulars' outnumbered by the larger number of 'casuals'.³⁸ In the course of the decade, however, numbers rose to a steady twelve employees. From the 1580s onwards a steady trickle of men whose background is undoubtedly English are listed. Most, including Alforde, Diston, Canning, Higgins, Mumford, Dowler and Huckvale, had links with Barcheston where Hyckes was in charge of Sheldon's venture. Perhaps they were offered employment in the Wardrobe as the means to honour Hyckes' obligation to Sheldon because opportunities in Warwickshire were few.³⁹ Two, Austen and Clay, were apprentices trained at Christ's Hospital.⁴⁰

Reasons for accepting employment in the Wardrobe must have varied. Nightingale's complaints indicate that the terms of employment were interpreted in a fairly fluid fashion, but suggest that the 1571 regulations had had little effect. The situation was more advantageous for the employee than for the Queen. It was probably possible to leave fairly quickly if better work offered itself for there is no evidence of contracts. There were, however, disadvantages. Although the Queen's shilling was fairly certain to be paid, the men were employed 'at will'; in other words, there was no certainty of being able to make a living wage year by year. Annual earnings rarely fell below £10, but equally, at least until the end of the century, rarely went above £11 10s. In contrast to wage increases seen on the open market, the daily rate varied not at all throughout Elizabeth's reign and was only increased to 14d in 1607.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the purchasing power of money was steadily diminishing so that the real value of the wage was dropping. What was adequate in 1553 when, in line with other wages, it had been increased from 6d to 12d per day had, by the end of the century, lost half its value.⁴² In addition, the men knew that every year they might have to face a variable period of unemployment. From 1588, under Francis Hyckes, more and more days were being worked, perhaps to combat the effect of the Elizabethan inflationary spiral. On surviving evidence, it seems to have been rare for the Queen's arras men to have been well-off. Few are named in the tax records, neither do they figure prominently amongst those weavers who leave wills.

OUTSIDE HELP

Only one area of conservation seems to have been outside the arras men's skills. Outside contractors undertook the specialist work of *mundificacio* and *purgacio* ('cleansing, refreshing and cleaning'), described using terms which first appear in English in the early seventeenth century. In 1585, a patent was granted to Segur Drase and James Burton which recites a brief history of their association with the department. In 1583, the acting head, weaver Denis van Alsloot, ventured to entrust two men with the task of refreshing the colours of some of the royal tapestries, probably a task beyond the resources of the arras men. Although his decision went unrecorded in the accounts at the time, the success of their new method 'of cleaning hangings and carpets much better than has been done heretofore' is suggested by the grant recorded some eighteen months later on the Patent Rolls when, early in 1585, Drase and Burton were appointed regular members of the household at 4*d* per day. They were to enjoy a monopoly for twelve years, not only in respect of work for the Queen, but throughout England.⁴³ When commissioned by the Queen, they would be paid 8*d* the Flemish ell for cleaning tapestry, 10*d* the ell for Turkish carpets. Drase probably died around 1596; he was recorded, as an alien, in the tax records of 1596 as having 'gone away', leaving his widow still in the property.⁴⁴ The grant was renewed to James Burton who took on a partner, Thomas Bond, who subsequently continued, apparently on his own, for letters patent were issued to him in 1604.⁴⁵ Eventually, in 1614, his son, another Thomas, shared the privileges in succession.⁴⁶

The entries concerning their work for the Queen necessarily include details of size because they were paid by the ell, but, unfortunately, it was only after a few years' experience that they became more careful and also recorded a short title of the tapestry and its usual resting place.⁴⁷ The arithmetic of their accounts leaves a lot to be desired. The total number of ells on which payment was calculated rarely tallies with the amount claimed; the difference was always in favour of the contractors, not of the Crown. Whether this was the result of innumerate calculation or whether it means that the ells quoted are also inaccurate is unclear, but it also makes it even harder to identify the tapestries sent to them. Although the Wardrobe from which the items came was listed, the total ells rarely correspond to tapestry sizes noted in the 1547 inventory. In some instances, no title in the inventory corresponds with pieces on which they worked.⁴⁸ Given also that some tapestries had, inevitably, been moved from their listed place in 1547 because the Wardrobe no longer served the person for whom its contents had been selected, it is not easy (or even meaningful) to be too positive about what underwent their treatment. It seems reasonably clear that, as with the arras men, work focused on the older tapestries rather than those more recently purchased. It is more certain that, though most of the pieces were tapestry, they also worked on arras.⁴⁹

