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LIVING IN THE TOWER OF LONDON: NO. 5 TOWER GREEN, 1685–1751

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The Body', or corps, of Yeoman Warders of the Tower of London, more commonly known as Beefeaters, was created by Henry VIII from the Yeoman Guard; its members were distinguished as 'the extraordinary of the guard' and, remarkably, have served at the Tower ever since. By the early eighteenth century it was established that at least the highest-ranking officers and half of the Body should be permanently resident within the walls of the Tower.¹ While the history of the Body has attracted scholarly attention, the life of the Yeoman Warders living within the Tower has been largely overlooked.² This article, which focuses on the period 1680 to 1750, aims to address this through a close examination of a house constructed for the highest ranking Yeomen Warders in the early 1680s. What might the practicalities of living within a prison fortress in the early modern era have been? Were the Yeoman Warders and their families able to enjoy the sort of domestic comforts expected by other citizens of equal social status living elsewhere in London, or was their experience set apart from that of their peers? It is proposed that a study of the Yeoman Warders' residential accommodation advances our knowledge of the life of the 'middling sort' (or middle classes – equivalent to the lesser gentry and professionals: merchants, physicians etc.) in early modern England.³

The period from 1680 to 1750 was an eventful one at the Tower. Following the Great Fire of London, the site saw increased construction activity while

the Board of Ordnance expanded its presence and operations.⁴ Stricter regulations governing the Yeoman Warder Body were also introduced in the late seventeenth century: the criteria for conscription were made more stringent; the sub-letting of Tower accommodation was prohibited; and attempts were made to ensure that at least two-thirds of the Body were permanently resident in order that its duties were more effectively discharged.⁵ An apparent shift in the status of the Yeoman Warders is suggested by the construction of two elegant houses – Nos. 4 and 5 Tower Green – adjacent to the Lieutenant's residence on the Parade, a newly remodeled area which served as an important venue for military display. In addition, and importantly in the context of this study, this is when the 'middling sort' and professional classes developed as a distinct social group.⁶ In terms of architectural history it is the period of the second phase of the so-called Great Rebuilding, between 1660 and 1739, when much urban reconstruction was undertaken and when a new type of 'transitional' town house was developed.⁷

TOWER GREEN NO. 5 – CONSTRUCTION

In February 1681 orders were given to remodel the large area in front of the Lieutenant's house, clearing the earth, levelling and paving it to transform it into a levelled terrace called the Parade, tidying up the walls, demolishing the two Warders' houses there

and the Lieutenant's stables. Work gathered speed by the end of November 1684,⁸ and towards the end of 1685 the conversion of the stables into the new Warders' houses, now Nos. 4 and 5 Tower Green, was in full swing.⁹

The construction seems to have been part of the measures devised to streamline operations, better to structure and regulate the Yeoman Warders' Body. Although the houses can be seen to replace the earlier Warders' houses which stood in front of the Lieutenant's stables, it was more than a case of simple replacement – the new buildings formed part of the western 'face' of a more formal square which became the centre for military display of the Crown rather than a leisurely area filled with gardens and a bowling green.¹⁰ Standing next to the Lieutenant's house, they were representatives of the contemporary architectural trend, now known as a transitional type.

The house at No. 5, standing to the south and adjoining the Lieutenant's quarters, was occupied by the highest-ranking Yeoman Warders. During the period studied here the building was home to four officers: Thomas Hawley, Marmaduke Soul, Thomas Sergeant and Abraham Fowler. What was their life like, and what would the interiors of No. 5 tell us about the status of their occupants? Were they as ostentatious and fashionable as the houses of the other senior officers of the Tower, or were they simply serviceable and respectable? The houses at Tower Green have undergone many changes in three hundred years of occupation and many features and fixtures have disappeared, while archival records are patchy. Due to the absence of only random and sporadic documentary evidence, this reconstruction depends on the survival of material evidence within the house and results of architectural and archaeological investigation and analysis of paint, plaster and wall textile remains. Because of numerous remodeling and changes, as well as fragmentary sampling dictated by the need for minimal intervention and good conservation practice, even the material evidence can present a confusing picture. For

these reasons, putting together the many pieces of the puzzle and looking at the lifestyle and characters of its occupants to understand the sequence and quality of decoration of No. 5 Tower Green is unavoidably a speculative endeavor. It is also limited to the rooms on the north side of the house where more evidence can be found.

THOMAS HAWLEY – SHAPING THE INTERIORS

It seems that the conversion works were still in progress during Hawley's occupancy (up to 1689) as a variety of repairs, to the roof, walls, chimneys, plus extensive glazing and decorative works are recorded.¹¹ Hawley held both the posts of Tower Major and Gentleman Porter. Little could be found about his personal background, but his duties would have been varied and his position influential.¹² He was a captain and, as Gentleman Porter, the highest-ranking Yeoman Warder. He was in charge of locking up and opening the gates, as well as delivering the keys to the Constable (and in his absence to the Lieutenant) every night and receiving them in the morning. He commanded the Warders and oversaw admission of prisoners. His annual salary of £24 6s 8d¹³ was supplemented by £20 for every Peer prisoner or £5 for any other.¹⁴ He also had the same power and authority within the Liberty of the Tower as a county sheriff, and as its Bailiff executed all proceedings and warrants directed by the Steward of the Court, while holding all the escheats, deodands¹⁵, and goods of all the felons thereof.¹⁶ As Tower Major he was authorised and directed by Royal Warrant to assume command of the fortress in the absence of his senior officers. Considering that the Constable seems not to have resided here permanently since the fifteenth century, and that in the eighteenth century the Lieutenant's post was a sinecure office,¹⁷ while his Deputy enjoyed the summers in his country residence away from the Tower, the Major's was an important job.¹⁸



Fig. 1. Houses at Tower Green Nos. 4 & 5, exterior view. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)

Hawley's high status and earnings would have merited a sophisticated home. As Roberts has shown, Nos. 4 and 5 Tower Green in their plan-form and structural materials are a good example of the so-called transitional house,¹⁹ developed during the later years of the second Great Rebuilding in the wake of the Great Fire of London.²⁰ Their characteristic features are the exposed gable roofs over an irregular pattern of windows (a mixture of larger transom windows on the ground and first floors and leaded casements on the second floor)²¹ and the brickwork elevation acting like a shell for the internal structure whose stability is dependent on timber (here a mixture of oak and pine) roof trusses and frame.²² With the irregular positioning of the windows, as well as the single casement window on the first floor of No. 5, they seem to be a rather crude manifestation of an intention to construct elegant dwellings in the style of Queen Anne's reign.²³ (Fig. 1)

With regard to floor-plan typologies, No. 5 is a rare known example of a central-staircase plan that would have been out of date by the late 1680s. Kelsall observed that this type of design disappeared shortly after 1680 (before returning into favour in the 18th century) with the rear staircase becoming more popular.²⁴ Further comparison to contemporary London dwellings shows that No. 5 would have been in a category of a large house only affordable for the wealthiest 25 percent of the city's residents – what Guillery has categorised as a large house containing five or more rooms, and with a frontage over 20 feet wide (6.1m).²⁵

It seems evident that No. 5 was a product of the latest architectural fashion, and yet the accounts offer a picture (admittedly rather fragmentary) of practical interiors with fixtures not much different from those found in the homes of the lower-ranking Yeoman Warders and with little luxury enjoyed by other high-ranking officers at the Tower. Instead, the house

offered facilities typical of a contemporary middle-class home: a suite of rooms spread over three storeys and a garret (to begin with probably reserved for the Lieutenant's servants), with timber floors and lath and plaster whitened ceilings. Room functions were usually flexible, but some conventions were observed. No. 5 Tower Green, like Dr Johnson's, George Frederick Handel's and Benjamin Franklin's houses, had two main rooms on each floor. The kitchen with a cellar and vault was in the basement,²⁶ a parlour and possibly the formal dining room on the ground floor,²⁷ and formal entertainment rooms on the first. The best bedroom and dressing room would have been on the second floor with a closet at the rear of the south room. The closet was a small room which may have had a stove and was easily heated and could sometimes be used as a bedroom during the winter months. The occupants of No. 5 could warm up in one such room adjoining their south bedroom on the second floor.²⁸ (Fig. 2)

The house would have also been heated by fireplaces. An early eighteenth-century stone surround is preserved in the first-floor south room.²⁹ Thomas Moore, a Master Carpenter, was paid in September 1685 for fitting the two new Warders' houses with solid deal timber floors on the ground and upper floors, partitioning with six doors, two outside doors with fan lights, eight transom windows each 1.8m high, eight mantle beams and tassels for fireplaces, two staircases, two buttery cabinets with turned pillars, and for making window boards.³⁰ As Roberts has noted, having at least three fireplaces, the house would have offered what was an above-average level of comfort in the late seventeenth-century London.³¹

The panelling of the staircase and its balustrade, with elegantly turned balusters (Fig. 3) – similar to those in Dr Johnson's house in Bolt Court, off Fleet Street, of 1690 – have been dated on stylistic grounds and by paint analysis to the late 1680s, so may have been made by Moore or by a joiner working at the Tower at the same time.³² Two additional account entries give an insight into the

kind of interior decoration in the house. The first comes from 1687, when Robert Streeter Jnr was paid for works in Hawley's house and for painting 44 yards and 6 feet in oil 'stone colour'. The amount Streeter's workshop was paid indicates that this was ungrained, flat decoration,³³ and this is confirmed by paint research which shows that layers of warm creamy buff colour formed the first decoration. Yet, reconciling archival evidence with the results of the paint analysis poses a bit of a dilemma. A single vertical timber rail survives to the north of the entrance door (Fig. 4) and preserves two cream paint layers not encountered anywhere else in the building.³⁴ No other material evidence for standard panelled fixtures from this period has been found, and the first paint layer on the horizontal boards (and the plaster above) to the south of the entrance door corresponds to the third layer on the rail. These are off-white, followed by buff cream. It could therefore be inferred that the rail forms part of a small section re-used from an older building (possibly the two demolished Warders' houses which stood nearby) to form the new door surround.³⁵ It would follow that it was one of the subsequent layers, preserved on the plaster and horizontal boards, that was executed by Streeter Jnr.