Their work fell into two categories. The first was the 'renewing of decayed colors' by a process which they did not confide in the clerks; exactly what they did was nowhere recorded. Their second skill was, however, very succinctly expressed in the accounts when they submitted a bill 'for the scowring of 5 carpets'.⁵⁰ These were almost certainly of Turkey work since the items came from the abundant stock kept at the Tower. The worst might be feared, but 'scour' is a word of Danish, Swedish, Middle Low and modern German and Dutch origin meaning 'to brush'.⁵¹ Although there was

an old French word, it is more probable that ‘scour’ was brought in by Flemish workmen as a technical term.⁵² It may have encompassed more than one process, for well-known processes for bleaching linen were also described by this word. Philemon Holland used it in this sense in his translation of Pliny:

there is a kind of poppyes much sought after for blanching and bleaching
of linen cloths, for being scowred therewith, it is wonderful how white they look.⁵³

However, it seems unlikely that anything so fierce was done to the carpets.

The only recorded instance of their work for a patron other than the Queen is a commission from the Merchant Taylors for the cleaning of a large tapestry. The tale of their employment is dramatically told in the Company’s Registers. Introduced to the assembled Taylors by one of their own members, Burton and Bond were sharp enough business men to bring with them a sample of their work — a tapestry half treated, half left as they had received it.⁵⁴ So impressed was the Company that they bestowed the commission immediately.

CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the most important point to emerge from this survey is that Queen Elizabeth’s inheritance was being carefully looked after, in strong contrast to the more casual approach of private owners whose accounts rarely record payments for the maintenance of tapestries.⁵⁵ Royal expenditure more than doubled, not because of rising wage costs but because of the greater number of days worked and, more particularly, the increased quantity of materials which had to be purchased. It is tempting, but perhaps unwise, to try to reach conclusions about the nature of favourite displays; it seems that, as with the selection of maps displayed by her father, Queen Elizabeth kept his arrangement of tapestries.⁵⁶ Rarely can tapestry in the repair shop be linked with state occasions; one such example, however, is the mending of the *Triumphs of Bulloigne* in 1580/81, in time for the visit of the Duke of Anjou and his agent, Jean de Simier.⁵⁷ Any attempt to trace a deliberate programme of conservation is equally unwise. It seems clear that repair was carried out on the basis of need, applied to individual pieces and not to complete sets simultaneously, nor to a timetable for the contents of each Wardrobe. Amongst the certainly identifiable tapestries — because the theme is unique — some seem to come in for repair more often than others. Reflecting the relative size of the Wardrobes, items from the Tower, Westminster and Hampton Court figure most frequently, followed, in descending order, by tapestries from the Removing Wardrobe, Greenwich, Windsor, Richmond, Oatlands and the Wardrobe of the Queen’s Robes. Henry VIII’s most important purchases, by and large, do not yet seem to have been in need of repair, though some might have been amongst the large numbers sent for re-lining after 1602. Neither is there any suggestion in the accounts of the tailors who would have had to line new tapestries, that Queen Elizabeth was buying tapestry or receiving it as a diplomatic or a New Year gift. It is equally clear, from the accounts of visitors to the Tower, Windsor and particularly to Hampton Court, how greatly her collection impressed foreign visitors.⁵⁸

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Early in King James's reign the clerk ceased to record themes, noting only how many pieces came from each palace; by 1618, even that sketchy indication comes to an end and only wages and materials used were recorded, a decision which may not have been without ulterior motives on the part of the Keeper. Re-issue in 1631 of the 1571 regulations followed allegations of corruption.⁵⁹ Accounts cease altogether for the years 1639–60, and when the department was re-formed after the Restoration in 1660 practices and terminology were re-fashioned.

REFERENCES

¹ All the following make use of these texts: D. Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: Batsford, 1986), p. 38; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), ch. 5; J. Munby, 'Queen Elizabeth's coaches: the wardrobe on wheels', *Antiquaries Journal*, LXXXIII (2003), pp. 313–67.