The second piece of archival evidence for the interior decoration executed for Hawley comes from 1694 when Streeter Jnr. was paid for painting '5 2/3 yards of Maple Wood fold and the Bottoms marbled to match'.³⁶ No material remnants of this have been found, but they may still be concealed under the later fixtures. This record also indicates that by that time the house was fitted with some kind of panelling. As it was built against medieval stone defensive walls, the rooms would have been cold, and the panelling would have provided more warmth and comfort.³⁷ From these two pieces of evidence it can be proposed that the earliest decorative scheme, at least on the ground floor, combined cream, buff walls (possibly a combination of horizontal boards with some illusionistic maple



Fig. 2. Tower Green No. 5, closet adjoining the south room, 2nd floor. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



Fig. 3. Tower Green No. 5, staircase balustrade. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



Fig. 4. Tower Green No. 5, a vertical timber rail to the north of the entrance door. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



Fig. 5. Tower Green No. 5, late 17th-century door in the north room, ground floor. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)

Fig. 6. Tower Green No. 5, walnut-grained panelling, detail. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



folds and plastered walls above) contrasted, as was the fashion at the time, with dark, grained doors, skirtings and shutters. Such doors, built of whole deal panels, were common in the Warders' houses in the late seventeenth century,³⁸ and four survive in No. 5. The one forming part of the partition wall between Nos. 4 and 5, inside the ground-floor north room, has the fully exposed grained scheme (Fig. 5). On three others, two leading to the bedrooms on the second floor and one in the basement, the dark paint is concealed by later layers.³⁹

In addition, the north room on the first floor preserves a section of a fictive panelling with two painted schemes – dark walnut and oak graining, in tune with the fashion for illusionistic effects dominating the Baroque era. Painted on horizontal pine boards – the slit deal ubiquitous in the Tower accounts in the late seventeenth century⁴⁰ – the illusion of walnut grained panels was achieved with the use of brush alone (Fig. 6), while for the oak

scheme vertical and horizontal raised rails were added (Fig. 7). This type of panelling is an unusual survival because it comprises horizontal boards rather than large fielded panels more commonly found in London houses, such as Dr Johnson's house, often made of cheap wood and painted to imitate more costly material. To my knowledge only one other remnant of such panelling has been found in London, at Holly Cottage at Hampstead.⁴¹ In both cases, cheap pine boards were used to create it, and at No. 5 it is evident that the panelling was constructed by a skilled craftsman who created fine, flush lap joints producing an effect of a flat surface. (Fig. 8) With the use of painted darker lines to imitate raised rectangular fields, and viewed in low, flickering light, the illusion of high-quality fittings must have been very convincing. It was common in 18th-century London to use thin boards and not only for reasons of economy; after a visit to the city in the 1770s, the Frenchman Jean-Pierre Grosley



Fig. 7. Tower Green No. 5, walnut-grained panelling, general view. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)

Fig. 8. Tower Green No. 5, walnut-grained panelling, detail of joints. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



commented that the use of the thinnest deal made ‘the rooms wider’.⁴² Moreover, walnut graining was expensive and by no means confined to lower-rank buildings; it is found in the Earl of Danby’s Dining Room at Whitehall in the late 1670s.⁴³ At the Tower, besides the residents of No. 5 Tower Green, only the Lieutenant is recorded to have enjoyed walnut grained interiors, in addition to those painted to imitate more costly timbers: yew in the bedchamber and the dark, rich princeswood (precious timber sourced from Brasil or the Caribbean) in the Dining Room.⁴⁴ The only archival record of the use of horizontal boarding in No.5 during Hawley’s occupation refers to lining of a ‘Girder’ with slit deal 22-foot-long and one foot broad in October 1687.⁴⁵

The presence of the maple fold illusionistic panels indicates that some efforts were made to create elegant interiors for the Tower Major. However, Hawley did not seem to enjoy any of the luxury awarded to the ‘inferior officers’ – the personnel who

reported to principal officers, so Hawley’s equal – of the Office of Ordnance twenty years earlier. In 1662 Thomas Bayley, the Ordnance master painter was commissioned to decorate the ‘payhouse’ – situated immediately to the east of the Wakefield Tower – for the Clerk of the Office and one room for Colonel Legge, the Master General of the Ordnance. This included decorating the walls of the chambers in illusory white marble, painted in panels ‘vaild & revayld’ with a gold flowerpot in each panel as well as ‘Cloath Counterfeited’ panels, again adorned with gold flowerpots. There were also panels of ‘Waynscot colour’ and ‘Gould Counterfeiting’, and the doors were wainscot coloured in typical fashion. The lesser rooms had ‘wall nuttree colour with a Counterfeit Cornish’ and ‘box Collour knotted’ panels while the stairs had counterfeit ‘rayles & bannisters’ painted white. Many of the fire surrounds in the house were painted, and the one in Legge’s room was also gilded.⁴⁶

**MARMADOUKE SOUL – A PRACTICAL
AND COMFORTABLE HOME**

If the maple fold and marbled, as well as walnut grained decoration was created for Hawley, he did not enjoy it for long.⁴⁷ Marmaduke Soul was appointed Gentleman Gaoler on 2 September 1694 and was Tower Major between November 1696 and 1709.⁴⁸ He moved to No. 5 early in 1695 with his wife Jane,⁴⁹ soon to rejoice at the birth of the first of their three children.⁵⁰ The Gentleman Gaoler's was a busy post, subordinate to the Gentleman Porter in managing the guarding of prisoners and controlling access to and from high security inmates. He administered requests for the entry of guests, family members, doctors and lawyers and special requests for the improvement of living conditions and provisions for prisoners. He could grant permission for prisoners to take the air, and sometimes accompanied them as they walked (recorded as 'walk on the leads' or on 'the platform over his lodging').⁵¹ A Gentleman Gaoler's income was not as high as that of the Porter. While the Lieutenant received £200 and the Gentleman Porter over £24, the Gaoler was paid £21 5s 10d: the same salary as all the Yeoman Warders, the Tower Physician and the Chaplain.⁵² He also received £5 for his livery and £2 every 6 months for his fire and candles. Soul did not enjoy any of the additional income that the Porter derived from his Tower Liberty duties,⁵³ but he must have been comfortably well-off as the court trial report of 1722 shows that he owned a coach and his stolen coat was valued at £10, equivalent to half of his annual salary.⁵⁴