² J. Andreas Löwe, 'Fortescue, Sir John (1533–1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008). Available from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9945> [Accessed: 22 June 2010]. He was described as 'Maister' in the *Survey of London* written in the year 1598 by John Stow; edited by H. Morley with an introduction by A. Fraser (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1994), p. 340.

³ T. P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), pp. 5–6, 89–92.

⁴ M. Hayward, 'Repositories of splendour: Henry VIII's Wardrobes of the Robes and Beds', *Textile History*, XXIX, no. 2 (1998), pp. 134–56; M. Hayward, 'Fit for a king? Maintaining the early Tudor tapestry collection', in M. Hayward and F. Lennard eds, *Tapestry Conservation: Principles and Practice* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), pp. 13–19.

⁵ For the émigré background, see R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk eds, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, Quarto Series, vol. 10 in four parts (London: Huguenot Society, 1900–08); W. Hefford, 'Flemish tapestry weavers in England: 1550–1775', in G. Delmarcel ed., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), pp. 43–61; Campbell, *Art of Majesty*, ch. 11, n. 46 and pp. 55–61, summarises the documents naming the weavers.

⁶ The National Archives (TNA), formerly Public Record Office (PRO) E 101/420/14; E 101/421/3; E 101/421/16, f. 38v; E 315/455, f.40; E 315/456, ff. 47v–48; LC 9/51, ff. 176, 183v, 274–274v.

⁷ British Library, Stowe Ms 571, f. 28, for 1552, an isolated book dated to 1557, TNA LC 9/52; the series TNA E 351/3027–31 covers 1552–58. Copies made for the Pipe Office.

⁸ From 1559 until 1603, the series LC 9/53–93 is nearly continuous, except for the years 1565/66, 1569/70 and 1596/99, LC 9/94, LC 9/95 1605–07 and LC 9/96–103 intermittently covers the years from 1613 to the end of 1640. The series AO 3/1106–22, signed by the officials and clearly the audited set, plugs many gaps, leaving unrecorded only the years 1604/05, 1615/16, 1616/17, 1621/22, 1633/34, 1638/39. Accounts for the years 1565/66, 1569/70 and 1596/97 are found only in this series. Another set, E 351/3033–3102, gives details about the tapestries treated only after 1562/63. Other Exchequer records, E 101, E 36 or E 315, do not seem to survive for Elizabeth's reign. Warrants Dormant are LC 5/49, LC 5/50. I should like to correct my statement in H. L. Turner, 'Finding the weavers; Richard Hyckes and the Sheldon tapestry works', *Textile History*, XXXIII, no. 2 (2002), p. 139 that the account for 1569/70 is missing. Nor do I any longer believe that Hyckes was responsible for the 'Sheldon' tapestries (p. 155).

⁹ Walker was already under-clerk in 1552 (British Library, Stowe Ms 571, f. 25) and head clerk by 1557 (TNA LC 5/32, f. 6, LC 5/49, f. 127). He was a wealthy man, assessed for tax in 1582 on goods of £60; he paid 13s 4d. See R. G. Lang, *Two Tudor Tax Assessments Rolls for the City of London, 1541 and 1582* (London: London Record Society, vol. XXIX for 1992 (1993)), p. 182. His will was proved

on 22 May 1590, TNA PROB 11/75, the Inquisition *post mortem* is printed in E. A. Fry ed., *Abstracts from Inquisitions post mortem for London*, Index Library, part 3 1577–1603 (London: British Record Society, 1908), xxxvi, pp. 154–57; original TNA C 142/230/29. He countersigned the accounts frequently; AO 3/1108, year 16–17, 1575 has a clear example of his signature. Walker owned a small tapestry with his arms surrounded by flowers and a woven date, 1565, almost certainly commissioned from one of the arras men (private collection).

¹⁰ Tyas probably filled the under-clerk's post from 1559 and was also paid as a weaver; warrant for his livery as Clerk LC 5/49, f. 223 (17 March 1590). He was buried in St Andrew's in the Wardrobe, London Guildhall Mss 4507/1. He was not therefore the man Barnard identified; E. A. Barnard and A. J. B. Wace, 'The Sheldon tapestry weavers and their work', *Archaeologia*, lxxviii (1928), pp. 255–318. Graveley's name appears amongst the tailors from 1576 until 1624, LC 9/68–98.