It appears that the Soul family moved into a practical and comfortable house with all the typical rooms and fixtures found in a home of the middling sort. Some improvements were made to increase their comfort, including a new sink, three metres square and with running water, a new dresser and shelves.⁵⁵ Running water was a luxury not afforded to many Londoners at the time, but it seems that several, if not all of the houses at the Tower had



Fig. 9. Tower Green No. 5, fictive panelling, detail of oak graining. (*Historic Royal Palaces*)



Fig. 10. Tower Green No 5, party wall on second-floor in the north room, detail of black-painted skirting. (*Photo: Andrea Kirkham*)

running water and waste disposal systems by the late 1680s.⁵⁶ For example, in April 1693 a plumber was employed to repair a pipe, which had been installed six years earlier and carried water to the house occupied by Yeoman Warder Richard Sapp, between the Bloody Tower and the White Tower.⁵⁷ Several Yeoman Warders also had kitchens equipped with large hearths and cooking ranges with grates.⁵⁸

The Souls would have been used to dark rooms, like those on the first floor lined with the walnut

grained panelling, fashionable at the time.⁵⁹ But No. 5 had the largest windows of all the houses on the Parade,⁶⁰ and this would have helped make the interiors brighter, the effect helped by the lime plastered and chalk whitened ceilings that reflected the light coming through the windows.⁶¹ The family would have enjoyed the daylight and views of the Parade from the window seats built into the panelling, a standard feature at the time.⁶² All windows had internal shutters for security, warmth in winter and shade in summer. The flooring, including the staircase, would have been typically limed (for disinfection). This was removed with a hard brush and water and then waxed rather than varnished.⁶³

It must also have been during their time, in keeping with the fashion for increasingly light interiors, that the walnut graining was replaced with a lighter oak effect on the horizontal board panelling. (Fig. 9) To avoid the interruption and cost of regular redecoration, dark chocolate-like colours were often applied to areas more susceptible to damage such as skirtings, doors and door/window architraves. The newly painted oak-grained panels were adorned with such painted dark skirting. It also seems that the party wall on second-floor in the north room functioned for a period of time just as a limed and painted lath and plaster partition since, under later panelling, there survives a remnant of such a device for protecting the plaster from being damaged when sweeping with hard brooms or moving chairs. (Fig. 10)

THOMAS SERGEANT – VOLUPTUOUS LIVING

Thomas Sergeant (d. 21 December 1726), who moved from his house near the Bloody Tower after Soul had retired in 1716, served as a Gentleman Porter for 30 years.⁶⁴ Having no children, he lived with his wife Susanna and a servant John Luxbury. He was an entrepreneurial man and made the Tower his life and business, running a Sutler's house and a Coffee

Room near the Byward Tower.⁶⁵ For many years he assisted Adam Williamson, a Deputy Governor, as his secretary.⁶⁶ He was also a Constable's Deputy and Executor of all the writs in the Tower Liberty; he processed the Mandates, precepts and warrants directed to him by the Chief Steward of the Court of Records, and he held the Office of Keeper of the Prison, taking all 'committed, arrested or taken in by the courts' into custody, attending the sessions of the Peace and receiving all the related fines and profits.⁶⁷ In 1714 he claimed the fees from shops, stalls and standings on Tower Hill and the nearby Turn Pike.⁶⁸ His will shows that he was a rich man owning houses in London and an estate in Northamptonshire.⁶⁹ He must have had a good income, since he was able to afford a £1000 security fee to the Constable for the due execution of his office as a Deputy,⁷⁰ and he certainly seems to have enjoyed his indulgences. He died of violent inflammation of the lungs and spleen (which carried him off in four days) caused by excessive consumption of fresh meat too freely at noon and at night, 'living in all respects too voluptuously and using little exercise'.⁷¹

Imagining Sergeant's lifestyle, it would not be surprising if he instigated some changes to the interiors of No. 5 during the ten years of his residence and in keeping with the latest fashions. Fragments of textile wall coverings have been preserved on all floors in the north rooms of the house. (Fig. 11) The method of their fixings, on battens made from re-purposed walnut grained boards, indicates that they post-date the fictive panelling and pre-date the existing fielded panelling. The coverings were made of green and blue dyed wool and cotton, and no silk has been found, which shows that it was not the most expensive decorative scheme.⁷² Nevertheless the Sergeants added a touch of colour to the rooms, perhaps in keeping with their personality and taste. So far the only other archival reference found for the use of green-coloured fabric found within the Tower walls comes from 1662, when the closet of Captain Wharton of the Ordnance



Fig. 11. Tower Green No. 5, fragment of textile, ground floor, north room. (Photo: Andrea Kirkham.)

in the Pay House was decorated with a ‘faire green Collour’ both directly on the walls and onto cloth to serve as hangings.⁷³

Sergeant lived at No. 5 for ten years, and perhaps he should be credited with the installation of the more standard style paneling that we see today (Fig. 12). The paneling in the north ground floor room has been dated on stylistic grounds to the early eighteenth century but similar fixtures of simple style with no elaborate mouldings can be found in London houses till the 1740s.⁷⁴ However, the semi-circular buffet cabinet (Figs. 13 & 14) installed in the north-east recess of the north ground floor room is a typical early 18th-century feature, and it is likely that it was Sergeant who used it for display of china and glass in his dining room. The paneling in this room is slightly different to that in the north rooms on the first and second floor which were dated on stylistic grounds to between 1720 and 1740,⁷⁵ encompassing both Sergeant’s and Fowler’s occupancy. The archival sources provide no clue.

ABRAHAM FOWLER – MUCH EXPENSE

Fashions and individual circumstances shaped the interiors of No. 5. Abraham Fowler, Gentleman Gaoler appointed in 1722 (d.1751), who moved in next, seems to have been a man of completely different character to Sergeant.⁷⁶ Shortly after Sargeant’s widow, Susanna vacated the house, Fowler and his wife Elizabeth moved in, and soon they had their first daughter Sarah. The family lived here for 25 years but sadly only Sarah lived to enjoy the house, her two younger sisters, Mary and Briggitt dying young.⁷⁷ Fowler fulfilled his duties with efficiency, and in 1723 his salary was raised from £20 to £50 in recognition of the importance of his position.⁷⁸ He was also the Lieutenant’s secretary and acted as the Sheriff of the Liberty of the Tower, a position usually held by Gentleman Porter,⁷⁹ possibly because William Pennington (in post between 1727 and 1733), never attended his duty.⁸⁰

Fowler’s will shows that he had moderate personal means, but he also seems to have been a proud man, reluctant to ask for funds from the State purse; in a petition issued to the Board of Works towards the end of his life he highlighted the need for repairs to No. 5 and stated: ‘I have been at much expense my self in the Years I have Lived in it’.⁸¹ During his tenancy new sash windows were installed, and, considering his account of considerable investment in the house, he seems to be a better candidate to have paid for installing the panelling in the north rooms on the first and second floor.⁸² Paint research has shown that the interiors were refreshed frequently, but the preference was for sober and practical schemes of cream buff or grey.⁸³

CONCLUSION

No. 5 Tower Green is a rare survival of a City dwelling built in the ‘transitional’ period following the Great Fire of London. Its significance derives



Fig. 12. Tower Green No. 5, standard style panelling, first floor, north room. (Photo: Andrea Kirkham).

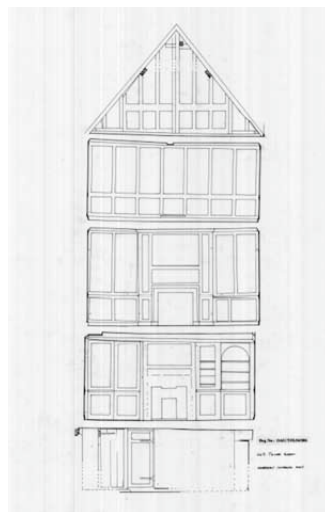


Fig. 13. Tower Green No. 5, display buffet cabinet in situ. (Drawing by Oxford Archaeology Unit)



Fig. 14. Tower Green No. 5, display buffet cabinet. (Historic Royal Palaces)

not only from its structural idiosyncrasies, but is also due to the preservation of a large section of walnut-grained fictive paneling, unusually painted on horizontal boards. The Tower accounts show that it was a typical example of the late seventeenth-century interior décor there, and a recent discovery of similar scheme in a Hampstead cottage indicates that it may have been common in London middle-class domestic interiors. Investigation has also revealed the only surviving fragments of green-blue textile wall-hangings at the Tower. Studying these remnants of material culture, in combination with archival documents in the context of social history has helped to gain some insights into the lives of the Yeoman Warders who held highly responsible and challenging posts at the Tower and were residents at No. 5 from c.1685 to 1750. Gentleman Porter Thomas Hawley's residency shaped the first interiors, the charmingly named Major Marmaduke Soul lived with his family in the rather dark walnut-grained paneled interiors typical of the late seventeenth century, while Gentleman Porter Thomas Sergeant, a flamboyant character with a taste for good things is the best candidate to splash out on the vibrant blue and green hangings. Finally, the proud and prudent Abraham Fowler probably installed the unadorned and functional paneling which survives throughout the house to make it into a practical and comfortable family dwelling. The life of the permanent residents at the Tower was a mixture of grim prison and public duty coupled with the ups and downs of ordinary family life and domesticity. It appears that, although the house bore a stamp of institutional military identity in its simplicity and functionality, efforts were made by the authorities and some of the residents to make the interiors brighter, more colorful and fashionable. In that respect they hold a mirror to the development of upper middle class urban interiors throughout England in the early modern era.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 *Yeoman Warders' Book of Rules*, pp. 12–3, shows that in 1608 at least 20 of the 40 warders had to be continuously resident at the Tower. Tower of London, Yeoman Warders' Archive.
- 2 No scholarly monograph on the Yeoman Warders' history exists. Some information can be found in J. Paget, *Yeomen of the Guard. Five Hundred Years of Service 1485–1985* (1984) and J. Martin, 'Reinventing the Tower Beefeater in the Nineteenth Century' in *The Journal of the Historical Association* (2013). Anecdotal information on history as well as personal stories are included in J. Fraser, *60 Years in Uniform* (1939); G. Abbott, *The Beefeaters and the Tower of London* (North Pomfret, VT: David & Charles, 1985). J. Charlton (ed.), *The Tower of London: Its Buildings and Institutions* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1974); George Roberts, a former HRP Curator has also carried out some research into Yeoman Warders' accommodation. See: G. Roberts, *Research Report: 4&5 Tower Green, Tower of London*. (Unpublished report written for Historic Royal Palaces, 2017).
- 3 J. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors. The British Tradition 1500–1850* (New Haven and London, 2003) p. ix.
- 4 Described so well in G. Parnell's PhD thesis, 'The Building and Works of the Office of Ordnance at the Tower of London, 1660–1722'