¹¹ TNA, LC 9/80; AO 3/1111, anno 29–30 Eliz. Transcripts — not translations — of the entries relevant to the tapestries treated year by year can be found at http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Arras_Men_and_Tapestry_conservation_under_Elizabeth_I_1559-1603_-_Introduction And also http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110622142122/http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Arras_Men_and_Tapestry_conservation_under_Elizabeth_I_1559-1603_-_Introduction

¹² TNA AO 3.1108 anno 16–17 Eliz, 1574–75.

¹³ TNA LC 9/68, f. 44, 1576–77; AO 3/1108 anno 15–16 Eliz (1573–74) and AO 3/1109 anno 19–20 (1577–78).

¹⁴ TNA AO 3/1114, 1115, 1116, 1117; 221 in 1601–02; 216 between Michaelmas and Queen Elizabeth's death; 81 in 1603–04; 243 in 1605–06; 290 in 1606–07; 146 in 1607–08; 195 in 1608–09; 89 in 1610–11; 92 in 1611–12; 60 in 1612–13; 200 in 1613–14. Details were not given in subsequent years.

¹⁵ TNA LC 5/49, f. 330; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, p. 165 is, I think, mistaken in thinking the tailors referred to were those who made liveries; their association with the arras men is clear. The regulations were reissued in 1631, TNA, E 36/234, f. 2, following investigations into the accounting irregularities of the Keeper.

¹⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, p. 132f.

¹⁷ TNA AO 3/1116, anno 8–9 James; AO 3/1118, 1620/21.

¹⁸ For patches, see J. Band, 'The survival of Henry VIII's *History of Abraham* tapestries: an account of how they were perceived, used and treated over the centuries', in Hayward and Lennard, eds, *Tapestry Conservation*, pp. 20–27.

¹⁹ For the Arrasmaker's work, see http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110622142122/http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=The_Work_of_the_Arrasmaker_1559-1640 and see note 11. The word 'tappet', meaning caparison, appears first in 1502 in N. H. Nicolas ed., *The Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York* (London: Pickering, 1830), p. 14, a reference I owe to Helen Wyld. Badges for the stables were paid for from the arras men's budget in TNA, LC 9/53 (1559–60) and LC 9/56 (1562–63). For early examples, see Campbell, *Art of Majesty*, pp. 91, 125.

²⁰ The 1547 Inventory lists two small tapestries 'made by tharrasman', nos 12027, 12029; neither has left any trace in the accounts; D. Starkey ed., *The 1547 Inventories of Henry VIII* (London: Harvey Millar, 1998). The suggestion in J. Clark, 'A set of tapestries for Leicester House in The Strand: 1585', *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxv (1983), pp. 283–84, is unlikely to be correct. The Gryce tapestry, Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 47.4, is a more probable candidate because patterns for the royal arms were in regular use and Gryce was a Clerk of the Stables, another household department. The tapestry has been discussed by G. Delmarcel, *Tapisseries Anciennes d'Enghien* (Mons: Fédération du Tourisme, 1980), no. 5; Hefford, *Flemish Tapestry Weavers*, pp. 43–44; Campbell, *Art of Majesty*, pp. 91, 125.

²¹ Campbell, *Art of Majesty*, p. 90; TNA LC 9/80, f. 43v, LC 9/82, f. 43v and LC 9/83, f. 38v. For warrants signed in 1692/93 and 1695, LC 5/151, ff. 200, 418.

²² M. Hayward, *The Whitehall Inventory of 1542. The Palace and its Keeper* (London: Illuminata Publishers and Society of Antiquaries, 2004).

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²³ Biographies based on census, tax and denization records, parish registers, Dutch Church consistory records and wills together with a full discussion of émigré weavers in London are at http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/p34_learn_index_pdfs.htm. The site is archived at <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20110425060029/http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/>.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1557–58, p. 129.

²⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1566–69, no. 2573. The appointment of Hyckes in 1569, much earlier than previously known and before the setting down of Sheldon's plans, together with the evidence for Hyckes's presence in the Wardrobe during the 1570s (see note 19), necessarily changes previous views of Sheldon's venture; see H. L. Turner, 'Tapestries once at Chastleton House and their influence on the image of the tapestries called Sheldon: a re-assessment', *Antiquaries Journal*, LXXXVIII (2008), pp. 313–43, now online. He had an income independent of the success of Barcheston.

²⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1571–75, no. 3268. The fee of £10 recorded there is nowhere on record as having been paid, and the sum of 6*d* has been raised to 1*s*.

²⁷ Turner, 'Finding the weavers', pp. 137–61; Turner, 'Tapestries once at Chastleton House', pp. 313–46. The Barcheston venture should have been named after Hyckes, not Sheldon. See also http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/p34_learn_index_pdfs.htm.

²⁸ See note 19 and for Alsloot and Otes (as Hoots), see <http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf> or <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/waybackarchive/20110425060114/http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf>

²⁹ For Wallys, see <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20110425060113/http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre2Independents.pdf>.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1572–75, no. 3269. Biographies at http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/p34_learn_index_pdfs.htm.

³¹ TNA LC 5/50, ff. 198–200; his death, TNA LC 5/50, f. 309; son's birth IGI, London.

³² Barnard and Wace, 'Sheldon tapestry weavers', p. 286 and, for his sources, Turner, 'Tapestries once at Chastleton House', n. 116. Neither William Diston nor Thomas Dowler, witnesses to Hyckes's will, were arrasworkers as stated by J. Humphreys, 'Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries', *Archaeologia*, LXXIV (1924), p. 187.

³³ TNA LC, nine volumes throughout Elizabeth's reign.

³⁴ Biographies of Wells, van der Meulen, Van der Vynnen and Baerd at <http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf>. So few tapestries are of indisputably English origin that it is not possible to associate names with products; one possibility is the set of the *Four Seasons*; see H. L. Turner, 'A case of mistaken identity: the "Sheldon" Four Seasons' tapestries at Hatfield House reconsidered', *Emblematica*, 19, forthcoming, 2012. Weavers also had links to trade, see H. L. Turner, 'The tapestry trade in Elizabethan London: products, purchasers and purveyors', *London Journal* (forthcoming).

³⁵ Nightingale's biography is at <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20110425060114/http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf>.

³⁶ See note 23 and http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/p34_learn_index_pdfs.htm

³⁷ For White, see <http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf>

³⁸ Those who served for one year only are Beaver, Lome, Molyneux, Derick, P. and J. Holland, Arnold vanderBoam and van der Vynnen, the only one to return. Claes and Nicholas van Hover served for two years, Raes and Panne for three, Povir for four. Biographies for all these men are at <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20110425060114/http://www.tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/NEWPP39Emigre1GtWardrobe.pdf>

³⁹ Turner, 'Finding the weavers', pp. 146–49; Turner, 'Tapestries once at Chastleton House', pp. 331–32. See also note 23 above.

⁴⁰ Awstin, TNA LC 9/79–103; Clay, LC 9/95–103. See also note 23.

⁴¹ TNA LC 5/50, f. 309.

⁴² British Library Ms Stowe 571, f. 28 records a wage of 6*d* in 1552. On wages in general, see S. Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life within Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 129–45.

⁴³ TNA, C 66/1265 m.22 also numbered 19 at head of membrane, printed *Lists & Indexes*, C 66/1254–70, 1584–85, no. 887, vol. 293 (1998).

⁴⁴ Kirk and Kirk, *Aliens*, II, p. 396.

⁴⁵ TNA, LC5/50, f. 173.

⁴⁶ TNA, LC5/50, ff. 221–23.

⁴⁷ TNA, LC9/75–78, 82, 83, 91, 93; AO 3/1111, anno 29–30 Eliz, 30–31 Eliz.

⁴⁸ *David and Moses* in 1586, *litera y* in 1600 and *Titus and Longus* in 1602.

⁴⁹ *Carolo Magno* 1587/88 and again 1600/01; *Carolo Brandon* (Duke of Suffolk, d. 1545) and pieces of the *Passion* in 1588/89; *the siege of Jerusalem*, 1600/01; *St John* 1602/03. For their work see http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Cleansing_tapestries_Mundificacio also available at references through note 11.