- (PhD Dissertation, King's College London, 1996). Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/display/83945483>.
- 5 In 1555 there were 21 Yeoman Warders who were to be of middle age and chosen from the retiring Yeoman of the Guards. National Archives (TNA) SP11/6, f.51v. In 1683 Lord Dartmouth reported that out of 40 Yeoman Warders only 17 lived at the Tower. See: <http://yeomenoftheguard.com/towerwarders.htm> and TNA, PC/14/3. In 1714 the Constable issued warrants for 15 houses but there were 37 Warders overall. TNA, WO94/10 f.116.
 - 6 R. Strong, *English Society in the 18th Century* (1990); T. Hamling and C. Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England. Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700* (2017).
 - 7 Of far greater quantitative importance than its 'predecessor', the so-called Great Rebuilding phase 1 (1570–1640). See P. Borsay, *The English urban renaissance: culture and society in the provincial town 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), p. 47.
 - 8 See Parnell, 'Building and Works of the Office of Ordnance', pp. 55–6; TNA, WO 51/29, f.96; WO 51/30, f.4.
 - 9 Parnell, 'Building and Works', pp. 179 and 190. 'To make 2 Warders houses of the Lieutenant of the Towers stables the said stables being 48ft long and 171/2ft broad & 2 storees high, the Garrets being left for the servants of the Lieutenant of the Tower, the fitting the said stables compleat for lodgings will cost – £98.14s. 8d.' p. 191. TNA, WO 51/29, f.213; WO 51/31, ff.82, 84, 95, 103, 105–6 & 114.
 - 10 Prior to the 1680s most of Tower Green was taken up by the Lower and Upper Garden, one belonging to the Lieutenant and one to the Bloody, or Garden, tower as it was then known. See Parnell, 'Building and Works', pp. 56, 178, and TNA, WO 51/30, f.4. For the archaeological evidence see G. Parnell 'Observations on Tower Green', *London Archaeologist*, 3, No.12, (1979), pp. 320–6.
 - 11 TNA, WORK 5/40. The works recorded in 1686: f.1 repairs to the vault and cellar, f.6 lathing and plastering, f.7 painting of walls and window casements and glazing, f.25 alterations to the chimney.
 - 12 In the early 18th century the post of Gentleman Porter was given to a member of aristocracy and was often honorary: for example William, son of Sir Joseph Pennington, second Baronet, of Muncaster (Cumberland): A. Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, 1722–1747*, Camden Third Series, Vol.22, July 1912, pp. 25–136. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/camden-third-series/article/diary-of-lieutenant-general-adam-williamson-17221747/695D708C60E9F4CB454E7103F8639F71>. Also British Library, London, MS Add [MS number?] f.45.
 - 13 Tower of London, Yeoman Warders' Archive, *Yeoman Warders' Commonplace Book*, p. 22.
 - 14 An extra allowance of £6 for fire and candle every 6 months seems like a small addition to his earnings: TNA, WO94/12 f.10.
 - 15 Both these terms come from English common law. Escheat is a doctrine that transfers the real property of a person who has died without heirs to the Crown or state: S.T. Gibson, 'The Escheatrics, 1327–1341', *English Historical Review*, 36 (1921). Deodand signifies anything forfeited or given to God (in this case the Crown), an object or instrument that becomes forfeited because it has caused a person's death: T. Sutton, 'The deodand and responsibility for death'. *Journal of Legal History*. 18 (1997).
 - 16 E. Chamberlaine, *The Second Part of the Present State of England together with Divers Reflections upon the Ancient State of thereof*, 13th ed., (Thomas Hodgkin, 1687) https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=50dqzPGsD1YC&hl=en_US&pg=GBS.PP1 [online, accessed 10 July 2109], pp. 218–9.
 - 17 Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, pp. 25–136.
 - 18 Parnell, 'Building and Works', p. 99 states: 'In 1715, in an effort to re-establish control over the apartment and integrate it with their adjoining administration office, the Board asked the Master-General to raise the matter of the lodgings with the King, claiming that the Constable never stayed there and that the rooms were empty.' See also TNA, WO 47/28, f.180 and WO 55/405, f.6.
 - 19 Roberts, *4&5 Tower Green*, pp. 28, 35.
 - 20 Borsay, *English urban renaissance*, p. 47; R. Machin. 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment', *Past and Present*, 77 (1977), pp. 33–56.
 - 21 1680s windows survive in the south room on the first and in the north window on the second floor: C. Brooking, *Report on Fixtures and Fittings at*