⁵⁰ TNA, LC 9/77, f. 35v.

⁵¹ W. Hefford, “Bread, Brushes, and Brooms”: aspects of tapestry restoration in England, 1660–1760’, in A. Bennett ed., *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium November 1976* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1979), pp. 65–75. Hayward’s reference to brushing, taken from John Russell’s *Boke of Nurture*, refers only to clothes; Hayward, ‘Fit for a king?’, p. 15. In 1539, Lady Lisle’s steward had difficulty finding anyone capable of ‘scouring’ a carpet; J. Brewer and R. Brodie eds, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547*, vol. xiv pt I, no. 1145.

⁵² Parliament Rolls 1467 and *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, Act 8 Eliz cap 11, para. 2.

⁵³ *Natural History* (1601), Book xix.i, II, 5.

⁵⁴ F. Fry, *Historical Catalogue of the Pictures, Herse-cloths and Tapestry of the Merchant Tailors’ Hall* (London, n.p., 1907), pp. 144–46.

⁵⁵ For example, Earl of Pembroke’s arrasman, NAL, Special Collections, KRP D.30, f. 83. G. R. Batho ed., *Household Papers of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)*, Camden Society 3rd series, xciii (1962), pp. 151, 157; *Hastings* (Hist. Mss Comm.), I, p. 354; J. R. Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk* (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, Joseph Booker, New Bond Street and John Deek, Bury St Edmund’s, 1822), p. 191. In 1539, Sir Richard Fermor’s house at Easton, Northants, had an arrasmaker’s chamber where a loom was set up; BLib, Royal Ms 89, now Cotton Appendix xxviii, f. 163 (f. 167). For household duties, see S. D. Scott ed., ‘A Booke of Orders and Rules by Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vii (1854), pp. 173–212 (esp. p. 205); J. Banks ed., ‘Copy of an original mss, entitled “A Breviate touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman’s House etc, 1652”’, *Archaeologia*, xiii (1807), pp. 315–89 (esp. pp. 354–55).

⁵⁶ See references in P. Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ca. 1470–1650’, in D. Woodward ed., *The History of Cartography*, III, PART II (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007), pp. 1589–1669 (esp. p. 1658).

⁵⁷ Starkey, 1547 *Inventories* lists the map at 10773; it seems it was also a tapestry, TNA LC 9/72, f. 44v; J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 303, 306, 307.

⁵⁸ Campbell, *Art of Majesty*, pp. 350–53.

⁵⁹ See H. Wyld, ‘Seventeenth-century tapestries at Ham House’, in C. Rowell ed., *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage* (forthcoming, 2012).

APPENDIX I. IDENTIFIABLE TAPESTRIES

Identifiable tapestries sent to the arras workers for repair, listed by first appearance, then by apparent repeated repair. Numbers refer to the 1547 Inventory of Henry VIII’s possessions. Those in bold type refer to tapestries still in the same Wardrobe (= W), those in italics a possible identification.

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- 1557/58 LC 9/52, f. 45v, Mich 1557–58, 4&5 Philip and Mary; no. AO 3
4 pcs de la Wild Bore in W of the Beds at Westminster 9696
1 pc de history de Grissilde at Westminster 9711
 1582/83 1 pc Grissild at Westminster
1 pc arras of the Planets at Westminster
6 pcs of the Planets at Tower
 1572/73 6 pcs of Planets at Greenwich
2 pcs arras de Samson at the Tower 9005
 1558/59 2 pcs of Samson at Removing W of Queen
 1597/98 1 pc arras of Samson at Tower
 1598/99 1 pc arras de Samson at Tower
 1599/1600 1 pc arras de Samson at Tower
 1600/01 1 pc arras de Samson at Tower
 1600/01 for purgacio (cleaning)
1 pc arras of Erkinwald at Tower (cf 1590/91) 9011
- 1559/60 LC 9/53, f. 54v, Mich 1559–60; AO 3/1106, anno i–ij
6 pcs Lady Fame in the Removing W of the Queen 14130
2 pcs Vulcan at Westminster 9729
1 pc tapestry of Amour et Prudencia at Westminster 9706
 1560/61 1 pc de amore et Prudentia at Westminster
 1563/64 1 pc de Amore et Prudencia at Westminster
 1602/03 4 pcs Amor et Prudencia at Westminster
 1602/03 purgacio (cleaning)
- 1560/61 LC 9/54, f. 56v, Mich 1560–61, AO 3/1106, anno ii–iii
2 pcs arras de dmne of Buckingham at the Tower 8996
 1595/96 1 pc duke of Buckingham at the Tower
1 pc arras de St Jerome at Westminster 9689
4 pcs tapestry de lez woodwisses at Westminster ?13355
4 pcs tapestry of the Revelation of St John at Westminster 9725
 1566/67 1 pc of the Revelation of St John at Westminster
 1568/69 2 pcs of Revelation of St John
- 1561/62 LC 9/55, f. 48v, Mich 1561–62; AO 3/1106, anno iii–iv
1 pc Job in Wardrobe of Robes
 1577/78 2 pcs Job in Wardrobe of Robes
 1586/87 1 pc of the Patriarch Job in Wardrobe of Robes
1 pc Radice Jesse at the Tower
 1579/80 1 pc Radice Jesse at the Tower
 1589/90 2 pcs arras Radice Jesse at Richmond 13517
 1590/91 2 pcs Radice Jesse at Tower
1 pc St George at the Tower 9002
 1569/70 1 pc St George at the Tower
 1590/91 2 pcs St George at the Tower
 1602/03 7 large pcs of history of St George at Westminster
1 pc Rex Francie at the Tower 9007
- 1562/63 LC 9/56, f. 59v, Mich 1562–63; AO 3/1106 anno iv–v
12 pcs of the 12 months at Queen's Removing Wardrobe 13353 ex The More
 1570/71 12 pcs of Twelve Months in Queen's attending Wardrobe
 1576/77 12 pcs de Mensibus in Queen's attending Wardrobe
 1581/82 2 pcs de arras of Twelve Months at Windsor
 1586/87 2 pcs arras of the Months at the Tower
5 pcs of arras of les lilliepottes at Windsor 13058
5 pcs de arras de Toemrys at Windsor

- 1563/64 LC 9/ 57, f. 52 Mich 1563–64; AO 3/1106, anno v–vj
 5 pcs magn de tap of lez lilliepottes at Windsor
 Mundificacio in 1587/88 439 ells at Windsor
 1 pc of the kings of Cologne at Westminster 9685
 1585/86 1 pc arras of the 3 kings of Cullen at Tower 8998
 Mundificacio in 1585/86 at Tower
 4 pcs of the kings of Surrey at Westminster 9736
 1571/72 1 pc de Reg Surr' at Westminster
 1 pc Ruth at the Tower 9735
- 1564/65 LC 9/58, f. 47, Mich 1564–65; AO 3/1106, anno vj–vij
 1 pc Samson et Sulomon in the Removing W of the Queen
 1 pc Apoculipsh at Westminster
- 1565/66 AO 3/1107, anno vij–viii, Mich 1565–66, where LC 9 is missing
 2 pcs de Dnabis et Scientiis at Greenwich
 2 pcs of the Complexions at Greenwich 9272
 1572/73 4 pcs de les Complexiones at Greenwich
 1576/77 1 pc de Complexionibus at Greenwich
- 1566/67 LC 9/59, f. 44v Mich 1566–67; AO 3/1107, anno viii–ix
 7 large arras of siege of Jerusalem at Windsor 13045
 1580/81 destr'n of city of Jerusalem descrb. as arras veter Windsor
 1586/87 3 pcs old arras of siege of Jerusalem
 purgacio 1602/03 7 pcs siege of Jerusalem
 8 pcs of Cupid at Hampton Court 12006, 12007
 1 pc siege of Troy at Windsor 13053
- 1567/68 LC9/60, f. 53, Mich 1567–68; AO 3/1107, anno ix–x
 2 pcs of the IX Worthies at Hampton Court 11994 or 12043
- 1569/70 AO 3/1107, cover appears to read anno vj–vij, but it has to be xj–xij = 11–12 Mich
 1569–70; no. LC 9
 1 pc de Julio Pompeo at Richmond
 1 pc Fame and Honour at Tower 9018
 The Turks at Tower 14134
- 1572/73 LC 9/64, f. 41, Mich 1572–73; AO 3/1108, anno 14–15
 7 pcs woodhewers at Westminster 13354
 1582/83 same at Westminster
 1 pc Nabuchodonaster at Westminster (arras) 13518
 1582/83 1 pc Nubuchodonerzer at Westminster
 1589/90 1 pc tapestry de Nabrugadazer at Richmond (tapestry) 14036 from the Prince's W 1547
 1 pc Balaam and Balaak at Westminster 14048 ex Prince's Wardrobe 1547
 1574/75 1 pc Balaam and Balaac at Westminster
- 1573/74 LC 9/65, f. 50v, Mich 1573–74; AO 3/1108, anno 15–16
 19 pcs tap vor fullische pillers in Queen's attending wardrobe
 1574/75 1 pc de lez fullische pillers in Queen's Attend' Wardrobe
 1581/82 7 pcs tapestry de columinis vocant fullische pillars in Q's Attend W
 1586/87 7 pcs de columnis vor fullische pillers in Queen's Removing W.
 1591/92 7 pcs of fullische pillers in Removing Wardrobe
- 1574/75 LC 9/66, f. 58, Mich 1574–75; AO 3/1108, anno 16–17
 5 pcs of tapestry de Parish in Attend' Wardrobe
 1577/78 6 pcs Parrish in Greenwich
 1582/83 1 pc de Parriso et Helen at Westminster 9730