- Numbers 4 & 5 Tower Green, Tower of London* (Unpublished report written for Historic Royal Palaces, 2017), pp. 14, 19.
- 22 Roberts *4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 28; E. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London; The Development and Design of the City 1660–1720* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 159–168; A. F. Kelsall, ‘The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1974), p. 81. See also the model town-house drawn in 1685–1690 and illustrated in Alison Maguire, ‘A Collection of Seventeenth-Century Architectural Plans’, *Architectural History*, 35 (1992), pp. 140–182, Figure 33.
- 23 Roberts, *4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 12.
- 24 Kelsall, ‘London House Plan in the Later 17th Century’, pp. 87–88.
- 25 Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 35–40.
- 26 A vaulted structure in No. 4 basement was found during excavations in August 2019 and will be analysed in the forthcoming report by Oxford Archaeology Unit. A vault in the yard of No. 5 is mentioned in the accounts but has not been found: TNA, WORK 5/40, f.1. Many other houses at the Tower are recorded to have had vaults, such as one that served the Well Tower: TNA, WORK 5/45, f.9.
- 27 L. Hall, *Period Fixtures & Fittings 1300–1900* (Newbury, 2005), pp. 197–8; I. Gow, ‘The Buffet-niche in 18th-century Scotland’, *Furniture History*, 30 (1994).
- 28 Plaster carried out repairs in all these rooms in November 1686: WORK 5/40, f.6. Franklin used his closet as a bedroom: J. Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain* (2010), pp. 25–6.
- 29 Dated by Brooking, *Fixtures and Fittings at Numbers 4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 15.
- 30 TNA, WO/51/31, f.103.
- 31 The average number of hearths in houses was between 2.3 and 2.6 depending on the area: M.J. Power, ‘East London Housing in the Seventeenth Century’ in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700* (1972), pp. 237–262.
- 32 Roberts, *4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 2, argues that the possibility that this is the original staircase cannot be ruled out. Especially when considered along with the survival of the 1680s window frames on the second floor, it could be an early example of this style from 1685.
- 33 TNA, WORK 5/40, f.7.
- 34 Jane Davies Conservation, *Architectural Paint Research*, (unpublished report produced for HRP, 2018), pp. 22–25, 29–31, 54–55.
- 35 Analysis of the building archaeology, brick and bonding timber, indicates that the wall to the north of the door is probably a remnant of the sixteenth-century Lieutenant’s stables. The wall was reshaped, and bonding timber sliced off to form a reveal for the new entrance door. For the re-use of materials from the old Warders’ houses see Legge’s report of February 1681, quoted in Parnell, ‘Building and Works’, pp. 179, 191–192.
- 36 TNA, WORK 5/47, f.19, October 1694.
- 37 Accounts show an awareness of the negative health effects of damp health and that many buildings at the Tower, especially those backing onto the curtain walls, were lined with deals to make them dryer and warmer: Parnell, ‘Building and Works’ p. 46; TNA, WO 47/19B, f.45.
- 38 For example: TNA, WORK 5/48, f.23 and TNA, WORK 5/45, f.35.
- 39 Jane Davies Conservation, *Architectural Paint Research*, p. 18. These doors were dated on stylistic grounds to 1630–80. See Brooking, *Fixtures and Fittings at Numbers 4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 11.
- 40 Payments for provision of slit deal as well as deal planks are plentiful in the records of the late 1680s and 90s as well as in the early 1700s. For example, in 1695 the Purveyor, Charles Hopson, was paid for 72 foot of wainscot planks 1 inch half thick and 140 foot of wainscot planks 1¼ inches thick: TNA, WORK 5/48 f.6.
- 41 Thanks to Andrea Kirkham for bringing this to my attention. See: A. Kirkham, *4 & 5 Tower Green, Tower of London TOL/1685. Investigation of the Lath and Plaster with a Discussion of the Decorative Finishes c.1685–1750*, (unpublished report produced for HRP, 2020), pp. 26–7.
- 42 Cited in Guillery, *Small House in Eighteenth-Century London*, p. 73.
- 43 I. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors* (New Haven and London, 1996), p. 111.