Working Arras and Arras Workers

- 1575/76 LC 9/67, f. 58, Mich 1575–76; AO 3/1109 anno 17–18
4 pcs valde dimit' de Romulus and Remus at Hampton Court
1589/90 1 pc Romulus and Remus at Greenwich 9278
- 1576/77 LC 9/68, f. 44, Mich 1576–77; AO 3/1109 anno 18–19
3 pcs de Carolo Magno at Greenwich
Purgacione 1587/88 378 ells of Carolo Magno at Windsor
Purgacione 1600/01 5 pcs Carolo Magno in Q's Removing W. 14131
- 1579/80 LC 9/71, f. 53, Mich 1579–80; AO 3/1109, anno 21–22
1 pc arras dimit' de Macaburn at Tower 8995
- 1580/81 LC 9/72, f. 44v, Mich 1580–81; AO 3/1110, anno 22–23
1 pc arras dimit' de Triumphs of Bulloigne in Tower 8996
4 pcs arras Jupiter and Juno in Tower 9000
1 pc arras dimit' de Myliager at Greenwich 9264
1 pc tap magno de Meleager at Tower 9019
- 1581/82 LC 9/73, f. 63, Mich 1581–82; AO 3/1110, anno 23–24
6 large pcs of arras of Carolo nuper duc Suffolk at Queen's Removing Wardrobe
6 pcs arras de les Anticke at Tower ?9215
1594/95 1 pc arras de lez Antickes at Tower
1595/96 1 pc arras de lez Antickes at Tower
2 pcs tapestry with the arms of London at Tower ?9022
- 1583/84 LC 9/75, f. 51, Mich 1583–84; AO 3/1110, anno 25–26
1 pc arras mulieri Canaan at Tower 9013
- 1586/87 LC9/78, f. 41v, Mich 1586–87; AO 3/1111, anno 28–29
4 pcs David and Saul in the Removing W. 11993 (?ex Hampton Court 1547)
7 pcs Alexander the Great in the Removing W. 12621 (? ex Oatlands 1547)
- 1589/90 LC 9/81, f. 43v, Mich 1589–90; AO 3/1111 anno 31–32
De Lege et Evangelis at Richmond
4 pcs Salomon at Greenwich
1 pc de legibus at Greenwich
- 1590/91 LC9/82, f. 43v, Mich 1590–91; AO 3/1112, anno 32–33
7 pcs of Abraham at Hampton Court 11966
1 pc Erkinbald at Tower 9011

HILARY TURNER worked as a freelance researcher after completing a doctorate at Oxford. Always fascinated by puzzles from the past, she came to tapestry after seeing the tapestry map of Warwickshire, once the property of Ralph Sheldon. She has since investigated, and published, the story behind their weaving, and looked at the reality of the family's attempt to introduce tapestry weaving into sixteenth-century Warwickshire.