- 44 Also, cedar ('in yr passage'), quite low in the hierarchy of timber colours. All these were painted by Streeter Jnr. In 1690. TNA, WORK 5/44, f.15.
- 45 TNA, WORK 5/41, f.22.
- 46 Parnell (1996) pp. 101–2. Painter: TNA, WO 51/3, f.141; Joiner and Carpenter: *ibid.*, f.143; Plumber and Plasterer: *ibid.*, f.142; Mason: TNA WO 53/415, entry 726.
- 47 Tower of London, Yeoman Warders Archive, *Yeoman Warder Commonplace Book*, p. 63. A plan of 1696–1699 in the National Archives collection shows a building captioned 'Maj. Sole's House'. See TNA, Work 31/146.
- 48 Some repairs are being done late in 1694, perhaps in preparation for the new residents; TNA, WORK 5/47, f.23v – in November 1694, whitening one end of the house; f.28 in December one new pair of window shutters.
- 49 In 1694 the house is still described as Major Hawley's while in March 1695 already as Gentleman Gaoler's. YWA, *Yeoman Warder Commonplace Book*, p. 63. See also a *Plan of St Peter ad Vincula* (c.1699) where the site of 4 & 5 Tower Green is labelled as 'Maj. Sole's House': TNA Work 31/146.
- 50 Robinson, baptised on 8 Dec 1694; Richard, baptised 29 April, died 19th May 1697, Charles, baptised on 18 April 1698; Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London, Register of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, f.208.
- 51 Various letters included in TNA, WO94/3 and WO94/14 give more insights into the Gentleman Gaoler's duties. He had to ensure that he saw the Close prisoners when they locked up each night and unlocked in the morning. The Gaoler's failure to do so was reported to the senior officers. He also had to check for any changes to the Prisoners room that may indicate an intention to escape: TNA, WO 94/3, 2 June 1694, WO 94/3, 8 March, 1689/90; 28 March 1696 (pagination in this volume is erratic).
- 52 The Surgeon and Apothecary received £10, the Waterpumper £12 and the Scavenger £6 per annum: *Yeoman Warders' Commonplace Book*, p. 22.
- 53 TNA, WO 94/12 f.10.
- 54 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.002 May 2018), April 1722, trial of John Sedgwick (t17220404–46).
- 55 TNA, WORK 5/48, March 1695: new sink, dresser and shelves (f. 35); a pipe brought through the wall of the house (f.36).
- 56 Pipes running the water out of Lieutenant's kitchen are recorded in the early 1680s. TNA, WORK 5/38, f.3. The arrangement of the basement kitchen of No. 4, dating to the 1920s, bears an uncanny resemblance to an 18th-century kitchen at No. 30 Spital Square as illustrated in D. Cruickshank and N. Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (1990), p. 81. The sink with a dresser stand under the window, lead water tank and copper would have been in a niche next to the fireplace. It is highly likely that the 1920s arrangement followed the original set up.
- 57 TNA, WORK 5/46, f.4. Pipes were laid in September 1687 when a plumber was also employed to make a new cistern in Sapp's house. Water was pumped by an engine located next to the Traitors' Gate: TNA, WO94/12, f.45. It seems that there must have been a large cistern in the Records Office house (next to the Wakefield Tower) as accounts state that water was brought to Sapp's from there: TNA, WORK 5/40, f.2.
- 58 TNA, WORK 5/45, f.11v; WORK 5/45 1690–91 f.11v.
- 59 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain*, p. 27.
- 60 Panes as large as 11x12 inches: WORK 5/43, f.10v. Also in October 1687 William Ireland is paid for glazing done at Mr Sparrowhawk's at No. 4 (English square 7x5 inch at 3d per square) and Major Hawley at No. 5 (4 English square 8x6inch 4d per square): WORK 5/41, f.27.
- 61 At the beginning of the eighteenth century Richard Neve commented that 'The Plastered Ceilings so much used in England, beyond all other Countries, make by their whiteness the Rooms so much Lightsomer.' Also, as Bristow remarked, the chalk whitening appeared slightly creamy grey which had much kinder effect than brilliant white. It could be easily washed and 'turned' with a wet brush and this is recorded in the Office of Works accounts: See Bristow, *Architectural Colour*, p. 39; TNA, WORK 5/43, f.2; WORK 5/45 f.6, 15v.
- 62 In 1745 George Hicks complained that bars fitted in conversion of his dining room in Tower Green No. 4 into an accommodation for a prisoner who never arrived, were spoiling his pleasant view of the Parade. TNA, WO 94/13 f.60–61.

- 63 Riding, *Mid-Georgian Britain*, p. 27.
- 64 He must have succeeded Major Hawley, so it is strange that it was Soul that moved into No. 5. We can only infer that the post of Tower Major was more important: British Library, LAdd MSS 57343–57344, f.23v.
- 65 TNA, WO 94/10 f.93 and 94. Rev. George Kelly, a prisoner at the Tower in 1722–36 reminisced that he often dined with officers in the Tower Coffee House: *Memoirs of the Life, Travels and Transactions of the Reverend Mr. George Kell* (1736), p. 21.
- 66 British Library, London, Harley MS 1326, f.22.
- 67 TNA, WO 94/10 f.134–8 and f.140.
- 68 Porter and the Gaoler (Marmaduke Soul) claimed £5 each. TNA, WO 94/10 f.93.
- 69 TNA, PROB 11: Piece 613.
- 70 TNA, WO 94/10 f.93.
- 71 The account of his superior, Deputy Lieutenant Adam Williamson: *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*.
- 72 C.Vlachou, *CCC Examination and Fabric Sampling*, (HRP, unpublished report, 2019) and KIK-IRPA, *Analysis Report. Wall Covering, Tower Green 4 & 5, Tower of London*, (unpublished report commissioned by HRP, 2019).
- 73 Parnell, 'Building and Works of the Office of Ordnance', pp. 101–2. Painter: TNA, WO 51/3, f.141.
- 74 Tim Knox Pers. Comm.
- 75 Roberts, *4 & 5 Tower Green*, p. 16.
- 76 He moved from the Bloody Tower. TNA, WO 94/12, f.45. His burial is recorded in the Register of Burials, Baptisms and Marriages at St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London, f.216.
- 77 Tower of London, Register of Burials, Baptisms and Marriages at St Peter ad Vincula, f.212, 212v.
- 78 TNA, WO 94/10, f.1.
- 79 TNA, WO94/13 fol.80 and Add MS 57343–57344, f.1v.
- 80 TNA, SP 36/17/174; British Library, London, Add MSS 57343–57344, f.45.
- 81 The necessary repairs included painting, whitewashing (which indicates that the house was whitewashed externally) carpenters work, new casements to the 'C kitchen windows' (in the cellar or basement kitchen?), some repairs to the sashes above stairs and several other 'necessaries': TNA, WO94/10, f.163.
- 82 Brooking, *Fixtures and Fittings*, p. 9.
- 83 Jane Davies Conservation, *Architectural Paint Research*, pp. 12, 21, 29–34.